



CONCEPTS AND STRATEGIES FOR REPOSITIONING NORTHERN NIGERIA FOR SUSTAINABLE SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT AND COMBATING PROTRACTED SOCIAL PROBLEMS (PSPs) BEDEVILING THE REGION

AREWA CENTER FOR REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT (ACRD)

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THESE PSP INCLUDE: BOKO HARAM TERRORISM/INSURGENCY, RAMPANT KIDNAPPINGS, ARMED BANDITRY, COMMUNAL & RELIGIOUS VIOLENCE, HERDSMEN/FARMERS CRISES, DRUGS AND ARMS IMPORTATION, POVERTY & ILLITERACY, JOBLESSNESS & DESPAIR, LACK OF WOMEN & YOUTH EMPOWERMENT, HUMANITARIAN ISSUES AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION.

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THE BEGINNING

The Information & Research Unit of the Arewa Center for Regional Development (ACRD) began its journey in May 2018 with a simple pragmatic idea due to several challenges bedevilling the entire Nigeria, evoking the need for an independent forum that could critically examine the problems facing both northern and southern regions in the country and help develop coherent policy responses and solutions to the issues. ACRD was thus formed, and brought together virtually, for the first time, a new generation of thinkers, astute leaders, leading experts and intellectuals, academicians, policymakers, business leaders, institutions and civil society actors, traditional leaders, stakeholders and ordinary Nigerians to make inputs and present, with one Voice, the agenda, concepts and strategies for repositioning Nigeria for sustainable socio-economic growth and development & combating protracted social problems (PSPs) bedevilling the Country. Our primary goal is to start with the issues affecting northern Nigeria popularly called “Arewa” in Hausa language, believing that with tenacity; it takes a spark from within.

1. INTRODUCTION

According to the Nigerian Immigration Service (NIS), there are 371 different tribes in Nigeria out of which 313 are located in Northern Nigeria. The northern society is very rooted in religious beliefs, tribes and cultural practices; these are people of different ethnic groups and culture knitted together by Providence with majority speaking Hausa language and practicing predominantly two great religions, which have one origin and source, all born in the Middle East: Islam and Christianity. These all adds to the socio-cultural varieties of the region. The north and indeed the whole of Nigeria’s protracted social problems and conflicts find their origin in the religious, ethnic and cultural practices of the people. But important to note that great conflict of today is not between Islam and Christianity rather, it is between extremism and human solidarity and respect, between forces of hate, intolerance and that of empathy. These social problems were developed in a long period of times and are still continuing in one form or other. This complex mix of diverse cultures, people, beliefs and languages were celebrated and respected at the time of Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto, under a common goal of advancing the north, economically, socially and even politically, the time when people of Northern Nigeria lived-up to the tenets of their faith to the best values of humankind, where they did not identify themselves by their tribes or religion, they were all “Yan Arewa” meaning northerners. This complexity and richness gave the northern region 19 States and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) from the Federation, a unique appearance of a very vibrant, rich and colourful cultural

heritage admired by both friends and foes alike. But today, the very same complexity brings with itself complex nature of social problems and issues. In fact every society of the world has their social issues unique to their society but the problems bedevilling the north today have taken a new dimension. Northern Nigeria, which is part of the Sahel, has witnessed several attacks from many fronts, the Boko Haram terrorism/insurgency leading to hike in the population of the internally displaced persons (IDPs), arms smuggling (influx of small arms and dangerous weapons through ports and porous borders especially after the fall of Muammar Gaddafi's regime in Libya, created the mass movement of arms across African borders), rampant kidnappings, rural armed banditry, communal & religious violence, herdsmen/farmers crises including the issue of increased poverty & illiteracy, joblessness & despair, lack of women & youths empowerment, incessant drug abuse; social exclusion of many citizens, to name a few. It has been observed that a progressive decline in industrial setup in the north since Nigeria got her independence from Britain in 1960, the textile mill; groundnut pyramids and others have become history even though the potentials to sustain them still remain. There is the dramatic increase of conflicts between pastoralists and peasant farming communities a result of which, thousands of people have been killed or displaced, and properties worth billions of naira have been destroyed. Equally, billions of naira worth of crops and livestock has been lost due to the conflicts. The sheer intensity of these conflicts has consequently threatened the livelihoods and very survival of the communities involved. Even though the reality of these conflicts is not in doubt, and available information about them, as reported by the media (print and electronic) paints a depressing picture and points to a future of chaos, social disarray and political instability, there is nothing without solution if we put our minds to it. The bottom line, however is that North is slowly drifting into oblivion as a result of these problems in the region including lack of access and opportunities. We have a social structure that is very hierarchical, such that if change did not come from above, the typical traditionalism of the masses reigns supreme. It is asserted that the leaders of Northern Nigeria felt very secure and saw no need to creatively and constructively pursue an agenda of progressive change, in spite of how the North was lagging behind other regions. Some would argue that this very lack of credible leadership has further deteriorated these bedevilling social and economic conditions; crippling the region and throwing it into backwardness. Though, many such reasons may be cited for the North's social problems but the fact remains that we have these issues and only we can solve them. The truth is that our region is facing a severe protection and economic growth crisis that require practical Action-Specific-Plan. It is the phenomenon of both the not-too-far past and the present, and if nothing is done, it will also be one of the futures. It affects millions of

persons who struggle to survive on a daily basis in often, hardest living and working conditions, going to farm has become a life or death affair. Farmers now are afraid of becoming either killed or kidnapped and thus have abandoned their farmlands, which are now lying fallow un-harvested. Throughout history, the forms taken to address such dynamic issues have evolved both with regard to their strategic characteristics and the attitudes adopted towards addressing them. PSPs currently take on different appearances on various continents, and even within them, at the regional and national levels. But it affects everyone. Programs and measures addressing their various aspects have also changed and are not the same in all four corners of the world. But at the end of the day, nothing is new or without a solution on the surface of the earth, not even the challenge that behoves on us today as a region and as a country. Consequently, as these issues have eaten deeply into our collective resolve, dividing us along ethnic and religious lines with no focus on the bigger picture, we now have a choice either allows the status quo to continue or let us collectively think for solution together by thinking out of the box with one Voice, let us decipher a business opportunity instead of a challenge, see a gap instead of a hole, see opportunity in the midst of despair and hopelessness, get involved, instead of lamenting, ignore the fear mongering and resolutely keep the faith and hope, let us transcend ethnocentric biases, bigotry and hatred and engage one another wisely to present our collective ideas and inputs in a concerted manner for a better future for Northern Nigeria and indeed Nigeria as a whole.



2. METHODOLOGY & ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This Report: abridged concepts and strategies are in response to a call in the region to articulate development and security agenda in order to reposition the socio-economic issues of Northern Nigeria. The Author uses evidenced-based research, interviews, articles & Literature reviews, and

inputs and ideas from astute leaders, leading intellectuals, academicians, policymakers, business leaders, institutions and civil society actors to traditional leaders, all stakeholders and ordinary Nigerians to develop this Report. Based on the human and available natural resources of the region, the challenges confronting Northern Nigeria are hereby matched with possible solutions and the strategies to execute every recommendation. We are not unmindful of the fact that corruption and intolerance is endemic in both public and private sectors and care-free attitude especially concerning public property and blatant hatred among various ethnic and religious groups is common among the people in the region. So therefore, the solutions are structured in a way that Federal, States, Local Governments, Religious groups, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and ordinary citizens all have a role to play in their formulation and implementation. This makes each challenge a collective concern; every solution is the way out for everyone with commitment and dedication to actually move forward for sustainable prosperity and security for all.

Our special appreciation and acknowledgement go to the numerous ideas taken from various articles and literature reviews, inputs and recommendation received from individuals via whatsapp, emails and text messages, including some in form of audios and videos all listed and referenced at the end of this paper.

3. REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND SECURITY CHALLENGES

Propelled by the above mentioned concerns, we hereby resolve to acquire an unmistakable global footprint for our region, from primarily looking inward and engaging with all stakeholders, to gradually forging local, states, national and global partnerships; while continuing to push for normative boundaries, bringing new ideas into the policy discourse and providing a platform for a new generation of thinkers and stakeholders as highlighted above. Our aim is to encourage voices from all quarters: ethnic, religious, social-class, gender and youths, both those that fall in and those that question dominant narratives. It is this plurality of thought and voice that we aspire to bring simultaneously contemporary progressive global debates to northern Nigerian issues and by extension, Nigerian; ultimately, playing a pivotal role in promoting peace, security, dealing with the causes of conflicts, its prevention and management; and resolving fierce disputes and counter-acting the new and dynamic challenges of economic sustainability throughout the region; and indeed Nigeria.

Based on all the inputs received, eight (8) stages can be deducted for solving our unity, development and security challenges. They are:

1. Identification and leveraging of regional human and natural resources for the purpose of economic development;
 2. Conducting analysis of the root cause of terrorism/insurgency, farmers-herders crises and other conflicts & map-out ways to prevent them from happening;
 3. Citizen engagement for development outcomes with core leadership and responsibility at every level;
 4. A clearly visible proactive intelligence gathering strategy in place backed by technology;
 5. Quality, affordable education, skills development, access and equal opportunities for everyone;
 6. Development of regional identity, effect of restructuring and reforming the Almajiri system; with articulation of Key Performance Indices (KPIs);
 7. Continued monitoring and evaluation of our social and infrastructure impact and addressing environment issues;
 8. Sustainable socio-economic environment
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3.1 Identification and leveraging of regional human and natural resources for the purpose of economic development

Our Northern States Governors' Forum (NSGF) must provide leadership and take center stage to identify and leverage both our human and natural resources for the purpose of economic development. Unlike before, when they meet, discuss and leave without taking any action, these newly elected Governors should be different: to have a time Action-Specific-Strategic Plan. The strategy is to spur the of ideas into action in an agile manner within all the Northern States in collaborative leadership, making the right connectors, to significantly, link diverse people, ideas, and resources that would normally not bump into one another. In economic development outcomes, connectors are critical facilitators of collaboration and in today's era of tightening government budgets, regional leaders need to leverage local and external resources by thinking creatively about developing and funding initiatives that would improve communities' quality of life within the region. This can be started by each State to create its own Center for Excellence for this purpose and assemble diverse talents to partner, collaborate and drive them.

3.1.2 Engage Talent & Strengthen Collaboration and Innovation Networks

Research has consistently shown that diverse teams produce better results, provided they are well led. The ability to bring together people/talent from different backgrounds, disciplines, ethnic/cultures, religion, generations, even political affiliation and leverage all they have to offer, is a must-do for leaders who want positive development and peaceful coexistence. By creating Center of Excellence in every State in the region, allowing and supporting them to focus on the use of States within the regional networks to accelerate innovation, partnership and collaboration, enabling people in loosely-joined, open networks to think and act strategically; and in partnership with local private sector and Small Business Development Center's across the World, it would also showcase the pivotal role of small and medium scale enterprises (SMSEs) to employment growth and prosperity and investment and business opportunities to the world, with the goal of making the region an investment destination.

3.1.3 Collaborate at the Top First

It's not enough for leaders to spot collaborative opportunities and attract the best talent to them. They must also set the tone by being good collaborators themselves. All too often, efforts to collaborate in the middle are sabotaged by political games and turf battles higher up in leadership. To partner and collaborate more effectively the Northern States Governors must demonstrate good collaborators themselves.

3.1.4 Show a Strong Hand

As with the issue of complacency, once leaders start getting these centers to collaborate, they face a different problem: overdoing it. Too often people will try to collaborate on everything and wind up in endless meetings, debating ideas and struggling to find consensus. They can't reach decisions and execute quickly. Collaboration becomes not the oil greasing the wheel but the sand grinding it to a halt. The solution should be emphasis on a balanced approach to development and following already established targets and timelines for economic growth of the region.

3.1.5 Solid Mineral & Agriculture

Northern Nigeria is blessed with land for agriculture as well as natural mineral resources sufficiently concentrated in commercial quantity for commercial exploitation. Mining opportunities are huge and there is no state in Northern Nigeria that does not have different mineral resources in commercial

quantity. Some of the minerals include iron ore, gold, mercury, ironstone, limestone, lead, zinc, crude oil, natural gas, marble, dolomite, clay, emerald, aquamarine, columbite, tantalite, manganese, vanadium, chromite, wolfram, limonite, tourmaline, zircon, ruby, sapphire, topaz, fluorspar, coal, mica, garnet, glass sand, beryl, graphite, spinel, kaolin, zoisite, agates, onyx, barytes, etc. Northern Nigeria is therefore amply endowed with many useful solid minerals which appropriate incentives and the political will of governments will stimulate private sector participation leading to industrialization and human capital development. This means, States, through their Center for Excellence could collaborate with genuine investors to establish mineral-based industries, including petrochemical, refinery, detergents, metallurgical, cement, electronic, pharmaceuticals, fertilizer, animal feeds, ornaments, kaolin plants, etc., including agro-allied industries and livestock value chain (more details under herdsmen/farmers crises).

We have neglected science, engineering, medicine and technology for a very long time and schools have been relegated, teachers incompetent, research and development (R&D) almost non-existence or not encouraged, consequently, equipment, machinery, services, raw materials, research-development and even human capital are continuously being imported, so many misdiagnoses resulting to medical holidays abroad for simple ailment. Industrialization is a process of social and economic change whereby a society is transformed into a modern, innovative and efficient system with good family societal values that ushered in a form of philosophical change, where people develop a different attitude towards one another, toward their perception of their environment and thus their well-being. Research has shown that Northern Nigeria receive six hundred (600) watts of solar energy per square meter for a daily average of 11 hours thereby making the region among the highest in the world of quality sunshine. If only 0.1% of this sunshine is converted and harnessed at an efficiency of just 1%, it will almost meet the energy needs of the entire Northern states. Solar can be used to design and develop a photovoltaic powered lighting and other applications. Many have suggested that, with constant power supply, processed tomatoes, onions, ginger, carrots, beans, chilli pepper, potatoes, groundnuts, vegetable oils, sweeteners and syrups from grains, livestock feeds, cotton, etc, which are available in commercial quantity could bring Northern Nigeria out of its present depression. Almost everyone opines that Northern State Governors should not only begin to realign their spending more towards attracting, protecting and retaining investors in the solid mineral and agricultural sectors of their various States and the region as a whole but also embark on enhanced social investment in mass education and skills training. Since the North remains home to vast areas of

arable land and once boasted groundnut pyramids that dotted the landscape, such pyramids can once again come back to become a cash crop that will finance families and empower the region. The climate is also perfect for cotton, which can easily be leveraged into a textile and garment industry using technology for local businesses to create competitive advantage with other small African countries involved in the sector. Like what the Chinese did some years back: built tangible infrastructure: power, water and access roads, educated and skill-upgraded their people making them easily trainable, registered them: created state manpower Database of every graduate, entrepreneurs and those that acquired the “in-thing skills”, then invited investor (mostly Americans and Europeans) with huge unbelievable incentives. The catch! Any investor must employ at least 40% of Chinese workforce and they must come from the created state manpower Database. Already, the Chinese government had made sure that some educated entrepreneurs. PhDs, etc., were included in the Database with a clear instruction to go into these companies, learn most of their trade and in 3 to 5 years quit and start their own company, with government financial support of-course; and clear instruction to first start copying and gradually innovate to compete with the original company. The end is history, now, they don’t only compete but lead in many sectors. Likewise, during Reagan and Japanese renegotiation of their economic partnership agreement, Reagan compelled (re-negotiated) the Japanese to set up industries in the US, manufacture locally any product, including cars and parts that they sell 2.5 million pieces or more in the USA and also to employ 60% or more of local workforce, this boosted the US economy significantly. Today, Chinese sell millions of various products in our region and Nigeria all produced not in Nigeria, not even in Africa but in China.

Recommendation 1 - Actionable Plan

- The inputs received conclude that following this simple concept will enable northern region to develop its strategic transition plan, address economic shocks and volatility as well as develop collaborative networking program and decision making strategy. States Leadership within the region should come together to create and adopt a five (5) year Arewa Regional Economic Plan as soon as possible this year or early next year with emphasis on a balanced approach to development and established targets for economic growth of the region. The plan should be built on the ideas highlighted above as well as current regional opportunities, collaboration and innovation.

3.2 Conducting analysis of the root cause of terrorism/insurgency, farmers-herders crises and other conflicts & map-out ways to prevent them from happening

In analyzing the root cause of these complex Protracted Social Problems (PSPs) in northern Nigeria, we need to go back memory lane. In one hand, as captured in one of the video sent where the late Dan Masanin Kano, late Alh. Maitama Sule narrated a scenario where the late Premier of Northern Nigeria Late Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto saw some northern boys (various tribes) window shopping at Kingsway Store in Kaduna and asked each one of them to pick any item and he would pay for it. When one of his aides, after paying for the items tried to ask one of the boys what tribe and religion was he from, Sardauna furiously cautioned him never to that again or else he will be fired “He is my son” he said, irrespective of where he comes from or his religion (he insinuated). Tribalism is a set of beliefs and behaviours based on the presumption that “tribes” are inherently different, thereby excluding certain groups or individuals from equal access to the so-called mainstream, political power and even social goods, so also religious intolerance, which were allowed to escalate. This is a problem that influences a large number of individuals within the society and has many categories in depth as well as light. It's a common problem we see happening in our society. It is often the consequence of factors extending beyond an individual's control, and is the source of a conflicting opinion on the grounds of what is perceived as morally correct or incorrect. On the other hand, there is the laxity of proactive engagement and some would say leadership.

3.2.1 Terrorism & Insurgency

Our society is getting more and more insecure, more people are getting into various forms of crimes and terrorism and they are getting more desperate, ruthless, and sophisticated. Since the independence, the act of terrorist activity have ranged from the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) group, Oodua People Congress (OPC) group, Movement for Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) group, the Maitatsine group amongst others. In Nigeria today, new forms of violent crimes have been common. These include, armed banditry, kidnapping for ransom, pipeline vandalism, ritual killings, armed robbery and ethnic clashes. Similar the sect activities of both Boko Haram, the Shiites and herdsmen/farmers crises presently make Nigerians live their lives in fear without knowing when or where crisis will erupt.

We are in this mess largely because Nigeria’s political leaders in the past have failed to map-out/profile extreme individuals and radical religious or social groups that were radical, but not yet

violent, allowing them to grow in force. From independence, Nigeria had experienced conflict along ethnic and social lines, but mostly over resources like land and power. The country is also nearly evenly divided between Muslims and Christians, with three distinct languages corresponding to linguistic divisions, which became a recipe for political turmoil but not religious extremism. However, the arrival of the Maitatsine's movement in the 1980s was a sign that the dynamics were changing, and that religious extremism was becoming more prominent in the Middle East in the 1970s was also finding a home in northern Nigeria. That was the best time for Nigerian Government to commence Conflict Mapping/Profiling with the aim to predict a coming generation of conflicts fuelled by ethnicity, social, religious, political, communal or otherwise; and address their root causes. That is why in addressing the root cause of any conflict, it is important to map-out the conflict first, profile some extreme individuals/groups to identify their grievances. Profiling of terrorists and groups will vary greatly from the state, region, the country, circumstance and state of being. Today's online statistics show that the most common profile of northern Nigeria trained or recruited terrorist/insurgent or bandit including kidnappers do not have higher than secondary school education; often young and jobless or a labourer by occupation; and who became a bandit-terrorist, kidnapper etc., as a result of despair, being unemployed or stripped of his means of livelihood and ways of life, someone who has lost hope and vulnerable. This type of information is useful to security forces and also to the government, which can consider taking steps to reduce unemployment while providing equal opportunities and access, as an anti-terrorism measure.

On Maitatsine's crises of the 80s, Nigerian Government only cracked down on the movement after its sermons became increasingly anti-government in the late 1970s. The crackdown culminated in an uprising in 1980 with the death toll in 1982 Kano-riot reaching over 4,000 and Maitatsine leader Mohammed Marwa, himself killed. The movement, however, lived on killing additional 3,300 people in Bulumkutum Borno State and nearly 1,000 in the former Gongola State; and hundreds more in Bauchi State between 1982 and 1984.

On Boko Haram, the Islamic State in West Africa or the Islamic State's West Africa Province (abbreviated as ISWA or ISWAP formerly known as Jama'at Ahl as-Sunnah lid-Da'wah wa'l-Jihad and commonly known as Boko Haram until March 2015 is a jihadist terrorist organization based in north-east, also active in Chad, Niger, and northern Cameroon. The group clawed its way back from a failed uprising in July 2009 against the government leaving more than 1,000 dead, including the group's

founder, Mohammed Yusuf who was executed, to re-emerge as a full-fledged insurgency under the command of one of Yusuf's lieutenants, Abubakar Shekau, a year later. Shekau was reported to have been "fatally wounded" during an airstrike in Taye village on 19 August 2016 by Nigerian Air Force which also killed some senior leaders of Boko Haram. Since the early 2010s, the jihadist armed group wielded power and influence in the region and parts of adjoining states in the Lake Chad basin. According to the Center for Counter-Terrorism and Preventive Diplomacy, over the next five years, and at an unusually rapid pace between 2013 and 2015, the group seized control of much of Nigeria's Borno state and began operating in border areas of neighbouring Niger, Chad and Cameroon. They plundered villages and bombed markets and churches, as well as mosques it deemed "infidel." In April 2014 it staged the kidnapping of 276 schoolgirls in Chibok, Borno state. This mass abduction, which earned it global condemnation, was only one in a long series of violent incidents of striking brutality.

This sudden rise of religious fundamentalism (Boko Haram) is not unconnected with the "Settlement of 1960", in which Muslims traded away the right to impose Sharia law across the board, because around the time of Maitatsine's movement, Philip Ostien and Sati Fwatshak wrote in their book on Sharia in Nigeria, "...by the mid-1980s the idea that Muslim consent to the Settlement of 1960 had been a terrible mistake... was widespread and firmly entrenched in the North" as illustrated by Capt. John Ford, US Army. Although, later the 1999 Constitution has re-opened the door to impose Sharia by granting significant power to Nigeria's States and creating a system of appellate courts to hear appeals from Sharia trial courts, some northern states took the opportunity to impose relaxed Sharia law over their territory. This relaxed Sharia law prompted some groups to start opposing certain law in a non-violent way, with the likes of ISWAP (Boko-Haram), which says that people should not expose themselves to modernity and western education, living in denial.

As its name suggests, ISWAP is affiliated with the Islamic State, or ISIS, caliphate in Iraq and Syria, whose remnants count their victories as their own victory. Boko-Haram appears to be working hard to gain enormous favour from its namesake organization, and it has obtained some support already, both from Al-Qaeda and ISIS notably in the form of training and otherwise. This is when the sect leaders began manifesting their groups in violent uprisings that are being witnessed today. Unfortunately, there are currently so many more of such groups gradually emerging led by extreme individuals.

As the war on Al-Qaeda by USA intensified after Sept 11, Al-Qaeda was on the run but also began exploring new ways to bypass the daunting maze of deterrents already in place. They sought to entrench and spread where there is poverty, ignorance, and despair; and they found Africa: Northern Nigeria, Somali, etc.; a potential terrorist breeding ground especially with institutional weaknesses that allow terrorists to operate freely, with non-coherent and effective ways to forecast or address their menace. The Libyan crisis also fuelled the so-called terrorist partnership of convenience, flourished illicit drugs, training on use of explosives and arms supply in Nigeria to groups like the ISWAP, that started out as non-violent and turning horribly violent; all under the watch of the state. Such religious threat to the region has existed for decades, right from Maitatsine, unfortunately, it has taken, as mentioned earlier the kidnapping of nearly 300 Chibok schoolgirls to get the international community to take notice.

A clear clarification is very important to note though that both religion of Islam and Christianity are not be associated with terrorism. The economic impact of Boko Haram activities in North East is estimated at \$9bn (N274.5bn). The loss of agricultural production in the North East caused by Boko Haram activities is estimated at \$3.5bn (N107bn). With an increase in their attacks and the displacement of nearly two million Nigerians, agricultural production has plummeted, and staple food prices have sky-rocketed. "Northeast Nigeria now faces one of the world's worst food security crises, with around 3.8 million people who will face critical food insecurity and approximately 7.7 million in need of life-saving humanitarian assistance this year alone. Hunger is ravaging the land. Worse, there is no end in sight as the latest forecast by the Food and Agriculture Organisation strongly projects that Nigeria's efforts to achieve zero hunger by 2030 are being seriously undermined. At the 2018 World Food Day, the Rome-based agency warned of the dangers ahead, citing the conflicts plaguing the country. The Boko Haram conflict is driving away farmers from their homes in the North-East, while the fear of being killed or kidnapped is driving away people from their farms in other part of the North-West and North-Central. All this leaves Nigeria in a desperate situation" according to the report. Though we remain optimistic for where there is a will, there is a way.

However, if contemporary terrorism is to be accurately and thoroughly understood in a clinical and impartial fashion, it is necessary to dispel one current myth: Islamic fundamentalism in the context of terrorism, since a true Muslim who adheres to the fundamental tenets of Islam must view terrorism,

insurgency, kidnappings, armed banditry, and communal, ethnic and religious violence as a serious crime and a blasphemy. Islam not only forbids the killing of innocent persons, women, and children and unarmed or surrendered combatants, but also forbids the destruction of buildings, public places and other-religion places of worship; even the felling of a tree, if it has a single green leaf on it. Thousands of victims of terrorism in the World were of both Muslim and Christian religion, and several hundred thousand Muslim security officers and soldiers, from all over the world, are directly engaged in fighting terrorism, and have taken substantial casualties in so doing.

However, in the circumstances in which some Muslims have been indicted or convicted like in the case of September 11th, 2001, Maitatsine, Boko-Haram, the numerous acts committed in Borno, Adamawa, Zamfara and many others in Nigeria and the world reflect two facts: **Firstly**, that some terrorist acts are committed by persons who incidentally happen to be Muslims but their religion is not relevant to the terrorist act. **Secondly**, some Muslims commit terrorist acts, misusing, distorting and projecting the name of Islam to achieve their selfish un-Islamic goals. This differentiation is not always appreciated by some sectors of the media who tend to equate all terrorism by Muslims as so called fundamentalist Islam and under the banner of a Jihad, holy struggle or war. This is entirely inaccurate. Other media sources automatically attribute Islam to any terrorist who happen to be ethnic Arab, Muslim or of Middle East origin; a result of a widespread misconception that all Arabs are Muslims. This is also incorrect as national and ethnic Arab populations include Muslims, Jews and Christians among their numbers, a likely situation, considering that these three great religions have one origin, all born in the Middle East. A large number of Israeli Jews are ethnic Arabs. Other related widespread misconceptions are that Iranians or Persians are also Arabs, which is incorrect and that anti-Semitism is hatred of Jews, when in fact it is hatred for the many different Semitic races, including Jews and Arabs. One of the results of these misconceptions has been to wrongly simplify some conflicts and boil them down to facile slogans such as Islam versus the West, and Islam versus Jihad, which is also very wrong. It should further be noted that the word often incorrectly attached to Islamic terrorism is Jihad (Arabic - meaning to make an effort or struggle). The word means, by translation and theological tradition, a holy struggle, especially spiritual, against evil, injustice or personal imperfection. It may be fulfilled in four ways; by using the heart, tongue, hand or sword. In contemporary use, except by terrorists, it denotes an effort against something either personally negative or detracting from the common social good, and is used mostly as a last resort, as in self-defense. There are many such Jihads. For example: A Jihad on litter in order to clean up an area, or a

Jihad on one's self when encountering difficulties achieving a personal goal, such as studying. In simple terms, it can be considered as a self-motivating effort to do some good, underpinned with prayer. But to attribute terrorism to Islam is totally wrong and unjustified. History has equally shown that there are terrorist acts committed by individuals or groups who incidentally happen to be Christians but their religion is not relevant to the terrorist act at all. Terrorism in general, is motivated for individual reasons of greed, egotism and a wide range of vices related to intolerance, especially religious, ethnic and class intolerance under induced illicit drugs. Intolerance is often the primary motive behind genocide and depopulation, running in tandem with wholesale looting and dispossession.

The conclusion we may draw from these points is that blame for the majority of terrorism today can be attributed neither to the adherents to any single religion, but that a significant number of the more outrageous terrorist acts may be attributed to a small number of terrorists, who are entirely divorced from their own religion, who distort it, and use it as a convenient cover to try to legitimise their actions in the popular minds.

a. Humanitarian Issues

It is a welcome development that President Muhammadu Buhari created the Ministry of Humanitarian Affairs, Disaster Management and Social Development, headed by Hajia Sadiya Umar-Farouq to provide solutions to the plight of millions of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) as well as coordinate humanitarian affairs and social development in the country.

The country, in the last 10 years, has been in the throes of insurgency in the North-East, especially in Borno, Adamawa and Yobe States. This insurgency has created a lot of social dislocation and millions of IDPs. According to an August 2019 report from Médecins Sans Frontières, (Doctors without Borders), "It is estimated that about 35,000 people have been killed since 2009, 1.8 million people are internally displaced, and 7.1 million people are in need of humanitarian assistance across the north-eastern states of Borno, Adamawa and Yobe. Around 230,000 people have fled to the neighbouring countries of Niger, Chad and Cameroon".

The Hon Minister Sadiya Umar Farouq, an experienced past Federal Commissioner, National Commission for Refugees, Migrants and Internally Displaced Person is well positioned to address the

challenges of the Ministry's enormous task ahead by constituting the core team she would work with and establishing their presence strongly for direct and immediate impact across the states.

Towards rebuilding the North East, President Muhammadu Buhari encouraged the World Bank in partnership with the European Union, philanthropists and other foreign organizations interested in rebuilding the North East to be more committed to erecting structures and physical presence in those areas to aid the smooth and effective returning of displaced persons to their settlements. Rather than giving out cash and other monetary gifts which over time has been reported that the displaced persons and supposed beneficiaries of humanitarian crisis and disaster issues often find it difficult to receive these aids and donations from individuals and organizations because of some atrocities committed by those responsible for the management of those resources such as food, water and clothing.

Things are sometimes easy to destroy than to rebuild, this is the current situation of the North East in Nigeria. Rebuilding the North East remains a huge project to be completed but it is possible with the efforts of the government, the people and international organizations committed to making this happen. The creation of a ministry to take care of humanitarian affairs, disaster management and social development has thus made the pathway for the rebuilding of the North-East much more visible as there would be more accountability and responsibility for actors and non-actors towards humanitarian issues in Nigeria.

Recommendation 2

- To effectively address these Problems our northern governors must have a multi-faceted approach, a proactive human intelligence collection strategy in place, comprehensive plans to tackle not only physical security but also the grievances that fuel the problems in the first place. They need to include monitoring, along with improved emergency preparedness using modern technology with instruments of an asymmetric warfare in place backed by efficient policies and legislative armoury; and increased vigilante and effective law enforcement welfare and funding.
- All these have to be done in a concerted effort and manner, widely publicized and in global collaboration. To this end, Northern Governors may consider creating Northern Anti-Terrorists Agency (NATA) to drive this, or advise the FG to create Nigerian Anti-Terrorists Agency (NATA).

NATA can carry-out conflict mapping/profiling/ and even monitor the Herdsman-Farmer conflict/crises among others.

- The creation of a ministry to take care of humanitarian affairs, disaster management and social development has thus made the pathway for the rebuilding of the North-East much more faster and sustainably.

3.2.2 Farmers-Herders crises

We have three types of herdsmen: those rearing their cattle around their houses who do not pose a problem because they don't move around. We also have herders who are Nigerians from the northern part of the country, but will move across to the Middle-Belt and the southern part of the country during dry season in search of water and grasses for their cattle; they come back to their base in the North after a while. Then, going by ECOWAS protocol, we also have herdsmen who travel from neighbouring countries of Niger republic, Chad and Cameroon to the northern part of the country, from where they then move to the South in search of grazing land for their cattle. The last two is where the issue lies.

And it has been argued that what we have between farmers and the herdsmen is trespass and reverse aggression not conflict. Trespass against the farmers by herdsmen lead to mutual hostility and reverse violent attacks, escalation of which, due to open grazing, construction of new houses etc., over the years have now become crises. Looking at it critically, the conflict between these two groups is primarily about: resource use, damage to crops, blocking of trans-human corridors (Burtali), farming along the valleys and stream/river banks and uncomplimentary agricultural policies by government. Of recent however, cattle rustling, availability of dangerous weapons, intra-pastoralist conflicts, mercenary elements and illicit drugs have added a dangerous dimension to the conflict. Thus, since the 1980s, the frequency of violent clashes has increased, and lately, the widespread availability of modern weapons and improved communications has further led to the exacerbating of the conflicts. In the past, the hostilities were resolved legally by community leaders but now there is the need for a lasting solution. To proffer the solution, we will use the term "conflict" to refer to farmers-herders crises, communal and other conflicts in this Report for clarity. We need to look closely at the interface between traditional conflict management approaches and critical social theory, which views violent conflict (farmers-herders crises, communal violence) as a social product

and looks to structuration's theory, with its recognition of the mutual dependency and structure, to bridge the gap between the individualist and structuralise approaches. The danger of failing to incorporate a critical-theoretical approach is that attempts at conflict management or resolution will simply reinforce the unchallenged order that generated the conflict in the first place (including exclusion and domination). The result is that we continually re-solve conflicts instead of developing a solution that will not reappear again or re-solutions that did not work the first time. These criticisms have been applied to the international community's Peace Building efforts, as well as to international aid and development work. The perspective here further emphasizes the need for a practical solution based upon hidden cultural specifics that are not universal, which are longer-term and deeper in structural, relational and cultural dimensions like the idea of "Ruga" or Ranch and Colony. One point to note is that while some would like to tag the entire Fulani race as evil, this is not fair, there is good and bad in any tribe. There are more than 36 million Fulani people in Nigeria who are decent and go about doing their business peacefully. It will be hypocritical to continue to say no to all solution and expect to have one.

Similarly in other conflicts like communal or religious, the scenario, as Prof. Babajo posits, the problems are as dynamic as their solutions and most consistent nature of man is change. "Let us be devout and devoted to identifying our weaknesses and thinking about solutions"

The scenario is a dynamic process in which structures, attitudes and behaviours are constantly changing and influencing one another. A conflict emerges as parties' interests come into conflict or the relationship they are in becomes oppressive. Conflict parties then begin to develop hostile attitudes and conflictual behaviour. The conflict formation starts to grow and develop. As it does so, the conflict may widen (drawing in other parties), deepen (becoming more protracted and possibly violent), and spread (generating secondary conflicts within the main parties or among outsiders). This complicates the task of addressing the original, core conflict. Eventually, resolving the conflict must involve a set of dynamic, interdependent changes that involve de-escalation of conflict behaviour, change in attitudes, and transformation of relationships or structures.

In a study carried out by researchers where they examined the factors contributing to the Farmers-Herders conflict in Sabuwa , Dansadau and Birnin Gwari, they tried to:

1. Examine how the drying up of the natural sources of water over the past 50 years in the Sahelian belt, has forced pastoralists to move into the savannah and tropical rain forest zones in search of water and pasture for their animals;
2. Ascertain the extent to which the failure of policy implementation with regards to grazing reserves has created a dearth of land for pasture and grazing;
3. Highlight how the inaction or indifference by governments at all levels has resulted in both sedentary farmers and pastoralists in the affected communities resorting to vigilantism and violence in the communities.

a. The result in Sabuwa

The result in Sabuwa shows that, until about ten years ago, intra-community relations in Sabuwa were generally peaceful. This is, however, not to suggest the absence of conflict. There were the occasional clashes between farmers and local herders over cattle intrusions into farmlands and the conversion of cattle paths (*burtali/labi*) and grazing reserves into farms. Although such clashes occasionally degenerated into serious violence, they were not too worrisome to local community leaders because there were control mechanisms that regulated both their extent and intensity. Usually, Fulani offenders were fined for grazing in farm lands while the farmers were levied for farming on cattle routes or encroaching on grazing reserves. Change came with the coming from neighbouring Niger Republic of certain strange Fulani groups popularly called 'Bokolo', named after their short-horned cattle variety. These groups of Fulani were armed and very confrontational. They would deliberately invade farms and let their cattle feed on harvested crops left on the farms to dry up before final processing, packaging and storing. And, the 'Bukolo' did not respect the local rule of paying for the damages done by their cattle. Instead, they would start fighting and even occasionally kill some farmers before running off. Although the bandits regularly engage in cattle rustling and kidnapping, armed robbery is their first choice activity. They do this regularly, aggressively and openly. They could block the road at any time of the day and start robbing passers-by. But they mostly operate very close to their base, especially around villages like Maraban Maigora, Machikan Dutse, Dan Kolo, Madachi and Dungun Mu'azu. The most dangerous dimension to their activity, however, is that any time they are attacked by the security forces, they retaliate on local inhabitants on the pretext that it is the locals that give information on their locations. On such occasions, the bandits would invade villages and kill without discrimination. A case in point was the killing of 66 people at Maraban Mai Gora village in 2013, when heavily armed bandits on motor bikes attacked

the village around 2pm and shot indiscriminately. The bandits were said to have come from Layin Galadima and Maigora villages in Faskari Local Government Area, where they had earlier killed in dozens.

b. The results from Dansadau

While the results from Dansadau show that right of access to land and its resources including water, grazing land and right of way have always been sources of tension between farmers and herders, which occasionally erupts into conflicts over the centuries. However, both groups seem to be accustomed to this type of conflicts and accept them "as familiar" - *an saba da su*. There are also, traditional mechanisms for the resolution of such conflicts as both groups admitted during a field work. These traditional mechanisms notwithstanding, it is clear that competition over access to land, water and forest resources among farmers and herders is one of the remote causes of the conflict in the area. Another remote cause is the neglect of transport and communication infrastructure in potential conflict areas. This neglect affected law enforcement. Insecurity of life and property therefore became prevalent. Another remote cause of the conflict is the alleged prolonged injustice - "*zalunci*" which the herders claim they are subjected to by corrupt police officers, corrupt village heads and corrupt judges. The research team gathered that the police, judges district and village heads prefer dealing with cases involving the Fulanis. In instances where herders became involved in litigations on account of their cattle trespassing on farms and destroying crops, they were made to pay heavy fines, often disproportional to the damage caused.

Over the years, the children of the dispossessed herders became available for hire as professional cattle herders for the rich Hausas, who have over time accumulated large herds of cattle often bought from hard pressed Fulanis. This amounted to role reversal. Some of the young members of the Fulani communities became petit thieves or big time armed robbers. The emergence of the *nouveaux riches*, especially those with bureaucratic capital is yet another. This group, being in control, directly or indirectly of the state, used its vantage position to get the state to open the large swaths of thick forest, including grazing lands and gazetted forest reserves, which had been settled by the herders, since the 15th century and allocated it, largely to themselves. When such encroachment happens, confrontation with herders who feel they are being squeezed out of their ancestral homes becomes inevitable. Heavy penalties are usually imposed on the herders. These heavy fines could be explained by the fact that the farms encroached upon are in any case owned by those who control

state power. On the Immediate causes, around 2011 petit theft and armed robbery became rampant in the Dansadau area. Flagrant extortion of local wealthy people and notables, raping of married women and the kidnapping of girls by armed bandits also became rampant. It was alleged that the bandits were Fulani due largely to the loss of their way of lives and means of livelihood. The perceived failure of the local and state authorities to arrest the situation, led members of the communities in the area to resort to self-help in law enforcement leading to the emergence of vigilantes groups. The existing recognized vigilantes groups became very active. Later, another self-appointed group of volunteers emerged but not registered by the state, known as “*Yan Sa Kai*”. These two groups virtually took over the duties of law enforcement agencies and constituted themselves into prosecutors and judges, imposing death sentences on known or suspected criminals and executing them. Although the conflict can be traced as far back as 1996, it became raging since 2010; and around June 2012 a total number of 130 people were reported to have been gunned down by the bandits thought to be Fulanis and in response to that, local vigilante “*Yar Galadima*” organised themselves into revenged seeking groups specifically targeting Fulani settlements, thus unleashing further reprisal attacks.

c. The results from Birnin Gwari

The current situation in Birnin Gwari started some seventeen years ago. The year 1998 was accepted as the year when communities of Birnin Gwari recorded growing armed attacks on the main Highway from Kaduna to the South-West. From the general views in the community, it is certainly not a conflict between farmers and Fulani herders, but rather that of the people of Birnin Gwari (farmers, herders and so), and marauders (Fulani, Hausa speakers and some others). Birnin Gwari settlement is a community of farmers, herders, traders and miners. Predominantly however, the Fulanis are known to be pastoralists or herders while the Hausas and Gwagyis are mostly farmers. At the beginning relations between the farmers and herders were cordial and symbiotic. The farmers who made up the settled population retain ownership of the land. Voluntarily farmers used to invite Fulanis to settle in their farms during the dry season to manure the land, either for a price or by an agreed formula, for example allowing them feed from the remains of the cornstalk from the previous farming season (*Cin Kara*). Over time the herders started to move in with their whole family and property, consequent to continued encroachment on the farm and forest lands, due to increase in population and of absentee farmers. Though more lands were put into farming, which is supposed to give the herders more advantage, but the introduction of the use of modern fertilizer rendered the desire for

the services of the Fulanis to nothing. It was at this period that farmer- herders relations started to sour; the reciprocal value of each started to diminish leading to disagreements, conflict, court cases, and punishments.

It is obvious therefore that the remote causes of the sour relationship cannot be far away from the neglect of the condition of the herders by the authority. In addition, the forest area was taken over by the Federal Government and made a National Park with clear rules and regulations of operating within its premises. The Federal Government's inability to manage the National Park properly, to attract tourist and tourism turned the forest into hideout for criminals. It is relevant to note that Birnin Gwari is the route through which the northern and southern parts of Nigeria are linked. The Federal Government's neglect of the proper management of the Park therefore created a lacuna, creating conditions conducive for criminals to hide and commit all forms of criminality. The herders were the first victims, because the deteriorating condition of the Birnin Gwari express way reduced the number of vehicles plying the route. Armed robbers who used to rob vehicles coming from the South turned their attention into cattle rustling. Reports from the various villages around Birnin Gwari, which are available in the Birnin Gwari emirate council documents, provided adequate information on the extent to which the Fulanis suffered loss of herds of cattle. Thus, it is the view here that one of the immediate causes of the conflict was the loss of the only means of livelihood of the Fulani herders, which exposed the younger ones to idleness, thus leading them to join the gangs of the marauders, armed robbers and kidnappers. How and from where they get the sophisticated weapons and training is still unclear from the study, it is however confirmed that operations (attacks) by the assailants were carried using sophisticated weapons.

The women folk are the major casualty of the attacks in Birnin Gwari; they are raped, killed or widowed. The most disturbing humiliation was when they suffered sexual assault before their children and husbands, under threat of armed gunmen, and in the open. From 2012, when banditry became a defined life style of some people in Birnin Gwari more than 450 people were killed in Kazage District alone. According to Sarkin Rafi, more than fifty (50) people lost their lives while pursuing the bandits.

The conflict in Birnin Gwari is no longer farmers-herders nor Fulani/Hausa, arguably therefore, it must be considered within the context of the geography and socioeconomic condition of the communities

concerned. Considering the historicity of the spread and the nature of the present attacks, it will make more sense if the regional (West Africa) disturbances are given special attention. In the past the nature of the relations between the people and communities were not as violent as in the present, nor were sophisticated weapons used as in the present. Of interesting to also note is the expertise in the handling of AK47 by the bandits. The state of political developments in the region, especially the fall of Muammar Gaddafi's regime in Libya, created the mass movement of arms across borders. The porous nature of Nigerian borders, especially the Nigeria/Niger borders, in addition to the cultural link between the communities across the border, support the claim that the influx could be from that direction. This is further supported by the long history of pastoral movement in the region in search of pasture caused by the increasing deterioration of the environment.

d. Southern part of Kaduna

Similarly, in the Southern part of Kaduna, the crises is as a result of encroachment by the herders over cattle intrusions into farmlands, which has now degenerated into serious violence with reprisal attacks. No doubt, there are common features and similarities in the conflict between farmers-herders crises in the three areas of Dansadau, Sabuwa and Birnin Gwari and that of the Southern part of Kaduna. For example, competition over access to land resources is common, trespass against the farmers by herdsmen, insecurity and failure of law enforcement to act quickly and injustice. The nature and pattern of the conflicts involve trespassing, armed banditry, cattle rustling, and kidnappings with reprisal attacks and some taking ethnic and religious dimension; and in some, strangers from neighbouring countries were noted to be involved. This made economic activities, such as commerce and trade, farming movement, simple commuting and travelling to be negatively affected as a result of these protracted conflicts.

In the past, all over the north, intra-community relations were generally peaceful but today the conflict has taken multi-faceted dimensions which include armed robbery, kidnapping, rape and other criminal abuses, with so many reprisal attacks along ethnic and religious lines. Therefore, since it is more complicated than simply an issue of dealing with Farmers-Herders relations, central to the problem is to find a lasting solution to the problem, which the Federal Government has proposed: to convert parts or whole of forest reserves into farms or settlements referred to as: "Ruga" or Ranch and Colony. Violence and the insecurity have had devastating effect on many communities in the north and some part of the south. Hundreds of lives have been lost. Thousands of people have been

displaced. It is estimated that between 40% of productive capacity of peasants were lost all across the north while thousands of cattle and other livestock have been rustled.

3.2.2.1 “Ruga” or Ranch and Colony

A ranch or Ruga in Hausa language, simply put is a space of land dedicated for raising grazing livestock such as cows, goats, and sheep including horses and donkeys for commercial purposes. It is usually large with accompanied structures to service the value chain of the ranch. In short, it is the restriction of nomadic lifestyle as we know it, the modern way of doing cattle business, not a Nigeria idea, but what is practiced in advanced countries today. Obudu cattle ranch is Ruga, late Sardauna of Sokoto and late Chief Obafemi Awolowo set ranches in Mokwa and Akuno respectively. Late Nnamdi Azikiwe also once had a ranch. A colony is a set of ranches that share many amenities, wherever there is a large concentration of animals, we call them colony. So therefore, colony is not colonization.

a. The advantages of a ranch:

- Ranching of livestock can create 250,000 jobs within the right size and allow agriculture to thrive, reducing also communicable diseases, TB, diarrhoea, leptospirosis, leishmaniasis, etc., (Animals properly vaccinated and in shed);
- Headmen will be required to pay taxes of N1000 naira per cattle head per annum (compared to zero naira now);
- Massive milk, beef and cheese production will earn us foreign exchange like other milk exporting countries of New Zealand, France, Russia, Germany, Brazil, China, and India with direct annual estimated revenue of about \$3 billion US dollars including other incomes from organic fertilizer and 200 MW net power export;
- Increase IGR for individual States, with safer, healthier meat for consumption;
- Use of advance technology, cross breeding, new gadgets for milking and opportunity for every Nigerian to join the business to become a herdsman or herdsman and have a part of the colony;
- Eradicate farmer-herdsman hostilities because of growing cattle population, effect of climate change and availability of grazing lands, water including access to northern, eastern routes due to Boko Haram (zero grazing, aggression, killings, reduced hazards, increase life expectancy);

- A ranch would allow the herdsmen to have access to education and opportunity to socialize. including industrialization and economic diversification leading to new chain of businesses like leather industries, shoe industries, furniture making and cow feeds production etc., will all thrive under a ranching system with economic boom and prosperity;
- The world has moved past open grazing where cattle roam the streets, airport and rural markets, the results: better yield, cleaner environment and engagements of nomads in other economic activities; teaching, tailoring, artisans etc., reduce crime since all herders will have traceable addresses;
- Ranching will make cow business a worthwhile business for Nigerians and foreign investors thereby increasing exports/foreign exchanges with less dependence on oil. This will be a great boost on the diversification policy of the federal government to agriculture and creation of several employment opportunities.
- Cows will no more be flying our roads in deplorable uncomfortable travelling conditions to the southern part of Nigeria (reduced animal cruelty).

b. Why ranching?

Some people have deliberately chosen not to be part of the solution and or proffer any solution but thus argue “why is government interested in procuring land for the herders to rear their cattle? Is cattle business government business? Is it not private business?

Where ignorant is bliss, it is folly to be wise, where hypocrisy is bliss, it is unwise to be silent. The types of questions above are those that are psychologically and emotionally rooted. They include fear, anger, anxiety, jealousy, mistrust, hostility and other negative feelings that often cloud perception and inhibit rational thinking and communication. The government has come up with a proposed solution, asking State Governors to make land available for cattle ranches willingly “if you like, take it if you don’t like, don’t take it but look at the advantage”. Setting aside your false predictions/perception about the outcome, what's the action that will lead to results? Failure is always a possibility. So is success. The real question isn't "Which one do you believe in?" but rather, "Which one are you working on, right now?" Proffer a solution instead of lamenting because there's never just one solution, or one way that a situation will work out. Choice still exists - how we choose to respond to our circumstances is always in our control. What if you could set your feelings aside, and move forward towards new options? Because whether you think you can or you can't is never as

important as what you *do*. Thomas Edison said, "There is a way to do it better - find it." Maybe it's time to stop debating what's in the glass. And take action. You know under the Constitution, once something is for public use, it overrides every other right. And agriculture is both on the concurrent and on the exclusive list, meaning FG can legislate on agriculture and acquire land for that purpose, just like the oil pipelines located everywhere in the States because section 5 of the Constitution gives all the executive powers on the President. Also, fact is anyone or any group that keeps opposing any effort to solve the so called Farmers-Herders clashes must surely be benefitting materially or politically from the crises. Of course, there are those who always try to trick foreign donors by lying to them that the Farmers-Herders clashes are some agenda of religious persecution by a section of the country or Islamisation Agenda of the nation. Such persons and groups will not want the problem solved, for solving it will deny them two things: loss of a propaganda tool that portrays them as victims of a bloody conspiracy, and loss of opportunities to keep receiving financial grants from foreign donors who aid "victims of religious discrimination and persecution" worldwide. So from the Constitutional point of view, government can acquire land for public use but whether ranching is for public or private use, some have argued thus:

- Is airline business public or private? Why are states and federal governments expending huge public funds in acquiring lands and building new airports and rehabilitating old ones for airplanes that are owned purely by private commercial companies and private individuals;
- Is transport business public or private? Why should government be busy spending hundreds of billions of naira building roads for vehicles that are mainly on private trips or for transporters? Shouldn't vehicle owners then raise money and build roads for their cars?
- Is farming business public or private? Why states and federal governments busy procuring and distributing fertilizers and various other farm implements to farmers, sometimes for free and sometimes in heavily subsidized form?
- Is commercial banking public or private? Government has spent billions bailing out distressed banks since 2005 till date? Why intervene in a private business venture with public funds?
- Is going on religious pilgrimage (Saudi Arabia & Israel) not private business? Why both states and federal governments often sponsor pilgrims to do something that is purely personal and private to the individuals?
- Are those private (mostly religious owned) universities not private businesses? They seek TETFUND funds upgrade their levels of competence? Why do they seek government subsidy on something the government had no input in its conception and development?

- Is shipping public business? Apart from Naval force with military style ships, all other ships are privately owned, but why is government building dockyards or sea ports where commercial ships and boats privately owned, berth to load and off-loaded?
- What about acquisition of education? Why has it always been the expectation and business of government to build and furnish schools as well as recruit and pay teachers? Is this not a heavy subsidization by government of what should have been the personal obligations of individuals or families? Is it not subsidy to give scholarships and pay lecturers? And spends billions in feeding primary school kids across the country in order to boost school enrolment?
- Is small scale trading or even big scale trading the responsibility of government or private business? Why then should government give small scale traders little sums like 10,000 naira or more each to help them boost their little trades? Shouldn't they source their own funds?
- Is buying and selling not private business interaction between a seller and a buyer? Then why are governments at all levels building markets and maintaining them for private individuals who want to buy and sell commodities?
- Is film making and the entire movie industry, e.g. Nollywood, not private business? Then why did the federal government give them 3 billion naira in 2014 to boost their film making industry? Shouldn't they have been left to source for funds themselves?
- How about public hospitals? Why should government build hospitals for people who are sick? Isn't sickness and wellbeing a private matter, which requires the sick person or their family to seek medical treatment at their place of choice?
- And if government expends huge sums to service the health needs of sick citizens, how about citizens who hardly fall sick and have never ever visited any hospital for any personal health issue; are the rights of such citizens not infringed on, or are they not being financially marginalized? Shouldn't they then demand cash rebates from government, based on their fundamental human rights, for not using hospitals built with funds they have rights to?
- And finally, of all the things or services listed above, which are being financed by government, which of them are Fulani herdsmen who roam the forests with their cows enjoying?
- Is it government that gives them the rains that always beat them in the jungles alongside their cattle, or is it government that feeds them in the forests?
- Yet, some supposedly educated persons, former government officials and even religious leaders are questioning and opposing the development of either cattle ranches or cattle colonies or grazing routes or even settlement camps for the Fulani herdsmen for easy

monitoring by the federal government on the ridiculously shameless grounds that it involves government funding?

- How long, how strong and how deep the Devil has been controlling certain delusional persons is clearly unfolding, and it's unfortunate.

3.2.2.2 The Sule Lamido's Model

As submitted, over 10 years today, there have not been any clashes in Jigawa between farmers and herdsmen both of which are both Hausa/Fulani. Before the Governor affected his model, they engaged perennially in deadly clashes. As highlighted earlier in this paper, the root causes of the problems we have today largely are poverty, ignorance, lawlessness, despair and injustice; and quest for revenge, among others. So Sule Lamido did the following:

- Tackled lawlessness first by strengthening the courts and enabled them to deliver instant justice, zero tolerance of crime and over 90% aggrieved persons got satisfactory justice instantly, and peace ensured. He ensured that government authority was asserted and he dialogued extensively with stake holders on law and order and State Power and Authority;
- Talakawa (masses) Summit was organized for days; common folk addressed elected elite and civil servants on problems and expectations if aspirations were to be met. They in turn listened to their representatives and Government officials, which was also widely publicized for appeal and impact;
- Eggheads of Jigawa origin compiled the proceedings into a document which experts turned into a comprehensive development framework (CDF) for the State.
- Farmers and Herdsmen were reconciled through effective cross communication. A narrative for cooperation was developed, promoted, and accepted;
- Government designated five (5) Grazing Reserves and developed them with watering points and grass. Local Technology was used, gaining the participation of common folk. Each Grazing Reserve had access for livestock and was clearly marked;
- State-wide, cultivation of land was reserved from 20 meters from shoulders of state highways and 30 meters from shoulders of Federal Highways. This was designated as livestock Routes averting the danger of taking any community's land, simple;
- Government provided revolving loans that empowered peasant farmers to own a pair of work-cattle, a plough, a harrow, and a wagon. Arguably, tractors were not cost effective due to high diesel and maintenance costs. Overnight, in one season, repayments on the loans

were as good as 90% and Jigawa achieved food sufficiency in 3 years. Quality of life was higher than Lagos (EU), with the herders benefitting from the massive purchase of their cattle.

- The CDF so developed ensured that government developed a network of roads linking villages with major markets enabling the farmer to sell his products directly. Healthcare was based on the Gunduma Framework which gave each commune a health center with major general hospitals in districts and a referral Rashid Shekoni Hospital in the State Capital Dutse.

3.2.2.3 The Gandujiyya/Matawalle Model

Governor Ganduje of Kano State and his counterpart, Governor Matawalle of Zamfara State have already bought into the Ruga solution, they said the RUGA settlements would be designed in such a way that it will expand the economic base of the States, adding that infrastructures such as schools, hospitals, livestock clinic, houses, markets and other relevant infrastructures and social amenities that would make life comfortable for the ranch will also be provided in the RUGA settlements.

According to Ganduje, his Committee will also look at the possibility of creating Milk Market for the teeming wives of Fulani herders who face difficulties selling their milk, because of lack of storage facilities, adding that, already some private investors have indicated interest to partner with the State Government on the establishment of the market including financing from the Islamic Development (IDB) Bank of Saudi Arabia. He further stated that the terms of reference of the Committee on Ruga settlements include, “to identify areas/locations for the establishment of milk (Nono) market; identify other areas suitable for establishment of RUGA for the resettlement and improvement of nomadic cattle breeders; production of master plan of RUGA settlement”. Matawalle has already committed substantial funds for the State Ruga settlements.

Recommendation 3

- Following the aforementioned, we call on the northern governors to buy into the FG proposed cattle ranch or Ruga, the lasting solution to the farmer-herder hostilities while inculcating the core spirit of national values and regional identity: Engage with farmers and herders in affected areas to promote better understanding and reconciliation among groups in conflict, to better understand the peculiarities of the conflicts. To regularly engage with stakeholders (Traditional Rulers, Conflicting Group Leaders and Law Enforcement Agencies) with view to promoting reconciliation;

- We urge the Federal Government to take the lead and liaise with other ECOWAS Member States to discuss the problem and find solutions to arms and drugs smuggling;
- And in the interim Northern Governors can adopt the Sule Lamido's or Gandujiyya model to overcome our farmer-herder challenges while we build our ranches;
- Following some news that some violence has already started to manifest against the headsmen in the southern part of the country, asking the Fulanis to leave the region, Northern Governors should ask their counter-parts in the southern part to condemn the call and give protection to the northerners in the south as done by the northern governors. Every Nigerian has the right to live and conduct his business anywhere in Nigeria.

3.2.3 Other conflicts – Youth and Ethnic conflicts,

People especially youths are greatly influenced by those around them. In today's schools drugs are very common, "peer pressure" usually is the reason for their usage. Violence is a major social problem that our society faces. Young people nowadays are very violent and tend to get in fights over minor things. These young people use violence to prove that they have a certain power over those who are weak. Violence is an increasing concern and in most communities nowadays there is always some form of group. Without knowing, they are slowly forming a gang and if they don't split apart throughout the years this could develop into a bigger group as they get new friends and become violent. The advent of social media due to increased access to the internet has arguably contributed the formation of even larger, widespread groups, and more on issues of immorality and peer pressure to belong. Despite social media playing a positive role for most, new survey has found out the high use of social media, like too much watching TV can have a negative impact on youth self-esteem and easy manipulation. Two in three young people feel pressure to look good with what is happening on instagram these days; and with so much proliferation of fake content and fake news, children can easily be brainwashed. In Nigeria, almost all frequent users look at social media in bed before sleeping and the same thing when they wake up. The survey also found 25% of teenagers reported being approached by strangers on a daily basis through their online world. Around 60% of parents never monitor or cannot even monitor their teen's social media account and are wrestling their own issues about how much is too much. Most are unsure of how to provide good guidance of appropriate social media use with their children. With technology moving at breakneck speed and organizations constantly changing, agility and adaptability can position a high potential to seize opportunities that others will miss, that is when using technology in a positive way. As the International Bestseller "Who Moved My

Cheese” asserts, being able to understand and adapt to change can mean the difference between thriving and failing. Soderstrom questions even the use of the phrase “change management” in the business lexicon. Instead, she insists, just call it leadership! Indeed, change isn’t about a new, separate event. It’s ever-present day to day, and organizational superstars, don’t miss a beat when changes are introduced. They are 'change ready' as in *digital ready*; and agility is just part of their DNA." So, with the right guidance, youths can be led to seize the positive side of the social media and avoid fake, propaganda content.

Social change builds community-based responses that address underlying social problems on an individual, institutional, community, national and/or international level. Social change can change attitudes, behaviours, laws, policies and institutions to better reflect values of inclusion, fairness, diversity and opportunity. Social change involves a collective action of individuals who are closest to the social problems to develop solutions that address social issues.

For any social change to occur, one must be able to see the end result or a vision that depicts the change. You must see the change as if it has already happened. This is the only way that you can articulate the steps you will need to take to make your vision come true.

A vision must be your intentions for a better future than what currently exists now. This vision must:

- Be understood among a collective, so others can share in the vision.
- Empower and engage people to want to take action.
- Be well defined and articulated.
- Be vivid, engaging, and expressive.

The first step in engaging a collective action in our vision for change is for us to know what it is that we would like to change. What underlying issues are we trying to address? Are we working towards eliminating ethnic jingoism in the community? Is it about ensuring every child is healthy, safe, and secure? Is it to reduce crime and violence in our communities? Is it to address banditry and kidnappings in our community head on or the provision of tools for empowerment to everyone irrespective of ethnicity/tribe, social class, and religious beliefs or even political affiliation? We must be able to identify that one key issue we will address that can make a difference in our community and/or society.

Using the term protracted social conflict (PSC), to identify the type of conflict that has persisted in northern Nigeria, which is different from traditional disputes over territory, economic resources, or North-South rivalry and it was distinctive, most of all, because it revolved around questions of communal identity and grudge. Four clusters are identified of variables that act as preconditions for potential conflicts' transformation to high levels of intensity.

a. Precondition I: Communal Content

The most useful analysis in PSC situations is the identity group: racial, religious, ethnic, and cultural; and others. Linking the disjunction between state and society as in many parts of the world to a colonial legacy which artificially imposed European ideas of territorial statehood onto different communal groups on the principle of “divide-and-rule” As a result, in many post-colonial multi-communal societies the state machinery is dominated by a single communal group or a coalition of a few communal groups who are unresponsive to the needs of other groups in the society. This strains the social fabric and eventually breeds fragmentation, thus feeding into the other factors which produce PSC.

b. Precondition II: Deprivation of Needs

As postulated by Azar deprivation of human needs as the underlying source of PSC, in particular, security needs, development needs, political access needs, and identity needs (cultural and religious expression). In the approach taken by Azar, people's security can only be provided for by the meeting of these needs. Security is not a “stand alone” idea but is linked to needs for development and political access. The reduction of overt conflict required a reduction in levels of underdevelopment. Groups who seek to satisfy their identity and security needs through conflict are in effect seeking changes in the structure of their society. In this case, conflict resolution can only occur if societies can also develop economically. In this way, peace is linked to development and job opportunities because development in all ramifications (poverty reduction, wealth creation, healthy environment, social cohesion etc.) is the satisfaction of needs, which, if they remain unsatisfied, will propel people into conflict.

c. Precondition III: State and Governance

The role of the state and the nature of its governance is a critical factor in determining the satisfaction or frustration of individual and identity group needs. Most states in which PSC happens

tend to be characterised by incompetent, parochial, fragile, and authoritarian governments. The weakness of the state is a crucial factor in provoking these conflicts for three reasons. **Firstly**, in Western liberal theory the state is supposed to act as an impartial (just) arbiter of conflicts, treating all members of the political community as legally equal citizens. This is not what happens: political authority tends to be monopolized by the dominant identity group which uses the state to maximise their interests at the expense of others. **Secondly**, the monopolising of power by dominant individuals and groups and the limiting of access to other groups creates a crisis of legitimacy, so that excluded groups have no loyalty or attachment to the state and may then seek to secede from it or to take it over completely. **Thirdly**, PSCs tend to occur in developing countries which are typically characterised by rapid population growth and a limited economic resource base. This also means that they have a restricted political capacity. They often have a colonial legacy where they have had weak or non-existent participatory institutions, or a hierarchical tradition of imposed bureaucratic rule from above. They may also have inherited instruments of political repression. This limited and inflexible political capacity prevents the state from responding to, and meeting, the needs of all its citizens.

d. Precondition IV: International Linkage

The concept of international linkage refers particularly to political-economic relations of economic dependency within the international economic system. The internal factors generated by the first three preconditions become complicated and exacerbated by the spread of the conflict across the borders of the state. A network of political-military linkages develops as both the state authorities and the rebelling groups look for regional and global sources of support. This is already happening in Nigeria but we must do everything possible to avoid a similar conflict in and around Rwanda in the 90s at all cost.

3.2.4 Mapping-out ways to prevent conflicts from happening

More recently analysts have located the sources of contemporary conflict at the global level, regarding conflict as local manifestations of global processes. The main focus here is on what Paul Rogers describes as three interlinked trends:

- Deep inequalities in the global distribution of wealth and economic power;

- Human-induced environmental constraints exacerbated by excessive energy consumption, bills for house rent/maintenance, costly living condition, etc., making it difficult for human well-being to be improved by conventional economic growth;
- Continuing militarisation of security relations, including the further proliferation of drugs and lethal weaponry.

As a result of these trends, a combination of wealth-poverty disparities, limits to growth and poverty may contribute to future unsatisfied expectations. At the end of the twentieth century 1/7 of the world's population controlled 3/4 of its wealth, and 3/4 of humanity live in developing countries, a proportion which has been rising.

In this context, forecasters are giving serious consideration to predictions of a coming generation of conflicts fuelled by both local and global economic turbulence, environmental deterioration, north-south (and other) political tensions, drugs and weapons proliferation, and international crime impacting on “weak states”. As traditional patterns of authority and order are weakened, exclusionist policies linked to ethnic and religious identities emerge as alternative sources of loyalty. Looking at the kind of analysis we have considered here, most of the conflicts bedevilling the northern region (communal crises, kidnappings, armed banditry, farmer-header crisis, religious crises); and Nigeria at large that turned brutally violent are completely predictable and thus preventable.

3.2.4.1 Conflict mapping and prevention techniques

According to Tom Woodhouse, when the mapmakers of the old world came across terra incognita or unknown territory, they sometimes wrote on their maps, "beyond here be dragons". For peacekeepers and others working in contemporary conflict zones, there are dragons aplenty in the terra incognita of complex emergencies and protracted social conflict (PSC). A particular conflict can be understood and prevented by the use of conflict mapping and conflict tracking techniques.

We will move from how conflict, in general, can be understood at the macro-level, to how particular conflicts can be understood through a conflict mapping analysis at the micro-level (i.e., the component parts of a specific conflict). One of the first conflict mapping frameworks in Conflict Resolution was developed by Paul Wehr, from whom the guide here is adapted. The analysis of conflict is a necessary precondition for successful management and resolution. Conflict mapping provides a method by which to apply the broader guidelines provided by conflict analysis. Conflict

mapping gives a clearer understanding of the origins, nature, dynamics and possibilities for resolution of the conflict; and with profiling, gives a clearer opportunity to predict future conflicts and take measure to prevent them from happening. A conflict map is an initial snapshot, to be regularly updated by *conflict tracking and profiling techniques* aimed at predicting a coming generation of conflicts fuelled by ethnicity, social, religious, political, communal or otherwise (analysis of a group or person's psychological, behavioural characteristics, violent tendencies so as to assess or predict their capabilities in a certain sphere; and address their root causes in order to prevent them from starting a crisis). This will include the use of algorithms or other mathematical techniques that allow the discovery of patterns or correlations in large quantities of data, aggregated in databases for the purpose.

The framework below provides a starting point by which we can gain an orientation and a good working understanding of the background to a conflict and to the actors and the issues they are pursuing. This analysis can be built upon and made more complex by adding other mapping features, for example, Section D. The relevance of this level of analysis will depend on the responsibilities held. Higher-level analysis of this kind is more likely to be conducted by those with strategic policy analysis roles in the military, diplomatic and political arenas. To map-out well, unless the nature and political intensity of a conflict arena is understood, outside intervention will be ineffective, if not counter-productive. In addition, the cultural dynamics of the conflict and its local peculiarity and population must be fully taken into consideration to avoid inappropriate and insensitive intervention processes.

3.2.5 Conflict Mapping Framework /Guide

	CONFLICT MAPPING FRAMEWORK /GUIDE A. Conflict Background 1. Map of the area 2. Brief description of the region/country 3. Outline history of the conflict. B. The Conflict Parties 1. Who are the core conflict parties? • What are their internal sub-groups? • On what constituencies do they depend? 2. What are the conflict issues? • Is it possible to distinguish between positions, interests (material interests, values, relationships) and needs?
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3. What are the relationships between the conflict parties?
 - Are there inequalities (asymmetries) of power?
4. What are the different perceptions of the causes and nature of the conflict among the conflict parties?
5. What is the current behaviour of the parties?
 - Is the conflict in an “escalatory” or “de-escalatory phase?”
6. Who are the leaders of the parties?
 - At the elite/individual level, what are their objectives, policies, and interests?
 - What are their relative strengths and weaknesses?

C. Peacemaking Activities

1. What efforts have been made in the past to resolve the conflict?
2. What efforts are being made to resolve the conflict presently?
 - As a mediator (s)/peacekeeper, what is your role likely to be?
 - Is the role clear?
 - Do you have the expertise and resources to manage?
 - Who else in the area is involved in peacemaking efforts (either internal or external groups)?
 - Are you aware of other individuals or organisations in the area with which you might liaise?

ADVANCED LEVEL OF ANALYSIS

D. National, Regional and State Level Context

1. National Level
 - Is the nature of the state contested?
 - Are there institutions or organisations that could provide legitimate spaces for managing the conflict?
2. Regional and local Level
 - How do relations with neighbouring states and local societies affect the conflict?
 - Do the parties have regional/state/local supporters? Which regional/state/local actors may be trusted by the conflict parties?
3. International Level
 - Are there outside geo-political interests?
 - What external factors fuel the conflict?
 - What may change them?

ADVERSARY PREDICTION

(Analysis of a group or person's psychological, behavioural characteristics, violent tendencies so as to assess or predict their capabilities in a certain sphere; and address their root causes in order to prevent them from starting a crisis. This will include the use of algorithms or other mathematical techniques that allow

	the discovery of patterns or correlations in large quantities of data, aggregated in databases for the purpose). • Is the Adversary Satisfied with Its Current Position? • What Likely Future Moves or Strategy Shifts will the Adversary Make and How Dangerous are they? • Where is the Adversary Vulnerable? • What Will Provoke the Greatest and Most Damaging Retaliation by the Adversary?
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3.2.6 Lesson

During a three month period in 1994 an estimated 500,000-800,000, and in some estimates possibly up to one million people, were killed in the course of a genocidal civil war in Rwanda. Over two million people fled to become refugees in neighbouring countries, and up to one million became displaced within Rwanda. The conflict and its aftermath continue to trouble the Great Lakes Region within which Rwanda is situated.

Recommendation 4

- In adopting the proposed five (5) year Arewa Regional Economic Plan discussed in Recommendation 1, it is vitally important to create Standing Committees (talents from various background and religion) with the primary objective to continuously track and map-out conflict and proffer solution for resolution, while monitoring people, groups and event with the sole aim of preventing would-be conflicts from happening; coordinated by the office of the Chairman, Northern States' Governors Forum, or Northern Anti-Terrorists Agency (NATA) if created, can be saddled with this responsibility.

3.3 Citizen engagement for development outcomes with core leadership and responsibility at every level;

In today's increasingly interconnected world, citizen engagement can have a great impact on development outcomes. Around the world, we have seen that when citizens are engaged, when they participate, they can improve policymaking and service delivery by government, of-course, when government has a sound economic policy, because as evidently documented; peace is linked to development as development is the satisfaction of needs, which, if they remain unsatisfied, will propel people into conflict.

Kin-based societies from East Africa to the Amazonian rainforest have traditionally made decisions by consensus and persuasion rather than by top-down diktat. Some 2,500 years ago the city-state of ancient Athens rose to unprecedented political and economic power by giving its citizens direct voice and an active role in civic governance. Countries that are not democracies, such as China, have also sought out forms of citizen engagement. History has shown that engaging citizens has led to more sustainable, open and just governance. Whether formally integrated in documents such as the Magna Carta and the Code Napoleon, or informally presented at local levels, the concept of citizen engagement is widely global. Going back in history, the first Islamic State has based its “Medina Compact” on a social contract whereby it clearly explains the nature of collaboration and accord between the citizens and the state, shaping the relationship governing them. World Bank also draws on a long history of advancing governance reforms, on multi-stakeholder engagement, citizen participation, social accountability, and government transparency. An important development was the establishment in 2012 of the Global Partnership for Social Accountability (GPSA), to enable civil society organizations to work together with their governments to solve difficult governance problems using citizen engagement and social accountability mechanisms. The 2017 World Bank Development Report, on Governance and the Law, also highlights the importance of creating the space for citizens to affect government policies. The Report focuses on the determinants of policy effectiveness, exploring how policies for security, growth and equity can more effectively achieve their goals by taking the underlying drivers that influence governance into account. Given the complex landscape of citizen feedback with so many experiments underway around the world, the time is ripe now for our northern Governors to look at citizen engagement holistically as a game changer for national development and very critical for maintaining our regional security.

3.3.1 Citizen Engagement can reduce poverty and improve well-being of marginalized communities?

Citizen engagement is not the state against citizens or citizens against the state. Many citizen engagement approaches focus on building supportive pro-accountability networks across “state” and “society”. The approaches need to be tailor-made, designed to fully utilize the inherent economic, cultural and even religious challenges and opportunities, increase economic viability and address the problem of poverty and hopelessness in order to bring prosperity to the people and create wealth. Engaging citizens is not a one-size-fits-all approach that can solve huge problems all by itself, but it can bolster good governance, especially if it is combined with other efforts to strengthen government

responsiveness and the rule of law (justice). Here's the argument we are suggesting: If one unpacks the impact evaluation evidence, it actually tests two very different approaches under the broad Citizen Engagement umbrella: *tactical and strategic*.

- Tactical citizen engagement initiatives are those that are short-term, address a particular issue with just one tool, and are limited to the very local level, while;
- Strategic citizen engagement initiatives refer to long-term campaigns that combine multiple tactics, and are scaled up beyond the local level - so they are both broader and deeper at state, regional and national level.

So how does citizen engagement help reduce poverty and improve the well-being of marginalized communities? Poverty is a multidimensional process, so engagement isn't just about dealing with economic poverty, or income poverty, or material poverty, which is very important, but it's also about overcoming social exclusion, it's about overcoming what we know as voice poverty, it's about overcoming inequities in who has power and who doesn't. And how can you deal with those multiple aspects of poverty unless people themselves are involved, using their own voices, using their own knowledge with support from government with sound economic policy. To shift to real export-led growth economic-policy that would create higher income from exports through supply value chain, increasing foreign exchange earnings that will trickle down leading to wealth creation. Reducing poverty is all about strengthening people's own assets. We can look at communities and look at what they don't have or an individual to evaluate his/her capacity and skills and determine what is required to upgrade the skills or access; or we can look at communities and ask "where are the assets which they can begin to mobilize to improve their own well-being?" And that approach gives us a different set of answers. Rather than asking what we can do to help the poor, we can ask the question: how do poor people strengthen their own lives starting with their own assets, starting with what they have, in order to get what they don't have to get what they need. And that is the process of mobilizing one's own assets to build the power from within one's communities in order to have the power to act, to make a difference in the long term of one's life, to create wealth and become self-reliant.

3.3.2 So what are the barriers that impede this process?

Often times, citizens don't have the core capacities, they don't have the knowledge in order to engage and those that do have may not have the access or the opportunities. This is where the government engagement will not only provide equal access for example to education, skill

development/capacity building, healthcare, security, access to finance for SMEs and other needed infrastructure but also opportunities to every citizen to pursue and develop his/her God given talent to maximize his/her capacity as a citizen. Particularly, our northern Governors' response in this regard should always be apt in what we refer to as: Social Accountability Support, building multi-stakeholder coalitions, partnerships and collaboration and not have bureaucratic inertia. In light of the need to build coalitions, maintain strong relationships across state governments and outside of it and help solve collective problems, we find it is important to clearly enshrine the commitment to adaptive and flexible programming approaches in this area, recognizing these multiple pathways for change, and multiple ways of working to deliver score card approaches, could be a crucial first step to effective citizens' engagement.

Recommendation 5

- A key element of democracy is active citizenship, and together with that is a responsive, accountable, fair and corrupt-free government. Governments derive their power from the people, it is therefore important for our northern Leaders to listen to the citizens and make sure that their concerns, their problems are actually attended to, not by government on their own, but in a process where they are engaged in an empowering problem solving process. First is the recognition that Citizen Engagement, when done well, is a very powerful vehicle to create meaningful change and can improve development outcomes, bring sustainable economic growth, maintain security and create peaceful co-existence. Not only can Citizen Engagement make government policy and services more transparent and accountable, it can also make them more inclusive and efficient, ultimately leading to more efficient policies that can reduce poverty, provide peace, secure the environment and promote shared prosperity. It can surely help improve the relationship between governments and citizens and significantly increase the roles of citizens in maintaining national security.

3.4 A clearly visible proactive intelligence gathering strategy in place backed by technology

A police and a public safety officer of one of Canada's public safety and security organizations (known herein as "The Agency"), once when asked about why Canadians can go to sleep without locking their homes or cars, why the country is so secure with very little crime, they answered: "because, while take adequate care of everyone, we watch everyone's every move. You come to a stop sign late at night, you stop even though there is no any car from the other sides because we see you, you break

into a house, or you start a fight in a bar or cause an accident and fled, or whatever, it's not a matter of days but hours, we will track you down and bring you to justice. If some bandits where to attack or even kidnap any citizen, or attack public or private properties, we shall deploy both our technology and human intelligence and safely rescue the person (s) and fish out the bad guys within the shortest possible time and bring them to justice. We have mapped-out and profiled our societies; using proactive human intelligence gathering strategy backed by sophisticated technology and satellite surveillance system; literally killing the incentive and motives for crimes and hostilities. We have created our security call centers fully integrated with our telecom and internet service providers that allow auto location tracking on any individual in distress who simply dial 911, the call is free and the Police can track him or her or them even after the phone is shut down. Our government has continued to upgrade and build new infrastructure, provides job opportunities, mortgaged houses, and welfare programs etc., including universal free medical care, free operation if needed for everyone. Children under 25 years have also free medication with Doctor's prescription. Free primary and secondary education for all children, and 50% discount on university tuition for every Canadian, which essentially is almost zero considering Government match one on one (if you put \$100 a month, government add another \$100 to it every month) if parents had a university fund set-up for their children after birth. If one is tired or don't like his job, government will pay to retrain him for something that he likes. And that is just a few reasons why people simply live in peace and work together, black, white, Latinos, Chinese, Indians, etc., irrespective of where they come from to build better, safer and prosperous communities. Our Police do not harass, intimidate or collect bribes, they assist and they don't block and search at odd or early hours except on call and always caution and give only warnings to 1st, 2nd time traffic offenders, because we are here to serve and protect the people not to complicate or make life difficult for them"

Everyone behaves better when he knows he can rely on his government for support and justice; and knows at the same time he is being watched especially when he sees justice applied swiftly without favour. We will be there when we use technology to visualize critical data that informs northern leaders and organizations of the region's unique characteristics to keep the north competitive both at home and abroad; providing regionally-tailored programs, services, knowledge and expertise that will:

- Build on regional and local economic assets and strengths;
- Support business growth, productivity and innovation;

- Help small and medium-sized businesses effectively compete in Nigeria, Africa and the global marketplace;
- Provide adjustment assistance in response to economic downturns and crises; and
- Support communities, while making sure that they know they are being watch (real-time cctv in all conflict-prune places)

Recommendation 6

- Develop a robust, visible proactive intelligence gathering strategy in place backed by technology with CCTV to cover everywhere starting with sensitive potential trouble areas in real time monitoring.

3.5 Quality, affordable education, skills development, access and equal opportunities for everyone

More than ever, the advent of the knowledge economy and global economic competition compel governments to priorities educational quality, lifelong learning and the provision of educational opportunities for all. Policymakers widely accept that access to information and communication technology (ICT) in education can help individuals to compete in a global economy by creating a skilled work force and facilitating social mobility. It has been argued extensively that each century has its unique challenges and educational qualification and requirement, which must evolve as well. The 20th century educational system was designed to prepare people to work in offices and farms, and unfortunately, we still run this type of educational system in 21st century, when we have spaceships, electric, driverless cars, internet of things and where human intelligence has now turned to artificial intelligence (AI); and much more. In this era, of constant learning and skills development, education is not exclusive to school for one to be knowledgeable, in fact, even those that go to school, what they learn from school become out-dated quickly. We now have access to smart phones, which gives us access to a more computing power and information so, access to education has never being so level as it is today yet large number of our youths are illiterates. In today's job market, "we no longer need workers who can retain and reproduce large amount of information, what we need are people who can sort through information and organize or use them effectively. We need new form of intelligence: learning must be reformed to enable us change the way we see and approach the world". If we can strategically subject our educational system to individual's passion, style of learning and their chosen timeframe, we would be surprised by what we can learn within short time. If we can judge people by their skills, application, comprehension and motivations, we would have unemployment rate reduced

significantly. People might have failed to score good grade, but they can be so creative and motivated to apply the skill.

As postulated, once we subject employment to grade, then everyone will compete for the grade instead of skills and comprehension, and without skills, people will have to keep waiting for the diminishing white-collar jobs, and more graduates are being produced daily, flooding the labour market, unemployment rate rising. The competition should be on skill acquisition, talent, access, opportunities and knowledge application, and to do this, one would need shorter period of time, and would not actually have to go to school all the time. In this century, the emphasis should be on innovation and creativity; and the ability to apply the knowledge with tenacity. Technology has replaced human requirement for growth, so human beings must do what machines cannot do, and this cannot be achieved by just competing for who can remember facts better. Life skills have changed due to technological advancement, new economies and opportunities. So, school's curriculum must prepare students for these, otherwise, the students will remain unemployed. Most of the skills you would need on a job are not being taught in classrooms, and that's why most job seekers are not fit for job. That's why we have high structural unemployment. On the other side, we have people who didn't finish school or do not rely on their certificates creating jobs, and even employing the graduates, example is the Billionaire Bill Gates founder of Microsoft.

It is sad that instead of being a good fortune, however certificate metamorphosis into a source of misery for many Nigerian young graduates; it blocked their view of the world, they completely loss sight, and totally blind to the fortune around them, thereby unable to utilised the prolific opportunities knocking on their doors. Creativity is gone; skills are dissipating; vision is blurry, confidence is eroding; ideas and reasoning are disappearing, innovation and inventiveness is lost in the brain of most of these graduates. It is disturbing and even pity watching these contemporary graduates wasting their precious time looking for a job whose take home pay can't afford to put a decent meal on their table.

Conclusively, conventional schooling is an out-dated system, education is the new system, and for education to take place, you don't need conventional schools. So, to address illiteracy, we have to create education beyond school taking the benefits of new technologies, especially information and communications (ICT). Schools do not have space capacity to accommodate educational needs. In

fact, most of the valuable education is not acquired in school. School learning system is not always fair, because it teaches us what we don't need, and it only teaches us what to learn, but not how to learn. School grades makes us redirect our energy towards grade competition instead of skill competition, and as a result graduates become unemployable. There are no enough opportunities to absorb the graduating students, they have to be trained to create the opportunities for themselves, and otherwise, we will forever have unemployment on the rise. So, we have to reform our school system and our perception about school and taking benefits of new technologies, especially "ICT" (UN). Moreover, while not mentioned explicitly in the education for all goals, arguably ICT plays a pivotal role in achieving these goals, including broadening access, eliminating exclusion, and improving quality (UNESCO). That is why, more than ever, there is the need for a comparative analysis of ICT integration and e-readiness in schools across the Arewa region.

Recommendation 7

- The global economy is changing and affecting the way Region needs to plan its economic and social growth in that new economy. In this regard, ICT infrastructure underpins the knowledge economy of the so-called 'Information Society'. Several issues in the global environment have impacted and will continue to shape the regional environment (skills, innovation and creativity; and the ability to acquire knowledge from anywhere), therefore for a sustainable economic development of Arewa region, the States within the region must come together in a concerted way to formulate the Arewa Regional Information and Communication Technology for Development Strategy (AR-ICT4DS) or more appropriately to be named Arewa Regional Digital Development Strategy (AR-DDS), to acknowledge the vision for the entire Region

3.6 Development of regional identity, effect of restructuring and the Almajiri system; with articulation of Key Performance Indices (KPIs);

Regionalism as a geographical unit, is delimited from each other but as a social system, it reflects the relation between different human beings and groups as an organised cooperation in cultural, economic or even political, acting as a subject with distinct identity, language, culture and tradition. Regionalism is an ideology and political movement that seeks to advance the causes of regions. As a process it plays role within the nation as well as outside the nation i.e. at international level. Both types of regionalism have different meaning and have positive as well as negative impact on society, polity, diplomacy, economy, security, culture, development, dialogues, etc. Northern Nigerian's rich

diversity sometimes looks like an obstacle to unity. But the latest election has proved that a commitment to resolving differences peacefully and democratically can transform diversity into a source of strength, yet again.

Nigeria's representative democracy has moved closer to the people who feel more involved and show greater concern for institutions of local and regional governance, in the economic sphere, however, the situation is quite different. The process of globalization, although partial and variable in nature, or the idea of restructuring is creating an increasingly autonomous economic reality that interacts directly with both national and regional realities. The formation of regions takes place at the interface between global economic and technological forces and regional realities. Actors may, in fact, perceive regionalism as a defence mechanism against the competitive pressures arising from globalization or otherwise and thus the clamouring for regional restructuring, a new form of "new regionalism". The new regionalism and multi-polarity are, in fact, two sides of the same coin. The new is a more spontaneous process from within the regions, where the constituent states now experience the need for cooperation in order to tackle new local and security challenges. Regionalism is thus one way of coping with global transformation, since most states arguably lack the capacity and the means to manage such a task at their level alone. The new is often described as "open", and thus compatible with an interdependent world economy. It is a more comprehensive, multidimensional process. This process includes not only trade and economic development, but also environment, social policy, security and religious, just to mention some imperatives pushing countries, states and communities clamouring for the new types of regionalist frameworks. The New regionalism concept forms part of a global structural transformation in which non-state actors (many different types of institutions, organizations and movements) are also active and operating at several levels of the system. In sum, the new regionalism includes economic, political, social and cultural aspects, and goes far beyond free trade, although very important. Rather, the political ambition of establishing regional coherence and regional identity seems to be of primary importance. The new regionalism is linked to globalization, as it is seen as reaction to the selectiveness nature of the globalization. So, in future, new regionalism could be basis for multilateralism.

Although we may well see how regionalism could be good or bad for a nation as well for states, Nigerian Constitution gives every citizen a fundamental right to move around and settle down peacefully in any part of the country. And, as citizen of Nigeria everyone should respect this

fundamental right of every person, avoiding clashes like calling certain ethnic groups to leave certain regional areas.

The need of the hour is to develop each region of Nigeria, through devolution of power to local governments and empowering people for their participation in decision-making. The governments at state levels need to find out the alternative resources of energy, source of employment for local people, use of technology in governance, planning and for agricultural development, etc. In the future, further integration of the different regions, on their willing terms will give every nation due respect and due importance to their needs. Their exotic and unique things are getting exposure at international level and no one will feel left out. The whole world will be a global village with unique regional identity and vision within.

3.6.1 The Agitation for Restructuring of the Nigerian Federation

Just as regionalism is an ideology and political movement that seeks to advance the causes of regions, democracy is a political system of representative government, while federalism represents a governmental system of political, economic, social and administrative organization of States for effective management of diversity. Federalism is said to be effective when cooperation, mutual relationship, shared rule and shared responsibility in a constitutionally premised autonomous climate exist between the central government and constituent units. While democracy is the general condition under which federalism thrives, it does not owe its existence essentially from the federal arrangement, but the two principles complement each other. Arguably, while on one hand, democracy can prosper independent of a federal system, on the other hand the practice of a federal system under a democratic system of government, if fully utilized through fairness, equity and balanced development, can engender greatest satisfaction for the greatest number of individuals and groups. This is possible because the ability to provide platforms on which to express both collective and group interests and also minimise social dissent mostly finds expression in a federal system that practices a democratic system of government.

National Political Science Association (NPSA), North-west zone posits that indeed, it is within the context of establishing a nexus between the process of achieving democracy, that is democratisation, in a plural society and the practice of federalism in an ethnically diverse society like Nigeria that one can appreciate the agitation for and resurgence of demand for political restructuring since the return

to democracy in 1999. Needless to say, political agitation is both a universal phenomenon mostly in plural federal states, but in the case of Nigeria it is exacerbated by real or imaginary false outcries of marginalisation.

With the return to civilian rule after a prolonged period of the experimentation of a quasi-federal system, which was guided by an elusive federal construct characterised by unitarism, agitation for political reforms becomes obvious. Loud voices of groups calling for restructuring of the Nigerian federation become strident from the Southern part of the country. In an eight-point communiqué of the South-West Zone on August 18, 2016, the region posited that “meaningful progress and socio-economic development of the Nigerian nation is unattainable without restructuring the extant, largely Unitarian geo-political arrangement”. “It is by such re-arrangement, leading to genuine and true political and fiscal federalism that the innate energies of the people of Nigeria can be released and new vistas of human development opened up.” Similarly, the South-East and South-South geo-political zones (region), have called for the restructuring of the country to allow each region feel equal and to control their resources for the betterment of their people while the separatist movement from the South-East are advocating for the independence of Biafra from Nigeria. Although, the concept has been challenged by some, especially from northern Nigeria, perhaps due to globalization and the fact that there is no ideal federal system or true federalism across the world, the central questions to ask about restructuring the Nigerian federation in the face of the country’s democratisation are:

- What really are the catchy points in the call for restructuring by southern interest groups and civil society organizations in the country?
- Are the calls for restructuring exclusively dominated by the aggrieved politicians whose political interests are at stake or patriots in favour of a united Nigeria?
- Does the Nigerian federation really need restructuring in the 21st century?
- What are the economic, political and social implications of unbundling the structural and systemic configurations of the Nigerian society?
- What is the position of the academia, the civil society organizations, the labour, the business class and other interest groups in the Northern political economy on the issue of restructuring?
- What would be the best form of restructuring for Nigeria? Can that still be realised through a sovereign national conference or referendum?

These and many other questions have to be really answered within the context of theoretical, empirical, historical and circumstantial bases of the Nigeria society; and to discuss the various issues raised in the bewildered questions around political restructuring of the Nigerian federation, which have been nagging in the minds of Nigerians. Already, the South-West are pushing for restructuring and strategizing for their regional growth plans with the constitution of a Regional Technical Working Group (RTWG) to tackle integrated infrastructure development on multi-modal transportation system to take care of highways; rail and water sectors and have adopted the South-West Regional Integrated Commercial Agriculture Development Program (RICADP), with Lagos state to champion a structured regional food-exchange-program. All these clamours are based on the fact that many Southerners erroneously believe that Northerners are backward and uneducated and think that the North is dependent on the south simply because they have oil. In actual fact, the reverse is the case, because north has oil too; and so many more. Also, the south depends on the north for staple foods grown locally like: rice, yam, wheat, corn, other grains, tomatoes, onions, peppers, meat etc.; and a high proportion of northerners are highly educated with strong sense of unity and collective efforts toward development. For someone to say “northerners are parasites and that the north feared domination by the more advanced south, and, hence, was unenthusiastic about independence” is an insult to the intelligence of the northern peoples; as clearly pointed out by President Muhammadu Buhari on Sept 20, 2014 saying “it is the highest level of insult considering the contributions of the region to the growth and development of the country in the areas it has comparative advantages”.

Today, communities within States are grappling with long-term unemployment, environmental challenges, widening economic disparity, growing social unrest, generational shifts in the workforce, and a more complex economic development playing field that offers compelling opportunities and poses significant challenges. Spurring the movement of ideas into action in an agile manner and creating a single standard would define the promise of economic development for the entire northern region through creation of wealth and attraction of Foreign Direct Investments (FDIs).

Although most Southern Senators have refused the ratification of the Foreign Investment Protection Agreement (FIPA) signed between Nigeria and Canada in 2014 because Canadians have expressed willingness to invest in northern Nigeria in the areas of mining, information technology, oil exploration, education and mechanized agriculture, we welcome the signing of the Africa Continental

Free Trade Agreement (AfCFTA) by President Muhammadu Buhari, this should in line with the northern Nigeria global agenda. The Southerners have also advised the government from signing EU Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) and the American version AGOA, simply because the north stands to benefit more. Our northern leaders (Governors and Senators) should look at this critically as more countries in Europe, America and Asia will come on board when they see new revitalized northern Nigeria ready for business.

3.6.2 Reforming the Almajiri System

It is obvious that Northern Nigeria Almajiri System of Education (karatun allo), over the years has been characterized by street roaming of urchins for “bara” meaning begging, popularly referred to as Almajiri.

Looking at the story of a boy, Alhassan, born in Bebeji, Kano Emirate in 1877, his father, Abdullahi died when he was eight. His mother, Amarya, then left for Accra, Ghana and left her children in the care of a foster mother named Tata. Tata sent young Alhassan to an almajiri school in Bebeji, where he worked, and learned from a Tijaniyya Mallam. At the age of 17, Alhassan went to Accra to see his mother, who promptly took him to another Malam. After a year or two, he returned to Bebeji, to his foster mother, Tata, where he learned thrift, and from his Mallam at the Almajiri School, he learnt some skills and hard work. This knowledge, he put to work, working the trade routes that were opening up in this brave new world of British rule. By 1906, Alhassan was using steamships to move merchandise between Accra, Sekondi and Lagos. By the time Alhassan Dantata died, he was the wealthiest man in West Africa. He was the great-grandfather of Aliko Dangote, the richest African, and he had been an Almajiri.

The word “Almajiri” is derived from the Arabic “Al muhajirun”, “an emigrant”. It usually refers to a person or student who migrates from his home to a popular teacher in the quest for Islamic knowledge. This is the basis of the Almajiri system in what became Northern Nigeria Almajiri System of Education. Almajiri means a student seeking for knowledge and not a beggar as popularly believed. History has shown that, this system started as early as in the 11th century as a result of the involvement of Borno rulers in Qur'anic literacy. Before British colonisation, a system called Tsangaya prevailed in the Kanem-Borno Empire. It was established as an organised and comprehensive system of education for learning Islamic principles, values, jurisprudence and theology. Over seven hundred

years later, the Sokoto Caliphate was founded principally through an Islamic revolution based on the teachings of the Holy Qur'an. These two empires run similar Qur'anic learning system which over time came to be known as the Almajiri System. Under the system, during the pre-colonial days, the pupils lived with their parents for moral upbringing. All the schools were located within the immediate environment from where the pupils came from. The Dan-Fodio revolution brought with it some modifications; the establishment of an inspectorate of Qur'anic literacy. The inspectors reported directly to the Emir of the province, concerning all matters relating to the school. It was argued that, this period, was the height of Qur'anic education in the northern Nigeria. The schools were maintained by the state funding, communities, the parents' 'Zakkat', 'Waqf' and supplemented by the teachers and students through farming. "Bara or begging" as it is known today, is completely unheard of. Teachers and their students (almajirai), in return provide the community with Islamic Education, reading and writing the Qur'an, in addition, to the development of *Ajami* i.e. writing and reading of Hausa language using Arabic Alphabets. Based on this system, which is founded upon the teachings of Qur'an and Hadith, the then Northern Nigeria was largely educated, could read and write *Ajami* with a complete way of life, governance, customs, traditional craft, trade and even the mode of dressing tax collection system. That was the reason why the British included *Ajami* in our currency (naira) people could read it. The students were at liberty to acquire skills in between their Islamic lessons, and so were involved in trades such as farming, fishing, trading and masonry, among others. Many were the farmers whose produce formed the famous groundnut pyramids in Kano. After colonisation, the almajiris were recruited by the British as miners in Jos. The system also produced the judges, clerks, and teachers who provided the colonial administration with the needed staff. The first set of colonial staff in Northern Nigeria was provided by the almajiri schools.

a. The Destruction of the Almajiri System

The coming of the British conquered the region and the Emirs lost control of their territories and accepted their new roles, as mere traditional rulers. They also lost fundamental control of the Almajiri System. The British abolished state funding for the system arguing that, they were religious schools. With loss of support from the government, its immediate community and the helpless Emirs, the Almajiri system collapsed and "*Karatun Boko*", *western education* was introduced and funded instead. The pupils, and their Mallams, having no financial support for a pro-long period, resorted to begging for survival. Animosity and antagonism grew, worsened by the belief that the western education was of Christian-European origin and therefore anti-Islamic. Fears grew that children with

Western education would eventually lose their Islamic identity. The Mallams increasingly sent their students out to beg. To make ends meet, some of these Mallams began to impose “kudin sati”, a form of weekly fees, on the students, reassuring them that to beg was better than to steal. The students in their turn swam into society with no bearing. This was the genesis of the predicament of the Almajiri system today.

b. The current practice:

A UNICEF report from 2014 put the number of Almajiri in Nigeria at 9.5 million, or 72 per cent of the country's 13.2 million out-of-school children. This is a disaster unfolding before our eyes, as some estimates claim that the number of out of school children in the country has risen past the 15 million mark, more of them in the North. One can imagine 9.5 million potential SANs, judges, accountants, engineers, doctors etc. being wasted away. Under normal circumstances the Almajiri education system, is important in that it inculcates in the young ones the teachings and practices of Islamic faith. To underscore its relevance in the effort to expose young people to literacy at an early age, the system has produced outstanding scholars and personalities in areas that Islam is dominant, including political leaders and business men, example Alhassan Dantata. So, the argument is not about the quality and appropriateness of that system of education but the way and manner it is being practiced in the country today which has led to the once beautiful system assuming pejorative connotations. The system as it is today has outlived its usefulness. The system lack good teachers and a fairly healthy environment. The standards are very low because of the emergence of half-baked semi-illiterate Qur'anic Mallams who use the system as a means of living rather than a way of life itself. It is easily observable also, that due to lack or an outright absence of regulatory supervision, the system is bastardised as most of the teachers (Mallams) have deviated from the real intent and purpose of the Almajiri system. What is present in the psych of the average Nigerian is the image of tattered looking children who ordinarily should be in school carrying bowls singing and begging for food and money. The pupils struggle to cater for themselves and to support the Mallams; which takes most of the time rather than engage in learning. The society and the parents have abdicated their obligations of properly caring for and educating their children. These bowl-carrying children have now become so ubiquitous in almost all nooks and corners of the Northern states; and even in the southern states. God has given us these children in trust, and given us guides on how to raise them and we shall surely be judged accordingly, in the meantime however, there seems to be a conspiracy of silence between the parents, authorities and the society at large. For the parents, the system provides an outlet, and

a drainage for the excess children at home (1 man without means of livelihood having 30 or more children), for the authorities, it is a relief that they do not have to budget for about 9.5 million *Almajiri* children's education and welfare. As for the elites, arguably, they care less as long as their own children are not involved. It is worrisome, with the increase in population in the north; it appears as if the Northern states of Nigeria have a monopoly of '*Bara*'. Young and old, able and disabled have taken to streets, on a permanent basis, legitimizing begging on socio-economic and religious basis.

From regional perspective, the north spans 660,000 km² (255,000 sq. miles) while the total surface area of Nigeria was 923,800 km² (356,700 sq. miles), measured in 2015, according to the World Bank; and according to the Nigerian Demographic and Health Survey of 2008, population increase is highest in the northern region due to high total fertility rate (TFR), (north-central – 5.4, north-east – 7.2, and north-west – 7.3); whereas in the south-east – 4.8, south-south – 4.7 and south-west – 4.5. For example, Nigeria's population in 2012 by geographical zones as computed by World Economic Forum (WEF) showed that the South-South has 24.8 million; South East, 19.3 million; South-West 33.1 million; North-West 44.2 million; North-East 23.3 million; North-Central 24.7 million; making northern zones population to be 92.2 Million and the other zones combined is 77.2 million, thereby making total population of Nigeria 169.4 million as at 2012. Nigeria's population is projected to grow from more than 186 million people in 2016 to 392 million in 2050, becoming the world's fourth most populous country. Nigeria's sustained high population growth rate will continue for the foreseeable future because of population momentum high birth rate. A fertility rate is a measure of the average number of children that women will bear during their lifetime and is dependent on many factors and social circumstances, such as cultures, traditions, religious, education and the overall level of development of the particular society or community. Also, the age of entry into a union and the availability of contraception are two key proximate determinants of fertility.

This forecast on population growth and phenomenon of *Almajiri* represents a scar on the face of the Northern Nigeria. Nothing could be more degrading and further from the truth. We should not give birth to children knowing we have no means to support them, Islam enjoins man to work, to use his brain and hands in order to make a living for himself. As the system is currently being practiced today, lots of the children never make it. Some are lost through violence in the streets, some through child

stealing, while others are lost through diseases and hunger. Those who make it usually complete the reading of the Holy Qur'an and eventually became traders, drivers and so on. Those who could not make it are condemned to menial jobs, since they have no skills at hand. They resort to wheelbarrow pushing, touting and so on. They remain as untrained armies available to anybody poised to ferment trouble. Looking back at the basis of the Almajiri system, and the years of mistrust that have coincided with its decline and eventual failure, it is clear that our leaders including the Islamic scholars in the north have a lot of work to do. There is a nexus between Islamic and Western education, and it is our job to find it, and urgently. Because those almajiris that have been lost through violence in the streets, they have their own axes to grind against their parents, authorities and the society at large. The alternative of not doing anything about this is too chilling to contemplate.

c. Girl child education

According to the World Bank, every day, girls face barriers to education caused by poverty, cultural norms and practices, poor infrastructure, violence and fragility. About 98 million girl-children are out of school around the world and mostly in 3rd world countries. Girls' education is a strategic development priority for everyone, especially in northern Nigeria.

Girls' education goes beyond getting girls into school. It is also about ensuring that girls learn and feel safe while in school; complete all levels of education with the skills to effectively compete in the labour market; learn the socio-emotional and life skills necessary to navigate and adapt to a changing world; make decisions about their own lives; and contribute to their communities and the world. Girls' education is a strategic development priority because when girls are educated, the whole society benefit. Better educated women tend to be healthier, participate more in the formal labour market and have opportunity to earn higher incomes, have fewer children, marry at a later age, and enable better health care and education for their children. Married educated women can help lift households, communities, and nations out of poverty. According to UNESCO estimates, 130 million girls between the age of 6 and 17 are out of school and 15 million girls of primary-school age - half of them in sub-Saharan Africa - will never enter a classroom.

In Islam, Girl child education is just as important as boys' education because Prophet Muhammad (SAW) was reported to have said "Education is compulsory for both male and female believers".

History is replete with stories of women intellectuals who have impacted tremendously on the development and spread of Islamic education. Unfortunately today, the girl equivalent of *Almajiri* child, presents its own social problems; though they do not leave home, they are however free to roam the streets, hawking, fetching water and engage in other house-hold jobs. Most of them are enrolled into one form of school or the other. But attendance is occasional or at times practically zero. Hawking becomes their main occupation. The South-Eastern states also have their own share of problems of girl child education. A recent survey shows that, more than 50% of them end up hawking on the streets. As for the North, yes, it is true we could blame the British almost (100%) for deliberately destroying our indigenous education system but we could not blame them for our collective negligence in allowing the system to continue unabated in its present form.

Poverty remains the most important factor for determining whether a girl can access an education. For example, in our North-West zone alone, only 4 percent of poor young women can read compared with 99 percent of young women in the South East. Studies consistently reinforce that girls who face multiple disadvantages - such as low family income, living in remote or underserved locations, disability or belonging to a minority ethno-linguistic group - are farthest behind in terms of access to and completion of education. Violence also negatively impacts access to education and a safe environment for learning. Child marriage is also a critical challenge. Child brides are much more likely to drop out of school and complete fewer years of education than their peers who marry later. This affects the education and health of their children, as well as their ability to earn a living. According to a recent report, more than 41,000 girls under the age of 18 marry every day and putting an end to the practice would increase women's expected educational attainment, and with it, their potential earnings. According to estimates, ending child marriage could generate more than \$500 billion in benefits annually each year

The World Bank Group (WBG) has joined with governments, civil society organizations, multilateral organization, the private sector, and donors to advance multi-sectoral approaches to overcome these challenges. Working together with girls and women, the WBG focus includes:

- Providing conditional cash transfers, stipends or scholarships;
- Reducing distance to school;
- Targeting boys and men to be a part of discussions about cultural and societal practices;
- Ensuring gender-sensitive curricula and pedagogies;

- Hiring and training qualified female teachers;
- Building safe and inclusive learning environments for girls and young women;
- Ending child/early marriage; and addressing violence against girls and women.

Recommendation 8

- Signing of Africa Continental Free Trade Agreement (AfCFTA) by President Muhammadu Buhari is a welcome development, we further urge our northern leaders (Governors and Senators) to push for signing of the EU Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) and the Canadian Foreign Investment Protection Agreement (FIPA) while preparing our region to be the foremost investment destination in Africa;
- The northern states must put their heads together, through the Northern Governors Forum, to tackle this Almajiri phenomenon, to salvage, revive, remodel and integrate into our educational system the Almajiri Education Programme including 157 Tsangaya (Almajiri) Model Schools across the country with full compliance with the provisions of the Universal Basic Education Act, 2004 which made formal education compulsory for School age children from Basic one to nine in line with the Buhari administration's committed to free and compulsory education as a long-term objective of bringing to an end, the banning of the Almajiri.
- Girl child education must be among our priority as a region including using multi-sectoral approaches by the Governors in the region including partnership with the World Bank Group (WBG) in addressing the issues of early marriage, street hawking and girl-child education.

3.6.3 Key Performance Indices (KPIs)

As nations move forward striving to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), states within regions have been encouraged to use information and communication technologies (ICTs) to address urban challenges and provide a better quality of life to its inhabitants. Consequently, the Smart Sustainable Cities (SSC) paradigm has gained momentum. Using ICTs offers urban stakeholders:

- (i) The benefit of efficiency in urban operations; and services,
- (ii) Means to improve quality of life (QoL); and
- (iii) The cultivation of environmental sustainability.

One such approach for measuring the performance of various social and economic interventions is provided by key performance indicators (KPIs) that facilitate the monitoring of the progress/outcomes achieved. *Get ready to innovate today for a sustainable tomorrow! You cannot manage what you cannot measure!*

The indicators will enable states to measure their progress over time (in three dimensions: Economy, Environmental Society and Culture), compare their performance to other states and through analysis and sharing allow for the dissemination of Best Practices and set standards for progress in meeting the region's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) at each city level. As the goals for moving towards increase smartness and sustainability, difference may exist between cities, based on their economic power or/and population growth etc., States are encouraged to use internationally standardized KPIs before they embark on their SSC journey.

Over 50 cities worldwide are already implementing these KPIs, including Dubai, Singapore, Montevideo, Guangshan, Moscow, Valencia and Rimini have asked ITU for assistance in guiding them in the SSC process and implementing the U4SSC KPIs. Cities are expected to significantly benefit from using these KPIs that take into account the elements of a smart sustainable city that crucially rely on ICT and offer a credible measure of progress on SSC transitions

Recommendation 9

1. The northern state governors must strategize for a collective development of northern region because in the future, further economic integration of different regions will become the norm, the new multilateralism. This integration will only be done with regions that already have integrated states within them in terms of economic development, social cohesion, peace and security. To this end, northern region can better adapt to innovative strategies and new technologies, while also fostering collaboration and partnership at all levels;
2. Excellent foundation for the development of a performance measurement system has to start with a Strategic Plan. The plan must identify the priority targets for the economic development program or social intervention because we all know there are too many things that need to be done and there are never enough resources to do them. When framing the strategic objectives in the plan (specific metrics), consideration must be given to defining the

expected outcomes and a “SMART” indicator identified that is clearly measurable and opportunities that will have the greatest long term impact on the local economy.

3.7 Continued monitoring and evaluation of our social and infrastructure impact and addressing environment issues;

In several countries of the world, there are hybrid groups created by the regional governments: Regional Development Agencies (RDAs) and Enterprise Centers (ECs), which are now found in a number of regions. They are governed by local boards with costs being shared between the states and local governments. Along with the diversity of organizational structures and governance models there is a wide range of program offerings. While many economic development (ED) organizations provide a full menu of programs, others limit their focus on only one activity such as “Business Attraction” or “Small Business Lending and Advisory Services” for example. Some communities support “networking organizations” for technology companies and recently we’ve seen the growth of “angel investor networks” looking for young companies with significant growth prospects, partnership and collaboration. Into the mix throw Tourism Services, ranging from “member supported” Visitor and Convention Bureaus (VCBs) to “Destination Marketing Organizations” (DMOs) operating either within an economic development office or as a free standing organization. All these activities require continued monitoring and evaluation to assess their social and infrastructure impact and to properly address environment issues by the regional government.

3.7.1 Considerations for Performance Measurement, Monitoring and Evaluation

Example of monitoring and measuring performance was undertaken to collect data in the field from economic development (ED) organizations. Respondents were asked to restrict themselves to one survey response for each organization. A total of 99 responses were received with the vast majority of the responses from the cities (61.6%) and local (23.2%) economic development organizations. Majority concentrated on the core economic development programs of Business Attraction, Business Retention & Expansion and Small Business Development. About half (55.1%) of respondents had a Tourism mandate and another 58.2% were engaged in programs to stimulate Entrepreneurship and Innovation.

The tools at their disposal were subtle and varied. To list a few for example:

- Investments in the infrastructure needed to accommodate growth;

- Ensured that the path to regulatory approval is clear and that the process is responsive to business needs when they apply for permits or licenses;
- Helped existing businesses resolve problems, often relying on persuasion and good relationships with other local organizations;
- Ensured that companies have access to the government assistance programs they need to acquire new technology or develop innovative ways to expand operations;
- Encouraged businesses to explore new markets through export seminars and links to International Trade Organization abroad; and facilitated local match-making between businesses and/or individuals who have common interests;
- Worked to stimulate entrepreneurship, innovation and the commercialization of new technology in the community through involvement and support for technology associations and angel networks;
- Advised and offered assistance to individuals interested in starting their own businesses (some directly involved in lending money to new small businesses, others promoted the community to tourists or recruited conventions, meetings or sports tournaments in the community);
- Conducted research on the local economy, gathering and analyzing data and making sure it is available to support decision making by civic leaders and new or expanding businesses;
- Ensured that the local companies understand the implications of local and international trends and developments affecting businesses through seminars and workshops;
- Through economic development strategic planning, community efforts were focused on those targets or economic objectives judged to have the highest priority for the community's development;
- Pursued a wide range of special projects related to improving the "quality of place" which is a significant factor in many investment decisions; etc.

This list is by no means exhaustive. Each community has its own set of **strengths** and **weaknesses** as well as unique **opportunities** and **threats**. As a result, economic development programs and social intervention vary dramatically from one place to another. Our challenge is to make the link between our actions and the outcomes we strive for.

Quoting from the “Centre for Community and Economic Development” at the University of Wisconsin: *“Outcome measurement does not prove a cause-effect relationship. And when it comes to economic development the actions of one individual or one organization is not likely to be entirely responsible for results within a community. The board and staff should be comfortable with the idea that success is shared, but agree upon how they are going to measure that success.”*

3.7.2 Job Creation: Artisan’s Skills and Artificial Intelligence (AI)

Job creation is one of the prime reasons most states pursue an economic development program. However we know that economic developers don’t create jobs. Corporations, SMES create jobs as well as public sector institutions such as schools, hospitals and government parastatals, etc. Although the fact is, public sector employment is rising each year. Most economic developers however focus on the private sector employment because it adds to the wealth circulating in the community. The economic developers’ job is to create an environment in which re-locating or expanding companies are welcomed and where entrepreneurs can thrive. While the West is moving away from manufacturing and more into the service sectors, our northern leaders should focus to move the region into the goods-producing sectors, thereby creating jobs through manufacturing employment.

There has been rapid growth of digital media content, consulting ICT and engineering in virtually every field, computer systems developers, marketing and design companies, social media applications and content creators; many others that could not have been imagined decades ago, like Artificial Intelligence (AI). Economic Developers need to develop better methods of monitoring and evaluating the growth of these “high quality” jobs and consider programs to support new employers, particularly those with exportable services as well as institutions that set standards on artisan’s skills development and artificial intelligence (AI).

Artisan’s Skills Development

In recent years, Nigerian artisans are losing out to those from Benin Republic, Togo and West African countries. This occurs mainly in the building of houses: masonry, plastering, tiling, fixing of POP, plumbing, and painting. The argument is that when these West African neighbours of ours set blocks, walls are straight and the finishing is clean. When they plaster a house, the window and door edges are as straight as a ruler, while the walls look as if they have been painted. Also, when they lay tiles, they are straight and neatly done. They are also much cheaper and affordable. This is said to contrast

with the work of their Nigerian counterparts, which is more expensive and poorly finished: the walls are not straight; the floors are uneven; the window edges are jagged; there are paint stains on windows and doors.

The summary is that Nigerian artisans are not well trained, and especially northern artisans. Most of those who work as craftsmen learn by working under someone and watching the person. There is no specified length of period for this apprenticeship. It can be one year or two years or more. It can even be as short as three months.

An apprentice can fall out with the master and leave to start his own practice. What he needs is someone to give him something to do. There are no standards.

Unlike in most West African countries, where there are functional technical schools for the training of young people in different skills, there are no such functional technical institutes owned by Nigeria. The ones that exist have become mere certificate-awarding institutions. There is more emphasis on the theoretical aspect of the work than on the practical aspect. That is why one would graduate from XYZ Technical School or XYZ College of Technology or XYZ Institute of Technology without acquiring any skills in any field. The few functional institutes are owned by individuals or private organisations. It is, therefore, regrettable that in a country that is facing outrageously high rate of poverty caused by high unemployment rate, citizens of neighbouring countries are coming in and taking away the few available jobs. And fellow Nigerians are not bothered about giving these jobs away because they are more concerned with the quality of the work done for them than with the patriotism of patronising their compatriots. Nobody can blame them for that. Nobody will willingly board an aeroplane that is flown by a mediocre pilot or allow himself to be operated upon by a mediocre surgeon because of patriotism.

No matter how hard things become in Nigeria, people will live in houses, drive cars and motorcycles, wear clothes and shoes, use phones and laptops. These houses need to be built by human beings - the construction of these houses will involve masonry or bricklaying, carpentry or upholstery, roofing, fixing of doors and windows, tiling, plumbing, AC fixing and repairs; and painting job. People who spend money building these houses will like to get their money's worth.

Although there are ready-made clothes, many people still want to have their clothes sewn to their

taste, design and preferred style. They need creative designers and tailors who pay attention to details. Cars, phones and computers will have to be serviced and repaired; it is a popular saying that there are no good mechanics in Abuja. The owners do not want these possessions to be destroyed in the name of repairing them. And when they are satisfied, they stick to the person they know and also recommend the person to members of their families and friends.

The federal and state governments should not just fold their arms and pretend as if this is not a problem. The emphasis on the acquisition of degrees has not helped Nigeria in anyway. There is a need to pay serious attention to technical education and create clear standards and certification for artisans in all sectors. That will help boost the skills of Nigerians in that segment of the economy. It will also equip our youths with the capacity to create jobs rather than looking for jobs.

There are millions of jobs available in these fields. But those who want to take advantage of them must be properly trained; they must pay attention to detail; they must be patient and humble; they must be honest; and they must treat their jobs with seriousness they deserve. If that does not happen, our better trained West African neighbours will continue to take away jobs that should be ours, even in our own country.

Artificial intelligence (AI)

Until now, the vast majority of information collected about us has remained untouched - there was just too much to make sense of it all. But what's happening now is that artificial intelligence (AI) allows data that might once have gone unnoticed to now be detected, analyzed and logged in real time. In the US and many other developed countries, supercharging surveillance has already started at work, in schools and in cities.

- Police are experimenting with facial recognition - either to help solve specific cases, or to compare the faces of passers-by against a database of suspects. Just recently, a U.K. court upheld real-time facial recognition;
- In New York City, software can detect crime patterns over time and across boroughs, linking events in a way humans never could;
- And in schools, cameras automatically watch for unusual behaviour, and microphones listen for "aggressive" sounding voices.

The big picture: Humans have monitored each other as long as we've lived in communities - to punish free riders and troublemakers.

- But now, cheap, powerful machines are taking the place of human watchers, disrupting a long-held social contract;
- Unlike in China, where high-tech surveillance is a tool of fear and control, systems in the West are not centralized for now, curbing the scope of data gathering;
- And tech companies like Facebook and Google have perfected online versions of automated surveillance for profit, in the form of products we can no longer live without.

Details: new jobs in software development - Software can identify and track faces, skin color, and clothing, tattoos, walking gait and various other physical attributes and behaviours. From facial expressions and body movements, AI can extrapolate emotions like happiness and anger.

The impact: This quiet shift from passive watching to active surveillance is chipping away at our ability to remain anonymous in physical and virtual spaces due to increase insecurity and violent tendencies of people against one another. Blending into the crowd will no longer be an option if every face in that crowd is captured, compared against a photo ID and logged. The future constant AI surveillance will threaten to erode the all-important presumption of innocence, says Clare Garvie, a privacy expert at Georgetown Law. There are tons of emerging jobs in artificial intelligence (AI) and the technology behind the Internet of Things that we must position our youths to acquire the skills.

Recommendation 10

- Key Performance Measurement, Monitoring and Evaluation: Better still; tracking performances over time enable the government, and those wanting to ascertain its success, to create a baseline in these key metrics to allow benchmarking development/intervention performance against itself. Ideally, this is done at the outset of any intervention, so that overall economic impact can be compared against a pre-intervention starting point across these metrics. However, this baseline can be established even after the organization has started creating and capturing impacts. This monitoring and continuous evaluation must extend to the following areas: Geopolitical stability and regional relationships, governance challenges for businesses, exploring new business models, changing demographics, inclusive

growth and sustainable development, regional digital economy, economic integration and solving economic inequality through fair implementation.

- The federal and state governments should not just fold their arms and pretend as if this is not a problem. There is a need to pay serious attention to technical education and create clear standards and certification for artisans in all sectors. That will help to boost the skills of the citizens in that segment of the economy. It will also equip our youths with the capacity to create jobs rather than looking for jobs.
- There are tons of emerging jobs in artificial intelligence (AI) and the technology behind the Internet of Things that we must position our youths to acquire the skills.

3.8 Sustainable socio-economic environment

Sustainable socio-economic projects are those which the communities within which they are located accept to maintain at no consequential cost (a flower/grass seller given a street portion to manage in exchange of freely selling his grasses) and yet enrich their wellbeing without degrading the environment and the fabric of societal values. Thompson (2011) posits that socio-economic projects are very important in a community because they secure the future of the people and their environment. He contends that such projects create jobs, guarantee conducive housing accommodation and promote peaceful living. On the other hand, Zeske (2011) opines that development programme is a broad, umbrella term which should apply to society at their development stage, mindset and environment with the general objective to improve their quality of life. Wayne (2011) argues that societal projects should be designed to fully utilize the inherent economic opportunities, increase economic viability and address the problem of low-incomes in order to bring prosperity to the people. He adds that the projects should be precise and measurable. Oxfam Hong Kong (2011) contend that “If aid or development were simply a welfare exercise of handing over money, then the poor could become more dependent on outside help, less able to help themselves, and ultimately less equipped to solve their own problems”. It is for this that the organisation promotes the principles of *Participation*, *Empowerment* and *Sustainability*. It follows therefore that the best way for societal development projects to be sustained is to make it participatory. This will make people to feel that they really have a stake when they are involved in the project conceptualisation, advocacy, execution, operation and maintenance. People oriented projects usually strengthen society’s commitment to the developmental initiatives, foster unity and solidarity

and create better environment: thus a strong and unified region, which is attractive for business and peaceful living.

3.8.1 Why is the environment so important?

The environment is important because it supports the survival of human beings, is the source of natural resources (solid minerals), supports biodiversity and offers remarkable beauty. Moreover, the environment is responsible for air purification and disaster control. Apart from food, the environment provides several other natural resources necessary for the survival of human beings: the source of clean water, medicines, clothing, biofuels, wood and fossil fuels. These natural resources not only promote human survival on Earth, but they also enhance the living standards of people. More so, the environment supports most economic activities in the world. Economic activities, such as fishing, agriculture, manufacturing and tourism, depend largely on the environment for sustenance. For example, agriculture is dependent on adequate rainfall and fertile soils. In this regard, lack of care for the environment may affect employment, food security and production from such industries negatively including the spread of diseases and degradation. Moreover, undisturbed natural ecosystems can moderate severe weather phenomena and limit their damage. For example, coastal swamps slow water flow and hold water during severe sea storms. In addition, trees help to reduce wind speeds hence making them less destructive to settlement areas. There is the natural beauty like waterfalls, rivers, lakes, oceans, wildlife and forests with all goods and services used by humanity come directly or indirectly from the Earth and its environment.

Because of the important nature of the environment, it is prudent to protect the environment from environmental degradation, pollution or any other harmful effects. This can be done through water conservation, proper waste management, disposal and preservation of biodiversity. Through these and similar measures, protection of the environment prevents the depletion of natural resources thereby ensuring the stability of the ecosystem. It's also ethical to preserve the environment for future generations.

In any case, poverty and environmental damage is often linked. Polluted water can lead to crop failures. Climate change will turn fertile fields into desert and flood coastal areas where hundreds of millions live. Developing countries like ours, have to choose sustainable development if we want a better future for our people, to avoid deforestation, desertification, erosion and flooding due to man

negligence. We must also insist on sustainable development that combines environmental care, social justice and economic growth. Unchecked population growth has a negative impact on any nation, as well as on the whole planet. Both the poverty and the environmental problems of sub-Saharan Africa today are largely the result of rapid population growth putting pressure on limited resources. More than twenty years of uncontrolled economic development have created serious, chronic air and water pollution. This has increased health problems and resulted in annual losses to farmers of crops worth billions. So uncontrolled growth is not only bad for the environment, it also makes no economic sense.

Recommendation 11

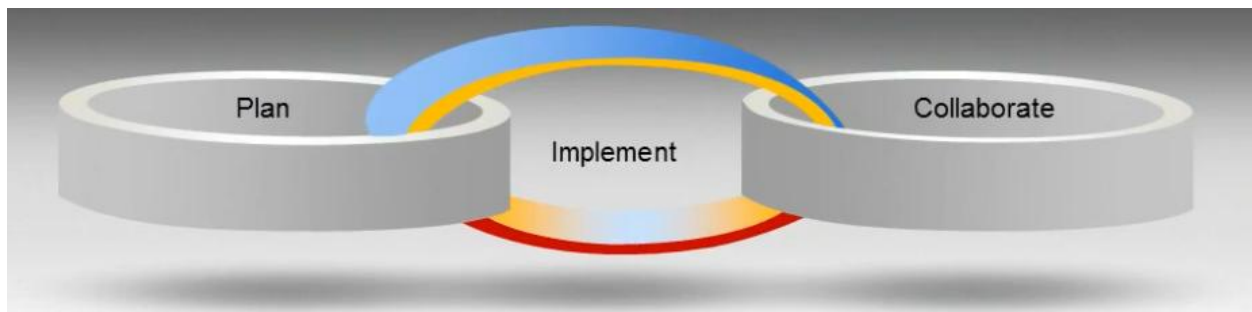
- Everyone including our government must work to accelerate the transition to environmentally friendly resource-efficient and sustainable economies, decoupling economic development from environmental degradation while ensuring that the transition to green economies creates opportunities and promotes well-being for all.

4.0 OTHER IMPORTANT STEPS

- Northern region needs to harness the potential of its burgeoning youth population in order to boost economic development, reduce widespread poverty, and channel large numbers of unemployed youth into productive activities and away from ongoing religious and ethnic violence;
- We can attract investment in railway/waterways development. Railroads are important to our trade development and moving heavy goods while our natural waterways can be developed not only to easily move goods and people but to unleash a whole new set of business activities along the corridor;
- Key constraints to growth included inappropriate economic policies, inadequate human capital development, and low levels of private investment. Recent developments have highlighted the critical importance of peace and security for sustainable growth and development, we must therefore pursue these ideals with the tenacity that they deserve;
- No terrorist operation can take place without logistics. Obtaining illegal logistics is complicated and dangerous as it generally includes the procurement or retrieval of illegal weapons or other prohibited materials such as explosives, etc. It is a dangerous stage of terrorist planning as security forces often monitor illicit arms dealers and arms caches, which

might lead to entrapment, ambush or capture of the terrorist group, or sabotage of the weapons. We must become proactive in blocking them from every angle;

- If all (most) the Banks in Nigeria will not give loans to northerners unless if one has a house or landed property in Abuja, Lagos or Port Harcourt, then our northern Government should negotiate with a bank (s) and recommend to us so that we can transfer our monies to that Bank (s) and stop patronizing unfriendly banks to northerners. Also, Northern Governor should demand local content from Banks/other big businesses doing business in the north; its wrong to have banks/telecom companies etc., all over the place and their only northern staffs are the guardsmen;
- The north has relaxed too long and too dangerous without significant news/entertainment and other recreational/educational Media. Time we plan for TV outlets with world class content. Northern governors should prevail on the President to build the proposed Kannywood complex either in Kano or Kaduna;



4.1 Northern Nigeria Huge Oil Reserves

CHAD BASIN DATA EVALUATION AND OVERVIEW

Findings reveal that **Chad Basin, Gongola/Yola Basins and Bida and Sokoto Basins** have been explored partially and have proven hydrocarbon potentials.

Chad Basin:

- 23 wells were drilled (in 1960 - 1997).

Gongola/Yola Basins:

- 3 wells were drilled (in 1999 - 2000).

Bida and Sokoto Basins:

- No exploration well drilled yet at this time.

Gubio-Maiduguri Area was high-graded from previous work for further studies

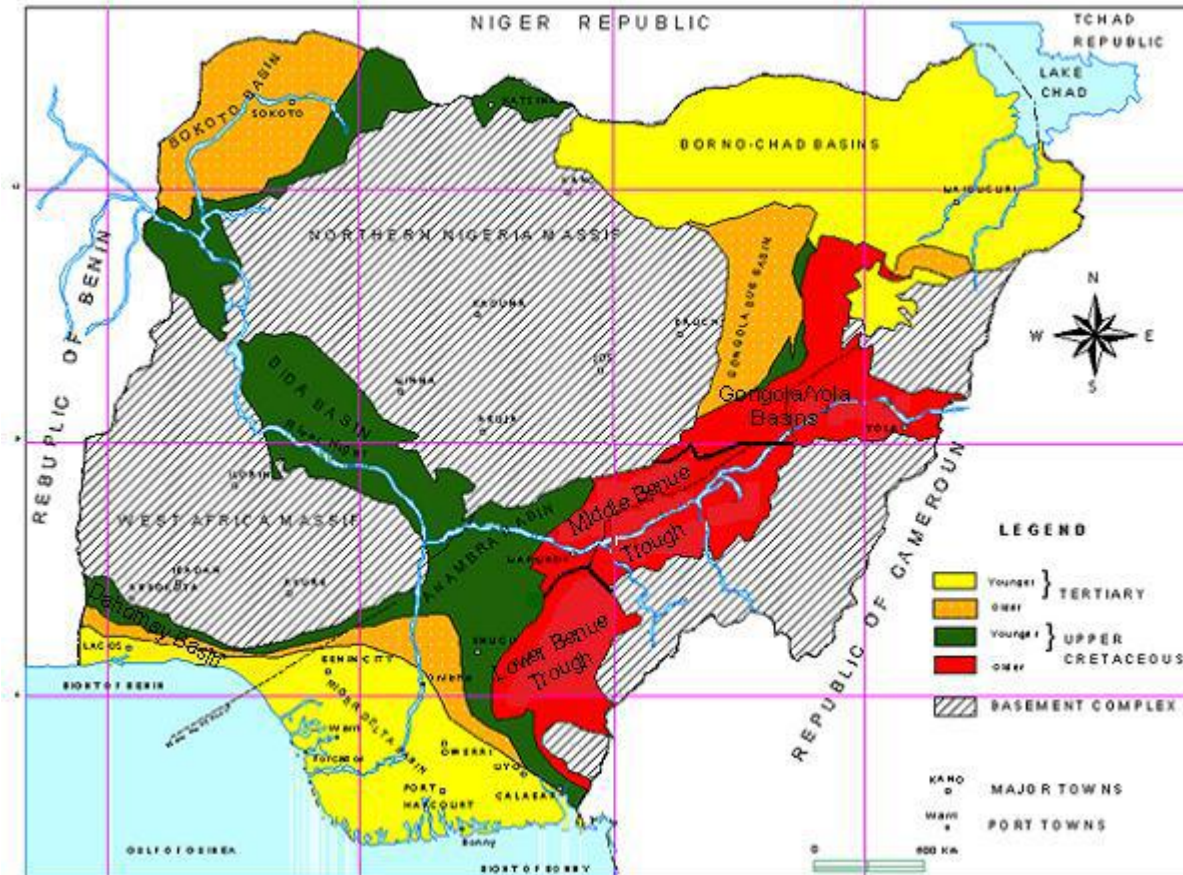
- Deeper potential may exist below current depths of well penetration

Kinsar-Wadi, Gubio & Maiduguri sub-basins are high-graded (have high oil & gas potentials) due to proven hydrocarbon finds & ascertained potentials.

- In Kinsar-1: gas was flared for 4hours, at interval 1859 – 1861 m (permeability, 45 – 54md)
 - I. Only 1 of 6 other suspected hydrocarbon intervals was tested (inconclusive result).
- In Wadi-1: gas was flared for 15hours at interval 2286.5 - 2288.5 m (permeability, 75md).
 - I. Gas was also flared for 3 - 15 minutes at 7 other intervals, between 2211 – 2446m.

- In Ziye-1, Hydrocarbon was suspected at several intervals identified:
 - II. Gas at 2494.0 – 2489.5m, and,
 - III. Oil at interval 2520 – 2527m.
- Gaibu-1 was reported as having oil shows.
 - I. Sa-1 and Tuma-1 wells and 3 additional prospects were identified as having hydrocarbon potentials.

CHAD BASIN PETROLEUM EXPLORATION



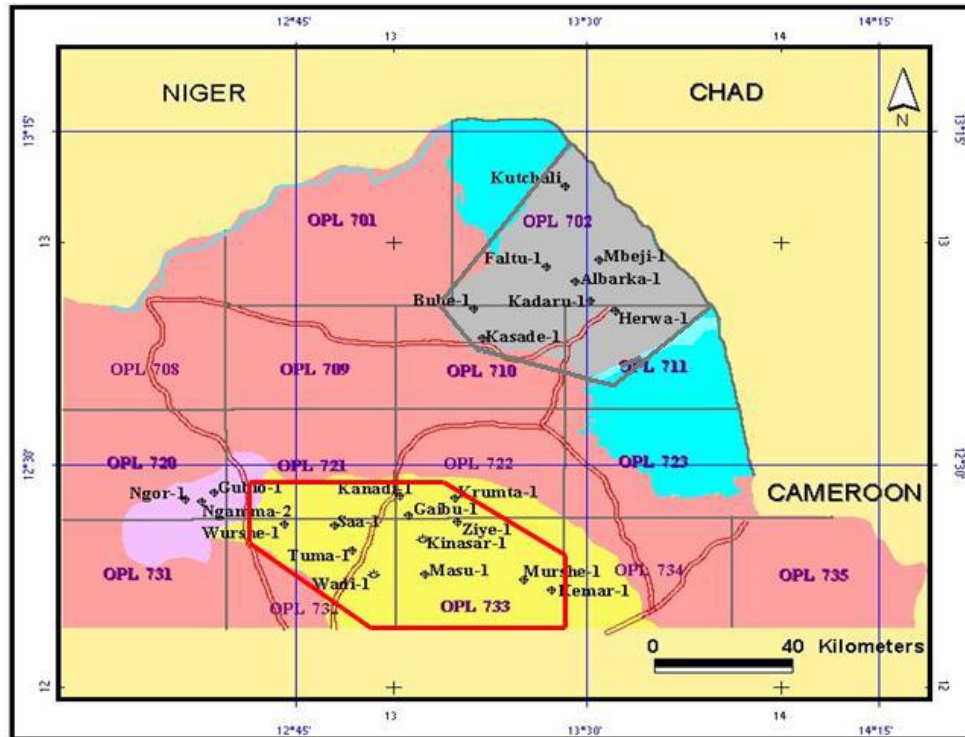
NFIB Data Evaluation and Overview

All previous studies and available data including seismic, well reports and results of post mortem studies in the NFIBs, in particular, Chad Basin have been evaluated in detail.

3D SEISMIC STUDIES

- Well reports and post mortem reports reveal **all 8 wells** previously drilled in area (**Baga sub-basin**) where 3D seismic survey is being done were **dry** (Figure 1).
- **Phases 1, 2 and 3** of 3D seismic surveys were **not located** in **prospective areas** recommended for follow up in previous studies.
- **Current strategy and work-flow not optimum** without simultaneous or concurrent acquisition & processing, to:
 - I. Avert error propagations.
 - II. Ascertain/confirm data acquisition parameters are appropriate for subsequent phases
 - III. Improve subsequent data acquisition.

- IV. Data acquired in phases 2, 3 & 4 of studies were carried out without prior processing of phase 1.



Layout of 3D Seismic Survey in Chad Basin

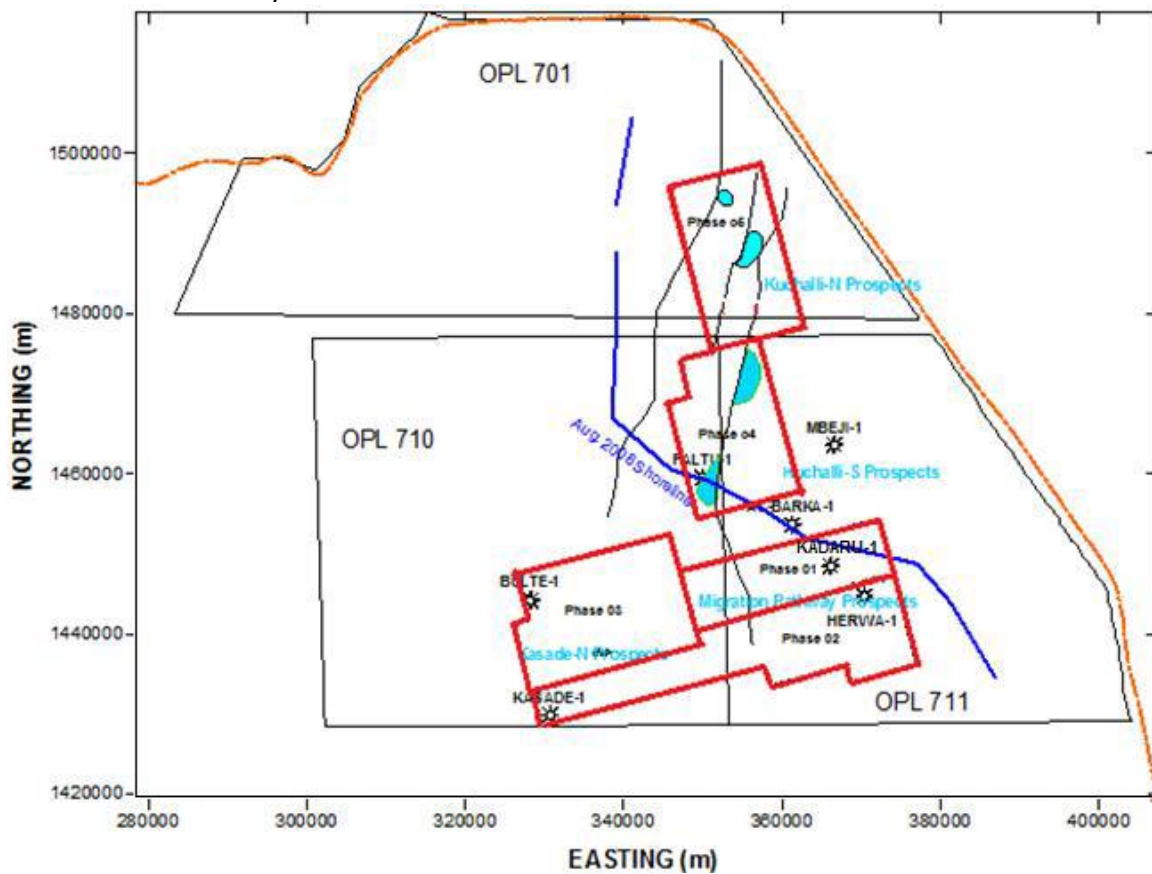


Figure 1

3D Seismic Vs. Airborne Geophysical Surveys

Re-appraisal of Ongoing Chad Basin 3D Seismic Studies

- **Phases 1, 2 and 3** could have been more **properly planned** to cover identified potential prospects areas recommended in previous studies.
- **Survey design** should **focus** on identified potential prospects areas in **Chad** and in **Gubio** and **Maiduguri** sub-basins.
- **Survey lay-out** is **not optimal** as in standard industry practice which should as much as practicable incorporate previously drilled wells (used as reference points) needed to constrain seismic data interpretation.

State-of-the-art, rapid and low-cost simultaneous **airborne gravity, magnetic and electromagnetic (EM) surveys** are used worldwide (Table 1) in frontier areas, especially in non-deltaic environments i.e. areas with graben, thrusts & complex geology.

- These airborne surveys delimit large survey fields to potential prospective areas prior to detail follow up expensive surveys including 2D and 3D seismic surveys.
- 2D seismic surveys cost at least 5 times of aeromagnetic and gravity surveys.
- 3D seismic surveys may be up to 20 times more expensive than aerogeophysical surveys.
- The results of integration of airborne gravity, magnetic & regional 2D seismic has the potential to generate income from sales of data (aero gravity, magnetic and seismic) to interested E&P companies

Recommendation 12

- Preliminary seismic data interpretation of 1997 has proven hydrocarbon potentials in Northern Nigeria: in Chad Basin, Gongola/Yola Basins, Bida and Sokoto Basins; and more are expected in the present day Adamawa, Katsina, Niger, and Benue. As would be noted, Phases 1, 2 and 3 of 3D seismic surveys were not located in prospective areas recommended, the work-flow was not optimum, the phases could have been more properly planned to cover identified potential prospects areas recommended in previous studies. Arguably, there is a conspiracy to frustrate finding of oil and gas in northern Nigeria. We



need to identify potential hydrocarbon bearing areas using 3D seismic data investigation thoroughly through acquisition of simultaneous new aero gravity, airborne gravity, magnetic and electromagnetic data covering 7 inland basins including and starting with Chad Basin, which would lead to better definition of prospective areas, including over other frontier inland basins to investigate further. In view of the strategic nature of this Project and the **Social, Political, and Economic** benefits accruing to it, the need for **systematic and aggressive oil & gas exploration** in the NFIBs cannot be over-emphasized in order to increase the Oil & Gas reserve base of Nigeria.

5.0 CONCLUSION

Humanity stands at a defining moment in history and the north is at a crossroad. We are confronted with a perpetuation of disparities between us as a nation and within us as eloquently put, “Yan Arewa” meaning northerners. We have a worsening situation of poverty, hunger, ill health, despair & hopelessness and illiteracy, including problems of Boko Haram terrorism/insurgency, which led to hike in the population of the internally displaced persons (IDPs), influx of small arms and dangerous weapons through ports and porous borders, incessant and senseless killings and kidnappings, armed youths banditry, communal & religious violence, herdsmen/farmers crises, drug abuse by youths and young women including the issue of social exclusion of many citizens, to name a few. There is also the continuing deterioration of the ecosystems on which we depend on for our well-being. However, integration of economic development concerns and the environment using the “Peace Building from below” pragmatic approach taking into account local input and resources; and greater attention to them in a sustainable concerted manner will lead to the fulfillment of basic needs, improved living standards for all, better protected and managed ecosystems and a safer, secured, more prosperous future. No state can achieve this on its own; but together we can - in a global partnership and collaboration for sustainable development.

Northern Nigeria’s strength has always been in its diversity, elected to bring us together, not to set us against one another and strong because of our differences, not in spite of them. As one entity, we are strengthened in many ways by our shared experiences, by the diversity that inspires both the southerners and the world, and by the way we treat each other not the way we attack each other. Because it is both the right thing to do and a certain path to economic development, growth, peaceful coexistence and respect for one another, which has always, been the bottom-line: the

relationship between all northern ethnic tribes both Muslims and Christians, one based on recognition of rights, respect, co-operation and partnership, building a vibrant and tolerant democracies with accountable leadership to the people. Among other measures, it is hoped that the Northern States Governors' Forum (NSGF) will work co-operatively to implement recommendations that come out of this Report, and make it a Comprehensive Working Document, a FRAMEWORK for every community; to launch peaceful coexistence strategy, provide quality education and make it easier for everyone to build successful lives and contribute to the economic success of all northerners and Nigeria at large. The agenda of the outlined proposed strategy may look ambitious, but it is not one forged in isolation, rather, it is the result of survey and in-depth analysis of northerners inputs, whose views - plain and simple – is to go back to the ways we used live together just like during the period of Late Sardauna of Sokoto, Sir Ahmadu Bello because as confident people, we, northerners know who we are, and we know what kind of community and country we want to live in.

In response to the pressing call for restructuring and regionalism; and underscored by the northern spirit of togetherness and desire to take control of our economy, we should be committed to providing greater security and opportunity for all northerners, encourage and promote the use of the Northern – Promise: Invest in the north, patronize northern businesses and support our creative industries (Kannywood). Because, when we can no longer change a situation, we are challenged to change ourselves...Everything can be taken from a human being but one thing: the last of the human freedoms - to choose one's attitude in any given set of circumstances, to choose one's own way, to choose to be "dan Arewa" and the Way or not. It's up to us.

Pessimists eliminate the option to choose. There's no choice when there's only one outcome, or so the thinking goes, on the fast track towards a full stop. Perhaps it's time to hear from the realist - the realist inside all of us - to test Frankl's theory. Can we always choose new actions and find new results? Because, if we can, then that means that the pessimist who only sees one outcome is always wrong. Imagine a team that comes to their coach, and says: "Coach, there's only one way that we can win!" "No! That's not how it works," the coach would reply. "Your job," that coach would say, "is to find EVERY way to win." By act of Providence, we are destined to live together, either we find every way to live in peace and work together or we kill ourselves. We must be open always, honest to ourselves, accepting, and generous, knowing that accommodating and helping those in need

strengthens our communities and make them safer, more prosperous places to live, that is why there are so many southerners accepted and living in the north freely and peacefully.

It is further hoped that the NSGF will be ready for dialogue with any group seeking for peace while at the same time proactively fighting and addressing the root cause of the crises. It will also strengthen its relationship with partners, renew commitment to uniform sets of standards for economic development and launch an open and transparent process to review existing security capabilities, while expanding economic opportunities with emerging markets. We know the greatness that Nigeria can bring, and we know and believe that our success and unity is not only about doing well for ourselves, but also about others doing well for themselves too and leaving an even better, more peaceful and prosperous world for our children and next generation. As clearly captured by the Open Society Foundation's theory of change, which is rooted in our belief that IF well-informed citizens are able to increase their participation in decision-making processes, AND governance structures, processes and regional integration mechanisms are strengthened and function more effectively in the best interest of the society AND the human rights of all its people, in particular the poor, vulnerable and marginalized are respected and protected, THEN this would contribute to making our society a freer, safer, more integrated, more equitable and ultimately more democratic and prosperous region. As Government continue to make real change happen, to ensure a clean environment and a strong economy built on greater Nigeria, and on providing greater security and opportunity for all, we have a duty and responsibility to support the Government in achieving this feat; for that is the trust we bestow upon our leaders.

Quotes of the Day



"The new Administration will intensify its efforts in Security, Restructuring the Economy and Fighting Corruption. We have laid down the foundation and we are committed to seeing matters to the end. We will strive to strengthen our unity and inclusiveness so that no section or group will feel left behind or left out..." – ***President Muhammadu Buhari***



"Here in Nigeria we have People comprising more than 250 ethnic groups of many different races, tribes and religion, with varying languages and customs, creating a country of rich ethnic diversity who are knit together to common history, common

interest and common ideas, the things that unite us are stronger than the things that divide us. I always remind people of our firmly rooted policy of *religious tolerance*. We have no intention of favouring one religion, one tribe or one class at the expense of another. Subject to the overriding need to preserve justice, law and order, it is our determination that everyone should have absolute liberty to practice his belief and be free to pursue his/her legitimate business according to the dictates of his/her conscience...” - **Sir Ahmadu Bello**



“...Nigeria has now reached a critical stage in her history. We must seize the opportunity which has been offered to us to show that we are able to manage our own affairs properly. Every Nigerian, whatever his status, and whatever his religion, has his or her share to contribute to this crucial task. I appeal to all my countrymen and women to cooperate with me and my colleagues to create a better understanding among our peoples, to establish mutual respect, and trust, among all our tribal groups, and to unite in working together for the common cause, the cause for which no sacrifice will be too great”. - **Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa (1957)**

“... One of the best ways to understand how the international economy works is to start by looking at what happens inside nations. If we want to understand differences in national growth rates, a good place to start are by examining differences in regional growth; if we want to understand international specialization, a good place to start is with local specialization.” - **Paul Krugman (1991)**

We are aware that evolving economic, political, technological and social conditions in Nigeria and the World today offer unprecedented opportunities as well as significant, still insufficiently understood threats to our communities in northern region (Arewa). This uneven economic landscape, demographic shifts, and unprecedented challenges on the issues of poverty, security, jobs, unity, development and restructuring begs the need for the north to take control of its economy proactively; in a non-partisan fashion.

The North we love to see in couple of years:

Northern Nigerian region is the fastest developing region in Africa, leading in planning and executing strategies, enhancing its position as the African business and investment destination, welcoming businesses seeking a strategic base in Nigeria from which to implement their growth strategies and to

manage and integrate their operations for Nigeria, Africa and beyond. The North is experiencing new waves of emerging ecosystem and technology clusters with lots of activities that drive innovation, knowledge and creativity that enable industry clusters to compete on a global scale similar to Silicon



Valley around San Francisco, USA or Southern Ontario's Toronto-Waterloo corridor, Canada. The State Governors within the region believed in collaboration, partnership and commitment toward excellence, a common goal, which led to the creation of the Region's Economic Development Plan that created value-added solutions and incentives for investors and companies in the region to ensure sustainable

economic growth, vibrant business growth and good job opportunities. Our mission will continue to evolve under strong Northern States Governor's Forum (NSGF) and the Federal Government of Nigerian leadership.

6.0 ACKNOWLEDGMENT

- We acknowledge the numerous contribution by hundreds northerners whose practical, realistic ideas and solutions were captured in this Report and whose names including authors of research works used will be announced/publicised during the official Launch of this Report. We thank everyone that has made any contribution, and all those that support this noble direction as captured in this REPORT.



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Dr Baba J Adamu - President of Arewa Center for Regional Development (ACRD)



Dr Baba J Adamu with the Canadian Deputy High Commissioner in Abuja



From left: Dr Baba J Adamu, Mayor of Niagara Falls James Diodati, Vice President Stratford University Mary Ann Shurtz and Vice President International Development Stratford University in Niagara Falls, Canada



Mayor of Toronto, John Tory with Dr Baba J Adamu in Oakville, Ontario, Canada recently



Excellency, President Muhammadu Buhari, GCFR with Dr Baba J Adamu in Kaduna