Nigeria at 100 Years: The Process and Challenges of Nation Building

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Abstract

A one Nigeria nation came to being in 1914. And when Nigeria is compared with most third world countries, Nigeria is more developed than then these other third world countries. Even though some modest achievement has been made, there are still some policy, human attitudinal contradictions and other challenges which have made Nigeria State unable to provide all that Nigerian citizens are expecting from the Government, to move it to the club of developed countries. As such some people argue that the colonial policy which resulted in amalgamation of kingdoms into Southern and Northern Protectorates and in particular the later amalgamation of Southern and Northern Protectorates into Nigeria was a mistake. Some groups from the South have argued that Nigeria was formed without the consent of the respective tribal groups and kingdoms that make up Nigeria and so it should split into their desired independent States. Another group appeared from North to reject the secular nature of the Nigerian nation and preferred that if Nigeria must remain one it should be an Islamic country governed not by the existing Constitution of Nigeria as amended but by Sharia law and would make that possible even through violent means. Though other reasons have also been advanced as the cause for instability of Nigeria like regional resource control and religion, this paper is of the view these other ones are tools for mobilization of mass support while that the crux of the matter is the dream to actualize individual political interest of elites. History has shown that because some persons have not succeeded to get elected or appointed into the next desired public office which they dream to hold, for them this can be possible through making Nigeria ungovernable or have it disintegrate that they would now get the opportunity to connect and control those in power or hold position of authority themselves to secure economic power more influence. This paper then sees nation-building as a continuous process and sustainable development for both the masses and elites can be achieved in Nigeria without violence and schism through the use of insurgent tactics. The paper is of the view that it is wrong for Nigerian problem is that of leadership alone but from both leaders and the rest of the Citizens of Nigeria irrespective of age, gender, region, tribe and religious inclination. This paper recommends that it is only when there is genuine worship of God as foundation of all cultures and there is a change from illegal acts by both leaders and the followers that sustainable development would be firmly rooted. Where this cannot be possible because there are no saints and there are no sinners, then the way out is for all groups and societies to increase their level of tolerance of the others weakness and or strengths for peaceful coexistence and co-activity to have one Nigeria without regrets.

Keywords: Amalgamation, Nation, Nation-Building, Nation Building Process, Nation–State

1. Introduction

1.1 Amalgamation of Nigeria

Amalgamation is the coming together of two or more entities (companies, geo-polity, and plants e.t.c.) to operate as one body. In the case of Nigeria as a geo-polity, some Nigerians have opined that the amalgamation of Southern and Northern regions in1914 to form Nigeria as well as the amalgamation which earlier brought some communities to be in Southern and Northern Nigeria e.t.c. was a mistake, fraud or political experiment which expires in 2014. Others have provided examples of nations that have disintegrated to build separate nations e.g. \former USSR, Sudan. In view of this historical challenge, the lack of consent to amalgamation, the tendency to perpetual political domination by persons from one region, economic dependency or exploitation of the resources of one region and recent separatist moves, have led to the view that there is no need for centenary celebration and there have been demands for a return to pre 1914 structure, where the over 250 ethnic communities/ kingdoms would exist independently. At provincial divisions and districts level where administrative organizing also took place there have been calls for the creation of independent chiefdoms for ethnic groups (Danjuma et al 1996, James (2007). These anti nation-building tendencies made some writers to predict that Nigeria would break up by 2014/2015 as a nation (Campbell (2011); www.abiyamo.com/photo-document;www.nairaland.com//.../nigeria-break-up-;www.nairaland.com//.../expiration-;www.nnamdiebo.com//nigerias-1914; Abdulrazk 2014)

This dance to a break is indeed either a process to further build the present nation to a better one or it is towards building new nations out of the present. And this paper poses the question apart from the desire to ascend the position State political authority by the conflicting groups' elites in Nigeria, can the dance to a break lead

Nigeria to sustainable development comparable to the present developed nations before 2020 targeted by the present Goodluck regime?. What are the challenges to the project of building Nigeria as one indivisible nation? And would new nations as a result of broken Nigeria not experience the challenges being faced by Nigeria today? What need be done by Nigerians and the international Community to overcome the challenges to sustainable development of the Nigerian Nation?

1.2 Methodology
Data Collection: This study adopts a qualitative research approach to identify the process leading to the emergence of the State of Nigeria and challenges still facing Nigeria as a nation. In collecting data for the study the interview and study of relevant documents were used. In terms of *Oral Interview,* **t**his writer the *none scheduled structured interview* method for a face to face interaction with respondents. The purpose of the questions was to enable the researcher collect historical information relating to the development of Nigeria and how Nigerians feel. The respondents include the elderly and the Youth in Taraba State. The interview was supplemented with the *content analysis* of documents on Nigeria and radio and television charts on Nigerians 100 years.

In respect to *theoretical framework of analysis* this paper discourses the challenges and government responses to them from the perspective of *group theory of public policy***.** This theory is based on the fact that the society is made up of divergent interests or groups. And each group tries to influence public policies to her favor. In the course of social interaction amongst groups, there is competition and each group tries to take advantage of its position to influence policies that would maximize its interest. The role of Government therefore is to (a) manage group conflicts by establishing the rules of the game for the group struggle (b) arranging compromises and balancing group interest (c) Enacting compromises in the form of public policy and (d) enforcing these compromises. According to the group theorists, public policy at any given time is the equilibrium reached in the groups struggle and that policy tend to tilt in favor of the most powerful group or groups in the society. In the struggle the legislature serves as referee. It ratifies the victorious, the successful coalition and records the terms of surrender, compromise and conquest in the statutes (Law).

2. **Literature Review**
2.1 A Nation and Nation-State
Benedict Anderson (in *Utz Raphael* 2005) informs us that, a nation is an idea. It is an intellectual imagination, revolution or change from a hitherto e.g. feudal system to a people centered power. A nation is imagined as **limited** sovereign, and as a community it is **sovereign**, because *"the concept was born in an age in which Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm,"* they are limited because even the largest of nations *"has finite boundaries, beyond which lie other nations",* and it is regarded as a community because notwithstanding the existence of *"actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship"* This feeling of comradeship is propelled by the feeling of nationalism and spread by "print-capitalism". With this, the idea of the nation in the old sense of independent community, which was regarded a subject of a prince, member of a guild or a nobleman. has been replaced with the concept of nation-State and nationality. It portends a hierarchical arrangement under modern government structure where the traditional ruler is no longer the paramount head in the wider context of the country. All divisions within a nation such as class, place, or status are controlled by appointed and elected citizens in public offices. *Greenfeld* (in *Utz Raphael* 2005) writes, that since the people are *"usually perceived as larger than any concrete community and always as fundamentally homogeneous."* we can say that nations are no longer merely ideas but identities. Thus a *nation state is a territory recognized as a political entity with its own land, people, government, history, cultural identity and socio-economic characteristics or components*. Therefore with this recognition of a people as a nation-state it is assumed that once there are disagreements and instead of thinking of only dismembering, there should be concerted effort to reach agreement to build the existing nation. And where it becomes impossible to remain together due process of amendment of the constitution of the country should be followed to build a new nation out of the old. In this paper we are more interested in building the existing nation-state than a new nation out of the present nation.

2.2 What then is Nation Building?
Akoto (2010) defines nation-building as the conscious and focused application of our people's collective resources, energies, and knowledge to the task of liberating and developing the psychic and physical space that we identify as ours. It involves the development of behaviors, values, language, institutions, and physical structures that elucidate our history and culture, concretize and protect the present, and insure the future identity and independence of the nation. Nation building is deliberate, keenly directed, focused energetic projection of

national culture, and collective action to develop a political and economic system.

From the political perspective, it is in the area of developing and instituting a democratic policy. Nation building thus entails the ability of the nation-state to sustain itself as a sovereign by giving freedom and liberty to its people to use a well laid mechanism or system of leadership recruitment and leave a legacy or culture of smooth succession of power to future generation.

From economic context the greatness of individuals is through the success which a nation makes in industrial development for improved production of goods and services. It improves the standard of living of the people and builds the mind of the people together to want continues existence as one nation. Gambari elucidates this by saying that

> *in reality, the greatness of a nation has to be earned and is not determined just by the size of its population or the abundance of its natural resources. China and India have the largest populations in the world, but they are only now rising as important global players. On the other hand, Japan has few natural resources, but has long managed to turn itself into a global economic powerhouse...* "*In today's world, skills, industriousness, productivity, and competitiveness are the determinant factors of national greatness. Not even the possession of the nuclear bomb is enough to make a nation great without reference to the industriousness and creativity of its citizens.*"(Gambari 2008)

From the forgoing nation building has objectives and purposes to be achieved. It is to achieve sustainable development through job creation, employment, good conditions of service and welfare packages, and creation of favorable climate for investors (foreign and local) at both urban and rural areas.

Therefore, when Wikipedia (2013) defined nation-building as the process of constructing or structuring a national identity using the power of the State, it is a process which aims at the unification of the nation's people within and outside so that it remains politically stable and viable in the long run. Nation-building can involve the use of propaganda or major infrastructure to foster social harmony and economic growth.

From the forgoing nation building is more than building the physical structures of that entity. It extends to the development of behaviors, values, and lingua franca. Nations thus are built by exemplary men and women and sustained by institutions such as governmental and non-governmental organizations that promote good governance and thus socio-economic development.

2.4 The Process of Nation Building

From the role of men and women (indigenous and foreign) in political system development (nation building) *Greenfeld* (in *Utz Raphael* 2005) suggests that the following phases are involved. (I) Importation interpretation and application of the idea of the nation (II) The Structural Stage (III) The Cultural Phase (IV) The Psychological Phase

Phase I: Importation interpretation and application of the idea of the nation

This is the stage of shaping ideas to penetrate and integrate isolated communities with parochial culture at the bottom of society. The integration is to make the communities see themselves as a state or part of state. In the sixteenth century, the English nation (England) was the first to define itself as a sovereign people /nation. From then this idea of nation began to spread to other countries in the 18th century, and ever since the word nation has meant a unique and sovereign people (*Greenfeld* (in *Utz Raphael* 2005). In the case of the area which later became Nigeria, it is the period before colonial rule. Before colonial rule there were independent or isolated communities each on its own. Except a few, most were not answerable to another authority higher than that of the ethnic community. The economic activities of the period were characterized by the purchase of slaves needed to power the agrarian economy of England the New World around the 14th century and lasted for over four hundred years. The slave hunt depleted the area which came to be called Nigeria /Africa, of the energy required for growth. Africa's able-bodied men were forcefully uprooted from their ancestral homes and made to go through the harrowing experience of the passage through the Atlantic Ocean to the New World in chains and manacles. The push for an end to this inhuman practice forced major traders in agricultural production in Europe to seek opportunities in Africa's booming trade in Oil-Palm, Cocoa, Rubber, Ground-nuts and other cash crops. This changed Europe's strategy from slave raiding to colonial annexations of territories in Africa.

Phase II: The Structural Stage

The structural stage is a stage for a social contract. It begins with getting the attention of the elites of the isolated communities to accept and pass through nation-building process. It is by a reformation of this influential social group and a change in the social status of this elite group. In Europe it was a change in the status of traders and explorers. In Africa it was traditional rulers and their children or slaves who were engaged in trade chain or those made to go to Islamic and Christian schools. With their exposure and / or education, crises and the search for a new identity began. This was socially contracted or resolved when both the indigenes and foreigners felt there would be direct benefits on their individual lives. In Africa this started with the scramble and partition of Africa in the 19th century when Europeans began to move into Africa in search of extended territories/colonies: from the annexation of Lagos as a Colony of England in 1805, to the signing of various treaties with communities along the River Niger by the Royal Niger Company, to the Bismarck Conference of 1884 to 1885 where the balkanization of Africa among European powers like Britain, Germany, France, Portugal and Belgium was signed, sealed and delivered;

On settling down in Africa, they created Northern and Southern Protectorates; they introduced and implemented Lord Lugard's "political memorandum"; indirect rule; and amalgamated Northern and Southern Nigeria in January 1, 1914; in later years Constitutional development conferences were held and it gave Nigeria one Constitution after the other. That journey ended in what we have today as Nigeria. The period of Nigerian State building ended in 1960, when Nigeria was granted independence. Whereas the nation is 100 years old on the 1st of January, 2014, also by October 1st 2014 Nigeria would be 54 years old as an independent nation in self rule.

Phase III: The Cultural Phase

This is a process of application of ideas to bring about common perceptions and ways of doing things in the name of one nation. The social group who imported the concept of nation identifies with it and applies it to the conditions of the country in which it lives. Decisive factors determining this process are the social and political status of this avant-garde group, as well as their hopes, interests, and fears. Some elements of the traditional identity of the importers will survive this process, and many components of pre-national culture such as history, language, or music will even find an amplifier in the emerging national identity. The peoples of Nigeria have made effort and are still making efforts to deal with the challenges of State and nation-building. They establish the Civil Service as a bureaucracy and other ad-hoc institutions of State, Creation of internal States and local government areas, conduct of national elections, the growth of organizations with national character such as political parties and functional pressure groups or associations such as trade unions and professional /voluntary societies, among other sectoral policies made by the national government. There are also national paraphernalia such as: flags, anthems, national days, national stadia, national airlines, national languages, and national myths, the continuous celebration of independence and especially our continued existence as a nation in spite of challenges and the fact that other nations with less trauma have disintegrated or are still at war (Okusaga 2012). But to what extent has these increased loyalty and commitment to Nigerian State. Decolonization as part of national building comes with promise of a nation flowing with abundant milk and honey During this period, a lot of intrigues and sectional bias were introduced into the struggle both from the British colonial masters and their cronies in an attempt to maintain the status quo. This period also showed the evident cracks among the elites and the divided interests inherent within their ranks, mainly playing out through support for regionalism by setting up of regional groups in order to attain power as the push for independence was beginning to achieve some results.

Phase IV: The Psychological Phase

The psychological phase is already beginning during the cultural phase and it defines and determines the direction which the reinterpretation of the imported idea will take. Here the concern and effort is nation building that is to receive **loyalty and commitment from members of the State to remain as one indivisible political entity**. Consequently, nationalism at this stage is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: rather nationalism is a response to modernity by inventing nations where they do not exist.

The country that colonized a particular society is often looked onto as a model for development because it is regarded to be of superior quality to be imitated. With this sense there is in constant contact did nothing to alleviate this sense of inferiority. However the rise of nationalist can pop up *resentment* within. The nation comes to its feet only when transcontinental religious communities with their sacred script-languages, the traditional rulers and Chief Priests give way and are replaced by a more culturally pluralist citizens elected to now serve as chief executives as well as religious faiths and languages are overshadowed by nationalist policies. And sovereignty having been transferred from the feudal lords, it now lies in the people. In pursuant of this power in the people, there is concern for **Participation.** Pressure for participation is generated from groups and

societies in the nation as an effort to be a part of the Policy/decision-making process of the political system. (2) *there is concern for effective* distribution **or welfare.** Here, **m**embers of the nation through their representatives in institutions of authority /power try to use the power they have to redistribute income and wealth of the nation. But it is worthy of note that the fact that we are dealing with human beings there might be **State building without Nation Building.** By this we mean, "*in some cases there may be centralized and penetrative bureaucracies have been created, but a homogenous pattern of loyalty and commitment to the central political institutions has never emerged'* (Finkle and Gable 1971). This condition has led to further crises towards State building (Phase I) again. (Bell and Freeman 1974).   The implication of Phase I to IV above is that **nation-building is a continuous process** that needs to be l**ubricated by all** as when due to avoid a break-down of the nation.

3. The Challenges Of Nation Building In Nigeria And The Way Forward
In this section we shall discuss the factors which have stood to defeat nation building efforts and how some of the factors can enhance nation building.

3.1 The Challenge of Political Development
3..1.1 The Constitutional Problem
Some people are of the view that before the coming of the Europeans most ethnic communities were independent nations, empires, emirates or Kingdoms. There were no formal polities called Northern and Southern Nigeria. And when Northern and Southern Nigeria were to be created, the various ethnic nationalities and kingdoms were not consulted before the Northern and Southern regions were created. As such they are looking forward to an opportunity to go back to pre-colonial composition of their communities; in some grassroot communities e.g. Takum Chiefdom of Taraba State Nigeria, First there was an indigenous Chief of Takum Kuteb kingdom. By 1890s the Royal Niger Company recognized chief of an intruding tribe as Chief Custom Collector of the Kuteb Kingdom. Following a protest by the indigenous Chief the Community was l split into two Districts one for the intruding tribe and one for the indigenous community and both live in the same land area. Following misdemeanor by the intruding Community chiefs, the two Districts was amalgamated in 1914. The indigenes assert that the amalgamation was proper while the intruding tribe say it was a mistake. The new political arrangement of 1890s to 1914 in that area has constituted greater challenge of nation building in that part of Nigeria because the conflict between the indigenes and intruders has become protracted. It has led to the loss of confidence in the State leading to inter ethnic and religious wars, and the destruction of lives and properties (Public and private).At the national level some Nigeria elites also regard the amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria as mistakes of 1914. They argued that the amalgamation was without the consent of its various constituents but was more out of British economic interest. As a result there were demands and creation of more regions, Provinces, Divisions and change of name to States, Divisions//Local Governments.

Table 1: Changes in the structure of federating units in Nigeria

DATE	NORTHERN NIGERIA	SOUTHERN NIGERIA	TOTAL	ENABLING LAW
1914	1 Protectorate	1 Protectorate	2	
1933-1939	1 Group of Province	2 Groups of Provinces (East & West)	3	Native Authority Ordinance
1946	1 Region (Northern Region)	2 Regions East & West)	3	Notice No.43 of 1933
	12 Provinces	11 Provinces	23	Notice No. 1725 of 1938
	39 Divisions	44 Divisions	83	Notice No. 17 of 1943
1963	1 Region (Northern Region)	3 Regions East, West, Mid-West)	4	The Mid- West Region (Transitional Provisional Act No. 19 1963
	14 Provinces	21 Provinces	35	
	41 Divisions	55 Divisions	96	
1967	6 States	6 States	12	State (Creation and Transitional Provisional) Decree 14, 1967
	41 Divisions	55 Divisions	96	
1976	10 States	9 States	19	State (Creation and Transitional Provisional) Decree 12, 1976
	152 Local Governments	148 Local Governments	300	
1987-1990	11 States	10 States	21	State (Creation and Transitional Provisional) Decree 1987 &1989
	240 Local Governments	208 Local Governments	448	
1991	17 States (including FCT)	14 States	31	State (Creation and Transitional Provisional) Decree 37, 1991
	322 Local Government	273 Local Governments	595	
1996	20 States (including FCT)	17 States	36 Plus FCT	State (Creation and Transitional Provisional) Decree 36,1996
	419 Local Governments	355 Local Governments	774	

There was also the creation of six geopolitical zones without a Middle belt Zone: (1) North –West (2) North Central (3) North-East (4) South West (5) South-South and (6) South –East. The demand by the people of Middle for a Zone of their own out of the other Northern Zones did not materialize. To express their dissatisfaction, they unofficially continue to meet under various **Middle Belt** fora demanding for the creation of a Middle Belt Zone. The creation of Zones was thus a backward move to the pre 1967 era where regions were the second tier of Government. Be that as it may there is still an increasing demand for States and local governments. But the State policy of having a cumbersome Constitutional process made Nigerians unable to create more State and local governments. And it seems the National Assembly did not regard it necessary to simplify the process by amendment of the Constitution in respect of the process for State and local government creation and boundary adjustment, The reluctance to amend and create additional geo-polity probably is to reduce the cost of funding new States and Local Governments: a revenue burden borne by the Federal Government through monthly subvention because even the present states and local government find it difficult to provide sufficient internally generated revenue.

Between 1940s and 1950s Nigeria nationalist called for and participated in Constitutional Conferences, accepted **federalism** as a foundation for building Nigeria as nation. But after independence federalism faced stiff challenges from those wanting a unitary form of government and others who wanted a Con-federal arrangement. The 1963 Republican Constitution was followed by the introduction of the 1979, 1989, and 1999 Constitutions. The 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria bequeathed by the military is defective in many important respects, and has been amended three times and is still undergoing the process of another amendment. Because of the absence of consensus there are still calls for true **federalism, sovereign national conference and resource control,** hence the convening of *"Peoples Public Forum on the Review of the 1999 Constitution."* Indeed Public Hearing fora were organized by the Nigeria House of Representatives, where the present writer served as the Secretary of the Steering Committee in Takum-Donga-Ussa and Yangtu Special Development Area Federal Constituency. As it is today the debate is still going on for example, over which kind of federalism (absolute or partial) should be adopted in Nigeria? Should the boundary between federating units be based on territory of areas claimed by dominant ethnic or religious groups? Should Section 8 of the Constitution be amended to create more States? And how many more states should be created? Should it be one in each of the 6 geopolitical Zones, bringing it to 6 new States? Or should an additional States be created in the South-East Geopolitical Zone in order to achieve equalization of the Geopolitical Zones? Still in the Constitutional Review

process in Nigeria some people advocate that the geopolitical zones should be made a tier of Government with State machinery. Thus brought the question should the 6 Geopolitical Zones be included in the Constitution as a tier of Government? Should the local government Councils be accorded the Status of a third tier of Government properly so called for with its own legislative list? Should section 162 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria be amended to abolish the State Joint Local Government Account? Should Chapter 3 of the Constitution dealing with Citizenship be amended to provide for residency to be the basis for belonging to the State rather than indigeneship? From the recent Public Hearing organized for Takum Donga Ussa and Yangtu Special Development Area Federal Constituency by Representative Member Nigeria House of Representatives, Barr A.T. Sam Tsokwa (where the present writer served as the Secretary of the Steering Committee), it was observed that there are divergent views on the above questions. Some people are satisfied with the current 36 states, others are calling for more states for their own groups, and others are arguing that the number of States should be reduced to 6 along the line of the current 6 geopolitical zones without the demand of the Middle Belt Zone. This is because

> *the key values of federalism, democracy, and inclusive government have not been sufficiently consolidated as core values for our nation… And in many instances, there is a discrepancy between what is written on paper and what people do in practice. Building consensus around these three key values remains a constitutional challenge for nation-building. Nigeria needs a constitutional settlement that commands the acceptance, if not the respect, of a majority of its 140 million citizens.* (Ibrahim Gambari 2008).

At the ongoing Abuja National Conference, members of the conference have resolved that 18 more States be created to bring the number of States to 54 in Nigeria; there should be change in the name of Nigeria; there should be rotational presidency e.t.c. (Sandiatapost.com). As a result of these calls, a deeper level of national identity is needed to be deliberately constructed by molding different ethnic groups into a nation, especially since colonial practices of divide and rule as well as Nigeria's ruling elite selfish actions had resulted in a more heterogeneous social and economic structure. The point here is, heterogeneity notwithstanding, the fact that sincerity of purpose, a good sense of history and the will to agree to work together for the common good has brought progress and development to a heterogeneous country like USA, it means that despite the heterogeneity of Nigeria, the country can also develop and Nigeria **may not** separate to its pre 1914 status because of some likely intervening local variables (e.g. national dialogue, genuine repentance by insurgents on their own to lay down arms) and international variables (e.g. continues recognition of one Nigeria by other countries and role of peacekeeping missions) to reduce the escalation of conflicts).

3.1.2 Identity Politics: Citizenship, Indigenes and Settler contestations

The problem in Nigeria is that though **t**he 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria has defined who an citizenship and an indigene is, by making provision in Section 14 (2) and (3) for application of **federal character principle,** it is also backed by States and Local Governments through the issuance of **certificates of indigeneship to give credence to the application of the federal character principle.** But these have given rise to contestations, discriminations and redefinitions of citizenship. Critiques of the present situation assert that, the scenario above has led to denial of all inclusive citizenship rights as one move from one local government to another and from one State to another. This is because they are at times told to go to their **home** Local Government and or home State to make any claim. Those from other local government or state are labeled as foreigners, visitors, settlers, colonizers or non indigenes who come to deny indigenes, that is, sons of the soil opportunities for surplus and advancement. As such they blame the State for promoting indigene and settler dichotomy and discrimination. The indigenes on the other hand further blame the government and later settlers for undermining their native law and custom especially the quest to allow later settler ascend the traditional chieftaincy stool of the aborigines or emirate chieftaincy stools which were recognized as graded stool for more than a century. They frown at those who wish to infiltrate because the Local government reforms of 1976 has separated traditional institutions which can be ascended to only based on native law and custom of the ruling group as distinct from modern Local and State government systems where all citizens have equal right to vie for election as local government chairman among other modern state public offices. The present writer is of the view that so long as Nigerians want and create regions, states, Provinces, divisions, districts, wards, local governments, Chiefdoms, Kingdoms, or whatever names the may give to these internal geopolitical subdivisions the issues of Citizens, indigenes and settler dichotomies and the need for federal character and indigeneship certificates would always be there.

It is a fact that the Chapter Three (section 25) of Nigerian Constitution 1999 has already considered citizenship

as the basis of being identified as a Nigerian. The Constitution has also made a special provision and condition to be fulfilled before citizenships of other countries who want to be identified and conferred permanent citizenship of Nigeria. The same principle and condition obtain in other countries of the world. In domestic matters because of the existence of State Local Government areas and Districts and wards indigeneship and citizenship are two different things which must be applied and it affects two categories of people, which is Group "A"=first settler-Citizens and Group "B" = Later settler-Citizens.

Those in Group "A" have longer period of a natural link with a geographical location as his ancestral home where he traces his roots through a blood lineage and genealogy that puts him in contact with his kin and kindred. Thus the person in Group "B' that live in Group "A"s home land have bulk of their ancestors, kit and Kin located elsewhere also called their home land and have come to Group "A"s homeland to seek acceptance. However, long period of residency and good behavior could give members of Group "B" indigeneship status. Other benefits for both indigenes and citizens which the 1999 Nigeria Constitution has made provision for is that all groups should be given a sense of belonging in every polity and the principle of federal character should be applied to guarantee access to power and other resources of the community, state and Country. We appeal to the National Conference to maintain these constitutional provisions.

Furthermore, there is a universal fact that the acceptance of a person in Nigeria and indeed in a Nigerian community would never produce absolute equality. So when those in Group "B" have so been accepted to live in Group "A"s homeland such persons are expected to obey the native laws of the community they have been accepted into. The universality of justified inequality, for instance is not automatic. Each citizen must work out his salvation. Thus before you get employed you need to go to school, pass qualifying exams, apply for job e.t.c. Also in the area of freedom of movement and to live anywhere is not automatic simply because you express opinion that you want to be where you want. That is why in the developed countries there is immigration laws and people of questionable character are denied Visa into e.g. USA, South Africa, United Kingdom e.t.c. and those already there, can be deported when necessary. Equality thus would continue to be a mirage so long as due process in line with the law of the land is not complied with. So to talk about universal and absolute human rights to live anywhere of one's choice without fulfilling the requirements of subsidiary legislations is not only self deceptive but also tantamount to saying there should be no Nigeria and no Government in every community. Another fact is that like the Constitution of other countries e.g. USA, the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria has also defined how a person becomes a citizen of Nigerian as follows (a) In Section 25 **by birth** of every person born in Nigeria before and after the date of independence, either of whose parents or any of whose grandparents belongs to a community indigenous in Nigeria is a citizen of Nigeria and every person born outside Nigeria either of whose parents a citizen of Nigeria (b) In Section 26 (1) and (2) **by registration** of *any woman who is or has been married to a citizen of Nigeria; or every person of full age and capacity born outside Nigeria any of whose parents is a citizen of Nigeria".* (c) In section 27 (1) **by naturalization** of a foreigner who has lived in Nigeria continuously for at least 15 years. To consolidate the provision of section 25 of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, and to stem discrimination against citizens outside their homeland, the concept of **residency is** incorporated in **Section 15 (2) and (3)** thus: - *"for the purpose of promoting national integration, it shall be the duty of the State to ... (b) secure full residence rights for every citizen in all parts of the federation" Pursuant to the above in compliance with the constitution.* Secondly, the Constitution enjoins federal/ States /local governments to apply the principle of *federal Character* in all appointments to be made. For the purposes of knowing who a resident of a local government and State is and be seen to enjoy residency rights indigene certificate are introduced by the State and Local Government. The challenge here is that some residents find it difficult to secure the indigene certificate. While in some States securing the certificate and other benefits is not difficult. For example, those who can be described as having their home land outside Taraba State have been employed in the Civil service, appointed or elected into public offices. To this end, it can be asserted that, so long as we have States and local Government and for the fact that the country needs law and orderly behavior the use of federal character principle, registration of new comers as contemplated by the Imo State people (Channel Television 3rd July 2014; news24nigeria 04-07-2014) and the issuance of States and Local Governments certificates of indigeneship is still good and necessary to prove that you are a recognized resident of that State. However, curiously, some indigenes even in their home land suffer discrimination from later residents because the later residents want to take over control of the affairs of the local government they have now come to live by dislodging the indigenes. The indigenes regard this tendency as internal colonization because the movement and taking over is in only one direction (Kuteb Yatso of Nigeria 2014, Jonah K.I. 2014). This has become the main reason for the Benue State and particularly Takum and Wukari Local Government Areas of Taraba State violent clashes that resulted in the injury many people, loss of many lives and properties worth billions of naira.

3.1.3 Culture: The crave for Traditional Chieftaincy stools
It is interesting to note that Nigeria's cultural policy for instance in Section 21 of the Constitution of Federal Republic of Nigeria requires the State to "*(a) protect, preserve and promote the Nigerian cultures which enhance human dignity and are consistent with the fundamental objectives as provided in this chapter*". But the problem with this cultural policy is that Nigerians want to be regarded as a citizen and indigene of a community without respect to the laws of the community. The fact is that any where there is demand of rights without following due process is deviancy. And the fact that there is government and rules which are expected to be obeyed, and day-in day-out there are calls on Government to take action to maintain law and order, then the continuous refusal by the deviant e.g. those who wish to covet the Ukwe Takum stool from the Kuteb (Federal Government of Nigeria (FGN) Oputa Panel Report 2005, Magashi Report 1998) the Jos Hausa-Fulani claim over the stool of Gbong Gwom Jos (Best ; and the recent case of Boko Haram at Gwoza (Sahara Reporters August 12 2014) to obey laws for an orderly society is the foundation for protracted intergroup conflicts and insecurity in Nigeria.

This provision should be maintained in the Constitution of Nigeria. In practice Nigerians who are not living in their homeland stand to benefit from this policy also. They can have their personal chief but not paramount chief of the homeland of others where they have come to now live and should be seen interfering in the functions of the paramount Chief. The desire **not to** maintain this tradition is often a cause of dispute in many parts of Nigeria. Past efforts to stop interference with existing paramount stools of kingdoms include the Local Government Reforms of 1976 (Federal Government of Nigeria (FGN) 1976). It protected and promoted the culture and traditional stools of the aborigines/ indigenes and the long recognized and established emirate chieftaincy stools that they are to be ascended to according native law and custom of the respective chiefdoms, kingdoms, and emirates. As for the non ruling families it is their right as citizens to vote and be voted for to ascend modern government elective positions and be employed in modern institution of governance in the local Government of their choice provided such a person is a law abiding person in the local government of his choice. Therefore for the purpose of national outlook

(i)   Constitutional provision be made to give traditional rulers uniform functions and powers over certain matters
(ii)   Citizenship right and democratization of public institutions should not affect established Chieftaincy stools because opening up chieftaincy stools to every tribe in a Kingdom makes the institution no longer traditional.
(iii)   However if the clamor for opening up ascension to traditional stool would no longer be traditional as it would give more than a tribe the right to rule then it should affect all traditional institutions not a select few. Or
(iv)   All traditional institutions should be abolished since human right activists in Nigeria do not wish to respect culture and traditional institutions.

3.1.4 The Challenge of Tribalism, Religious and secessionist tendencies
The greatest challenge of Nigeria as a nation is the unnecessary incitement of regional, ethnic and religious groups' interest to demean, cheat or molest others to the extent of causing conflict and violence. These have further caused continuous distrust and disunity between various communities in Nigeria. This elaborated as follows:

3.1.5 Cultural Relativity:
Though Nigeria's cultural policy gives room for the promotion of all cultures (of people with e.g. common ancestry, language, homeland, experience), but the desire by some ethnic groups to promote only their cultural identity and only to self determine what should be done and not done as a means for their advancement has resulted to the classifications of groups as **in-group** and other groups as **out-groups**; or as superior and inferior and so the inferior are to abandon their cultural identity for the one regarded as superior. And the groups that refuse to be assimilated are always seen as offenders and need to be discriminated and marginalized in other programmes.

3.1.6 Desire and competition for access to political power:
This has led to recourse to religious and ethnic support to struggle against common enemy and against hitherto allies who have betrayed each other. This has led to recourse to ethnic or religious identity as a mobilization base. It has had the effect of posing as a counter to wider Nigerian national interest and unity.

3.1.7 Control of economic resources
Control of economic resources e.g. land and oil boom revenue has generated debate for the change of revenue

allocation formula to the favor of oil producing areas and who are suffering land degradation. The non oil producing areas have seen the resources as common wealth which has to be controlled by the Federal Government and should be shared in a fairer way that the non oil producing areas would get substantial allocation.

3.1.8 Complain over majority or minority marginalization and domination:
When new states and local governments are created people earlier complaining about majority domination turn out to be new majority and oppressors of smaller ethnic groups in their new states, local governments, as well as districts and ward level. Thus majority and minority are redefined at various levels of government and various times. And a new cycle of fears of population domination and denial of right of self-determination is copied and reproduced and new minorities make complains against new majorities.

3.1.9 Corruption and the failure of the State to also perform its welfarist functions:
Nigerians have the expectation that it is and should always be the responsibility of the State to provide protection, social services, check negative impact of exploration of mineral resources and the scourge of unemployment. The effects of the above are the various demands by ethnic and or religious groups for restructuring of the Nigeria State via secession or creation of new states and local governments because it has come to be seen that only state and local government headquarters get social infrastructures. Unity along tribal and religious believes is not bad because it is natural. However it becomes repugnant when it is used as a basis to deny other citizens of their legal and or traditional rights in traditional regions. It becomes nauseating when such rights do no respect legal limits. It becomes a source of violence when the property of another person is taken by force. When members of a particular ethnic or religious group are discriminated and marginalized from being elected or appointed into modern institution of authority of his Local Government and State. All or any of these and among others often intensify rivalry between ethnic or religious groups within the nation. This sometimes resulted in their near-disintegration, such as the attempt by Biafra to secede from Nigeria between 1967 and 1970. Even today a few Igbo youths still clamor for a Biafra country. This is because of the perception of other non Igbo politician, that they have no confidence in the Igbo politician. As such have stood against Igbos being elected to the post of President of Nigeria and /or have Igbos appointed into other sensitive public offices. As a path to nation-building, right from the Nigerian-Biafra civil war, the propaganda that is chorused every time the Nigerian state faces a similar major crisis is that our leaders say "*keeping Nigeria united is a task that must be accomplished*". It is no longer surprising that some communities in their Local Government, State and/or country of origin like Nigeria must be marginalized. The acts of selective nation building and eventual marginalization at any level of government in Nigeria are not only expressions of insincere call for one Nigeria but a discouragement of the marginalized from putting more efforts at nation-building activities.

3.1.20 Militants: Domestic Terrorism, insecurity and fear of the unknown
In the 1960s there was a global rejection of Military regimes and most Nigerians support the principles of democracy such as the forming of government based on the will of the majority, respect for the rule of law, and respect for basic freedoms of citizens, Because military regimes was an undemocratic way of coming to power and had more tendency to break democratic values. And still it could lead to state building where cessation occurred. "*Yet while most of us now agree that we do not want military rule, our visions and practice of democracy are not uniform, showing a fundamental lack of consensus on this important question as well*". (Ibrahim Gambari 2008) In practice the name of democracy and change, we have seen civil protest as revolutionary pressures are more dangerous than military regimes: in terms of the number of people maimed, killed and properties destroyed. Though revolutionary pressure in Nigeria has not reach the scale of destruction witnessed during and after the toppling of Mubarak in Egypt, Gaddafi in Libya and the ongoing protests in Syria. Revolutionary pressures from another perspective e.g. in Mali and Nigeria from Boko Haram is seen as terrorism because it is more of nation breaking than nation building acts.

Nation-building should guarantee sustainable development instead of destroying what has been achieved. Before Goodluck came to power the voice of terrorist had began to sound loud and clear in Nigeria. These terrorist as revolutionary pressures have one thing in common, that is. the quest for economic resources through political power, and covering it with either religious philosophies or a call for Human rights (democracy) so as to get the sympathy of other parts of the world. Our recent history shows that in spite of the Constitutional provision that Nigeria is a secular nation, informal ethnic and religious militant groups have tried to make Nigeria ungovernable until their own son is allowed to rule as President or Governor of States. Second, some groups are against peaceful coexistence until Nigerian operates as a country based on a particular religion without due process of Constitution amendment. Third, and for instance, an evaluation of Boko Haram demands. arguments and patterns of operation show a common objective of wishing to crush down Nigeria through fear,

destruction of lives, properties and institutions until everyone and everything in Nigeria accepts its version of Nigeria as an Islamic State or a divided Nigeria as it was before 1914. This no doubt undermines the Constitution of Federal Republic of Nigeria the very foundation of Nigerian State and its nation-building policy which says that grievances should be resolved through legal means.

Because of the increasing use of illegal means to secure personal and group interest, Nigerians now live in fear of the unknown. Nigerians do not know who would be the next victim of bomb blast and where it would meet one. This is because even holy grounds, non-traditional areas of attackers and security hubs have become perpetual targets. And in these areas both Christians and Muslims fall victim of the attacks. However, the fear of the known also exist. Nigerians know that there is lack of human security, and more terrorist attacks of the masses are recorded. This fear has made Nigerians (both Christians and Muslims) to step-up praying; but others who are in support of the attackers rather blame the Government for not doing enough to provide security and pressure that the Government should not regard the law breakers as criminals/terrorist who undermine the Nigerian Constitution, but engage in dialogue with them for being "insurgent". First, the truth is that insurgency is a tactics for getting the post of Governor/ President of the Country from the South to the North. It is to make one group of Nigerians afraid and blame the President as being in-efficient and should be voted out of power. It is to over throw the existing traditional rulers and install members of the insurgents and new traditional rulers. Therefore, the insurgents (Sponsors and agents) should be blamed for the conflicts in Nigeria more than the Government because the attackers have made up their mind to be sadist irrespective of what the Government does, they are prepared to proof the Government wrong until they have state power and authority in their hands. Secondly, the fact that human right laws and activist are there giving support to insurgency, which in itself is undemocratic and unconstitutional method for regime change, makes Government to act with caution to avoid being sued for human rights violation. The questions that need answer now are:- first would another negotiation with insurgents not justify their acts, and encourage the rise of another terrorist group because it is believed that from the Niger Delta example there is economic and political benefit attached to insurgency and so Nigeria would not see the end of insurgents/rebels until their demands are met? Secondly, if countries that have witnessed their citizens introduce terrorism / violent protest /revolution and counter revolution found no answer to mass poverty, misrule, discrimination, unemployment, despotic constitutional amendment and election process, loss of more lives and properties, then what guarantee is there for sustainable development now that terrorism is imported from Middle East to Nigeria destroying poor innocent citizens and their properties? The challenge to Nigerian revolutionaries especially from Northern Nigeria is to stop importing contradiction and conflict which are opposite of Constitutional/legally acceptable approaches. They should go on to take advantage of the National Conference among other avenues to dialogue /negotiate their demands for peace to reign. If good leadership is to be leadership by good example, then the kind of leadership provided in Afghanistan under Mohammed Omar's Taliban which was leadership by terror, was not a good example of leadership that Nigerians should emulate. The first challenge before the Government and citizens is that the terror now in practice by Boko Haram would still be carried out by them when they succeed in pushing Goodluck out of power The second challenge is that what was seen as nation building through implementation of Federal Character in public service recruitments is the use by one group against other groups of Nigeria targeted for conquest. The impact of this is the new interpretation that what we have now as insurgents in the name of federal character and job creation were legally recruited into security services, legally trained but only to later desert the security services to carry out illegal act of terrorism. In other words, there was a long term plan of infiltration of especially of the Nigerian police, and army for use when the Northern elites fail to get Nigeria Presidency in 2011. Now that they failed in 2011, it is believed that *the "compromise, sabotage and inevitable related desertions"* (Brimah 2014) by Nigerian soldiers, is a strategic action in support of Northern ruling elites.

However Brimah (2014) further reported that civilian patriots, of over 30,000 brave Nigerians have drawn up their operational plans and promised that "w*e are ready to bring an end to the Boko Haram insurgency"* and are waiting for Federal Governments' approval to allow them go into the Sambisa forest to rescue the 234 Chibok girls as well as exterminate the insurgents. But for the fear of the unknown, since April 2014 when this nation building request was sent to the Federal Government of Nigeria, the approval is yet to be seen. The fear may be connected to the question should Nigerians be given the right to acquire and use arms as counter to Boko Haram and other threats to life when there are national and international laws against proliferation of *Small* Arms *and Light Weapons*(SALW)?. The illicit circulation of *small* arms, *light weapons* and their ammunition can lead to other unlawful acts such drug lords, can randomly kill *law* enforcers or anyone else interfering with their illegal business; ethnic militia can easily arise to commit genocide e.t.c. (*en.wikipedia.org/wiki/SALW;www.poa-iss.org/poa/poahtml.aspx*;http.//*www.un.org/disarmament/convarms/SALW/;en.wikipedia.org/wiki/SALW; https://www.armscontrol.org/print/391;http.//eeas.europa.eu/cfsp/salw/docs/small_arms_en.pdf;https://www.ess ex.ac.uk/.../International%20law%20and%20Small%20Ar...*International *law* and *small* arms *and light weapons*

control; *www.nassnig.org/nass2/legislation.php?id=1641*   the Nigeria commission *against* the proliferation of *small...*

While patriotic Nigerians have no access to weapons, the sources of weapons to Boko Haram are many hence the intensification of their attacks on innocent, law abiding and patriotic Nigerians. The law abiding Nigerians are left with either abandoning their homes to become internally displaced persons to save dear life, delay leaving their homes to fall victim of abduction, get killed or injured and loose properties. This challenge of insecurity and the desire for patriotism has not only brought about measures to control indiscriminate use of weapons but has also triggered a tendency for the rise of civil militia groups to counter the menace of Boko Haram and other criminals harassing various communities. In the wider Nigeria context, the posture of Niger Delta Youths to counteract Boko Haram if Goodluck fails to win the 2015 election is a path to further political instability as a well as a signal to Boko Haram to stop its activities if they love Nigeria. Where they do not stop it would reach a point where various militia groups would face each other in want of supremacy.

For now we have observed that the Government is approaching the insurgency menace with soft touch approach by way of avoiding an all out military attack in the name of civil war, in preference of committee appeal to conscience of the insurgents. This approach has been decried by Nigerians as not enough to free the Chibok girls without further delay.   But the Government has justified its approach on grounds of intelligence and logistic strategies for a safe rescue of the girls. Be that as it may be, the challenge posed by the surprise-initiatives of the insurgents leaves much to be done by the government side (that has monopoly of authority and power in Nigeria).

3.1.21 *Creation of Symbolic Bureaucratic Institutions*

One of the most crucial tasks of nation builders is to incorporate existing institutions and traditions in the institutional make-up of the nation according to what importance they might have in the new national narrative. This is an open-ended process since any institutional structure might reinforce or change the national identity in one or another direction and could well be reformed or abolished as a consequence of the process it has triggered in the first place. This, in turn, may not only lead to political instability but to a decrease in social coherence and even to fundamental conflicts about the content of the national narrative and questions of national identity. It is important to keep in mind that in a national context, all public institutions take on an additional, symbolic meaning: not only are they supposed to perform certain political, social or economic functions but they also form the visible surface of the nation. The historical record would suggest that it can be helpful to remove predominantly symbolic institutions e.g. traditional institutions and the bureaucracy from the political fray as much as possible in order to preserve their meaningfulness beyond political partisanship. Though the monarchy, e.g. In England and Spain have been kept away from political spheres however, this is not always an option available to nation builders, and is certainly not a necessary precondition for effecting national building

In Nigeria an institution like the Federal Character Commission (FCC), National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) and an informal arrangement of zoning elective posts, has help in creating confidence and enhanced nation building. For instance, the Federal Character Commission has monitored employments at the federal level and this curtailed the outcry by some community against monopoly, marginalization, and exclusion in bureaucratic and political positions. The NYSC is a socialization institution. It makes young Nigerians deepen their Knowledge about the composition of the country, the culture of other people and enhance the attitude of service to the nation. But a new outcry by some communities against the operation of the Federal Character policy is that merit is at times compromised to give preference to others who are not qualified by general rule. For selfish reasons some people are even calling for the removal of masses oriented Land Use Act, Public Complaint Commission (PCC), National Security Agencies Act, and the NYSC clauses from the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 (Section 315(5) so that it can easy altered by the National Assembly.

The Civil Service is the main instrument and institution of public service delivery. integrity and adjudication in support of the President, Governors and their political agents. The capacity of the Nigerian civil service to perform its statutory functions is its ability to attract and retain competent and highly skilled persons in the professional category; But the willingness by the political class to offer attractive pay and benefits package, working resources to civil servants is not always there. The practice of giving quarterly allocations to Departments backed by Authority to incur Expenditure (AIE) has been cancelled in some level of Government and is fading in others. This has led to non delivery of services as prepared in Departmental budgets. This is mainly because the political class prefer that project funds goes directly to their pockets than. Still Civil Servants suffer other conditions of service such promotion without financial backing, stagnation at one level for lack of promotion, none payment of gratuity and erratic payment of pension to name a few. While the recent minimum wage has done much to improve overall conditions of the civil servants the inability of the government to raise

the value of the naira against the Dollar and to also control independent marketers of petrol from being corrupt by way of cheating on customers through hoarding, price increase and reduction in quantity of fuel paid-for creates inflation. The impact of these on nation building is that people have lost confidence in the nation because Chief Executives have increasingly shied away from its responsibilities of service delivery through appropriate government agencies.

3.1.22 Elite Consensus for Abuse of Public Office
Another Challenge to nation-building in Nigeria is elite consensus for abuse of office. Ordinarily it is expected that the mass of Nigeria population are to be the ones to determine issues and to benefit from nationalist struggles and post colonial power. But that has not been the case because the elites are the only ones sufficiently educated to produce literature, art, or engage in historical research. Consequently, elites' political, economic and or social interests constitute the embodiment of nationalist propaganda that influenced the larger population to be on-lookers instead of playing the decisive role in formulating, implementing and interpreting public policies. Nationalism which is at mass level in the name of sovereignty lies with the people, And it has never made any head way because the relatively smaller group of elites within the elite classification is always in agreement to be the ones to actually determine who is declared elected, guilty and not guilty of offences. Thus talking about *smaller group of elites within the elite classification* it also entails that there is no solid unity among the elites who call themselves *stake holders.* This is because most members of any given elite subgroup represent vested interests, regions or professions. For instance, in the public service, elites are divided in terms of public office holders and civil servants; Nigerian elite in Politics is divided into two major camps, those in opposition and those with the government. All this divisions especially the public office holders are further subdivided into factions and cliques and are as dangerous as, or even more dangerous than ethnic and religious groups in the country. No matter what nomenclature is used to distinguish one group from another the educated members of the ethnic and religious groups build a consensus through another collective framework that is the political party, for the promotion of undue processes and corruption.

For instance, though Trans-Atlantic and Trans-Sahara slave trade has been abolished, it would not be out of place to say they have been replaced by exploitation via corruption. Corruption includes financial crime, abuse of office and human trafficking. This time it is not carried out by foreigners, but organized by Nigerians elites and in some cases by Nigerians in partnership with foreigners. As a cover up, and part of the process of state and nation-building, the ruling elites still promise a nation flowing with milk and honey and that everything is being done to check corruption. Consequently, Constitutional provisions and subsidiary legislations are made and institutions e.g. Nigerian Police, Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC), Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC), Code of Conduct Bureau (CCB), Public Complains Commission (PCC), and the Courts are established to check crime. But in spite of these, corruption as a canker worm to nation-building becomes much valued by the elites with every opportunity to handle money and there is abuse of office when elites find themselves at the corridors of authority and power. Furthermore, a highly placed official takes advantage of his position to divert funds to where it was not approve for it to be used. He uses his official position to direct his subordinates to prepare cover up documents so that his misdeeds would not be easily dictated. He to uses his social networks for marginalization of some communities they do not belong to, At the end chains of other problems arise. These problems include lack of funds for building of solid infrastructure, abandoned projects, inefficient or decayed infrastructure, nepotism in employment process leads to unemployment, prebendal politics leads to circulation of the children of ruling elites and loyal servants of those in power. At schools there are rampant cases of admission and examination malpractice as short cut to passing examination e.t.c. These have led to loose of faith in the institutions of State governance.

3.1.23 *The Challenge* of a National History
It is said that while some people are born to create history, some are born to write the history. It is this "history" that is regarded as *"the holy book of the people whom it has been written on." (Nikolay Karamzin's* in Utz 2005) History thus *"*is important and necessary mirror of a peoples past and present values and activities which serves as guide to future generations. to emulate. Therefore central to nation-building is the creation of a national history which (1) would prove the uniqueness of the nation. (2) constructing a *usable past* by referring to particular aspects of history where there was some sort of *social consensus* or *"political culture"* that would serve as the foci of identification and loyalty, a display of political knowledge and expectations which are the product of the history of the people. In order to use the historical experience to justify and present the political order of the day as being the result of a great national struggle, some Nigerians elder statesmen have risen to make emotional conclusions and statements. For instance Nigeria's former Head of State Olusegun Obasanjo wrote a letter to the Present Head of State Goodluck Jonathan; another former Head of State Gen Buhari made a press release to assert that President Goodluck Jonathan has declared war against Nigeria. In nationalist terms all

these statements among others are made with the claim that they are trying to bolster the legitimacy of Goodluck Jonathan's regime as well as present a history that they are indeed nationalist to be judged positively by future generation. Also while over the years Nigeria has come to witness more Nigerians writing Nigeria's history with the objective of building Nigeria as a nation, unfortunately there is another historical challenge in Nigeria. Some economic, religious and ethnic communities still pride in their pre-colonial history of jungle justice and wars of conquest and are prepared in this constitutional age to further engage in physical fight to conquer other local Communities. They go further to request the Government to give them the power (of traditional or modern institutional authority) as proceeds of their unconstitutional/illegal acts of conquest. This approach to history tears communities and indeed Nigeria apart.

3.1.24 *Nationalism Political Leadership recruitment and Change through Constitutional Democracy*
Nationalism means *resentment of the alien for* national self-determination. Nationalism does not require a particular form of government to express itself. Hence the expression of nationalism varies from place to place. In colonial period nationalism as a modernizing concept is a response to a perceived cultural, political and economic threat e.g. colonialism. Particularly in the third world and to a lesser degree in Eastern Europe and Russia, nationalism is a reaction to backwardness relative to Western Europe and North America. Nationalism is thus the rejection of Western values in favour and in defense of local culture. And nationalism is employed in order to project a vision of modernity which is independent of foreign culture.

But post-colonial nationalism and movements in Nigeria is hinged on the role of out- of-government ruling-elite's counteractions to government activities and vice versa. On one hand in the name of being in opposition parties the out- of-government ruling- elite regard the ruling party as dictators who exploit the electoral process to remain in power and further exploit the national wealth for personal /sectional use. The ruling party on the other hand regards those in opposition as foreigners who want to reap where they did not sow. Here also like the colonial period, the post colonial perception of nationalism does not require a particular form of government to express itself. Rather nationalism is found in varying degrees of totalitarian and democratic forms of government. And nationalism and democracy depend on each other to survive. Therefore in modern sense, successfully developed nations are so defined when they their political leaders are also democratically constituted. This dependency of nationalism and democracy on each other produces *resentment* of one party by the other party *in toto*. Seen as such, it only highlights the importance of a meaningful intergroup dialogue in which no party (ruling and opposition) should be beyond criticism and taking corrective measures for the sake of nation-building. It is in the light of what ought to be as a political balance that we view the post colonial expression of nationalism in Nigeria.

But in spite of the clear picture of what ought to be as expressed in our electoral laws and the desire for good governance, some peop*le in the name of practical politics and long experience as against academic exercise of what the rule books* say have tried to make a dictatorship take on the appearance of a democracy by practicing undemocratic and illegal processes as well as pride in it. They rely on the powers of Chief Executives of the State (the President, State Governors), or the figure of a "leader", to claim they are candidates of a Chief Executive, and exclude the electorates not only from democratic processes to get themselves announced into office, secure contracts, and even molest and kill fellow citizens. Some political parties have become vehicles to deliver power to the highest bidders and the Electoral Commissions seal the deal for example by announcing the winner before some ballot papers are counted or before all results are delivered at the coalition centers. And when they are sworn-in the amass wealth and use part of it to defend themselves at election tribunals. At times when the ruling government provides security to contend rigging and other terrorist activities at pooling centers, the group that wishes to rig cry out that the presence of security is incompatible with civil democratic governance. They often say so because of the fear that some dictatorships have drawn on the notion of popular sovereignty to stage managed consent in order to legitimize non-democratic forms of rule. The crave for Constitutional rule brings us to the position that military coup and civil-violent- mass protest similar to Arab springs and insurgency which leads to regime change are both a misnomer and should not be encouraged to take place within and outside Nigeria.

3.1.25 Modern Nationalist propaganda
Any elite adopting a national identity may have had their own interests in mind but it would have been impossible to advance those interests without referring to a larger collective body that is the nation, at the same time he is pursuing his interest. Since one of the most important precondition for nation-building is to spread the message of one Nigeria nation! one destiny! to both the urban and rural population; to both the ruling elite and non ruling elite population; to both local and international community. In Nigeria to secure this support for one Nigeria, nationalist within and outside the government have often propagated that government policies and

actions are based on popular sovereignty and to fundamentally install equality between all imaginable divide of the people. Thus references to all the people served a double purpose: to legitimize their own involvement and their desire for political power as well as create the impression that the elite would be capable of resolving the problems of the nation to provide a brighter future. At the external front they bring up programs that would improve the image of Nigeria so that other foreigners can have confidence in the nation. For instance

- *Following the restoration of democracy and the drive for economic and political revival following years of military dictatorship that made Nigeria a pariah state, the government of President Olusegun Obasanjo, embarked on extensive foreign trips in search of economic partnerships and inbound investments. However, given the new world order which placed a premium on good infrastructure, democracy, the absence of corrupt public institutions and open government as well as other competitive advantages in deciding economic partnerships and investment options on the globe, Nigeria made very little advances in the drive for foreign direct investment. This precipitated a need for a new national positioning.*
- *The quest for a new brand image, one that is deliberately orchestrated with the intention of positioning for economic benefits led to the emergence of the Nigeria image programme in 2004 under the direction of the then minister of information, Chukwuemeka Chikelu saw the emergence of the "Heart of Africa" project which has as its key thrust the need to project corporate brand Nigeria and by so doing sell our unique selling point to the world. The project was intended to be sold through a 360 degrees communication approach across the world.*
- *With the exit of Chukwuemeka Chikelu came Frank Nweke (Junior) who adopted this platform and sought through the various road-shows which he carried out across Europe and America, preserve the original idea while underscoring it with Economic diplomacy. But given the fact that Frank Nweke came at the second half of Obasanjo's second term as President of Nigeria, he could not consolidate on the work he had started before the coming of a new President, Umaru Yar'adua.*
- *Yar'Adua and the Quiet Push for Russian and Sino-Nigerian Friendship as Basis for International Positioning*
- *The 2007 Presidential election came with wide local and international condemnation especially from Europe and America and, as a result of this, the new President could not advance Nigeria's economic interest with the West given the credibility problem which came with his election and seeking a way out of this interregnum, he pushed for stronger ties with Russia and China, while pushing for policies which gave increasing economic stakes his new found partners at the expense of the west. To this end Gasprom, a Russian Company moved to secure the Trans-Sahara Gas project ahead of British Gas, which was hitherto a front-runner. China also pushed for bigger stakes in the Nigerian upstream Petroleum sector and the push to have the Petroleum Industry Bill passed into law met with stiff resistance from European and American owned Multinational Oil Corporations such as Shell, Agip, Mobil and Chevron, as it was seen as a surreptitious way of ceding great stakes to China. The Yar'Adua years, though short, saw a redefinition of brand Nigeria and with it came a new selling proposition and a new brand association. Nigeria sought under Yar'Adua to dilute her old legacy and chart a new cause away from it old Western masters as Yar'Adua also built stronger ties with the Middle East while the West remained a distant influence. At the local front, things proceeded at a slow pace and the need to have a rallying point around which the average Nigeria could take pride was missing until the emergence of Professor Dora Akunyili (a Pharmacist) as Minister of Information.*
- *Dora Akunyili and Her Move to Re-Write History – Enter the Nigeria Good People, Great Nation Project*
- *With Dora Akunyili's entrance came the "Nigeria Good People, Great Nation" brand identity project the project which effectively put paid to the Heart of Africa project.*
- *In terms of positioning, the Good People, Great Nation project sought to have an inside-out positioning as opposed the Heart of Africa project which had an outside looking in perspective.*
- *On the communication side, the Good People, Great Nation project suffered from a paucity of idea in terms how to drive a clear-headed communication of what the project seeks to achieve and aside from a few internal road shows, the project scale was far too little for it to have been effective. This was so, given the fact that unlike the Heart of Africa project which had Presidential endorsement, the Good People, Great Nation project did not have open Presidential endorsement as Yar'Adua maintained a quiet distance from the project through-out the life-span of his Presidency (Bolaji O.)*

4. 0 The Challenge of National Economic Growth And Development
Nigeria is a middle income, mixed economy. The Nigerian leadership under Obasanjo made some economic

reforms in the name of *National Economic Empowerment Development Strategy* (NEEDS) with same initiative at the State and Local Government levels. Under Yar'Adua and Goodluck a *Seven Point Transformation Agenda* is presented to also put Nigeria back on track towards achieving its full economic potential by raising citizens standard of living, experience macroeconomic stability via deregulation, liberalization, privatization, transparency, and accountability.

4.1 Gross Domestic Product and Per Capita Income

By and large in global ranking of the Nigerian economy, by comparison of Nigeria with other countries of the world, the historical list of countries by GDP (PPP), (Table 2 below) shows improvement in ranking and Nigeria has the potential of becoming one of the 20 largest economies in the world by 2020.

Table 2: Global Ranking of the Nigerian Economy by Gross Domestic Product (PPP)

Year	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Ranking	52	47	38	37	34	31	31	30	26

(http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economy_of_Nigeria).

In 2012 Nigeria is ranked 30th in the world in terms of GDP (PPP) thus an improvement over the previous years In Africa Nigeria is ranked 2nd largest economy next to South Africa. However following the recently released rebasing of the GDP, the nominal GDP for 2013 represents an increase of 89.22% over and global ranking of rebased GDP makes Nigeria **the 26th largest economy** in the world and now the first in Africa. In terms of GDP per capita the GDP per capital of Nigeria expanded 132% in the Sixties reaching a peak growth of 283% in the Seventies. But this proved unsustainable and it consequently shrank by 66% in the Eighties. In the Nineties, diversification initiatives finally took effect and decadal growth was restored to 10%. In 2013 it is the 121st in the world. The report further revealed that more sectors of the economy increased from 37 to 46. By the inclusion of sectors like telecommunications, entertainment, motion pictures, vehicle assembly, ICT and agriculture is no longer the largest contributor to Nigeria's GDP. (Omokhodion 2014;(http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economy_of_Nigeria;(http://www.tradingeconomics.com/nigeria/gdp).Though this result shows improvement and Nigeria has a potential of becoming one of the 20 largest economies in the world by 2020, but the greatest challenge to economic building of Nigerian nation is that it is currently underperforming because of mismanagement, inconsistent and poorly conceived government policies, neglect and the lack of basic and quality infrastructure, poor standard of living (Human development report ranks Nigeria as number 156 with the value of 0.459 among 187 countries. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economy_of_Nigeria) and there is increasing unemployment (24%, 2011 estimate) and violence by terrorist which is destroying the economy.   In industry, Nigeria is ranked 44th worldwide and third in Africa in factory output. The oil boom of the 1970s led Nigeria to neglect its strong agricultural and light manufacturing bases in favor of an unhealthy dependence on crude oil. Proceeds from this subsector formed the basis of laxity, corruption (in both public and private sectors).

In the private sector commerce, there is exploitation of the masses through excessive profiteering via hoarding of essential commodities especially e.g. fuel. Hoarding and fuel price hikes over the years had resulted to strikes by Nigerian workers, increase in transport fares and price of other commodities and consequently lower standard of living in-spite of Government promises to utilize subsidies removed in the development of other sectors. From 2012 after an initial increase in the price of petroleum on New Year day from 65 naira to 138 naira which triggered off a total strike and massive protests across Nigeria, until the agreement between Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC) andTrade union Congress (TUC) and Government reduced the pump price to 97 naira. Since then there were no long queues and price hike. But from the last week of February 2014 fueling stations in Nigeria suddenly tend to sell the product at a much higher price, ranging from 110 naira to 140 naira per litre, long queues have resumed as well as cheat their customers by giving less that a litre paid for. The Government on its part is claiming innocence, that it did not introduce the price hike. In addition to GDP and per capital income a discussion on inflation, exchange rate as basis for purchasing power parity comparisons is discussed below.

4.2 Rising Inflation

Inflation, refers to the value of the currency in terms the quantity and quality of goods and services such a currency would be able to buy to the satisfaction of the consumer. Recent Historical data on inflation in Nigeria Shows that Nigeria has maintained a single digit inflation rate (Table 4 below). In the past CBN Report shows that it was 6.60 % in December 2007 rose to 15% in December 2008. Rising inflation has the effect on capital formation, economic growth and consumption expenditure of households. At the end there is an increasing poverty situation of the people and country. The people are left with money without value as such projects in

monetary terms become unreliable as it gives deceptive statistics. Though government officials often present reasons for inflation that, there was poor economic performance caused by poor infrastructure, and the persistent restiveness in the oil-rich Niger Delta, and harsh weather conditions experienced in some food-producing areas of the country, it is also interesting to know that since its aftermath does not affect the rich the Government could not take appropriate action to reverse the trend. This had the effect of labor unrest in the country over many issues which ended in the demand for increase in salary and wages by trade unions.

Table 3: Recent Historical data on inflation in Nigeria

Date	Inflation Rate	Forecast
Dec 2003	23%	
Dec 2004	10%	
Dec 2005	11.60%	
Dec 2006	8.50 %	
Dec 2007	6.60 %	
Dec 2008	15.10 %	
Dec 2009	13.90 %	
Dec 2010	11.80 %	
Dec 2011	10.30 %	
Dec 2012	12.0 %	
Aug 2013	8.2%	8.5%
Sep 2013	8.0%	7.41%
Oct 2013	7.8%	7.26%
Nov 2013	7.9%	7.79%
Jan 2014	8	6.86%
Feb 2014	7.70	6.74%

Source: http://www.cenbank.org/rates/inflrates.asp; National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) Nigeria, 2014

Due to inflation (Table below) per capita GDP today remains lower than in 1960 when Nigeria declared independence. About 45% of the population lives on less than US$2 per day. In 2012, the GDP was composed of the following sectors: agriculture: 40%; services: 30%; manufacturing: 15%; oil: 14% (2012 estimate (Wikipedia). From the above Table 3, it can also be seen that since in December 2013 Nigeria annual inflation rate remained steady single digit rate of 8 %. However food prices have risen at the same rate over the past three months at 9.3 percent. But prices of meat, fish, dairy and fruit rose at a faster pace (NBS 2014).

4.3 Currency Devaluation

A currency has a defined value in a particular time. And when compared with other currencies it can be regarded as having high or low value. Politics of devaluation occurs when devaluation becomes part of a monetary policy for decreasing the value of a country's currency in relation to a baseline currency. So that when you compare that currency to other major currency benchmarks e.g. the American Dollar you find that the American dollar is more valued. The rate of devaluation is determined in two ways. It is either determined by *market forces*, thus it is not through government or central bank policy actions or it is determined by the official lowering of the value of a country's currency within a fixed exchange rate system, by which the monetary authority formally sets a new fixed rate with respect to a foreign reference currency. Devaluation of the Nigerian Naira increased when market forces were fully adopted to determine exchange rate, and private sector institutions: *Bureau de change* was permitted to play the key role in the Foreign exchange business. *S*ince then the value of the Naira has continued to depreciate. As shown in the Table 4 below in the 1970s Nigeria's Naira was equivalent to one British pound and stronger than the American dollar but today the reverse is the case. The recent post colonial value of the Naira is very bad. The value of the Naira has never been raised in any year (column 5 table 4)

Table 4: Historical value of one U.S. Dollar in Nigerian naira in Parallel Market.

Date	Naira per US $	Pound Sterling (CBN Rate)	Date	Naira per US $	Pound Sterling (CBN Rate)
1972	0.658	NA	1994	22.33 (56.80 PM)	NA
1973	0.658	NA	1995	21.89 (71.70 PM)	NA
1974	0.63	NA	1996	21.89 (84.58 PM)	NA
1975	0.616	NA	1997	21.89 (84.58 PM)	NA
1976	0.62	NA	1998	21.89 (84.70 PM)	NA
1977	0.647	NA	1999	21.89 (88-90 PM)	NA
1978	0.606	NA	2000	85.98 (105.00 PM)	NA
1979	0.596	NA	2001	99-106 (104-122 PM)	160.7391
1980	0.550 (0.900 PM)	NA	2002	109-113 (122-140 PM)	163.7888
1981	0.61	NA	2003	114-127 (135-137 PM)	202.4802
1982	0.673	NA	2004	127-130 (137-144 PM)	237.5455
1983	0.724	NA	2005	132-136	250.8297
1984	0.765	NA	2006	128.50-131.80	222.305
1985	0.894 (1.70 PM)	NA	2007	120-125	246.0172
1986	2.02 (3.90 PM)	NA	2008	115.50-120	230.8322
1987	4.02 (5.90 PM)	NA	2009	145-171	188.28
1988	4.54 (6.70 PM)	NA	2010	148.21-154.8	238.6698
1989	7.39 (10.70 PM)	NA	2011	151.05-165.1	232.1185
1990	7.39 (10.70 PM)	NA	2012	156.2	243.8751
1991	8.04 (9.30 PM)	NA	2013	155.27	253.0746
1992	9.91	NA	2014	165.20	256.4059
1993	17.30 (21.90 PM)	NA			

Source: http://www.cenbank.org/rates/ExchRateByCurrency.asp as at January each Year; Wikipedia with update by Ahmed-Gamgum 2014

According to the Central Bank of Nigeria

*"7. The Wholesale Dutch Auction System (WDAS) remained the main mechanism for the management of foreign exchange…the end period exchange rate at the WDAS depreciated sharply by 11.0 per cent below the end-December 2007 level to N132.56/US$ at end-December 2008 as a result of the deepening of the global economic crisis while it was N140.00 and N139.00/US$, respectively, at the inter-bank and BDC segments of the market. (*Central Bank Of Nigeria (2008) Annual Report & Financial Statements for the Year Ended 31st December   p. 39:*31)*

One notable pattern is that while the Dollar and pound Sterling have always appreciated the Naira has always depreciated/devalued. While the economic reasons to justify devaluation (e.g. Balance of payment deficits problems for instance when some countries do not want to import Nigerian goods because of its high cost; Inflation, adherence to old international conditions e.g. consuming what Nigeria with her resources cannot produce and failure by the country to industrialize; and Interest rates that is payment for use of credit and profit for lending money) are there, but the major political effect is that devaluation makes some Nigerian ruling elites in foreign exchange business to be the main beneficiaries of devaluation. In devaluation the ability of most Nigerians are often reduced because they spend more in buying foreign goods and raw materials. And this in-turn causes inflation earlier discussed. However devaluation may also be caused where a country deliberately prints money (often a cause of hyperinflation) to cover a persistent budget deficit without borrowing. From the increasing trend in the devaluation of the Nigerian currency leaves much to be desired from Nigeria leaders and its Central Bank and industrialized countries in building Nigeria from economic perspective.

4.5 Socio-Economic Inequalities

An important aspect of nation-building is the building of a common citizenship. This is expected to be done via equal opportunities for all citizens. But the challenge of increasing inequality of social-economic services is a concern for many. For instance:-

In Health: A registered Nigerians under National Health Insurance Scheme for instance is not supposed to experience "Out of Stock" (OS) syndrome. But some people are increasingly experiencing this. This goes to say that someone is causing this problem. As a result of this Nigerians in one geopolitical Zone of the country has a radically better Health services and quality of life from the person in another Zone where the monitoring is carried out, and funds and drugs are provided. A Nigerian who has registered and contributes to the Found monthly but has not enjoyed these socio-economic rights and also the Nigerian who has no opportunity to be

registered are both marginalized from national life. That is why in many Western European countries contemporary nation-building is about preventing 'social exclusion' or the exclusion of significant segments of the population from enjoying basic social and economic rights.

In Education: Education is regarded not only as a crucial factor for the emergence of nationalist elites but, indeed, for including wider circles of the population in this new identity of elite. It enables the individual to find a meaningful place for himself within the wider context of society. Therefore, educational policies and their implementation by teachers at all levels of the educational system are a key factor for nation-building. But educational policy implementation in Nigeria seems to pose a potential danger for nation building. Public schools including schools taken over from religious bodies in Nigeria which serves both the interest of the children of Christians and Muslims are not given the desired care by the government. While in some States Christian schools were taken-over some were later returned to their founding owners, but in recent times government has gone in again to build Koranic schools in the country for Muslims without also building exclusive Christian schools for Christians. The question is would the Koranic schools be taken care of more than other public schools or they would suffer like Christian Schools hitherto taken over by government?

In Nigeria, couple with the *Boko Haram* contradiction that non Islamic education is forbidden, (yet they use the goods produced as a result of western education) , as well as poor policy implementation, has denied many of Nigerians basic rights such as the right to education and health. There is also serious variation in the enjoyment of these rights across the country. As a consequence, the citizen is not motivated to support the State and society, because he or she does not feel that the society is adequately concerned about their welfare. Secondly, socio-economic inequalities across the country fuels fears and suspicions which keep the nation psychologically divided.

Transport: The challenge from this subsector is that, out of the 80,500 kilometers (50,000 mi.) of roads, only about 15,000 kilometers (10,000 mi.) are officially paved. The rest are in poor shape in spite of extensive road repairs bye a new agency called Federal Roads Maintenance Agency (FERMA) and construction of new ones by other companies. At the ports there are long delays in clearing goods for importers. In the area of aviation there are five international airports—Lagos, Kano, Port Harcourt, Enugu and Abuja. There are Government-owned aircrafts which serves domestic and international routes. And there are several domestic private Nigerian carriers, and air service among Nigeria's cities. However the greatest challenge is that there is poor maintenance culture of Nigeria's domestic airlines as such they not dependable (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economy_of_Nigeria).

4. 6 Labour force
Human capital is the greatest factor of production and Nigerian labor force employment based on 1999 estimate is 57.21 million. This Labor force – by occupation shows that agriculture is 70%, industry 10%, services 20%. And from 2010 estimate, unemployment rate in the Country is 24%. But there is inequality among the Labour force (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economy_of_Nigeria). Inequality among workers and trade unions has been a great challenge in Nigeria. It has led to conflicts between the trade unions and their employers and between the unions that are affiliates of Nigeria Labour Congress and those that are not. In recent times the protracted inter-trade union conflict has declined (Ahmed-Gamgum 2014). This is because trade unions are now complying with Court rulings and getting more organized for joint programmes that affect their members as well as other Nigerians. The greatest problems challenge to the Nigeria nation is the policy of deregulation of wage negotiation process which leads wage disparity and incessant demands for wage parity. As a result for instance, when doctors succeed in getting a better salary structure, the nurses also rise with a new demand for salary structure. Generally the demands for wage increase are backed by strikes lead to low productivity as long as the strike lasts. For example, it paralyzes public sector healthcare institutions and engenders hardships and death of sick Nigerians until the new demand is secured. While some people opine that the challenge from the workforce as a result of demands for wage increase is responsible for inflation, and makes the current funds in the purse of the State unavailable for infrastructural development if wage increase is allowed; however the greater challenge is the increasing inflation and devaluation of the naira which makes the disposable income at the hands of workers to be insignificant. Since better standard of living is the hallmark of sustainable development, therefore where the government fails to increase the value of the naira the government has to take the challenge of introducing new minimum and reasonable wage increase for all workers. Yet where the Federal Government of Nigeria made increases, some State level Governors refuse to implement minimum wage policy in their States in the name of lack of funds yet spend much for political rallies.

5.0 The Challenge From International Community

5.1 Globalization: A new Economic Order

The nature of international business shifted dramatically since World War II. In the past, companies based their operations in one country, with their activities in other countries limited primarily to the sale of products. Today, the there are multinational corporations (MNC). The MNCs manufacture products in various locations around the world. This allows the corporations to take advantage of the various conditions in each country, such as cheap labor, skilled workers, natural resources, and favorable trade or tax regulations in the name of attraction of foreign investors. MNCs have also created global markets for their products, a trend that has led to the standardization of brand name products worldwide.

Marxian argument have made capitalist governments to sit up by making policy reforms and policies that have led to intervention in the economy to correct the worst abuses inherent in capitalist States **and made the peripheral capitalist societies like Nigeria more dependent on the center capitalist countries**. The dependency is through the development of Implementation structures / institutions. For instance, the Western Capitalist countries developed new institutions for the promotion and management of the world's trade e.g. the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which gradually ensured that Nigerian Government lowered tariffs for most manufactured goods. In the 1990s the GATT transformed itself into the World Trade Organization (WTO), with more powers of enforcement and a broader mandate to promote free trade in the world.

5.2 Opportunity for Foreign and Private Sector Investment

The growing power of MNCs and international financial institutions raises another challenge for Nigeria, a country that operates a mixed economic system. This has made the Government to weigh the need totally open the Nigerian economy foreign investors as against the desire to preserve national sovereignty and culture; weigh the need to catch up with the advanced countries through the protection of Nigerian workers from exploitation, and infant industries from domination of the economy by MNC, weigh the need to operate a welfarist approach in the provision of social amenities and infrastructure as against privatization/public private partnership.. At the end of the day the pressure on Nigeria has led to the conclusion that opening Nigeria economy to foreign investors, privatization and public private partnership is essential to realizing Nigeria's vast but squandered potential. Hence, with the several policy reforms particularly in industrial policy, the presence of foreign investors are increasing, especially since Belgian consultancy companies such as *Genco* are exploring the Nigerian market. This has further put pressure on the need for Nigerian Government to sustain democratic principles, enhance security for life and property, rebuild and maintain infrastructure to attract foreign investment. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economy_of_Nigeria).

The challenge which still remains is that while Nigeria is integrated into international economy as a result of globalization, Nigeria remains in a subservient position and lacks voice in the global arena. While Abdurauf (2006) attributes this to "*lack of coherent leadership that could deliver the country to the promise land*" and that "*unfortunately the country is bless with selfish leaders who cannot see beyond the geography of their face in the process of capital accumulation unless this internal contradictions is solved otherwise Nigeria's dream would continue to be a mirage*". However the present writer contends that, the cause to Nigeria's economic tragedy is not exclusive to the Head of States alone. Citizens in business in collaboration with citizens of other countries are also responsible through sabotage by corruption of government policies as the case of Ajaokuta steel project has shown after huge investments of $4.6 billion (N750,000,000,000 Corruption has thus led to Zero allocate/abandonment of comprehensive steel projects in Nigeria. (logbaby.com/.../ajaokuta- steel-company-ajaokuta steel company, symbol of monumental official corruption; corruption responsible for non completion of Ajaokuta steel; www.punchng.com/.../Zero_allocation.for Zero Allocation for Ajaokuta steel company; theeagleonline.com.ng.corruption; Corruption is responsible non completion of Ajaokuta steel; nuraabatemiusman.wordpress.com/.../; www.nigeriapolitico.net/.../1461- privatization and the iron and steel sector ajaokuta; https//www.premiumtimesng.com/.../Ajaokuta steel company; theeconomyng.com/?p=414 Revamping the ajaokutasteel behemoth; dailypost,ng/.../joseph-ozigis-akomodi-an…An open letter to President Jonathan…; jakomodebiravonyaiinternatonal.blogspo…Ajaokuta steel plant, the develis workshop)

5.3 Regional Cooperation and integration

Another challenge to nation-building is regional cooperation and integration which is proceeding but more slowly. In Africa the most prominent organization with similar aims like the EU is the African Union and Economic Community of West Africa. In all, whereas on one hand Cooperation is simply the act of a working or acting together through organizations to achieve a common goal as requested or required by an agreement between entities; it entails the parties in cooperation do not lose their respective status and the parties have a

common goal or objective to achieve. On the other hand regional integration is a process where there are shift of loyalties, and the foregoing of independent pursuit for interdependency and reliance on a new center where the role of power which functionalist deemphasize are brought into play to direct the economy so as to gain some benefits across frontiers.

Cooperation and Integration thus are concepts used in international relations as distinct from the use of it in domestic matters. Consequently, inspired by the functionalist and neo-functionalist definitions of the concept of integration, Saleh (2010) regards "*international integration as the process and condition by which supranational institutions replace national ones.*"

Though cooperation and integration have their boundaries nevertheless cooperation and integration are both a voluntary association of nations. Secondly, though cooperation activities precedes integration by its posture of bearing substantial independence by member countries, cooperation is also intertwined with integration both in processes and conditions. As for integration most of the nations coming together have contiguous boundary but in cooperation though having contiguous boundary or being in close proximity within a given geographical area or region is also important, but in some instances that is not necessary. The most important ingredient is having a common interest aimed at promoting a culture of willful cooperation to ensure that there is peace among members so as to achieve the multidimensional objectives of cooperation and in due course integration. The implication of integration is that States are expected to surrender substantial part of their sovereignty to the regional or global institutions that replaces the State. Secondly, surrendering of sovereignty involves a federation of several States merging into one government by recognizing the sovereignty of the new supranational structure. An example of this supranational structure which has earned to its self the status of a model is the European Union (EU). It is described as a "*living laboratory of integration theory*" (Joseph Frankel 1973:48). It was formally established on November 1, 1993 after following some peaceful and gradual stages for integration.

Economic globalization that is doing business by Trans-National Corporation (TNC) beyond the border of their country of origin has made the path to nation building to become more complex. Similarly regional integration has also posed as a challenge to countries who wish to protect their borders against the nationals of neighboring countries. Globalization thus raises competition in our local markets but advances made in automated production, information technology/internet services in areas of business and governance, has increasingly become an issue. Nation states, which fail to understand this new dynamics, to produce standard products and penetrate global market run the risk of negative balance of trade and inability to satisfy the needs of its citizens. China a hitherto third world country has taken advantage of this and is flooding world market with its products and professionals. Where Nigeria fails to promote the ideals of regionalism it runs the risk of its citizens in the ECOWAS region being deported and the possibility of frequent international border clashes and trade disruption. According to the International Organization for Migration, the number of immigrants residing in Nigeria has more than doubled in recent decades – from 477,135 in 1991 to 971,450 in 2005 and 74% of the immigrants are from neighboring Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).This number has increased considerably over the last decade, from 63% in 2001 to 97% in 2005. Similarly, more people are emigrating from Nigeria than immigrating to Nigeria (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economy_of_Nigeria).

5.4 The Challenge of Social Globalization
Social globalization comes for instance in behaviors like promoting same sex marriage. Same sex marriage today is a Europe and American (Western World) way of life borrowed from Sodom and Gomorrah in the Middle East. But from the Middle East experience it is an immoral, dirty, bad, rejected and punishable way of life. But in the name of fundamental human right the Governments of the Western world countries as well as the Secretary General of the United Nations are of the opinion that same sex intercourse and marriage should be allowed to be practiced everywhere in the world. But this Western value is rejected in defense of man and woman intercourse and marriage only. Consequently when in January 7, 2014, the Nigerian President signed into law that same-sex intercourse and marriage is prohibited and is a punishable offence (http://news.naij.com/56486.html). While the Western world and human right activist criticized the government, the criticism also renewed the spirit of nationalism in both Christians and Muslims towards nation-building through moral culture. This demonstrated support to the Nigerian Government by Nigerians is to assert that every right has its limit. Hence those who wish to build Nigeria morally rose to say that if the West values same sex marriage, Nigeria does not and same sex marriage is not permissible in Nigeria. As such those in favor of same sex marriage ought to respect the right of those who do not like same sex marriage in Nigeria. Secondly those who like same sex marriage should exercise their right and **freedom of movement** by moving out of Nigeria to live in a countries where they would have the freedom to practice same sex marriage. In order words Nigerians are saying that if human rights have no limit then the countries in favour of same sex marriage and want to punish Nigeria should relax their respective

country's immigration laws which prevents free entry and exit, so that Nigerian gays /lesbians can move over without checks. But if there is limit to rights and their immigration laws would not be relaxed and western countries must enforce their respective national laws, then Nigeria should be seen to have its good subsidiary legislations enforced (as guaranteed by section 45 of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigerian); more so that it was duly passed by the National Assembly as a national culture. As it is if indeed democracy is hinged on the principle of majority rule, the majority of the people of Nigeria through the legislature, religious leaders, social groups and the media have spoken well of the anti gay law, that gay and lesbian culture is an abomination in Nigeria then it should be seen to be respected and enforced.

5.5 The Challenge of Foreign Policy

From the perspective of modern international politics, particularly between United States and other countries all nation-building processes since 1898 is a matter of cultural interventions because the process includes influence from outside in order to promote democracy as a prerequisite to greater internal stability and eventually achieving stability in international Relations.. The United State nation building effort is in the use of its military force e.g. Spanish-American War when the United States decided that Cuba and the Philippines should no longer be colonies of Spain. And the presence of US Army in Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan is to create the conditions for democracy to take root and re-build these nations into one (Carson 2003).

Furthermore, these foreign countries sponsored local military to organize coups to topple incumbent regimes or encourage civil groups to stage protest as a means of removing regimes not loyal to foreign countries or support some regime to stay unto power amidst protest from citizens all as efforts to build the nation.

In this sense both nation-building and state building, describes deliberate efforts by a foreign power to construct or install the institutions of a national government, according to a model that may be more familiar to the foreign power but is often considered foreign and even destabilizing. In this sense, state-building is typically characterized by massive investment, military occupation, transitional government, and the use of propaganda to communicate governmental policy (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nation-Building).

However, since September 11, there is an understanding that the American stake in the future of Afghanistan was not simply nation-building for the sake of the Afghan people, but also to keep America as one nation It required security building for the State of America to prevent terrorists from returning to America.

5.6 The recognition of Nations

The golden rule of all religions is that "*you should do unto others as you like others to do unto you*" However the desire to exercise the right to self-determination and independence and to receive recognition as a "nation" by every community defining themselves as a nation like in the case of Igbo people's declaration of the State of "Biafra" has been treated with caution by countries who wish to maintain there one nationhood. To build Nigeria as a nation, Nigerian leaders also have always been cautious in giving recognition to new States that do not follow due process. This is because while on one hand a recognition of a State which have complied with due process of attaining statehood like South Sudan can help in defusing the dangers of further conflict between Sudan and South Sudan, but giving recognition to a community that has not followed due process like the declaration of Northern Mali Muslim jihadist can derail the process of nation building of Nigeria. That would have giving credence to the effort Boko Haram sect to have Northern Islamic State out of Nigeria. Furthermore, it would be possible to recognize the *nationhood* of a particular community without necessarily having to support or advocate independent *statehood* at the same time. Recognition thus is a decisive component of all attempts to influence the direction and pace of a particular nation-building process. It facilitates cultural and political dialogue, and creates openings for influencing the process of nation building as a whole. As we have seen, nations do not appear from nowhere but rather constitute a self-image of a community's past, present, and future. Without recognizing nations as such and respecting their self proclaimed uniqueness and antiquity, influencing nation-building from the outside is impossible (utz 2005).

6.0 Conclusion

In summary this paper found that the colonial government policy to amalgamate traditional kingdoms into Southern and Northern Nigerian Protectorate /Regions in the nineteenth century; the introduction of indirect rule and subsequent amalgamation of the Southern and Northern protectorates in 1914 was a process to building Nigeria as a nation with one central government for good governance. Indeed Nigeria of 2014 has more structural development in it than Nigeria as at 1914. The Government further made policies to build the nation to solve challenges of political Development in the area of producing Nigerian Constitutions, restructuring of the regions into more states and local Government and making elected chairmen of Local government instead of

traditional rulers were to solve Identity Politics: Citizenship, Indigenes and Settler contestations led to the crave for graded Traditional Chieftaincy stools via creation of more chiefdoms at the grassroots; **the challenge** of negative national history, terrorism via regional, Zonal, tribal, religious perspectives led to acts of marginalization, calls for secession, for power shift, control of economic resources, Corruption and the failure of the State to also perform its welfarist functions. This brought about a state of insecurity and fear of the unknown. To address these issues the State also made policies which resulted in *elite consensus* for the creation of Symbolic bureaucratic Institutions such as the Nigerian Army, Nigerian Police, Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC), Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC), Code of Conduct Bureau to control abuse of public office in addition to other Ministries and Boards giving the mandate to implement public policies. For example the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) is to manage the electoral process so that national leaders may be recruited and Changed through Constitutional Democracy. There is also the challenge of national economic growth and development. This led to the making of policies to encourage higher productivity n order to increase the Gross Domestic Product and Per Capita Income, reduce inflation and the devaluation of the Nigerian naira. T**o bridge the challenges of Socio-Economic inequalities the Government and majority of** Nigerians continued to stand for western education and goods/services produced as a result of Western Education. It made policy reforms in virtually all the sectors of the economy. **There is also the challenge** from international community and foreign countries relations in the form of globalization: a new economic order aimed at providing opportunities foreign investment via activities of Multinational Corporations, regional Cooperation and integration as opportunities for more job creation and boosting other economic activities and the recognition of other Nations. To build Nigeria to remain as one indivisible Nation the Government's insistence to celebrate 100 years of Nigeria's existence in 2014 and the hosting of the National Conference also in 2014 and the policy statement that the conference should not support division of Nigeria as well the promise that other actions would be taken to implement sustainable development policies in Nigeria are deliberate actions taken by Government to validate the existence of Nigeria as one nation.

In spite of these achievements there are still challenges facing Nigerian Government and people in the above and many other areas of human interest and endeavor. This has led to the emergence of two major publics in Nigeria. First there are Nigerians who are moderately satisfied and want change and sustainable development through diplomacy /constitutional process of free and fair election of new leaders at all tiers of government, the rule of law and economic freedom for there to be a stronger nation. The second are Nigerians who are politically dissatisfied and their pattern of advocacy for political change is to engage in illegal acts of terrorism, violent revolution, treason/coup and continuous destruction of innocent lives and properties.

Their primary aim and strategy for increasing insecurity is to create opportunities for some opposition elites to continue to be relevant in Nigerian politics and Government so that those who voted for the present President of Nigeria in 2011 may become scared to no longer vote for him, while the propaganda that Nigeria be declared an Islamic country is to encourage Muslims to support the opposition by deciding to vote the opposition as the President of Nigeria, as State Governors and or secure other positions by appointment for their followers. In the absence of winning elections the opposition wishes the country splits into two or more nation-states. The foundation for countering state power via the Military is the infiltration of the Nigeria Military and paramilitary agencies, use of sophisticated weapons and attack of the Nigerian security outfits so that the opposition would survive. Politically the opposition promises that as soon as they are elected into office insurgent activities in Nigeria would be ended. How the objective of the opposition would be feasible depends on brave Nigerians and international intervening variables which may make the split of the nation not to be easily feasible or make it easily feasible.

Since nation building is a continuous process and the wish of non partisan Nigerians is to leave in peace by having a stop to terrorist activities, this paper recommends that the State and Citizens alike have to avert corruption and prolong terrorist activities by building the nation through instituting a higher standard of obeying good laws of the land and changing bad ones through legal channels, conducting credible elections and rendering good governance to reduce socioeconomic inequalities for the purpose of securing the actual consent and effective participation of its people in election and governance. And where there are deviants in any part of the country the rule of law and deterrent justice should prevail and offenders should be seen serving appropriate punishment.

Nation building goes beyond government just providing infrastructure, employment, security agencies, or citizens claiming their rights anyhow. It extends to genuine citizens, leaders and international Communities who really wish Nigeria well must not engage in nation-breaking demands, pronouncements and activities. Both leaders and citizens need to back each other with a sincere sense of loyalty to the country, through commitment

to playing positive role as a citizen and leaders. It requires that Nigerians should not just blame government wholly for the prevailing insecurity and other challenges against nation-building. Nigerians and the international community also need to engage in self-audit to identify their respective fault and embark on corrective measures. Nigerians and the International human right advocates should not only be ready for 'progress' through mere revolution, but need to also care to determine which form would the "progress" and revolution takes. Nigerians should seek "progress" and "violent revolution" just because they have the right to protest, which when exercised would merely put on record that there was mass revolution in Nigeria as was the case of Northern African and other Middle East countries. It should be the exercise of right with compliance with due process, peaceful assembly and **protest with self restraint/limit** to sustain the growth and development projects already achieved and to continue to use the scarce resources at the country's disposal to add to what is on ground. Nigerians **should not be citizens** (leaders and followers) that are busy waiting to jump off their office balcony, twist their necks, crawl on their bellies and lick boots to get 'documents passed' or 'projects cleared'; for personal gains. Nigerians should not be willing to give bribes, run errands, and wait for years for another party and government to come to power before proper actions are taken. Let the proper action be carried out now. The businessmen should not be willing to work under any system as long as they get cheap contracts and make profit but should be more willing to carry out projects to specifications. Nigerians should not be willing to listen to political- wolves (ruling elites) that come in a sheep's clothing to shake hands with the local people in the name of peace unity and reconciliation for development only to repay the masses with undue processes, ethnic and religious marginalization, abuse of office in order to extort and deprive communities of their properties and basic social needs. Finally, Nigerians should continue to yearn and look forward to new "social contract" that would grant Nigerians the freedom from fear of the "unknown" and the "Known". Therefore with the inauguration of the process for national Conference after 100 years of nationhood, Nigerians particular public office seekers and holders, insurgents and their supporters should resolve within their heart to be vanguards for nation-building not nation breaking so that Nigeria can be governable as zoned and elected from the north, south, east, west or middle belts of Nigeria.

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