

## Political Violence and Secondary School Education in Nigeria: A Case Study of Bette-Bendi People of Cross River State

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### Abstract

*The main objective of conducting this study was to examine and analyze, in the context of Bette-Bendi people of Cross River State, Nigeria, the relationship between political violence and secondary school education and test for causality between them. Bette-Bendi people, who are in the volatile Niger Delta region, were used as case study. Three research questions and three null hypotheses were formulated to guide the research. Data gathered were analyzed with the  $\chi^2$ ,  $v$ -statistic and factor analysis involving fifteen variables. All three null hypotheses were rejected in favour of their alternatives. The main finding confirmed a strong relationship between political violence and secondary school education. The study concluded that the Nigerian government should set up a Committee of Experts to develop a Survivalist Curriculum in line with the work of Academic Associates Peace Works in Taraba and Delta States as the most ideal for secondary school education in Bette-Bendi and all politically violent and unstable areas for a permanent resolution of crises and behaviour control in those areas throughout the country.*

### Introduction

Bette-Bendi people of Cross River State, Nigeria are a classic case-study for political violence, secondary school education and behaviour control because these people belong in the volatile Niger Delta Region. Nigeria and its Niger Delta Region are in Category II (countries or areas in severe and prolonged political crises) of the African Centre for Development and Strategic Studies (ACDESS), Bassey and Oshita (2007:192). Moreover, a knowledge of the prevailing relationship between political violence on the one hand and secondary school educational variables like policy formulation and implementation, educational infrastructure and equipment, quality of teachers/career longevity, management of secondary schools and the like on the other, is predominantly important because a stable relationship between these variables is likely to form an important postulate in a variety of educational models, Essien (1975:44). Many issues behind the fluctuations in the quality of secondary school education and behaviour control in Bette-Bendi and all other politically violent and unstable areas across Nigeria and their causal roles are yet to be established, Osai (2000:524, 532). The political violence between 1983 and 1999 has, once again, renewed interest in investigating the argument revolving around the significance of the declining quality of secondary school education and its causal role in other socio-economic, political, and educational spheres; especially in Third World countries like Nigeria, Mishira (2008:1). In addition, in recent years, the question of this relationship received more prominence in view of spiraling political violence and instability on a local, national, sub regional, continental and global scale, Jeba

and Akaankumbul (2000:188-203). Political violence is brought into sharp focus in this regard since it is believed to be a crucial inimical factor for sustainable socio-economic and political growth of many African and Third World countries, Almond, et al (2007:147). The uncertainty about the future quality of secondary school education and behaviour control (that could have a multiplier effect on other socio-economic development indices) stems, in a large part, from the imperfect perception of how political violence actually affects secondary school education. This situation needs to be explored whether political violence is a source of fluctuation in the aggregate quality of secondary school education and behaviour control or the sole causation of the lack of qualitative secondary school education and ineffective behaviour control in the context of Bette-Bendi people in Nigeria and other politically unstable areas in developing countries, Akpan (2008:90-97). The significance of the role or relationship between political violence and secondary school education can be perceived from its impact on other social indices in areas or countries where it has had prolonged or varied dimensional effects especially in terms of easy social dislocations and allocation of scarce resources to the most critical areas of the education sector and particularly, secondary school education; although in developed countries, it is recognized as a legitimate channel of calling government's attention to neglected social issues. This relationship between political violence and secondary school education can be seen in two ways generally. The first explains political violence as the leading indicator of social disharmony and poor or declining quality of secondary school education among Bette-Bendi people in Nigeria, Essien (1975:48, 51, 68). The second one may be seen through the possible impact which poor quality secondary school education has had and continues to have on youth behaviour control and other socio-economic and political development indices in Bette-Bendi and the country as a whole. The situation is absolutely disheartening when the quality of secondary school education in Bette-Bendi and in Nigeria is compared to that of some other African countries like Ghana, Kenya, Senegal, South Africa or Namibia. The purpose of this research, therefore, was to examine and analyze, in the context of Bette-Bendi people of Cross River State, Nigeria the relationship between political violence, secondary school education and behaviour control and test for causality between them.

## Literature Review

### Political Violence and Secondary School Education in Bette-Bendi

This section set out to review the influence of or relationship between political violence and secondary school education. In this study, politically violent and unstable areas or countries are those that are experiencing dislocation of people (internally displaced or refugees in other lands), scarcity of basic necessities of life, collapse of social services and for countries; economic sanctions, withdrawal of foreign aid, capital flight, absence of foreign direct investment, divestment by foreign companies, illegitimate political authority, disintegration of governmental authority, run-away inflation, proliferation of arms and ammunitions, and so on. Maier (2000:xxi) puts it succinctly that "since winning independence from Britain in 1960, Nigeria has witnessed at least one million deaths in Africa's biggest civil war, the assassination of two government leaders, six successful coups and four failed ones and thirty years of army rule. Moreover, this study is instructive because at the core of socio-economic, political, poverty, lack of wealth creation capacity, scientific and technological under-development of Bette-Bendi in Cross River State and, of course, Nigeria lies the absence of effective youth behaviour control, qualitative education generally and secondary school education in particular with the desired quality of teachers, Essien, (1975:69, 164); Okwenu, (1994:158); *The*

*Economist* (1997); March 29<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> April, (p.16); Jebe and Akaakumbul, (2000:188-203)). The desired quality of secondary school education has so far not been achieved in Bette-Bendi and in Nigeria because of colonialism, Otonti, (1964:105); Fajana and Anjorin, (1979:106); and Rodney, (2005:293); neo-colonialism and globalization (Fanon, (1980:10); Nweke, (1985:14); Seligson and Passe-Smith, (1993:196, 200); Oni, et al (2008:302-303). This situation has been exacerbated by political violence, Fanon, (1980:31); Anifowose, (1982:4) with the consequence of prolonged military dictatorship and political instability in the country Olowo, et al (1995:69, 76); Dinneya, (2006:134); and Best (Ed), (2007:283). This has also impeded the effort of government to provide qualitative secondary school education in the area under investigation and throughout the country since the First National Development Plan of 1962-1968 through the 2<sup>nd</sup> (1970-1974), 3<sup>rd</sup> (1975-1980) and 4<sup>th</sup> Etuk, (1984: 14, 26, 34, 108). Although over the years, substantial budget allocations have been made for the funding of secondary school education across the country (see budgets of each year) the quality of secondary school education in Bette-Bendi and throughout Nigeria is worse off each year than the preceding one despite the visible horizontal growth of secondary school educational infrastructure and impressive turnout of secondary school leavers Ndem, (3007:1); Abdullahi, (2007:1). For instance, from 1960 to 1974 (a period of fourteen (14) years, there was only one (1) secondary school – Government Secondary School, Obudu in Bette-Bendi area. This represented a growth rate of 7.14% for secondary school education in the area, (Field Data). However, between 1974 and 2010 (a period of 36 years), fifty three (53) additional secondary schools were established in the area representing a growth rate of 147.22%. Fact: this horizontal growth in secondary school education was not matched by a similar vertical growth (quality) because out of a total of 3,906 students from 12 secondary schools who constituted the sample for this study, only 307 or 7.96% passed their WAEC SSCE (West African Examinations Council Senior Secondary Certificate Examination) with 5 credits and above, (Field Data). This meant that in five years only 8% of the candidates obtained the minimum requirement of 5 credit passes for either university admission or employment. The number of candidates who obtained 4 credit passes to qualify for admission to Polytechnics and Colleges of Education was 351 or 9%, (Field Data). The number of students who did not stand any chance of progressing beyond secondary school education was 3,248 or 83%, (Field Data). These statistics were collated from published WAEC SSC examination results between 2004 and 2008. This performance also reflected how successful or otherwise students' behaviour could be controlled for better academic performance both in school and at home. Two thousand four was taken as a base year because this was the beginning of the second tenure of a civilian to civilian democratic transition after a long period of military dictatorship in the country. Besides, most of the statistics on students' performance in WAEC SSC examinations during the heat of political violence since independence were so haphazard that they could have made any meaningful analysis.

These statistics show that secondary school education in Bette-Bendi area and in Nigeria is marooned in a quagmire of political violence-cum-political instability. Consequently, the lofty goals of secondary school education as stated in Para. 20 (a – h) of the *National Policy on Education, 1998*(12) cannot be realized. This paragraph provides among other things that secondary school education should specifically provide for liberal education, a diversified curriculum, civil responsibility, national integration and economic viability.

Since the return to democracy in 1999, Nigeria was supposedly no longer a politically violent and unstable country. However, secondary school education has not fared any better as the statistics above show, due principally as a result of the damage done in the past. This means Nigeria's dream of economic development and poverty alleviation nationwide can only be realized in a stable polity, Oyovbaire, (2005:116); which guarantees not only political stability but also socio-

economic, scientific, technological and educational development at local and national levels. These novel achievements can only be achieved if the quality of secondary school education in the country is good. This is pertinent because the population bracket that should be in secondary schools constitutes the bulk of the militants across Nigeria and kid-soldiers in politically violent areas of the country. Maier (2000:xxv) records that "at the turn of the century, Nigeria was home to approximately sixty million youths under the age of eighteen seething with frustration from the lack of academic and job opportunities that just three decades before appeared to be within reach of their parents". They represent Nigeria's equivalent to what South Africa calls its "lost generation"; that huge army of frustrated youths who lack the tools to face the demands of a modern economy. In Nigeria, there have been two waves of political violence, 1965 – 1979 and 1983 – 1999; Anifowose (1982:56) and Dinneya (2006:149, 291 – 295) that were identified for more detailed analysis.

Dinneya (2006:291) documented that the first Wave of Political Violence (1965 – 1979) witnessed principally the prosecution of the civil war; the Federal Government trying to keep Nigeria one and Biafra (which included Bette-Bendi people), fighting to secede. In fact, the Federal government's remarkable policy of "no victor, no vanquished" and Gowon's initiation of the famous 3Rs (reconciliation, rehabilitation and reconstruction, Maier (2000: xxvi) became meaningless with the continued occupation of towns and villages of Eastern Nigeria by the Federal troops, the abandoned property policy, the exchange of the Biafran pound and the banning of importation of used clothing popularly known as "okrika". The Ibos and other ethnic groups of former Eastern Nigeria perceived these policies as punitive and further economic war strategies that made an easy rehabilitation, reconstruction and reintegration of their area with the rest of Nigeria difficult, if not impossible. During the first wave of political violence, Nigeria experienced a civil war when, on the Biafran side, education staff and children of secondary school age (in Bette-Bendi and throughout the Biafran enclave) were conscripted into the Biafran army; secondary schools became make-shift military camps, etc. This period had three National Development Plans on the Nigerian side: 1<sup>st</sup> (1962-68), 2<sup>nd</sup> (1970-74) and 3<sup>rd</sup> (1975-80). It is important to note that during the first and second national development plans, Bette-Bendi people had only one secondary school. Secondary school education development policies during those first two National Development Plans (1962 – 1974), of course, did not include the Biafran enclave.

The second Wave of Political Violence (1983 – 1999), which had only the 4<sup>th</sup> National Development Plan (1981 – 1985), witnessed phenomenal horizontal growth in secondary school education in Bette-Bendi area and across Nigeria. The oil boom of the 1970s and communities' involvement in the provision of secondary school education after the civil war were responsible for this situation. As at 1999, fifty three (53) additional secondary schools had been established in the area under investigation. Incidentally, this period also witnessed an unprecedented exodus of staff from the secondary school system to either the Local Government Service, business or other professions. The great purge of 1984 by the Buhari-Idiagbon regime did not help matters either. The introduction of SAP (Structural Adjustment Programme) by the Babangida regime which increased the apathy of youths in Bette-Bendi and across Nigeria towards secondary school education saw an upsurge of kid-breadwinners (street hawkers, etc) and made it impossible for parents to send their children to secondary school. This situation was worsened by political violence, instability and prolonged military dictatorship. On return to democratic governance in 1999, political violence and instability were still so prevalent in the country hence the use of relevant secondary school education data between 2004 and 2008 for analysis.

## Peace Building and Conflict Management

The major preoccupation of successive Nigerian governments since independence has been peaceful co-existence within and between her neighbours as well as other nations. Nigeria is not only a signatory to the various Geneva conventions on international relations but has actively been involved in peace building as well as conflicts management since she debuted in peace-keeping operations in the Congo after the assassination of Patrice Lumumba in 1961, Onoja (1998:11), *Africa Today* (1991:1958) and Maier (2000:xxv). Both at home and abroad, Nigeria has featured prominently in diplomatic and quasi-military operations to keep the peace and to manage conflicts. Some of these efforts include the management of strained relations between Chad and Cameroon, Benin and Togo, Garba (1987: 44, 47-48),

In Nigeria, the West African sub region and Africa, much has been said and done on peace building and conflict management, Adetula (2007:383-404), Galadima (2007:295-325), Itheme (2007:252-269), Best (2007:93-114), Ojinji (2007:116-127), Godongs (2007:130-143), Gumut (2007:164-182), Mwanasali (2007:184-200), Bassey (2005:154), Eze (2010:157-165), Bassey (2010:189-211), Nwankwo (2010:213-221), Ogom (2010:239-254), Onoja (1998:126), Arikpo (2007:161-169), Osaghae (2007:171-188), Okoh (2007:205-242), Oshita (2007:243-251) and Maier (2000:xxv). All these scholars focused on strategies and palliative measures that reduce the harsh effects of conflicts. This is why the adult combatants, kid soldiers and militants easily take up arms after tenuous peace agreements and pledges to stop hostilities. In her bid to peacefully and permanently resolve conflicts, Nigeria in 2009 demonstrated an unparalleled magnanimity by granting amnesty to the Niger Delta (which includes Bette-Bendi people) militants (who did not ask for it in the first place) provided they lay down their arms. In doing this, Nigeria beat the super powers to it. The Nigerian government knew that the use of brute force to suppress the opposition cannot win their (opposition's) hearts and minds; hence the amnesty. For instance, America failed to win the hearts and minds of Cubans during the Bay of Pigs invasion and the Vietnamese during the Vietnam War. What may happen in Afganistan and Iraq is anybody's guess. This is understandable because negotiations for peace even when it involves power sharing between governments in power and the opposition, e.g. Ivory Coast, Kenya and Zimbabwe or when the opposition has a right to secede (as in Western Sahara and South Sudan), do not have any effect on behaviour change which education can provide through a survivalist curriculum.

## Conflict Resolution through a Survivalist Curriculum

Dinneya (2006:285-314) devoted one chapter to political education and democratization. He did not focus on the permanent positive behaviour changing effects of education but emphasized knowledge of political procedures, institutions and their relationships. Almond, et al (2007:51-54) tackled this problem from the consensual-conflictual political culture dimension. They highlighted the basics for political disagreement whether at limited or aggravated levels that leads to political violence and instability (as in the Niger Delta and across Nigeria since independence) and concluded by examining the effects of political socialization agents on political culture, harmony, peaceful coexistence and stability. They strongly assert that schools "transmit the values and attitudes of society" as well as "play an important role in keeping attitudes about unwritten values of the political game, instilling the values of public duty, and developing informal political relations" (p.53). In their view, "schools can reinforce affection for the political system ..." (p.54), which, most countries describe as patriotism. However, it is unfortunate that in some countries, e.g. Afganistan

under the Taliban, their educational systems do not provide unifying political socialization but send diametrically different messages to different groups. The kind of unifying political socialization education we canvass in this study, according to Almond, et al (2006:54) based on a survivalist curriculum, is that which "affects the political skills and resources of the public (and where, sic) educated persons are more aware of the impact of government on their lives and pay more attention to politics ... and act on new information" This political socialization is typified by the kind of education that is provided by means of a "curriculum as an important instrument, if not the most important instrument, in socialization and selection undertaken by the school and in the establishment and maintenance of societal power and authority structures; Eggleston (1975:321).

Consequently, this study strongly suggests the design and implementation of a "Survivalist Curriculum" for secondary school education in Bette-Bendi and all such areas across the country. This curriculum, according to Onyike (1981:77) and Onwuka (1981:237), should be a core-curriculum that is capable of "changing individuals to some desirable way" as well as provides a general education which "creates a universe of enquiry, discourse and understanding among youngsters of different backgrounds and aspirations, who, as members of a free society are obliged to share certain common responsibilities and problems". Onwuka (1981:13) strongly argues that "curriculum in every society must be a reflection of what the people feel, believe and do...seen as the deliberate systematic and planned attempt not only to change the behaviours of children and youth ... (but) to gain the social insight and power to build a better society". It should address the structure and social stratification of society, Abraham (1975:106), the prevailing environmental and socio-economic factors of the area; the evils of genocide/ethnic cleansing, attitude of the students, the type of skills required for survival, reconciliation. re-orientation and reintegration strategies, Bassey and Oshita (2007:68), specific quality of teachers to handle prevailing phenomena, instructional processes, etc and an appeal for national and international assistance from NGOs, philanthropists, humanitarian organizations, community and family leaders, youth groups and associations. Abraham (1975:57) too strongly agrees that this curriculum is to broaden our knowledge and conception of the phenomena we are faced with and a deeper understanding acquired will enable us to control it (violence) more effectively since we are dealing with human passions and emotions because if we know the causes that operate to make people intolerant or afraid of one another, the task of eradicating prejudice and fear will not be insurmountable. These arguments agree perfectly with the provisions of Para.20 (g) of the National Policy on Education, 1998 which specifies that secondary school education shall "raise a generation of people who can think for themselves, respect the views and feelings of others, respect the dignity of labour, appreciate those values specified under our broad national goals and live as good citizens".

Asuni (2007:125-129) reported the resolution of an intricate pseudo-political crisis between the Tiv and the Jukun in Taraba State, Nigeria through identifying the structure of the societies embroiled in the crisis and social stratification factors. Specifically, she reported that her team, Academic Associates PeaceWorks "conducted a series of activities including case studies, peace education in schools, conflict management workshops for both youth leaders and elders and numerous conciliation visits by our two mediators ... their (Tiv and Jukun) underlying needs and fears were actually quite different". The Tiv needed farmlands to grow their food crops, certificates of origin to be recruited into the military or get scholarships including political participation. The Jukun loathed them (Tiv) for not following the correct procedures. The Tiv who are egalitarian "did not show proper respect for the Jukun traditional authority". She reported further that "the Tiv, a group with low power distance and moderate individualism were interacting with the Jukun, whose society was characterized by high power distance and high collectivism" (p.126). She concluded by

stating that the Jukun are also highly ascriptive, whereas the Tiv tend to be more achievement oriented. This team also moved to Warri in Delta State, Nigeria where there is a protracted cross-cultural conflict between the Ijaws, Itsekiris and the Urhobos. This study strongly believes that if the highly commendable fire-fighting approach and strategies of Academic Associates PeaceWorks and others like theirs, are institutionalized and appropriate structures established by government in Bette-Bendi and all politically violent and unstable areas in Nigeria, there will be a permanent solution of all political crises in the country. The success which Academic Associates PeaceWorks has achieved is an indication that the resolution of political crises through a survivalist curriculum as canvassed in this study will certainly pay off. This could be extended to other politically violent and unstable areas of Africa.

Teachers and other educational staff should be specially trained to implement this curriculum as well as to enable them cope with the hazards and challenges of this kind of work environment just as are journalists, health personnel, the Red Cross, and so on. Education staffs who work in these dangerous places should equally enjoy protection and other services or assistance extended to relief and other humanitarian workers in similar situations. The benefit from this is unquantifiable because while the services of other agencies aim at mitigating the suffering of people in these areas, education strikes at the core – permanent positive behaviour change that removes all causes of subsequent relapse into violence and instability. In concluding this literature review, Etuk (1984:4) argues that “our kind of education would not make anyone a gunner. It would instead infuse into a young Nigerian (and, of course, people in all violent and unstable areas), the sense and awareness ... that conflicts are inevitable features of all political systems and are even more severe in modernizing nations ....” This is why this study investigated the relationship between political violence and secondary school education as the main cause of political instability, poverty and socio-economic underdevelopment of Nigeria with specific focus on Bette-Bendi people of Cross River State. The quality of secondary school education provided by a survivalist curriculum is the ultimate goal of a functional secondary school education, Moore and Quinn (1994:13) in both developed and developing countries.

## Research Design

A descriptive-survey design was adopted for this research because the events had taken place in their natural course of happening. What was required was to examine and analyze, in the context of Bette-Bendi people of Cross River State, Nigeria, the relationship between political violence and secondary school education and test for causality between them. Three research questions and three null hypotheses were formulated to guide the study: Data gathering for this research involved the use of stratified random sampling without replacement to identify twelve (12) secondary schools from a population of 54 that existed in the area; 5 x 4 contingent tables to analyze data for the  $\chi^2$  test that were later subjected to v-statistic and factor analysis as shown in the Factor Matrix. The data were gathered by means of a 15-item 4-point Likert Rating Scale administered on 48 teaching staff proportionately picked by random sample from 12 secondary schools by blind draws. The Factor Matrix (Table3) was based on three factors of political violence, youths' apathy for secondary school education and survivalist curriculum.

**Results**

- (1) Table1 below gives a summary of  $\chi^2$  test results from 5 x 4 contingent tables at the significance of 0.05 and 12 df (degree of freedom). Based on these results, all three null hypotheses were rejected in favour of their alternatives.

**Table 1:** Null Hypotheses Testing

Formula for  $\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(O-E)^2}{E}$

Hypotheses	$\chi^2$ Cal.	$\chi^2$ Crit.(at 12 df)	Decisions
H <sub>0</sub> I	22.69	21.026	H <sub>0</sub> Rejected; H <sub>1</sub> Accepted
H <sub>0</sub> II	24.99	21.026	H <sub>0</sub> Rejected; H <sub>1</sub> Accepted
H <sub>0</sub> III	23.71	21.026	H <sub>0</sub> Rejected; H <sub>1</sub> Accepted

- (2) Table 2 below also gives a summary of v-statistic results showing moderate but significant relationships of 0.31, 0.43 and 0.36 between the variables respectively for hypotheses I – III.

**Table 2:** v-statistic results

Cramer's V-Statistic Formula:  $V = \frac{\chi^2}{N} \sqrt{\frac{1}{C-1} \frac{1}{R-1}}$

$V = \frac{\chi^2}{N} \sqrt{\frac{1}{C-1} \frac{1}{R-1}}$

Hypotheses	$\chi^2$ Results		v-statistic results
	$\chi^2$ Cal.	$\chi^2$ Crit.	
Ho I	22.69	21.026	0.31
Ho. II	24.99	21.026	0.43
Ho. III	23.71	21.026	0.36

The factor matrix table below shows detailed results of analyses of data with the SPSS software.

**Table 3:** Factor Matrix on Political Violence and Secondary School Education

S/No	Research Variables	Political Violence	Youth apathy For Sec Sch. Educ.	Survivalist Curriculum	Community (h <sup>2</sup> )
1	Secondary School Education Policies' formulation	.63	.24	.51	.69
2	Secondary school education Policies' Implementation	.38	.22	.61	.57
3	Provision of Infrastructure and equipment	.71	-.05	.23	.96
4	Teachers' career longevity	.68	.31	.13	.58



5	Suppression of trade unionism in secondary schools	.88	.12	-.13	.81
6	Political instability	.71	.53	-.06	.79
7	Militancy/Kid-soldiering	.73	.51	-.03	.84
8	Vandalization of government/educational infrastructure	.68	.61	-.21	.79
9	Craze for money and material wealth	.61	.55	-.13	.96
10	Indulgence in social vices (armed robbery, cultism, drug abuse, etc.)	.59	.66	-.15	.81
11	Identification of prevailing environmental factors (social, political, economic)	.31	-.23	.91	.98
12	Reconciliation, reorientation and reintegration	-.07	.13	.83	.71
13	Type of skills requited for survival during this period	.30	.27	.71	.67
14	Structure of society and social stratification	.33	.21	.87	.91
15	Specially trained teachers to work in these circumstances	-.04	.08	.81	.66

## Discussion

The rejection of all three null hypotheses indicates a relationship between political violence and secondary school education in Bette-Bendi and, of course, Nigeria.. This result is corroborated by the strong loadings on variables 1 and 3-10 for Factor I; variables 6-10 for Factor II and variables 1-2 and 11-15 for Factor III in the Factor Matrix. The v-statistic values of 0.31, 0.43 and 0.36 equally indicate low but significant relationship between political violence and secondary school education variables as stated in the research questions.

Although the results of this investigation show that there is a relationship between political violence and secondary school education in Bette-Bendi and, consequently, Nigeria, it may be wrong to assume that this is the only cause of poor quality secondary school education and behaviour control in the country as several other factors not investigated by this research could also be responsible for this situation.

The apparent strong loadings on variables 6 – 10 for both Factors I and II is of significant interest. These results agree with the arguments of Maier (2000: xxv) and Abraham (1975:106).

The strong loadings on variables 1-2 and 11-15 for Factor III strongly suggest that if the work of Academic Associates PeaceWorks as reported by Asuni (2007:125-129) is properly evaluated and utilized, necessary policy framework put in place and the required political will harnessed to resolve political crises through a survivalist curriculum, this could be the much desired end to political violence and instability in not only Bette-Bendi in the Niger Delta but also the whole of Nigeria.

## Conclusion

This research focused on the current debate in Nigeria with respect to the perennial decline of the quality of education and behaviour control of youths generally and secondary school education and youth militancy in the Niger Delta in particular. The study argues that the consistent decline in the quality of secondary school education and youth behaviour control in the country as shown in the data analyzed has been due to prolonged political violence and instability. The study recognized the fact that education, as a social service, is subject to many other causal factors and environmental influences; hence it investigated only the relationship between political violence, secondary school education and behaviour control factors. The research strongly suggests that government should take advantage of the work of Academic Associates PeaceWorks in Taraba State and Warri, Delta State, establish relevant structures and constitute a committee of experts to develop a survivalist curriculum for secondary school education for politically violent and unstable areas in the country because this curriculum has potential for positive and permanent behaviour change among people in the affected areas and the country as a whole. This curriculum has become imperative because continued political violence and instability could throw the country into major crises as was the case between 1960 and 1965 among the Tivs and the Yorubas that culminated in the collapse of the First Republic and a civil war.

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