



INSTITUTE OF CLIMATE CHANGE STUDIES ENERGY
AND ENVIRONMENT

UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA, NSUKKA
(ICCSEE-UNN)

IN COLLABORATION WITH

AFRICAN TECHNOLOGY POLICY STUDIES NETWORK
(ATPS), NAIROBI, KENYA

PRESENTS

2ND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

THEME **CLIMATE CHANGE;**
THREAT TO HUMANITY AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT



12th-14th
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2024

BOOK OF PROCEEDING



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ENVIRONMENT**

UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA, NSUKKA (UNN).

**2ND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE HELD AT
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Theme

**“CLIMATE CHANGE: THREAT TO HUMANITY AND NATIONAL
DEVELOPMENT”**

Reviewed Papers Presented at the 2nd International Conference of the Institute of Climate Change
Studies, Energy and Environment, University of Nigeria, Nsukka (ICCSEE-UNN), MARCH 12 – 14,
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From the Director's Desk

It is my privilege to present the proceedings from the 2024 2nd International Climate Change Conference of the Institute of Climate Change Studies, Energy and Environment, University of Nigeria, Nsukka, held from March 12 – 14, 2024 at the University of Nigeria Nsukka ICT Centre, Enugu Nigeria. This annual gathering of leading climate scientists, policymakers, and advocates once again brought together the global community to share the latest research, debates the most pressing issues, and chart a course for urgent action regarding climate change mitigation and adaptation.

The papers in this volume have demonstrated the tremendous progress made in our scientific trajectory toward understanding the drivers, impacts, and potential solutions to the climate crisis. This compendium reflects the depth and breadth of the work being done to address the defining challenge of our time. Yet, as the conference discussants made clear, we remain in a race against time. As global greenhouse gas emissions continue to rise, extreme weather events are increasing, and vulnerable populations are bearing the brunt of climate change's devastating toll. The need for bold, coordinated action cannot be over-emphasized.

I hope that the insights and ideas contained in this proceeding will help spur governments, businesses, and civil societies to implement the transformative changes required to build a sustainable, climate-resilient future for everyone. The stakes have never been higher, but I am pleased by the creativity, passion and determination that engrossed this conference.

I thank all of the authors for their contributions, and I invite you, the reader, to engage deeply with this material. Let it inspire you to get involved, to speak up, and to demand the action that science compels. The future of our planet depends on it.

My special words of appreciation go to the Chairman of the LOC/SOC and his team for their dedication and hard work. We look forward to more exciting editions in the future.

Thank You

Sincerely,

Professor (Mrs) F.N. Okeke, FTWAS, FAAS, FAS

Director, ICCSEE-UNN / Editor-in-Chief



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NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT'S POLICY RESPONSE TO FOOD CRISIS AND CLIMATE CHANGE: IMPLICATIONS TO SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE

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Abstract

Many countries across the globe including Nigeria are currently experiencing severe food crisis and climate change that leave many households unable to feed their families. Protests and demonstrations have been witnessed especially in some Nigerian cities as no concrete actions have been taken by the government to address the situation. Social work as a profession concerned with the well-being of people cannot shelve itself from this situation. This paper examined the Nigerian government's policy response to the skyrocketing prices of staple foods in the midst of global climate change and its implications to social work practice. The paper relied more on the secondary sources of data collection (internet materials, journal articles, textbooks and conference documents) that were later content analyzed. The paper noted that the Nigerian government's policies on food and climate change have been more of a knee-jerk reaction premised on setting up various committees that do not produce positive results, make-shift settlement patterns for climate disaster victims, banning food importation, forcing food producers and owners of warehouses to release their products to consumers and giving palliatives/distribution of grains rather than fashioning out reliable policies/programmes and new technologies that would bring a solution to the prevailing realities of the country. The paper therefore recommended amongst others that the government should scale up the budgetary allocation to Agricultural production, construction of dams as well as involve social workers as part of policy initiatives and for proper sensitizations on climate-induced disasters.

Key Words: Climate change, Crisis, Food, Policy, Social Work

Introduction

The accelerating food crisis in Nigeria and other parts of the world occasioned by global changes in weather conditions seems to have left a negative mark on the ability of the governments at different levels to sustain a well-nourished and healthy population that demands easy access and availability of food and nutrients. The World Health Organization (WHO, 2021) in one of its reports revealed that about 3 billion people globally cannot easily access staple foods as a result of rising prices and this has posed a serious challenge to their wellbeing. This situation seems to be more severe in Africa and Asia. Oderinde *et al* (2022) argued that this food crisis is not unconnected with climate change which has seriously affected crop production in different countries. According to the authors, climate change and food crises have become the biggest contemporary challenges facing humanity in the 21st century, although their vulnerability differs not only from one continent to another but also among sub-regions, countries, geo-political zones, and even communities. High temperature and variability in humidity, flood, drought, land degradation, and other harsh atmospheric conditions have been the major risk factors in the production of food crops in many African countries including Nigeria. Reduction in crop production will result in a persistent increase in the prices of food items, consequently breeding hunger, starvation, malnutrition and other forms of crisis (Ajibade *et al*, 2020, Amolegbe *et al*, 2021).

In Nigeria, Alli (2024) noted that the rising cost of food items has made many Nigerian cities to be tension soaked in the recent time, particularly in Kano, Niger, Ibadan and others where placard-carrying protesters took over the major streets urging the government to find a lasting solution to the skyrocketing cost of food items. Food is one of the necessities of life required for growth, repair and

maintenance of our body systems as well as for regulation of vital processes. Ekwe (2022) reports that in 2021 and 2022 respectively, Nigeria came under 97 and 107th positions out of 113 countries assessed under the Global Food Security Index. The results of this assessment portray the high level of food crisis being experienced by Nigerians. Nnodim *et al* (2024) emphasized that as of December 2023, prices of some staple foods in Nigeria such as rice, beans, plantain, grains, fish, poultry and meat surged by 50% of their previous prices which resulted in the government spending about N1.47 trillion on food importation.

Studies have shown that the food crisis has a nexus with climate change and the inability of the government to implement various policies initiated on crop production and climate change since the onset of democracy (Adegbola *et al*, 2011, Terkula *et al*, 2019, De Jong, 2021). The National Policy on Climate Change and Climate Change Strategy (2013) succinctly stated that climate change is one of the major threats to socio-economic development and food production especially in developing countries in this 21st century as the ability to adapt and cope with the situation depends fully on the economic resources, infrastructural facilities, technology and social safety nets. On the other hand, Terkula *et al* (2019) assert that most countries in Asia and Sub-saharan Africa seem to be ill-prepared in terms of coastal protection, disaster response system, victims' relief and recovery assistance.

Ekwe (2022) however, stated that for some years now, Nigeria has been experiencing a series of climate-related disasters ranging from rising temperature, gully erosion, drought and increasing flooding that had made the country vulnerable to crop failure and livestock production. The author also remarked that in 2022, flood destroyed thousands of hectares of farmland in some parts of Nigeria's southern and middle zones, which amounted to billions of naira while some other parts in the northeast and northwest experienced acute drought and land degradation. The devastating effect of this flood was attributed to unusual rainfall and the release of excess water from the Lagdo Dam in Cameroon (Inwalomhe, 2023). De Long (2021) also pointed out that in 2018, Nigeria experienced flooding in many of its states and which affected farmlands and seriously reduced the production of major crops in Nigeria such as yam, rice, grains, soya beans among others ushering in starvation and hardship with little or no positive response from the government. Drought is said to have made a mess of crop productivity in many regions, especially in the northeast and northwestern zones, which in most cases persist for a long time. Similarly, Gidey (2018) noted that drought and flood expose farmers to crop failure, which results in famine, hunger and death including livestock. Reports from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID, 2020) show that globally, more than 800 million people were found to live in hunger, which means that this population retires to bed without taking any food as they do not have access to sufficient food for their daily needs. This situation becomes so pathetic as only about 2% of the Nigeria crop-land is under irrigation, which implies that a greater percentage of Nigerian farmers depends fully on rainfall that is unpredictable as a result of climate change. Eze (2018) observed that during the year or period of abundant rainfall, farmers are bound to have bumper harvests from both crop and livestock production.

Research evidence has also shown that as far back as the early 1970s, the Nigerian government had established a number of policies targeted at alleviating hunger and ensuring the availability of some common staple foods for the population (Okuneye, 1992, Adegbola *et al*, 2011, Simpa & Peter, 2015, Matemilola, 2017). Some of these programs include; the open importation of rice into the country, the establishment of the National Accelerated Food Production Project (NAFPP) in 1974 which was later replaced with the Agricultural Development Project (ADP) with technological packages for improved crop production, Operation Feed the Nation (OFN) launched in 1976 and the Green Revolution of 1980, Root and Tuber Expansion Programme, Fadama Development Project, Community Based Agricultural and Rural Development Scheme amongst others (Nwanunobi *et al*, 1995, Adegbola, 2011, Simpa & Peter, 2015). The Olusegun Obasanjo administration from 1999 to the present administration led by Ahmed Bola Tinubu had made frantic efforts to stamp out issues related to the food crisis in Nigeria, especially by declaring an emergency on food production, yet the situation has not changed. The Muhammed Buhari administration in 2015 also initiated beautiful policies on climate change to improve agricultural production in Nigeria and end hunger, yet the situation continues to worsen.

In articulating many of these policies, the government did not consider it necessary to collaborate with some major stakeholders in the human service profession like social workers because of their self-

interest. Social workers recognize the implications of climate-induced disasters and food scarcity on the well-being and functional ability of individuals, hence the essence of this paper. The paper therefore examined the Nigerian government's policy response to the food crisis and climate change and its implications to social work practice. In doing this, the following objectives were set out to achieve; (i) To identify some policy measures/strategies put in place by the Nigerian government right from the era of the military to the present democratic government (ii) To examine the extent of success of these policies (iii) To find out the implications of the policy response to social work practice and finally (iv) To make some recommendations.

Literature Review

Nexus on the concept of climate change and food crisis

The term 'climate change' simply refers to variations in atmospheric elements such as solar radiation, temperature, relative humidity, and precipitation over a long period (Ani, 2022). It is an alteration or a persistent departure from the mean and variability properties of the climate system especially when considered over a long period, no matter what might have been the cause. Article one, of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC, 1992) defines climate change as a change of climate attributed directly or indirectly to human activity that alters the composition of the global atmosphere and which is in addition to natural climate variability observed over comparable periods.

Similarly, the Inter-Governmental Panel on Climate Change (2007) defines climate change as any change in the climate over time, whether due to natural variability or as a result of human activity. Climate change is caused by the increasing concentration of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere, which as a result of its molecular structures are capable of absorbing inferred radiation or heat (Ezirim & Onuoha, 2008). Some of these gases include; carbon dioxide, methane, chlorofluorocarbons, halocarbons, nitrous oxide, and others. El-Laden (2014) noted that some climate-induced conditions such as flood, drought, extreme temperature, biodiversity depletion, and land degradation tend to affect agricultural productivity/livestock production. On the other hand, food crisis as used in this paper refers to the inability of the individual to access enough food for an active/ healthy life. It means the unavailability of staple food consistently, soaring prices of food, and inability to acquire food items at affordable prices (El-Laden, 2014). The food crisis is multi-faceted to include a society becoming vulnerable to the erratic food supply, malnutrition/hunger, unaffordable food cost, low-quality food, or complete absence of food (Eneji *et al*, 2020). It also denotes the lack of regular access to enough food and the consumption of diets poor in nutrients which could contribute to the development of diseases (Murthy, 2016, FAO *et al*, 2021). Olarinde *et al* (2022) also see the food crisis as a situation where people cannot access healthy diets as a result of rising prices, burgeoning poverty, and income inequality.

Research evidence has confirmed that climate-induced disasters have worsened food productivity in many parts of the world including Nigeria, leading to acute human suffering for some decades now (Ayinde *et al*, 2011, Ughaelu *et al*, 2017, Ikem, 2018, Terkula *et al*, 2019). In 2012, for example, Nigeria experienced flooding that had never been recorded in any part of the West African sub-region and the history of the nation in the past four decades which led to heavy loss in crops and livestock production (Ogbuchi, 2020). Sawin (2013) on the same note stated that climate change tends to undermine efforts to mitigate world poverty, and directly threatens people's homes and livelihoods. According to the author, climate change negatively impacts land causing food scarcity and energy depletion which in turn result in migration and conflict. Matemilola and Elegbede *et al* (2017) however, argued that the Nigerian food crisis is not only caused by climate change and other forms of natural disasters but results from insufficient production to sustain the population, corruption, and poor policy implementation, low technology for processing and storage, insecurity amongst others. These factors have resulted in disruptions in the seasonal patterns of food production and distribution, thereby shooting up the prices of food items as well as restricting people from accessing food items as they like (Oyinloye, 2018)

In tracing the development of the current food crisis in Nigeria, Matemilola and Elegbede (2017) stated that Nigeria's food crisis had its roots in the discovery of petroleum products at Olobiri in 1956 and its

exploration in 1958. By the middle of the 1970s, Nigerian oil was booming yielding revenues at a level of about 29 billion United States dollars which made the former military head of state; General Gowon boast that in Nigeria, money was no longer their problem but how to spend it. The authors noted that within this period, agriculture which had been the mainstay of the economy was placed at the backseat even though this sector contributes more than 40% of the nation's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) with almost 70% of the country's workforce. Many farmers became weak and unable to meet their subsistence requirements, thus exposing them and their families to volatile prices in the markets, poverty, and hunger (El-Laden, 2014). The neglect of the agricultural sector may have made Owoo (2021) conclude that for many years now, accessing staple foods in Nigeria has been on the decline, especially in the urban centers resulting in many families devising various strategies to cope with the challenges. This shows the level of escalation and the proportion of the Nigerian population that could only survive at the mercy of God for daily meals. Purvis and Busby (2008) remarked that averting some humanitarian catastrophes occasioned by climate-related drought, flood, and the resultant crop failure remains one of the significant challenges of most nations of the world.

Government's Policy Response/strategies on Climate change and Food Crisis

The various governments in Nigeria since independence do not take for granted issues bordering on the well-being of their citizens at different points in time. In other words, the Nigerian government had initiated several policy measures on climate change and agriculture from the onset to mitigate all forms of catastrophes associated with climate and food scarcity. According to the World Bank (2016), climate change has been a potent multiplier for other urgent concerns (hunger/starvation, habitat loss, poverty, disease, insecurity, and others). The devastating effect of climate change on food production is so alarming that food scarcity and its soaring prices have made many people unable to take care of their families as needed. In 1989, the government developed a new environmental policy to tackle some emerging environmental issues that could affect the nation's food production. Similarly, in 2004, the National Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan were developed, followed by the National Policy on Erosion, Flood Control, and Coastal Zone Management in 2005, National Policy on Drought, and Desertification coming up in 2007 amongst others (Adegbola *et al*, 2011, Simpa & Peter, 2015). In 2009, following the clarion call by United States President; Barak Obama to the global community to be alert on the impending dangers of climate change and the need to take urgent action, the Nigerian government established the National policy on climate change and climate change policy Response and Strategy (Terkula, 2019). Climate change now became a department under the federal Ministry of Environment with its headquarters located in Abuja. The emphasis was to tackle carbon dioxide emissions and promote the development that will make the country resilient through the attainment of set targets (NCCPRS, 2013).

Again, in 2021, the former president; Muhammadu Buhari announced that the country would reduce its carbon emission and reach net zero by 2050 while attending COP 26 meeting in Glasgow. The president then signed into law, a new climate bill that created a year's emission budget with a view to achieving net-zero greenhouse gas emission (GHG) between 2030 and 2050.

On the government's policies on agriculture and food production, different policies have been developed by the government at both federal and state/local levels. For example, the government launched the National Food Production Program in 1973, the National Seed Service (NSS) in 1975, Operation Feed the Nation (OFN) in 1976, the Green Revolution in 1979, the Back-to-land program in 1983, the establishment of Directorate for food, roads and rural infrastructures (DFRRI) in 1986, the Agricultural Development Project (ADP) amongst others (Nwanunobi *et al*, 1995, Adegbola *et al*, 2011, Simpa & Peter, 2015). In addition, the government also banned the importation of staple food into the country, established a bank for agriculture to enable farmers to obtain loans at a minimal interest rate as well and distribute fertilizers to farmers at a subsidized rate. In another positive development, the current government led by Ahmed Bola Tinubu recently announced the completion of 22,308 hectares of irrigation projects and stated that the project had been handed over to farmers for food production (Nnodim *et al*, 2024). The government had also declared on Wednesday; 14th February 2024 that it would distribute 42,000 metric tonnes of grains to poor Nigerians at no cost as a part of the government's efforts

to tackle the food crisis in the country. Equally, 20,000 hectares of irrigated land were also provided to farmers as the president noted that irrigated agricultural practices have become a viable intervention option to ameliorate food scarcity in Nigeria (Nnodim *et al*, 2024). The president promised to ban the importation of food crops in Nigeria as well as introduce stringent foreign exchange policies to strengthen the naira and bring the prices of staple foods within the reach of all Nigerians (Edidiiong, 2024).

Assessing the extent of success of policies initiated on climate change and food crisis in Nigeria

In Nigeria, despite the resources (material, human, and financial) expended on climate change and food production under both the military and democratic government, the situation has not recorded a remarkable improvement, yet each administration claims that their policies yielded good results. The reality is that most of the policies initiated to tackle the nation's problems only end up in paperwork. Simpa and Peter (2015) argued that most policies initiated on climate change and food production were fraught with inconsistencies, lack of professionalism, corruption, lack of clarity/specificity, timeliness, and discontinuity amongst others. The implication is that the policy makers who are mostly politicians in the National Assembly in most cases do not have in-depth knowledge of the policies and due to personal aggrandizement do not want to involve experts in the areas. In addition, little attention is devoted to the implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of these policies to check whether the intended results are being actualized. Idachaba (2000) noted that these policy instruments are formulated based on the beliefs, values, and goals of the government without considering the problem characteristics, technology, and socio-cultural landscape. This aligns with the assumption of the public choice theory used as the theoretical framework of this paper which expressly made it clear that government fails because the political class does not consider the preferences of the masses rather their motives center on self-interest (Shaw, 2002).

Corruption has been another potent factor that has accounted for the failure of most government policies in Nigeria including that of climate change and food production. In many cases, the monies mapped out for the implementation of these desirable policies end up in the private account of a few individuals at the corridor of power. For example, the federal government came up with DFRRI (Directorate for Food, road, and Rural Infrastructure), a well-articulated program meant to boost food production and rural transformation, but the program did not go far because of massive corruption (Simpa & Peter, 2015). During the administration of Shehu Shagari (1979-1983), the government released billions of naira for the importation of foreign rice into the country as a way of addressing acute food scarcity but the money ended up in the private account of the then-national chairman of the ruling party (National party of Nigeria-NPN), exposing the people to hunger. Chinua Achebe in his book titled, 'The Trouble with Nigeria' noted that the Nigerian problem centers on the unwillingness and inability of its leaders to rise to the responsibility and challenge of personal example which forms the hallmark of true leadership.

Again, the continued reliance on the support of international communities on issues related to climate change and crop production by the Nigerian government is another issue that is accountable for the failure of most policies on climate change and the current food crisis. According to the Nigeria Climate Tracker (2023), the Nigerian government is committed to reducing emissions by 47% by 2030 which is conditional on international support. The implication is depletion and misallocation of the nation's meager resources.

Theoretical Framework

The paper adopted the public choice theory enunciated by Thomas Hobbes in 1651 as its theoretical framework. The theory which parallels the theory of government failure argues that most relevant agents of government tend to place their self-interest first at the detriment of the overall interest of the people. According to Dollery (1994), public choice theory is used to explain how political decision-making or policies bring outcome that contradicts the preferences of the general public. Since politicians and policymakers are being sustained by public funds, many policies they initiate tend to align with their interests first, despite the desire of the masses. This appears to be the reason why the government's

interventions in certain issues do not achieve the desired results. Shaw (2002) noted that although the people at the helm of affairs may have some concern for the general public, their utmost motives center on their self-interest.

In Nigeria, the majority of the policies/programs articulated by the government on climate change and food crises run counter to the common good of the people. For example, the federal government had continued to stress millions of naira that had been injected into the irrigation project as a way of promoting food production but the reality on the ground in most cases is far less than what we see in the policy provisions. In addition, many farmers in our rural communities hardly benefit from the so-called Agricultural loan scheme designed for farmers. In some cases, the potential beneficiaries are the people in the corridor of power. The system of providing adequate services to cushion the problems of the people is not embraced enthusiastically by the political class.

Implications to Social Work Practice

The social work profession appears to have an essential role to play especially in helping people to understand issues related to climate change disasters as well as enhancing the overall wellbeing of individuals, groups, or communities as a whole. The social work profession promotes Social change problem-solving in human relationships and the empowerment/liberation of people to enhance well-being (IFSW, 2000). Lymbery and Postle (2007) posit that the causes of problems in everyday life and a lack of well-being arise from Social relationships and the structural arrangements of society. The author further noted that right from the onset, social work as a profession was committed to achieving a fair/democratic society and social justice. In other words, social workers are expected to oppose inequality, poverty, oppression, and other forms of environmental threats (Banks, 2006). This aligns with the view of Clark (2013) that social workers need to know the essentiality of human rights and social justice in their negotiation of policies designed for climate change and food crisis. What this implies is that social workers are duty-bound to enhance human wellbeing by following the social justice and human rights policies/frameworks. Adams (2002) argues that it is vital for social work practitioners to grasp the policy context of cases they handle to improve their responses to the constraints and uncertainties that contribute to the complexities of many people's lives. Social Workers are confronted daily in their work with people experiencing climate-induced disasters such as floods, drought, environmental degradation and which results in food crises, poverty, hunger and starvation, inequitable access to resources, and uneven power relations. It is the role of Social Workers to mediate between people's problems and sources of help from the state/government. According to Adams (2000), the practitioner needs to have a critical awareness of the dimensions of the problems (characteristics, causes, and consequences) in the process of effective intervention.

Ramsay and Boddy (2016) argued that knowledge of instrumental policies and benefits provides social workers with justification for environmental intervention when working with clients who were trapped by certain forms of climate change disasters. In this process, the practitioners try to incorporate environmental consciousness to assist them/in undertaking disaster preparation, planning, response, and adaptation strategies necessary to assist individuals, groups, and communities in building capacities in the face of climate change threats (Alston, 2023). The social work profession also has as one of its responsibilities, the protection of vulnerable populations affected by climate change and food crisis which inversely impact negatively on the overall well-being of the people.

Gray and Coates (2015) opine that social workers are endowed with unique skills and knowledge necessary to enhance the functional capacity of individuals, groups, or communities, and as such, social workers are expected to collaborate with other professionals, legislators, and other government officials in the formulation and execution of climate change policies as well as developing and strengthening resilience mechanisms or assisting clients in psycho-social recovery from the shocks experienced over climate-induced disasters. This could also be achieved through community education and educational group models in disseminating information related to climate change and devising solutions to avert the food crisis Nyahunda *et al* (2021). Social Work is concerned with all issues related to enhancing human well-being and the overall social functioning of individuals, groups/communities through the broad-based application of a professional knowledge base predicated on alleviating all forms of distress,

fostering social change, social cohesion, and promotion of social justice. However, in most countries in sub-Saharan Africa, including Nigeria, there is no climate change policy designed by Social Workers or incorporated social work perspectives even though it is necessary. Social work is a problem discipline.

Conclusion

From the foregoing, it is clear that the problems emanating from climate-induced weather conditions such as crop failure/food crisis have remained unabated despite different policies and programs enunciated by each administration in Nigeria. There have been threats of drought flood and other weather hazards that have exposed the majority of Nigerians to hunger and starvation for many years now. Each government that comes on board will tell you that they are bringing out policies that will end hunger in the land, yet hunger persists. The issue of relying on foreign support to resolve our climate change catastrophes and agricultural production can never be the best option. Nigeria is highly blessed with abundant resources to an extent that what the nation need at this time is good leadership.

Recommendations

In light of the catastrophic effects of climate change and food crises being experienced in Nigeria and other countries of the world, this paper makes the following recommendations as measures to mitigate the situation.

1. There is a need to involve social workers and other human service professionals in the articulation of climate change policies in Nigeria.
2. Budgetary allocation to the agricultural sector should be scaled up.
3. It is also necessary that we reduce the nation's overreliance on International communities for everything including food production and climate change.
4. There is an urgent need to develop new technology preferably ones that align with the African environment.
5. Finally, it is high time we change our orientation in the choice of our leaders.

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