

The 'un-palliating' Palliative: The Politicization of Food Palliative in Nigeria

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Abstract

In 2020, lockdown measures aimed at curbing COVID-19 in Nigeria severely disrupted livelihoods and prompted the government to distribute food palliatives as emergency relief. Since then, this approach has become a recurring strategy during economic crises or social upheavals, ostensibly to alleviate hunger among vulnerable populations. However, this paper contends that food palliatives are not merely humanitarian aid but a calculated political instrument. By temporarily appeasing public discontent, they divert attention from systemic governance failures such as chronic poverty, corruption, and institutional dysfunction, without addressing their root causes. Methodologically, the study employs qualitative analysis of secondary data (academic literature, media reports, and policy documents), thematically examining the nexus between palliative distributions and governance deficits. Findings reveal that such short-term measures reinforce cycles of bad governance by substituting performative relief for sustainable economic reforms. Through Foucault's lens of governmentality, the paper demonstrates how palliatives function as tools of state control, masking structural inequities rather than resolving them. The study concludes by advocating for the abolition of the palliative programmes and urges governments at all levels to prioritise long-term developmental strategies to tackle food insecurity and governance challenges holistically.

Keywords: Palliatives, Politics, Governance, Food Security, Poverty, Economic Reforms & Governmentality.

Introduction

Nigeria's recent economic reforms which include fuel subsidy removal and naira floating, have exposed the absence of structural safeguards to mitigate their devastating impact (Kofarbai, Ahmad & Dakingari, 2024). These policies, implemented without adequate social protections, have triggered hyperinflation, eroded purchasing power, and pushed millions into extreme poverty (Ajibola, 2024). Unlike other nations that pair such reforms with robust safety nets, Nigeria's approach has been recklessly improvisational. President Tinubu's abrupt subsidy removal in May 2023 spiked petrol prices from ₦195 to over ₦1,050 per litre (Aro, 2024), paralysing transportation systems, destabilising food markets, and plunging households into unprecedented hardship (Njoku & Mmuogbuo, 2025; Majeed, 2024).

With over 70% of Nigerians already multidimensionally poor (World Bank, 2020), the government's response has been tellingly superficial. President Tinubu's proposed ₦8,000 cash transfers to 12 million households which was quickly abandoned after public backlash (Tolu-Kolawole et al., 2023) epitomises this trend. Rather than instituting systemic reforms, the administration has normalised stopgap measures, using palliatives to mask policy failures (Punch Newspaper, 2024). These programmes, ostensibly designed to alleviate suffering, have instead deepened dependency while failing to address root causes such as unemployment, healthcare deficits, or informal sector exclusion (Elias, 2020).

The lethal consequences of this approach are undeniable. In Lagos, seven Nigerians died in a stampede for subsidised rice (Princewill, 2024); in Nasarawa and Bauchi, students also died while scrambling for aid (Agwam, 2024; Sobowale, 2024). Over 60 lives have been lost nationwide in similar tragedies (Agbakwuru, 2024), which demonstrates a system that prioritises political optics over human dignity. Thus, this paper interrogates: How do palliative programmes reflect the deceptive governance tactics of Nigeria's political elite? Have these initiatives alleviated or exacerbated socio-economic inequalities? Using qualitative analysis of government reports, academic literature, and media coverage, thematic coding was employed to expose how palliatives function as tools of political pacification rather than genuine poverty alleviation. In Nigeria, food palliative schemes have become the government's go-to response to economic crises and disasters. While touted as vital relief for vulnerable citizens, these programmes often serve as political tools - distracting from governance failures and boosting politicians' fortunes. The implementation routinely prioritises political calculations over genuine need, with corrupt practices undermining their effectiveness.

Despite the growing scholarship on poverty alleviation and social welfare in Nigeria, limited attention has been paid to the politicisation of food palliatives as a tool for manipulating public perception and suppressing dissent. Existing studies often focus on economic dimensions of poverty or the inefficiencies in welfare distribution, without critically interrogating how food aid is deployed as a political instrument. This article fills that gap by examining how the Nigerian government weaponises food palliatives, particularly rice, to pacify citizens and deflect from structural failures. It exposes the symbolic, deceptive use of palliatives in perpetuating ineffective governance and undermining democratic accountability. Additionally, it examines how these schemes perpetuate bad governance cycles, manipulate public perception, erode citizen trust and obstructs meaningful economic reforms needed to tackle Nigeria's root causes of poverty and underdevelopment.

Conceptual Review

Politics

There is no consensus on the definition of politics. In other words, politics means many things to different people. Some scholars see it as the art of the possible while others see it as public affairs or governance or the pursuit of the common good (Djeudo, 2013). It can also mean compromise, consensus, class struggle, constrained use of power, or the unequal distribution of scarce resources (Goodin, 2011; Cerutti, 2017). In *Chimpanzee Politics*, Waal (1982) sees politics as social manipulation to secure and maintain an influential position. Lasswell's (2018) definition of politics as a social process which determines who gets what, when and how corroborates Easton's (1965) view of politics as the authoritative allocation of values. To Lasswell (2018), values are desired goals and power is the ability to participate in decisions while political power is the ability to produce intended effects on other people. A policy is authoritative when the people to whom it is intended to apply or who are affected by it consider that they must or ought to obey it. It allocates through policies and its allocations are also binding on the whole society. It involves making decisions that apply to members of the group. It also involves the use of power by one person to affect the behaviour of another person.

Politics can also be seen as an art of coming to power and retaining the power. To Adams (1907), politics is the systematic organisation of hatred. Others see it as an organised power of one class to oppress another class while other scholars see politics as a social control (palliative) tool which serves as an extension of the politics of deceit in Nigeria. The arts of lying and deception are elements of politics. Put differently, deception is understood as a necessary and justifiable part of politics (Robinson et al., 2018). Elitists argue that people need to sometimes be deceived by an enlightened elite whilst, for realists, the circumstances of politics frequently demand deception by leaders. Most of our leaders are corrupt, they are insensitive to the plights, yearnings and aspirations of the people they govern. We have ruiners parading themselves as rulers, resulting in stagnated development, dashed hopes, unemployment, multidimensional poverty, penury and squalor that exist across the continent of Africa (Oseghale, 2012).

Food Palliatives/Assistance

Food palliatives are temporary emergency interventions aimed at alleviating hunger among vulnerable populations during crises such as pandemics, economic shocks, or natural disasters (FAO, 1996). Typically involving the distribution of basic food items, these programmes claim to offer a lifeline to struggling households. In Nigeria, where multidimensional poverty afflicts over 70% of the population (Njoku & Sidhu, 2021) and farming communities face persistent disruptions, such interventions might appear indispensable.

Yet years of palliative distributions have shown that they are not humanitarian gestures, but as instruments of political manipulation and systemic control. Far from addressing Nigeria's structural food insecurity, these programmes perpetuate a cycle of dependency – one that benefits the political elite more than the starving masses. As Amaize et al. (2024) starkly observe, many Nigerians increasingly recognise these palliatives for what they are – distractions from governance failures, not solutions to them. The grim reality is that palliatives have become a theatre of power. By doling out meagre food supplies, the political class sustains a narrative of benevolence while

evading accountability for policies that deepen poverty. This is not relief; it is calculated subjugation—a way to keep citizens docile, grateful for crumbs, and blind to the root causes of their deprivation: failed agricultural policies, corruption, and the state's abandonment of its developmental duties.

Governmentality and the Politics of food palliatives

Michel Foucault's concept of governmentality which was first articulated in the 1970s, offers a powerful lens for understanding how modern states exercise power beyond overt repression. Defined as "the conduct of conduct," governmentality captures the various subtle techniques by which authorities render populations governable, not through brute force, but through dispersed strategies that shape behaviour, regulate expectations, and encourage compliance (Madsen, 2014). Governance, in this formulation, is not limited to state apparatuses alone; rather, it operates through an ensemble of policies, practices, and institutional arrangements that normalise control and discipline.

At the heart of Foucault's idea is the understanding that power operates not only through coercive institutions but also through norms, discourses and seemingly benign interventions. Through everyday practices such as welfare distribution, public health campaigns, development programmes, governments cultivate subjects who internalise expectations and regulate themselves. Thus, governance becomes less about enforcing obedience and more about producing docile and compliant populations through the management of life itself (Larner & Walters, 2004; Joseph, 2010). This makes governmentality particularly potent by cloaking control in the language of care and assistance while obscuring its disciplinary effects.

Palliative distribution in Nigeria exemplifies Foucault's logic of governmentality. Far from being neutral acts of benevolence, these distributions are embedded within a broader rationality of rule that selectively targets, includes, or excludes citizens based on political calculations. The state's strategic allocation of food aid, especially during times of crisis in Nigeria, functions as a tool for pacifying unrest, rewarding loyalty and projecting an image of compassionate governance. In doing so, rice palliatives replace long-term and structural interventions with short-term spectacles of relief that elicit gratitude from poor Nigerians while legitimising the state's presence.

The impact of this process is multifaceted. First, it reproduces a politics of dependency, where citizens, rather than demanding systemic change, are conditioned to accept temporary handouts as signs of governance. Second, it marginalises dissenting or unaligned communities, further entrenching inequalities in access and opportunity. In other words, those who receive food palliatives are not merely fed, they are governed. Their "gratitude" and compliance become forms of political subjectivity produced by the subtle operations of power. As such, the Nigerian state's palliative regime does not merely alleviate suffering, rather, it manufactures governable subjects. This aligns with Foucault's insights on bio-power and reflects how contemporary governance is deeply invested in the management, rather than emancipation of the poor Nigerian masses.

The history of Food Palliative administration in Nigeria

As a response to the COVID-19 Pandemic and the government's lockdown order and restriction of the movement aimed at curtailing the spread of the COVID-19 pandemic, the Nigerian government rolled out various palliative measures such as food distribution and cash transfers as forms of relief to Nigerian households aimed at mitigating and cushioning the impact of poverty and hunger on vulnerable Nigerian households. Nevertheless, the lockdown decision placed the responsibility of the government to provide reasonable respite for the citizenry, especially the segment of the population that relies on daily earnings for a living. In Abuja, the first phase of palliative distribution targeted 100,000 poor and vulnerable households in each of the six council areas, giving a total of 600,000 poor and vulnerable households (Ezeah, 2020). Since then, various administrations have made it a cornerstone of their administration. For instance, over N5 billion each to the 36 state governors – an N180 billion palliative package was released by states to cushion the impact of the fuel subsidy removal, with poor Nigerians expected to get N2,000 and a cup of rice (Simon, 2023; George & Shaibu, 2023).

Recently, to cushion the resultant hardship of his government's reforms, especially petrol subsidy removal in 2023, President Tinubu rolled out several palliative packages to vulnerable Nigerians, including the distribution of 20 trucks of rice to each of the 36 states in the country (Anuku, 2024). Other states such as Imo have also followed this pattern to dissuade the people of Imo State from joining nationwide protests and cushion the effect of the fuel subsidy removal on the people (Anuku, 2024; Nwaokolo, 2023). Again, in the aftermath of recent floods in Benue and Kogi states, food palliative was also criticised for favouring certain political or ethnic groups (Punch, 2020). Food palliative programmes have been characterised by reports that food palliatives intended for citizens are hoarded in warehouses in various states such as Lagos, Kano, Kogi and Katsina (Aluko, 2020). The discovery of these hoards by the poor masses resulted in looting across several states (BBC, 2020). Instances of selective distribution have also been reported with groups politically or ethnically aligned with the ruling party – APC, receiving a larger share of the palliatives while neglecting others (Olawoyin, 2021). Most times, local officials and those in charge of distribution often divert these items, sharing them among their family and political allies, leaving the most vulnerable people with little or nothing (Ogundapo, 2024).

Discussion and Findings

Political Manipulation

Nigerian politicians use food palliatives as a political tool to shore up electoral support and curry favour with influential political and ethnic groups, rather than as a genuine strategy to address poverty and lack of access to food in Nigeria. Although the government frames them as humanitarian relief, food palliatives frequently function as strategic tools to divert public attention from age-long governance failures and the pervasive nature of multidimensional poverty in Nigeria (Njoku & Sidhu, 2021). In other words, the distribution of food palliatives is used as deceptive measures to temporarily

placate the public, distract their attention from bad governance and maintain political stability. Distribution of palliatives can be described as a carrot and stick approach, while the carrot is the temporary relief some Nigerians gain from palliatives, the stick is the anti-people economic policies such as fuel subsidy removal that resulted in rising prices of goods and services. This politicisation of food palliatives creates a cycle where citizens become dependent on handouts and less likely to demand sustainable economic policies from the government.

This manipulation demonstrates how food palliatives can divert public attention from the inability of the government to provide sustainable economic solutions to Nigeria's persistent poverty and systemic inequalities (Obamodi, 2024). Food palliatives, rather than being a genuine humanitarian gesture, have thus become part of a broader strategy by the Nigerian government to prevent widespread dissent and keep citizens temporarily pacified in the face of mounting poverty and biting economic reforms. By providing temporary relief, the Nigerian government intends to avoid confronting the need for genuine structural changes that could address the chronic issues of governance and social inequality that define Nigeria's political landscape. According to Iniruo Wills, extravaganzas are not governance and public spectacle is no strategy (Amaize et al., 2024). Palliative distribution serves as a stark metaphor for the disconnect between Nigeria's political class and the people where the priorities of the government appear misaligned with the yearnings and aspirations of the people. In other words, this strategy keeps people's attention away from the need for comprehensive reforms that would improve the living conditions of millions and tackle the root causes of economic decay.

Replacing Basic Amenities with Rice Palliative

In a scathing critique, Njoku and Ndom (2025) contend that the government's distribution of rice is less about welfare and more a calculated move to pacify dissent and maintain political control. In their views;

Whenever Nigerians complain about bad roads, the government responds by distributing rice. When they lament the lack of access to hospitals, rice is given. When the citizenry decries the absence of basic education, rice is thrown at them. When they raise concerns over the lack of potable water, rice is offered. When workers protest poor wages and salaries, the government responds with bags of expired rice. In response to widespread cries over multidimensional poverty, the poor masses receive bags of uneatable rice. When Nigerian youths express discontent over the alarming rate of unemployment, the government replies with bags of rice and noodles. In the face of rising insecurity, expired rice is again the government's answer. When the people raise their voices against increasing economic inequality and entrenched corruption, they are pacified with bags of rice.

In their views, this is an era where rice appears to be the default response to virtually every socio-economic challenge afflicting Nigeria. Yet, the indiscriminate distribution of rice does not reflect a sincere attempt to address the people's demands; rather, it

exemplifies the politicisation of rice as a mechanism for control and a temporary distraction from unfulfilled promises and ineffective governance. Hence, politics in Nigeria often entails answering questions that were never asked while deliberately evading those that truly matter. Viewed through this lens, it becomes evident that deception and falsehood underpin the broad framework of palliative distribution in the country. Much like totalitarian regimes masquerading as democracies, the deployment of food palliatives in Nigeria as a panacea for deep-seated societal issues is both deceptive and disingenuous (Njoku & Ndom, 2025).

Despite its abundant human and material resources, Nigeria continues to grapple with deep-seated governance deficits and glaring inefficiencies in the management of public funds. These failures have left millions of citizens without access to basic social amenities. Rather than confront the structural roots of these challenges or implement long-term solutions to multidimensional poverty, the Nigerian government routinely falls back on the distribution of food palliatives which is a symbolic gesture designed to create an illusion of responsive governance. As Asabor (2024) rightly notes, For Oby Ezekwesili, palliatives are no substitute for governance; they reflect a reactive posture that betrays the state's failure to plan adequately for the long-term welfare of its citizens. This over-reliance on temporary relief measures exposes the deceptive tendencies of Nigeria's political class and its lack of political will to address enduring problems such as poverty, inequality, and unemployment. The framing of palliative distribution as a buffer against economic hardship is, in reality, a calculated attempt to silence rising discontent. As Obamodi (2024) argues, it is a strategic evasion of meaningful and transformative economic reforms, one that favours short-term appeasement, political gratification, and the continued exploitation of the nation's resources.

Palliative distribution exacerbates existing socio-economic challenges in Nigeria

According to Olayemi Cardoso, the Governor of the Central Bank of Nigeria, the purchase of foodstuffs by the government as palliatives is significantly contributing to food inflation in the country (Abimbola, 2024). According to Joe Ajaero – President of the Nigeria Labour Congress, providing grains as palliatives to food insecurity is an insult to Nigerians (Samuel-Ugwuezi, 2024). The distribution of food palliatives by President Tinubu's government is turning Nigerians into beggars (Sule, 2024). According to Anthony Amaechi, the chairman of one of the resident associations in the Idimu area of Lagos State, the food items distributed to the beneficiaries were insufficient to sustain them for even a single week. Often times, one bag of rice, one bag of beans and one bag of garri are allocated to an entire Community Development Association (CDA), which spans five streets and thousands of families.

In Amaechi's words:

The three elderly persons that benefited from the palliative only got four devices of rice, four dericas of beans and four dericas of garri. There is hardship in this country and many families are finding it difficult to put food on their tables due to the surging inflation and prices of food. This only confirmed the fact that the palliative did not change anything for the people because Nigerians are now more

vulnerable than ever. If you ask me, this palliative thing is meaningless (Ewuzie, 2024).

The politicisation of food palliative programmes contributes to the persistence of bad governance in Nigeria which reinforces a cycle of dependence on short-term handouts instead of addressing the root causes of poverty and food insecurity. Although government palliative programmes, when effective, can provide short-term relief and prevent hunger-related crises, the structure and administration of these programmes have often hindered their success. Palliative distribution perpetuates a cycle of poverty and dependency as citizens are left without sustainable solutions (Obamodi, 2024). Some Nigerians believe that instead of a short-term food palliative programme, the government should declare an emergency in food security, tackle insecurity caused by herders which has forced farmers in different states to abandon farming and introduce a national food policy. For Blessing Adima, a trader,

Buying grains and rice for distribution to Nigerians is a misplaced priority. It goes to show that the federal government itself does not care about food production and doesn't know how to tackle the problems that we are facing in Nigeria today. Herdsmen have chased farmers from their farmlands and now, we import the rice that Benue State alone could have produced for Nigeria, and we also import the rice that southern Kaduna, Zamfara, Ebonyi and Taraba could have made for Nigeria (Amaize et al., 2024).

Promise Ufot, a pensioner and beneficiary of the palliative, said that the food items given to her did not sustain her for a week, adding that the initiative is counterproductive because it did not change her economic situation. Going by the experience of other social interventions of past governments, palliative and other social interventions of government always benefit government officials in charge of implementing the initiative rather than the people whom it is meant for (Anagor-Ewuzie, 2024). The government's food palliatives are ineffective in addressing Nigeria's growing food prices because no economy survives on palliatives. In many instances, over 10 people share a bag of rice and the government expects people not to understand the deception in the palliative distribution (Ayodele, 2023).

The distribution of palliatives has also deepened mistrust and suspicion between the masses and the political class. There is a lack of faith and public disenchantment with the government's motivations behind the palliative programme and its effectiveness in mitigating the suffering of the people. When citizens see that essential support is distributed along partisan lines, faith in the government's commitment to serve the people diminishes (Asabor, 2024). Edna Rukevwe argues that the government should drop propaganda and focus on real governance. According to her, the All Progressives Congress (APC) thrives in propaganda but the people are wary of the government's lies (Amaize et al., 2024).

Food palliative distributions are often marred by inefficiencies in distribution and diversion of public resources for personal purposes. In January 2024, the Economic and

Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) detained the former Minister of Humanitarian Affairs, Sadiya Faruq, over the alleged mismanagement of N37.1 billion allocated to social intervention funds during her tenure (Agbo, 2024). Similarly, only 1.5 million out of the targeted 15 million vulnerable households received the N25,000 conditional cash grant from the Federal government as of December 2023 (Ikpefan, 2023). Recently, the APC Northern youth filed a petition before the EFCC accusing Sagagi – Chief of Staff to the Kano State government of diversion of Federal Government Rice palliative to an Islamic Centre in Kano State (Tijjani, 2024). In several places, palliatives are hijacked and diverted by politicians and shared among party members and those who are not members of the party are excluded from the distribution process. (Elesho, 2023). In doing so, palliatives fail to reach targeted vulnerable households.

In a country where citizens expend over 70% of their meagre incomes on basic sustenance due to crushing multidimensional poverty, palliative distributions have become tools of social engineering and systematic pauperisation. This government strategy conditions Nigerians to accept their beggarly status as normal - a calculated move to make the masses embrace their humiliating circumstances as inevitable. Through these food handouts, ordinary Nigerians are expected to demonstrate gratitude to the political elite for their supposed 'benevolence'. As Okorie (2025) astutely observes, these are nothing but 'showman philanthropy', fuelled by the very economic destitution they claim to alleviate. What should be seen as pathetic handouts are instead paraded as remarkable governmental achievements. Ochonu (2024) rightly notes that Nigerian authorities across all tiers have substituted comprehensive anti-poverty policies with sporadic charity, falling prey to the dangerous fallacy that occasional philanthropic gestures can replace the government's fundamental duty to ensure collective welfare. This has normalised the perverse notion that temporary acts of charity can somehow compensate for the systemic destruction of livelihoods by those very same governments.

Palliatives as a Governance Technique and Tool of Control

The distribution of food palliatives in Nigeria extends beyond humanitarian relief; it serves as a calculated technique of governance. These handouts, while seemingly benevolent, function as tools for the political class to manage populations, consolidate influence, and suppress dissent. The spectacle of distribution enables political elites to reinforce their image as caretakers, even as they fail to implement long-term poverty eradication strategies. By deploying palliatives in times of crisis, the state masks its policy failures and diverts attention from structural inadequacies. This strategic visibility transforms the act of giving into a form of soft coercion, subtly disciplining citizens to accept token gestures in place of actual development. Within this performance of care lies a rationality of rule that renders populations docile and grateful, even as their material conditions worsen.

Discursively and administratively, palliatives are allocated through bureaucratic mechanisms shrouded in opacity which enables manipulation. As an ethnically diverse country with deep-seated identity-based cleavages (Njoku, 2025), Nigeria's palliative distribution is often entangled in complex politics of inclusion and exclusion. Beneficiaries are frequently chosen through partisan or ethnic lenses, even as the process

is publicly framed in the language of inclusivity and humanitarian relief. In practice, these programmes reveal deeper power asymmetries and reflect a logic of governance rooted in strategic selectivity, ethno-political favouritism, and symbolic appeasement. This instrumentalisation of diversity transforms welfare into a tool of political consolidation, rather than a mechanism for equitable social protection. These dynamics mirror Foucault's insights on biopolitical governance, where control is exercised not through repression alone but through the strategic regulation of life, survival and scarcity. There is method in this: first, systemic failures impoverish the populace; then, the same system poses as benevolent saviour through orchestrated charity. It is governance reduced to theatre - where state-sponsored philanthropy masks institutionalised disempowerment. The ultimate goal is to produce a citizenry that is too hungry to demand accountability, yet just fed enough to remain docile.

As such, the Nigerian state's selective provision of food palliatives perpetuates cycles of marginalisation and engineered dependence. Communities, once recipients of structural neglect, become grateful for crumbs. This form of symbolic violence generates a citizenry conditioned to expect little and applaud spectacle. In the process, the populace is rendered governable, not through physical coercion, but through carefully managed vulnerability. This logic of governance enshrines performative benevolence as statecraft and reinforces the disempowerment of the masses.

Conclusion

This paper examined how the politicisation of palliatives in Nigeria reflects broader strategies of rule, where welfare mechanisms are repurposed to reinforce loyalty, dependency, and political control. Drawing on Foucault's concept of governmentality, the study revealed how both the discourse and administration of aid embed subtle forms of domination that manage populations through vulnerability rather than overt repression. Rather than addressing the root causes of socio-economic hardship or investing in critical infrastructure, the Nigerian government has continued to rely on short-term palliatives which is a Band-Aid approach that perpetuates systemic neglect and bad governance. The tragic stampedes during food distributions in several Nigerian cities expose the desperation of a people who have been pushed to the brink by hunger and inequality.

In light of these findings, Nigerian policymakers are expected to shift from reactive governance to proactive and long-term planning anchored in transparency, equity, and measurable developmental outcomes. Strengthening institutional capacity for equitable distribution, depoliticising welfare frameworks, and building robust social protection systems are imperative for accountable and people-centred governance.

Additionally, government should invest in regenerative infrastructure such as transport, energy, and productive industries while expanding financial inclusion to empower small and medium-scale enterprises. For instance, subsidising farming inputs rather than distributing temporary food packages would foster agricultural self-sufficiency and economic independence. Public borrowing should be redirected from consumption to regenerative sectors such as education, healthcare and manufacturing. Ultimately, it is obvious that Nigeria needs a holistic development strategy rooted in

systemic change. As a result, performative palliatives must give way to policies that prioritise dignity, productivity and long-term development. Nigerian citizens must thrive, not merely survive.

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