

THE NIGERIAN STATE AND ITS QUEST FOR NATIONHOOD: A CRITICAL REFLECTION

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Abstract

Heterogeneous societies have an arduous task of wielding together their often divergent values and interests into commonly held belief and sentiments about the country they tacitly or expressly agreed to form. The various nationalities in the present day Nigeria agreed to come together in 1914 under the supervision of the British colonialists. More than a century later, the country is still grappling with issues of power and resource sharing, indigeneship, marginalization, among others. This paper utilized qualitative research approach to gain an insight into the nature and character of the Nigerian state and its quest for nationhood. Subsequently, relevant sources of this research were fairly and professionally scrutinized, understood and tested with the available literature for the purpose of the research. Inter alia, it included scan-reading, comprehensive and critical reading and writing down ideas. Authoritative scholarly sources were reviewed, during a desktop study. Within the framework of political integration theory, the paper observed that though the power elite mount the view that the country is one indivisible and indissoluble entity, there are those who believe that the people must negotiate the social compact to remain together as one country. The opponents of the implementation of the 2014 Sovereign National Conference report are only buying time because the revolutionary pressure in the country could likely bring about the breakup of the country or create a solid foundation for nationhood that can be achieved only if the teething concerns of

Nigerians are resolved. These include: distributive justice, good governance, popular participation and true federalism.

Keywords: *Development, Governance, Marginalization, Nationalism, Sustainability*

Introduction

Nigeria is on a cross-road. It appears to be wobbling and fumbling along without any concrete and definitive step towards nationhood. What was described in 1914 as a mere geographical expression has not been transcended into a united and prosperous nation in spite of numerous attempts to create this state of being in the evolution of the country. Essentially, nationhood is a stage in the evolution of a country where its various component units, put aside their different interests to embrace communality in the way they perceived and respond to issues affecting their individual and collective interests.

To be sure, creating unity in diversity is an arduous task that requires patient and perseverance to achieve. While we agree that this enterprise is not a hundred-meter dash, enough time seems to have been expended for the country to achieve this goal. Therefore, there is no gain-saying that there are normative obstacles on the part of achieving nationhood. Yet, it is not exactly clear what these obstacles are. Some scholars such as Igbokwe-Ibeto, Agbodike and Sam-Okere (2015) have argued that they are structural while others would want us believe that they are attitudinal and behavioral (Igbokwe-Ibeto, Agbodike & Osawe, 2015). Yet, others argue that, it is the conspiracy theory which seeks to lay the blame of lack of nationhood on foreign agents who fear the potential threat of a united Nigeria to other countries in West Africa in particular and the African continent in general is responsible for the unity in Nigeria. The point however, must be made that there is no country without internal or external enemy or enemies. But those within, must be dealt with as a matter of urgency because a divided house cannot stand or fight the enemy or enemies from outside. Be that as it may, we must situate our argument in the context of past and present happenings in Nigeria, in order to affectively deal with challenges posed to evolution of nationhood in Nigeria.

It is against this backdrop that the paper set out to examine the state of unity in Nigeria and how it promotes and vitiates the pursuit of the goal of nationhood. What are the efforts so far made to put the country on this platform? What challenges mediate such efforts? What remedial steps can be taken to correct them and launch the country on the irreversible path to nationhood? These and other germane questions form the thrust of the paper.

To address the questions raised, the paper is structured into the following compartments. The first indulged in conceptual and theoretical issues. The second examined the Nigerian experience with the nation-building enterprise. The third examined the pitfalls to forging nationhood in Nigeria. The fourth section recommended the way forward to nationhood in Nigeria.

Methodology

This paper utilized qualitative research approach to gain an insight into the nature and character of the Nigerian state and its quest for nationhood. Subsequently, relevant sources of

this research were fairly and professionally scrutinized, understood and tested with the available literature for the purpose of the research. Inter alia, it included scan-reading, comprehensive and critical reading and writing down ideas. Authoritative scholarly sources were reviewed, during a desktop study. To improve on the reliability and validity of the paper, multiple secondary sources were used to minimize errors.

Conceptual and Theoretical Insights

In social and management sciences research, it is customary to begin an academic investigation by examining the conceptual and theoretical contours of the subject matter of analysis because conceptual and theoretical analyses provide a road map for navigating the contour of social phenomena. Though, consensus may not be achieved on the validity or otherwise of such enterprise. Nonetheless, it is an exercise worth pursuing if only to sketch the parameters of the subject matter (Igbokwe-Ibeto, 2019).

The concept of the state does not lend itself to a universally agreed or accepted definition. This makes it a conceptual variable. The state may be defined however, as a human entity that has compulsory jurisdiction within a defined territory. To Anifowose (1999), “the state is the most inclusive organization which has formal institutions for regulating the most significant external relationship of men within its scope”. According to MacIver in Anifowose (1999), the state is a form of human associations which are abiding by law as promulgated by a government, endowed to this end with coercive power maintains, within a community territorially demarcated the universal external condition of social order.

For Nnoli (2013), there are different perspectives to the definition of the state. These are legal and philosophical perspectives. From the legal point of view, a state is seen as that entity that possesses the following characteristics, population, government, sovereignty and monopoly of force (Nnoli, 2003). The philosophical angle to the notion of the state, attempts to describe what constitute the ideal state. At least three groups can be identified. According to Nnoli (1999), the first group of scholars are those who see the role of the state as that of harmonizing the various important parts of the society. To this group belongs Aquinas, Augustine and Cicero (Nnoli, 2003). The second group sees the state as the genuine expression of the human desire for order and mutual respect. In this category are scholars/thinkers like Hobbes, Locke, Machiavelli and Rousseau (Nnoli, 2003). The third group of scholars sees the state as a product of the struggle by conflicting social forces in the world and at a stage it will give way to another form of political organization. Proponents of this view include Hegel, Marx and their followers (Nnoli, 2003).

From these views on the state what stands out is that the state is different from organisations in civil society because of its possession of coercive force with which it enforces compulsory jurisdiction. For example, these include to maintain law and order and to distribute goods and services within its area of jurisdiction.

In contemporary Africa, democracy has always been on the fore-front in the campaign by the people for the right to self-determination, freedom and liberty. However, these desires have always been truncated by rulers who climb on the back of the people to powers and later abandon them. This betrayer thesis is still very much the case today as it was in the immediate post independent years. Though the people fought for independence, shortly after

independence was won, the elected leaders chose to pursue self-preservation in power rather than emancipating the populace from hunger, diseases, poverty and illiteracy.

These social concerns of the people remain the issue to resolve and social democracy is perhaps the means of achieving these goals and not the mere rituals of electioneering and elections. Thus, what is at stake in Africa is democracy as a social process that should come to terms with the historical and cultural specificities of the people. Lumumba-Karongo (2005) questions are apt, to wit: “what kind of democracy can be socially and economically, progressively, philosophically and ideologically relevant and technologically appropriate in Africa”. Following the failure of the first independence movement to address the social projects and concerns of Africans the type of democracy required is a social one that will actualize the yearnings and aspirations of the people by “... radically changing their deteriorating situation to bring in improvements in the material life of the people” (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 1997).

The Second Independence movement therefore, is a logical consequence of the non-realization of the expectations of independence particularly the nationhood projects in the areas of social justice, national integration and economic development (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 1997). All these have contributed to the failure to achieve nationhood in Nigeria. The various nationalities that were forced into different countries in Africa by colonial administrative fiat have had their match to nationhood repeatedly truncated by bad governance.

The concept of governance gained currency in developing areas of the world following its introduction by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank to guide countries implementing its Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs). The term governance has since taken on several connotations with various types. One of these perspectives posits that governance is “the process by which governments are selected, monitored and replaced, the capacity of government to effectively formulate and implement sound policies and the respect of citizens and the state for the institutions that governs economic and social interactions among them” (in Gboyega, 2004). It would seem that governance is a term that means many things to different people. But when taken to the political realm, Hyden (1999) argues that governance has to do with that “aspect of the political arena to which the state and civil society actors operate and interact to make authoritative decisions”. This point again emphasizes the importance of the people in contributing to decisions that affect their well-being and welfare.

When this rule of engagement is followed religiously, it gradually promotes the feeling of oneness among the people and arouses the feeling of patriotism and nationalism in them. They then see the state as an embodiment of their collective aspirations and value it for itself. What binds a group of nationality into a nation state are shared values and feeling of oneness that do not respect territorial boundaries (Akhakpe, 2005). According to Mclean and McMillan (2003) a nation refers to “the population within a territory sharing a common culture, language and ethnicity with a strong historical continuity”. Where this is pursued persistently and consistently, it brings about collective communal identity. Nigeria is a multi-state entity with various nationalities, empires and kingdoms, such as Ijaw nation, Benin kingdom, Hausa-Fulani kingdom, among others. Yet, these nationalities lack communality in psychological perception and social integrative infrastructures in language, customs, culture and other elements of national identities and consciousness.

Where all these elements of a nation are missing or lacking, nation-building enterprise is embarked on. Nation-building may refer to the creating of infrastructures and structures of integration, unity and cohesion necessary for development and stability in a polity. This paper therefore, adopts the definition by Imobighe (1996) which view nation-building as the process by which the post-colonial states and their governing regimes attempt to create integrative political, social, economic, cultural, psychological, emotional, affective and symbolic infrastructures and structures in these countries". Of course, this is not a once and for all exercise. They are works in progress, looking for perfection. This project requires all hands to be on deck deploying feelings and sentiments for the good of the nation-state.

Democracy, good governance and nation-building are avenue to achieving optimal welfare, well-being and cooperate existence of a people. This is what many in contemporary times would refer to as development. Development is a process of empowering the people for progressive changes in their material conditions. Mabogunje (1995) views development from two not unrelated perspectives. The first, he argues, is about wealth creation for the use of the citizens in general and the second is that every society succeeds best in the pursuit of development when it is able to adapt and transform its own institutions as well as its mores and general attitude of its people, towards the attainment of these goals. It follows therefore, that the people cannot achieve genuine development if they fail to use their cultural values to achieve social changes. If not, development will be a received precept that is not indigenous to them.

Ake (1992) is quick to point out that democracy without even development is likened to an empty vessel. In his words: "democracy requires even development, otherwise, it cannot give equal opportunities to all, it cannot incorporate all to articulate their interests to negotiate them and it takes the development of consciousness and capabilities to seek and enjoy justice". This argument can be extended into the purview of nation-building and nationhood. Nationhood can be said to be a point in the developmental process of peoples desirous of unity, cooperation and social change. Nationhood is not something that can be decreed into being or handed over to a people. They must crave and work towards it assiduously and sincerely. Therefore, nationhood requires visionary and transformational leadership as well as committed followers (Igbokwe-Ibeto & Fatile, 2013). No wonder Anazodo, Igbokwe-Ibeto and Nkah (2015), conceived leadership as both the adhesive and catalyst which bind citizens of a given country together and triggers their motivation towards the achievement of individual and group objectives. To Igbokwe-Ibeto and Fatile (2013), the extent to which a leader is visionary and transformational is first measured in terms of his influence on the followers. The followers of such a leader have trust, admiration, loyalty and respect for the leader and because of the qualities of the visionary and transformational leader, citizens are ready and willing to work harder, obey laws, rules and regulation than originally expected (Igbokwe-Ibeto & Fatile, 2013). However, in Nigeria, the reverse is often the case.

There are so many theoretical frameworks through the issue of nationhood could be predicated. However, this article is anchored on the theory of integration because of its relevance in analyzing the subject matter under interrogation. Weimar (1971) argues that the theory of integration enhances our understanding of how unity is created from formerly desperate groups by promoting what is common and communally advantageous to them, while de-emphasizing their areas of differences! He went on to identify several dimensions of

integration among which we find elite-mass integration and behavioural integration, quite germane. There is no doubt that the power elite and the people need some form of attitudinal integration or change to organize for a common purpose which could lead to a political culture in which both the rulers and the ruled accept one another irrespective of their ethno-religious and other sectional differences (Ibodje & Dode, 2007).

Perhaps, it may be difficult for a people to completely put aside their differences when dealing with one another. But there is the imperative need for these differences to be subordinated to a higher authority that enjoy ultimate legitimacy over the political society. It is this authority that is still lacking in most African states unlike the United States and other ethnically and religiously divided countries. What are the efforts so far made to engender that sense of nationhood in Nigeria? The section that follows attempts to provide answers to the above question.

Nigeria's Nation-Building Experience

Nigeria was a British colonial creation. The various identities and nationalities that make up the Nigerian state have deep rooted diversities that led Hugh Clifford one-time colonial Governor of Nigeria to wonder how a people with differences in tongue, culture, tribe, among others could stay together in peace (Saro-Wiwa, 1992). But this fear has been allayed by the success stories of some plural societies such as the United States of America, India, Pakistan, Singapore, to mention but a few of them. They have been able to build a nation-state through feelings and sense of nationhood in spite of their diversities. This means nationhood is possible in Nigeria if the right things are done by the citizens and their leaders.

However, nationhood is not achieved in a full-swoop. It requires pain-staking efforts and sacrifices that may span centuries of keeping with values that unite a nation and discountenancing those that polarize them. Nationhood is not a unilineal process but a multi-dimensional one with several components. According to Igbokwe-Ibeto et al. (2015), the first element and perhaps the most crucial is, leadership that articulates and executes the nation-building processes. The second is the country-wide transport and communication networks. Their various aspects should aim at bringing healthy inter-change in human, commercial agricultural and industrial linkages and exchanges. The third is the promotion of economic development in order to avail the people with resources to build up its physical and social infrastructures. The fourth component is the creation of national educational system with curriculum that will evolve and propagate national identity and consciousness. The fifth major component that people easily identify with is what Iweribor (1990) refers to as the "promotion of a pedagogical nationalism comprising an iconography of nationhood including: national flags, national anthems, national pledge, a pantheon of past and present heroes and heroines and secular liturgy of nationalism or the festivals and rituals of nationhood such as national independence day and other national celebratory occasions". The sixth aspect is the actions and reactions of civil society bodies such as the intelligentsia, the Capitalist of industries, working and business classes, ethnic associations, among others (Iweriebor, 1990).

This list of dimensions and their components may not be exhaustive but it sign-post what to look out for in nation-building and nationhood. Since independence in 1960, the Nigerian state and its leaders have made frantic efforts at transforming the deeming discord

of the state into a sentinel of brotherhood. Various programmes and iconographic events have been put in place to actualize the quest for nationhood. The National Youth Service Corp (NYSC) Scheme was inaugurated in 1976, the National Merit Award has been a yearly event to honour those who have contributed in no small measure to the greatness of the country; Armed Forces Remembrance Day is celebrated to honour our fallen heroes and heroines, National Sports Festival is organized yearly to bring the people from different parts of the country together, Unity Schools and Federal Institutions in all states of the federation; the constitutional requirement for national political parties, network of federal roads and railway lines to join various parts of the country together.

The 1999 Constitution specifically required that all national positions must be occupied on the basis of the Federal Character Principle in order to give every nationality representation in federal, state and local government institutions. These and many other iconographies and symbols of nationhood are meant to unite, integrate and enhance feelings and sentiments of a nation-state among Nigerians. Yet, as enticing and flattering as these relics of nationalism and patriotism are, the Nigerian state is still besotted by ethno-religious schism, low patriotism and nationalism among the citizens. For many Nigerians, the country remains a mere geographical expression. Perhaps, the only thing that unites the country today is when the country's sportsmen and women are doing well and winning laurels at international sporting events.

Nigeria, it could be said, is made up of pockets of nationalities, disparate social groups and identities waiting to be wielded together into a strong and virile nation-state. The efforts of the country's heroes appear to be undermined or neglected by certain forces majorly exogenous to it. Every nation on the planet earth, obviously went through the stages of becoming a nation – inter and intra tribal wars, authoritarian rule, waste and mismanagement of resources, the call for self-determination, among others. But it kept faith with the desire for oneness and togetherness. Enough time seems to have elapsed for Nigeria to have become a nation-state and build the bond of nationhood among its citizens. What then accounts for the stagnation or retrogression in the nation-building projects? What are its different ramifications? The section that follows addresses these questions with a view to finding answers to them.

Pitfalls of the Nigerian State towards Nationhood

In 1999, Nigeria once again returned to democratic rule after several decades of military authoritarian rule. Today, after more than a decade of the practice of liberal democracy, not much seem to have changed in the fortunes of Nigerians. While governance is seen as the magic wind to stabilize the political economy for the well-being and welfare of the people, it has been practiced more in the breach than in its observances as corruption has intensified in both the public and private sectors. Electoralism tends to be the vogue as choice less democracy prevails (Lumumbia-Kasongo, 2007). Popular participation of the people in the affairs of their governments' remains low as the elected dominates the electors (Igbokwe-Ibeto, et al., 2015).

Economic development has not really progressed unhindered. Though the country's economy is said to be growing fast at the rate of 8 percent per annum and its rebasing during the administration of Goodluck Jonathan shows it was the largest in Africa. Yet, all these

have not transformed into improvement in the material conditions of Nigerians. Unemployment is still high, poverty is in the increase, people are dying from preventable diseases – polio, child and maternal mortality, COVID-19, ebola virus, HIV, etc. Lack of portable water confronts constantly urban and rural dwellers. Today, many Nigerians barely eat one square meal in a day. Paradoxically, all these are taking place where there is abundant wealth blurred or camouflaged by glaring cases of mismanagement and profligacy by government officials (Igbokwe-Ibeto, Akhakpe & Oteh, 2012).

These boil down to the poverty of leadership, leadership is central to the process of development, nation-building and nationhood. Leaders are mobilisers and utilizers of both finite and infinite human and material resources. Paradoxically, in the midst of plenty, according to Human Development Index (HDI, 2019), Nigeria is now the world's poverty capital. For example, 51.4% of Nigeria's population now live in multidimensional poverty and this translates to 98.175 million citizens (HDI, 2019). It has not been able to harvest the potentials of the land and people to bring about social change, to harness their disparate energies into productive use for the common good, a situation which Achebe (1984) attributes to the problem leadership.

Instead of pursuing national unity and nationhood, the leaders are pre-occupied with the quest for political power and prebendal use of state resources for personal interests (Igbokwe-Ibeto et al., 2015). The current APC led federal government of Muhammadu Buhari where almost major government appointees are Northern Muslims is a typical example corroborating Igbokwe-Ibeto et al., (2015) submission. They are interested more in the super-structure of the state rather than production for the good of all in the society. The people of course are observing what the power elite are doing with the resources of the state that have made them endangered species rather than agents of social change.

As scholars, we would want to further portray our argument on the recent development in the Nigerian tertiary (university) institutions which is our own constituency that negate nationhood and national development. Why is it that no Nigerian university is ranked among the leading universities in Africa and the world at large? Suffice to say that an international or world class university stands on four pillars of: 1. International outlook of staff and student; 2. Quality of research; 3. Quality of teaching; and 4. Global graduate employability. Within the context of nationhood, let us attempt to address why Nigerian universities have poor international outlook of both staff and students. Almost all federal, state and private universities in Nigeria have about 50percent of the staffing from the state hosting the university, 80percent of students are from the geographical zone hosting the universities while 99.9percent of both staff and students are Nigerians with near zero international staff and students.

Once upon a time in the 1980s, some staff of the Nigerian universities were from different continent of the world. The staff mix in all the departments cut across many states of the federation. For example, Prof. Gomwalk from Plateau state was the Vice Chancellor (VC) of Federal University of Technology (FUTO) Owerri, Prof. Adamu Baikie from Kano was the VC of University of Benin (UNIBEN), Prof. Umaru Shehu from Borno was the VC of University of Nigeria Nsukka (UNN), Prof. Gilbert Onuaguluchi, an Igbo man was the VC University of Jos (UNIJOS), this is to mention but a few. They were appointed based on merit without political interference, so also was the recruitment of lecturers. Nigerian

universities were rated among the top in the world. Suddenly, politics dominated the selection of lecturers, selection of VCs, and indeed, selection of everything in Nigerian universities. This opened door for mediocrity to have place in lecturing positions. We doubt if the promulgation of the law establishing Federal Character Commission was in good faith for the universities in particular and the nation (nationhood) at large. Today, lecturers, staff and students of federal and state universities are all from neighbouring communities and at best neighbouring states. The NYSC scheme which was established as a vehicle for national integration and unity has lost its relevance as corps members and their parents decide states where to carry out their primary assignments due to fear of insecurity and discrimination.

The present security concerns in the country and the call for dismemberment of the federation by separatist groups is a logical reaction to the years of failed expectations and neglect of the yearnings and aspirations of the citizenry. The frustrations of the people with the state and its leaders has found vent in militancy, kidnapping, vandalisation of national infrastructures and the intractable Boko-Haram insurgency in greater parts of the Northern Nigeria. How can the country get out of this quagmire? The section that follows focuses on this imperative.

Nigeria and its Quest for Nationhood: The Way Forward

Poor countries in the contemporary world may find it difficult to achieve nationhood. Therefore, Nigeria must cross the present threshold of poverty in order to move it towards nationhood (Diamond, 1997). Economic, social and political injustices among the people must be corrected urgently for the light to shine again in the country. There are nationalities that feel wounded and or marginalized in the scheme of things in the country. They should be giving fair treatment and incorporated into a greater Nigeria nation-state.

One way of achieving this is through a genuine people's Constitution. The 1999 Constitution is militarist in all intents and purposes. It has outlived its usefulness therefore it should give way to a Constitution created by the people. A Constitution should be a document that embodies the desires of a people not some selected persons imposing their interests in the name of the people. The political architecture in Nigeria requires review to stem the tide of the clamour for new states and local governments. What is required are not multiplicity of states and local governments, but efficient and effective management of federally collected revenues. The prebendal use of political offices (Joseph, 1987) and the klopocratic use of state funds are at the heart of the agitations for state, local government creations and resource control. So long as these agitations continue so much will the possibility for nationhood be far-fetched (Agbodike, 2004).

Luckily, the transformation agenda of former President Jonathan started yielding dividends. However, instead of consolidating on these achievements, President Buhari's actions and inactions since he came to power have destroyed all fabrics holding the country together. Policy continuity and sustainability should be emphasized and prioritized in the match to nationhood rather than each emerging administration putting forward its own programmes while that of its predecessors are jettisoned. Progressing in twists and turns surely is not the way to achieve nationhood under democratic rule (The Economy, 2013; Gyong, 2012; Okezie & Baharudden, 2011).

Democracy is a product of a country's historical and cultural processes. It should embrace a country's peculiarities and historical antecedence. Without these elements, democracy, good governance and nation-building will be like an empty shell. But social democracy remains the best option for Nigeria, given its socio-economic and cultural needs at this point in its evolution. While the matured democracies may have reduced to an appreciable level, socio-economic and cultural constraints besetting their nation-states, African states are still contending with poverty, hunger, diseases, lack of basic infrastructures, environmental degradation, among many other maladies. Only social democracy can bring these short-comings to the front-burner for them to be redressed.

Also, social democracy may be in place but its core values elude the people. This is where a critical mass of men of integrity is needed to chart a new course of action that will bring about the desired social change, is crucially important. What the country needs are national leaders that would elevate the national interest over and above their personal one and create a feeling of oneness amongst the various interests in the country irrespective of their tribe, languages, creed, and sex.

More so, the power elite as Otite (2007) has argued should "together, lead the Nigerian masses to exploit sound economic specializations (to promote economic development)". Also, the power elite and non-elite should endeavour to revive the general operating indigenous moral code and moral excellence as context for prioritizing modern community and societal development and prospects over their present rapid egocentric materialism" (Otite, 2007). It is only when these elements are domesticated in line with the theory of integration that nationhood will begin to take root in the political society.

Conclusion

The enterprise of nation-building and nationhood are non-linear and painstaking. They involve promoting progressive actions and events in the course of which the leadership class need to take progressive steps to institute and maintain actions that unite rather than divide the various components in the Nigerian state. We noted that efforts have been made and are still being made towards this direction. Yet, they have not culminated into that desired state of a nation-state and nationhood.

The feelings of patriotism and nationalism among the people can only lead to nationhood where there is social democracy and good governance. The people must feel appreciated, catered for and involved in the affairs that affect their lives. They want to be involved in decision making, resource distribution and power sharing. The prevailing practice in the country today where those in government do not connect with those they represent, alienate the people and create some form of legitimacy crisis that bring to question everything government does even when they are carried out in the peoples' interests. The people must constantly affirm confidence in the central authority to which they pay allegiance.

There appears to be fear among the power elite that if the people are allowed to choose what type, nature and structure of political economy they desire, it will go against their dominant interests. But this outcome cannot be withheld or prevented for too long because it will always find its way to the open, however how long it is suppressed. When the people demanded socialism as the ideology for the country, the federal government under President Babangida swept it under the carpet. Again, there are efforts to suppress the popular

resolutions the 2014 constitutional conference came out with at the end of their assignment. These developments hinder the achievement of nationhood in Nigeria. Unless they are corrected, Nigeria will continue to struggle as a multi-national state.

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