

Chapter I

Geographical, Historical and Political Profiles of Nigeria

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1. Introduction

IN CHAPTER I, THE REVIEW OF THE GEOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL PORTRAIT OF NIGERIA IS PRESENTED.

Nigeria is a famous country with more than one hundred and forty million population. It is located in West Africa. The tropical land, the natural recourses, geo-strategic location has given a special place to Nigeria. The first section of present chapter discusses geographical characteristics including the location, areas and climate and other features .The second part of this section presents a demographic profile that covers themes related to the size of population, ethnic groups, distribution of population in 36 states and religion.

In subsequent overview, the second section discusses political history in Nigeria after independence in 1960 and also shortly before independence. This chapter illustrates the features and events of Nigerian governments during 1960 till now. For the understanding of the significance and effects of geography and political history in the development and human security, the third section of the present chapter is appropriated to this purpose.

1.2. Geography

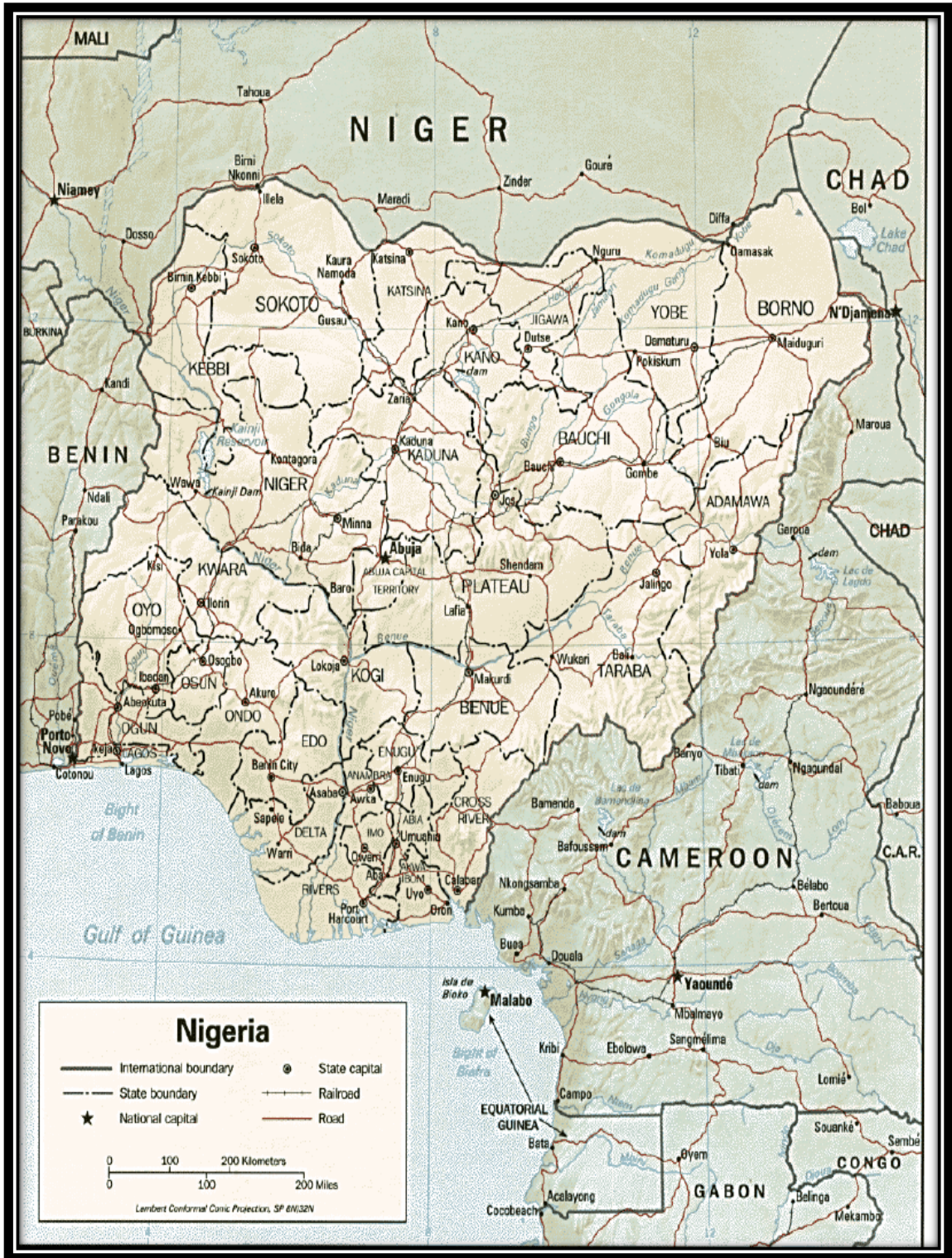
1.2.1. Geographical location of Nigeria

The geographical location of the Federal Republic of Nigeria is on the Gulf of Guinea in Western Africa. It is between Benin in the West and Cameroon in the East. In the North are Chad (NE) and Niger (NW). (Map 1.1)¹ The lower course of the Niger River flows South through the eastern part of the country into the Gulf of Guinea. Southern lowlands are created by swamps and mangrove, forests on the Southern coast. These low lands are mountainous in the South east and plains in the North. There are hardwood forests in the inland

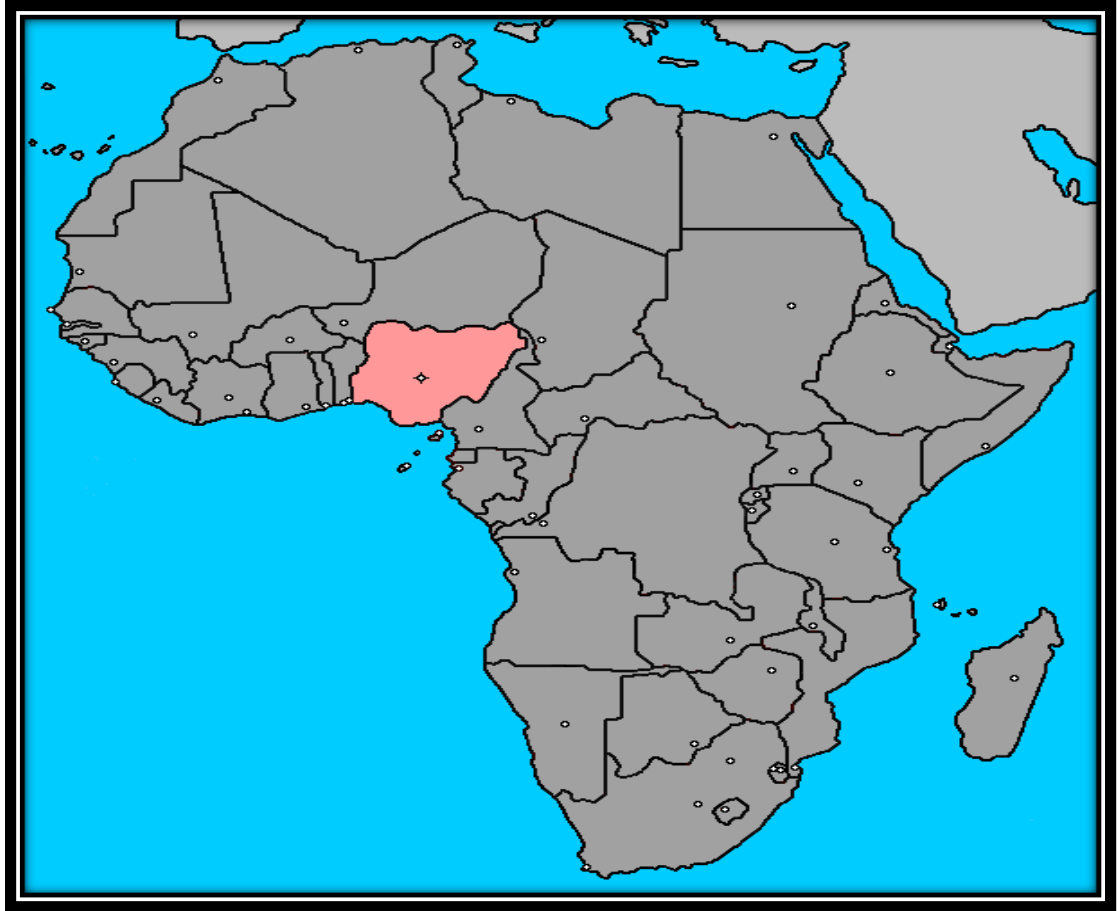
¹ Douglas A, .Phillips, (2004), "*Nigeria*", (Philadelphia: Chelsea House Publisher), p. 10. Also see Achebe, Chinua (2000), "*Home and Exile*", (New York: Oxford University Press)

territory.² These are the broad features of the terrain of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Its location in the map of Africa is illustrated in Map 1.2 below:

² *Demographics of Nigeria*, Wikipedia available at:
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographics_of_Nigeria. [Date accessed 16 October 2008]



Map- 1.1: Map of Nigeria available at: <http://mans.com> [Date of accessed 2003]



Map - 1.2: Location of the Nigeria in Africa continent: available at: [http//Theodora.com](http://Theodora.com)

1.2.2. Area and Five Regions

The area of the country is 923,768 square kms of which the water bodies have covered about 13,000 square kms.³ There are five major geographical regions in Nigeria. The first region is a low coastal zone along the Gulf of Guinea. The second is the zone of hills and plateaus North of the coastal zone. The third is the Niger-Benue river valley. The fourth region is a broad stepped plateau stretching to the Northern border with elevation exceeding 1200 meters. The fifth region is a mountainous zone

³ *Nigeria Fact Sheet* (2001), (published by : Nigeria High Commission ,New Delhi),p.3

along the eastern border, which includes the country's highest point, Chappal Waddi, which is 2,419 meters high.⁴

1.2.3. Diversity of Climate

The diversity of climate observed in Nigeria is aridity in the North, tropical in the centre and equatorial in the South. The three variations are equatorial, tropical and arid in Southern, central and Northern parts respectively. These variations are governed by the interaction of moist South-West monsoon and dry North-West winds. The maximum temperatures are 30 to 32 degree celsius in the North. In the South there is high humidity during the months between February and November.⁵ In the North, high humidity is in the months from June to September. In the dry season, there is low humidity. Annual rainfall is more in the Southern part and less in the Northern part. In the Niger Delta, the average annual rainfall is more than 3500 millimeters. The rainfall ranges from 2000 millimeters in the Southern coastal zone to 500 – 750 millimeters in the North. The capital of Nigeria is Abuja which is located at the centre of Nigeria. Its population is 6 millions. Lagos, Ibadan, and Kano are the other cities. There are a number of cities in Nigeria with a population of over one million. In transport sector, the network of roads is 194,394 kilometers. Railways are spread over an area of 3,557 kilometers.⁶

1.3. The Demographic Profile of Nigeria

There are 36 states in the country of which (Table1) seven states are located in the most populated North-West zone which has the population of 35, 786, 944. The South-West zone is the next most populated zone with six states having the population of 27, 266,257. The six states in the South-South zone have the population of 21,014,655. The seven states in the North-Central zone including the Federal Capital Territory of Abuja (1,405,201) have the population of 20,266,257. The six states of North East zone have the population of 18,971,965. The five states in the South -East zone have the total population of 16,381,729.⁷

⁴ Douglas A ,Phillips," Nigeria", Op.Cit. p.17

⁵ Douglas A ,Phillips, "*Nigeria*",Op.Cit;p.21

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ *Demographics of Nigeria*, Wikipedia available at:
http://en.wikipedia.org/Wiki/Demographics_of_Nigeria,Op.Cit.

Kano state has the highest population of 17,000,682 followed by Lagos – 9,013,534. Kaduna; Katsina, Oyo, and Rivers are the four states having the population of more than five millions. The population of states likes Nasarawa (1,863,275) and Bayelsa (1,703,358) have a population below 2 millions. The population of twenty states is between 2 and 5 millions.

Table- 1.1: population and Areas of Nigeria by the States (2006)

State	HASC	FIPS	Population	Area(km ²)	Area(mi. ²)	capital
Abia	NG.AB	NI 45	2,833,999	4,857	1,875	Umuahia
Adamawa	NG.AD	NI 35	3,168,101	37,957	14,655	Yola
Akwa Ibom	NG.AK	NI 21	3,920,208	6,788	2,621	Uyo
Anambra	NG.AN	NI 25	4,182,032	4,761	1,838	Awka
Bauchi	NG.BA	NI 46	4,676,465	48,197	18,609	Bauchi
Bayelsa	NG.BY	NI 52	1,703,358	9,363	2,616	Yenagoa
Benue	NG.BE	NI 26	4,219,244	30,755	11,875	Makurdi
Borno	NG.BO	NI 27	4,151,193	27,762	28,095	Maiduguri
Cross River	NG.CR	NI 22	2,888,966	22,112	8,537	Calabar
Delta	NG.DE	NI 36	4,098,391	17,095	6,600	Asaba
Ebonyi	NG.EB	NI 53	2,173,501	6,342	2,449	Abakalika
Edo	NG.ED	NI 37	3,218,332	19,584	7,562	Benin City
Ekiti	NG.EK	NI 37	2,384,212	5,792	2,238	Ado-Ekiti
Enugu	NG.EN	NI 54	3,257,298	7,560	2,919	Enugu
Federal Capital Territory	NG.FC	NI 47	1,405,201	7,569	2,922	Abuja
Gombe	NG.GO	NI 11	2,353,879	17,428	6,729	Gombe
Imo	NG.IM	NI 55	3,934,899	5,135	1,982	Owerri
Jigawa	NG.JI	NI 28	4,348,649	23,415	9,041	Dutse
Kaduna	NG.KD	NI 23	6,066,569	44,217	17,027	Kaduna
Kano	NG.KN	NI 29	9,383,682	20,389	7,827	Kano
Katsina	NG.KT	NI 24	5,792,578	23,389	9,198	Katsina
Kebbi	NG.KE	NI 40	3,238,628	44,217	14,023	Birnin Kebbi
Kogi	NG.KO	NI 41	3,278,487	20,389	11,221	Lokoja
Kwara	NG.KW	NI 30	2,371,089	23,822	13,047	Ilorin
Lagos	NG.LA	NI 05	9,013,534	36,320	1,342	Ikeja
Nasarawa	NG.NA	NI 56	1,863,275	29,063	10,283	Lafia
Niger	NG.NA	NI 31	3,950,249	33,729	27,824	Minna
Ogun	NG.NI	NI 16	3,728,098	3,475	6,506	Abeokuta
Ondo	NG.OG	NI 48	3,441,024	15,019	7,799	Akure

Osun	NG.ON	NI 42	3,423,535	8,582	3,315	Oshogbo
Oyo	NG.OS	NI 32	5,591,589	27,036	10,438	Ibadan
Plateau	NG.OY	NI 49	3,178,712	29,536	10,247	Jos
Rivers	NG.PL	NI 50	5,184,400	10,361	4,000	Port Harcourt
Sokoto	NG.RI	NI 51	3,696,999	32,146	12,412	Sokoto
Taraba	NG.SO	NI 43	2,300,736	59,180	22,850	Jalingo
Yobe	NG.YO	NI 44	2,321,591	44,880	17,328	Damaturu
Zamfara	NG.ZA	NI 57	3,259,864	33,667	12,999	Gusau
total			140,003,542	911,519	351,938	

- **State: Abuja Capital Territory is a Capital territory.**
- **HASC: Hierarchical administrative subdivision codes. If periods are replaced by hyphens, these are the same as the state codes from ISO standard 3166-2.**
- **FIPS: codes from FIPS PUB 10-4, a U.S government standard.**
- **Population: 2006-03-21 census provisional results.**
- **Area: <http://nigeriacongress.org>**

The age structures show that there are 44 percent of population below 14 years of which male are 27,181,020 and female with 26,872,317. The second age group of 15 to 64 years is 53percent of the population of which 33,495,794 are males while the females are 32,337,193.⁸ The seniors about 65 years are 3percent of the population with 1,729,149 male. The most populous and politically influential ethnic groups are Hausa and Fulani with 29percent of the total population, Yoruba 21percent, Igbo (Ibo) 18 percent, Ibibio 3.5percent, Ijaw 6.5percent, Kanuri 4.1percent, Tiv 2.5percent.⁹

Table- 1.2: **Percentage of Population by Ethnic Groups**

Ethnic Groups	Number	Percentages
Hausa- Fulani	37,681,123	29percent
Yoruba	27,286,331	21percent
Ibo	23,388,283	18percent
Ijaw	2,993,491	10percent
Kanuri	5,197,396	4percent
Ibibio	4,547,722	3.5percent

⁸ *Demographics of Nigeria*, Wikipedia available at:
http://en.wikipedia.org/Wiki/Demographics_of_Nigeria, Op.Cit.

⁹ Ibid.

Tiv	3,248,373	2.5percent
Other	15,592,189	12percent

Estimates based on (2002)Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) World Fact Book data

Half of the population of Nigeria is Muslims (50percent), Christians (40 percent) and the rest (10 percent) follow traditional indigenous religions or no religion. The predominant form of Islam is Sunni and among Christians, Protestants are 26 percent, African Christians with 18.25 percent and Roman Catholics with 13.45 percent.¹⁰The rate of literacy in 2004 was 69.1 percent of the total population of which literate males are 78.2 percent and literacy among females is 60.1 percent.¹¹ English serves as the national language. Although, as result of population diversity nearly 250 different languages also being spoken. The profile is presented considering the ethnic groups, zone-wise population, religious affiliations, sex-wise distribution, rate of literacy and other factors that characterize the demography of Nigeria.

1.4. Political and Historical of Nigeria

1.4.1. The History of Nigeria before Independence

In order to understand the current Nigerian politics and society, three dominant characteristics need to be taken into account.

First, the spread of Islam began a millennium ago, predominantly in the North but later on extended to South-Western Nigeria. The creation of Sokoto Caliphate extended Islam within the area of present day Nigeria. This history helps account for the dichotomy between North and South and the divisions in the North that have been so pronounced.¹²

Second, the slave trade had a profound influence on virtually all parts of Nigeria. The transatlantic trade accounted for the forced migration of about 3.5 million people between 1960s and 1980s. Within Nigeria, slavery was widespread. Its social implications are still evident. Conversion to Islam and the spread of Christianity were

¹⁰ Sowell, Thomas (2004), "*Affirmative Action Around the World (An Empirical Study)*" ,(New Haven and London : Yale University Press) p.96

¹¹ Federal Ministry of Education (2008), National Report on "*The Development of Education in Nigeria*", for Forty-Eight Session of the International Conference on Education (ICE) (Geneva.)

¹² *Country Profile: Nigeria*, The Economic Intelligence Unit limited, (2008), Edit by Philip Walker p.5

intricately associated with issues relating to slavery and with efforts to promote political and cultural autonomy.¹³

Third, the colonial era was relatively brief. It lasted for only six decades or so depending on the part of Nigeria. Yet it brought many rapid changes. The impact of the colonial period is still felt in the contemporary period.

The earliest culture in Nigeria is identifiable by the distinctive artifacts of the Nok people. These skilled artisans are ironworkers that flourished between the fourth century B.C. and the second century A.D. in a large area above the confluence of the Niger and Benue rivers. The Nok were quite advanced as is evident from the relics left from their ironwork and terracotta artwork. With the disappearance of the Nok, things seem to fall silent for the next thousand years. Little information exists on this “silent millennium” in Nigeria’s history.¹⁴

Long before 1500, various rich and powerful kingdoms emerged within the region. These formed the roots of some of the cultural groups existing in Nigeria today. These early states induced the Yoruba kingdoms in Yoruba and in South-West Nigeria, the Edo Kingdom of Benin, the Hausa Fulani cities and Nape. The earliest of the Nigerian Kingdoms, Kanem and Borno were located near Lake Chad in North-East Nigeria. The king of Kanem adopted Islam as the religion of his kingdom.¹⁵ The Kanem – Borno Empire fell apart in a civil war in the late fourteenth century. Later, Borno became an independent state.

In the fifteenth century, the Portuguese initiated the transatlantic slave trade. By the end of the sixteenth century, the Dutch challenged the Portuguese influence in the region and in the slave trade. French and British competition later undermined the Dutch position. Britain became the dominant slaving power in the eighteenth century. By the end of the eighteenth century, the area that was to become Nigeria was far from a unified country. Furthermore, the orientation of North and South was entirely different. In the first decade of the 19th century, two developments brought a change in virtually

¹³ Ibid

¹⁴ Falola, Toyin(1999) ,*"The History of Nigeria"* (Greenwood Histories of the Modern Nations), (Greenwood Publishing Group) ,pp.4-6

¹⁵ Abdullahi , Mahadi(1996), *"The Kanem-Borno Empire,"* in J. Isawa,Elaiqwu and Erim O, Erim (eds.) Foundations of Nigerian Federalism. Pre-colonial Antecedents, (Abuja: National Council on Intergovernmental Relations), pp. 55–81

all of the area that is now Nigeria.¹⁶ First between 1804 and 1808, the Islamic holy war of Usman dan Fodio established the Sokoto center in North-Western Nigeria. By the middle of the nineteenth century, it comprised of 30 emirates. All the important Hausa emirates including Kano were directly under Sokoto.

Second in 1807, Britain declared the transatlantic trade to be illegal. It was at this time that Britain was responsible for shipping more slaves than any other country. Although the transatlantic slave trade continued till the 1860s, other commodities such as palm oil gradually replaced it. The shift in trade had serious economic and political consequences.¹⁷ This had led to increasing British intervention in the affairs of Yoruba land and the Niger Delta.

At the Berlin Conference in 1885, the European powers attempted to resolve their conflicts of interest in Africa. The conference accepted the principle known as the “dual mandate” that the interests of both Europe and Africa could best be served by maintaining free access to the African continent. Britain’s claims to a sphere of influence in the Niger Basin were acknowledged formally. Only effective occupation would secure full international recognition. In order to establish effective British occupation two protectorates were created in Northern and Southern Nigeria.

Lord Frederick Lugard was the high commissioner of the Protectorate from 1900 to 1919. His objective was to conquer the entire region and to obtain recognition. He systematically subdued local resistance. His success was due to his policy of indirect rule. He called for governing the protectorate through the rulers who had been deposed. His successor High Clifford (1900 to 1925) introduced a diametrically opposite approach emphasizing Western values. He restricted the power of the emirates by sending back indirect rule.¹⁸

British colonialism created Nigeria, joining diverse people and regions in an artificial political entity with little sense of Nigerian nationality. British policy has some inconsistencies. These reinforced the cleavages based on regional affiliations. They

¹⁶ *Country Profile: Nigeria*, The Economic Intelligence Unit limited, (2008), ,Op.Cit; p.8

¹⁷ Falola, Toyin(1999) ,*"The History of Nigeria"* (Greenwood Histories of the Modern Nations),Op.Cit; pp 16-18

¹⁸ Kane, Ousmane(2003), *"Muslim Modernity in Post Colonial Nigeria"*, (Netherlands : Koninklijke Brill NV) pp.28-29

attempted to preserve the indigenous cultures of each area. At the same time, they introduced modern technology and Western political and social concepts.¹⁹

1.4.2. The History of Nigeria after Independence

Nigeria became an independent country within the Commonwealth on October 1, 1960. In 1960 Nigeria became a republic within the Commonwealth. Nnamdi Azikiwe became the republic's first president. The first parliamentary elections were held in December 1964. The nation's leadership was determined by coup, not by election and by military rather than civil government. One of the developments during the 1960s was the declaration of independence by the Eastern Region in 1967.²⁰ It was followed by a 30-month civil war. Ultimately, on May 30, 1967 the independent republic of Biafra was proclaimed. An estimated one to three million Nigerians died of hostilities, disease and starvation during the civil war and more than three million Igbo became refugees.²¹ Finally in January 1970, Biafran resistance collapsed and the Federal military Government reasserted its authority over the area.

In 1960 the first republic was headed by Tafawa Balewa. This regime could not uphold fair political practices and vital moral principles. Ethnic hatred was widespread in the divisive regions of the North and the South of Nigeria. Economic crisis deepened and political instability was experienced. Major Kadan Nzeogwu in 1966 terminated the regime of Nnamdi Azikiwe who had assumed power from 1963. Nzeogwu's regime marked the emergence of the military influence in Nigeria's political developments.²² This regime caused destruction of ethnical and social balance in the state of Nigeria. It caused the breeding of mistrust among the different ethnic groups, in particular it caused mass-scale killings in the Northern region. The Nzeogwu regime failed. Another military leader General Aguiyi Ironsi emerged as the head of the state. The regime could not prevent the decline of ethical political culture in Nigeria. Ironsi was killed.²³ The Biafra crisis, the continuous civil strife between 1967 and 1979, the Nigerian

¹⁹ Horton Robin, "*Stateless Societies in the History of West Africa*," in J.F.Ade Ajayi and Michael Crowder (1985) (eds.) "*History of West Africa*," (London, Longman), pp. 87–128, p. 90.

²⁰ McCaskie, T.C. (1988), "*Recent History of Nigeria*," (Abuja: Africa South of Sahara), p.754

²¹ Falola, Toyin and Omozuanvbo Ihonvbere, Julius (1985), "*The Rise and Fall of Nigeria's Second Republic, 1979-1983*", (London: Zed Books), P.30

²² Luckham, Robin, (1971), "*The Nigerian Military: A Sociological Analysis of Authority and Revolt 1960-67*", (Cambridge, London: Cambridge University Press), pp. 279-284

²³ McCaskie, T.C. (1988), "*Recent History of Nigeria*," Op.Cit; pp.755-758

membership of OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) and successive military takeovers have marked the political development in Nigeria from 1960 to 1999. The country was involved in civil and ethnic strife for a period of more than 35 years after becoming independent in 1960.²⁴

In the postwar period, all significant political power remained concentrated in the Federal Military Government. The influence of Yakubu Gowon, who had come to power in a 1966 coup, depended on his position as Chairman of the Supreme Military Council, which was created in March 1967.²⁵ The regime ruled by decree. In October 1970, Gowon announced his intention of staying in power until 1976, the target year for completion of the military's political programme and return of elected civilian government. Many Nigerians feared that the military had planned to retain power indefinitely.²⁶ In 1972, Gowon lifted the ban on political activity that had been in force since 1966 in order to permit a discussion of a new constitution that would pave the way for Civilian rule. However, the debate that followed was ideologically charged and Gowon abruptly terminated the discussion.

The Gowon regime came under fire because of widespread and obvious corruption at every level of national life. Inefficiencies compounded the effects of corruption. Crime also posed a threat to national security and had serious negative impact on efforts to bring about economic development. The political atmosphere deteriorated to the point where Gowon was deposed in a bloodless military coup in July 1975.²⁷

Brigadier (later General) Murtala Ramat Muhammad, a Muslim Northerner succeeded Gowon but was assassinated during an unsuccessful coup in February 1976. In a short period, his policies had won him broad popular support. His decisiveness elevated him to the status of a national hero. He had sought to restore public confidence in the federal government, reduce government expenditure on public works and

²⁴ Toyin Falola and Julius Omozuanvbo, Ihonvbere, *"The Rise and Fall of Nigeria's Second Republic, 1979-1983"*, Op.Cit;p45

²⁵ Luckham, Robin, (1971), *"The Nigerian Military: A Sociological Analysis of Authority and Revolt 1960-67"*, Op.Cit; pp. 279-284

²⁶ Ajayi, J.F. Ade and Michael Crowder (1988) (eds.), *"History of West Africa"*, Op.cit ;p.135

²⁷ Ajayi, J.F. Ade and Michael Crowder (1988) (eds.), *"History of West Africa"*, Op.cit ;p.146 ,

encourage the expansion of the private sector.²⁸ He also set in motion the stalled machinery of devolution to civilian rule by a commitment to hand over power to a democratically elected government by October 1979.

Lieutenant General Olesgun Obasanjo²⁹, a Yoruba, succeeded Muhammad. Keeping the established chain of command in place, Obasanjo pledged to continue the programme for the restoration of civilian government in 1979 and to carry forward the reform programme to improve the quality of public service. In 1979, under Obasanjo's leadership, Nigeria adopted a constitution based on the constitution of the United States that provided for a separation of powers among the executive, legislative and judiciary branches. The country was ready for the local elections to be followed by the National elections that would return Nigeria to civilian rule. Obasanjo indicated plans to move the federal capital from Lagos to a more central location in the interior at Abuja.³⁰ Ultimately, Abuja became the country's capital in December, 1991.

In 1979, five revamped parties competed in national elections marking the beginning of the Second Republic. Alhaji Shehu Shagari succeeded Obasanjo as the president of Nigeria after election. It was the first peaceful transfer of power since independence. Nigeria's second Republic was born amidst great expectations. Oil prices and revenues were on the increase. It appeared that unlimited development was possible. Unfortunately the euphoria was short-lived. The second Republic was beset by many weaknesses. The coalition that determined Federal policies was not strong. In effect the victorious National Party of Nigeria (NPN) led by Shagari governed as a minority.³¹ There was a lack of cooperation between the NPN dominated Federal Government and the 12 states controlled by opposition parties. Most importantly, the oil boom ended in mid-1981; precisely when the expectations of continuous growth and prosperity were at a height. The ensuing recession put severe strains on the Second Republic.

²⁸ Ibid. 158

²⁹ The first military head of state to hand over power to an elected civilian president, Obasanjo was elected president of the Nigerian Federation in 1998.

³⁰ Toyin, Falola and Julius Omozuanvbo, Ihonvbere, "*The Rise and Fall of Nigeria's Second Republic, 1979-1983*", Op.Cit; p.95

³¹ Toyin, Falola and Julius Omozuanvbo, Ihonvbere, "*The Rise and Fall of Nigeria's Second Republic, 1979-1983*", Op.Cit; p.112

On December 31, 1983, the military seized power once again, primarily because there was virtually no confidence in the civilian regime. Allegations of fraud associated with Shagari's re-election in 1983 served as a pretext for the takeover, although the military was in fact closely associated with the ousted government. Ominously, the economy was in chaos. The true cost of the failure to use earlier revenues and foreign resources to good effect now became apparent. The leader of the coup was Major General Muhammad Buhari, a Hausa whose background and political loyalties tied him closely to the Muslim North and the deposed government.³² The military regime tried to achieve two goals. It attempted to secure public support by reducing the level of corruption. It demonstrated its commitment to austerity by trimming the federal budget. In a further effort to mobilize the country, Buhari launched a war against indiscipline in the spring of 1984.³³ This national campaign which lasted for 15 months, preached the work ethic, emphasized patriotism, decried corruption and promoted environmental sanitation. However, the campaign achieved few of its aims.

The economic crisis, the campaign against corruption, and civilian criticism of the military undermined Buhari's position.³⁴ In August 1985, a group of officers under Major General Ibrahim Babangida removed Buhari from power. The Babangida regime had a rocky start. A counter coup in December 1985 failed but made it clear that not everyone in the military sided with the Armed Forces Ruling Council which succeeded the supreme Military Council. The most serious opposition centered in the labour movement and university campuses. There was considerable controversy over Nigeria's entry into the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), an international body of the Muslim states in 1986. Buhari's regime had initiated the application, which Babangida allowed to stand. The strong reaction among many Christians proved to be an embarrassment to the regime.³⁵

Babangida addressed the worsening recession through the structural adjustment program of 1986. However, despite 42 billion US Dollars of support from the World

³² Ibid. p.127

³³ Philip Ogo Ujomu (2001), "National Security, Social Order and the Quest for Human Dignity in Nigeria: Some Ethical Considerations", *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, Volume. 10, Number. 2, pp. 245-264.

³⁴ Ibid

³⁵ Forrest, Thomas, (1992), *"Policy, and Capitalist Development in Nigeria 1970-1990"*, (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press) pp.54-59

Bank and rescheduling of foreign debt, the recession led to a series of currency devaluations, a decline in real income and rising unemployment during the second half of the 1980s. Babangida remained in power until 1983, when he ushered in an Interim National Government under the leadership of Chief Ernest Shonekan. This step followed the military's annulment of election results in 1993.³⁶

In November 1993, General Sani Abacha seized control from the caretaker government and served as military dictator until his death in 1998. During his rule, Abacha suppressed dissent and failed to follow through with a promised transition to civilian government. In 1995, as a result of various human rights violations, the European Union, which already had imposed sanctions in 1993, suspended development aid and Nigeria, was temporarily expelled from the Commonwealth. Corruption flourished and Abacha was later found to have siphoned off oil revenues into personal bank accounts in Switzerland. In 2005, Nigeria began to recover 458 million US dollars of illicit funds deposited in Swiss banks during the Abacha regime.³⁷

Upon Abacha's death in June 1998, his chief of defense staff, Major General Abdulsalami Abubakar assumed control. He began to release political prisoners, including the former leader Obasanjo. Local government elections were held in December 1998. State legislative elections followed in January 1999. Federal legislative and presidential elections completed the transition to civilian government in February 1999.³⁸ Obasanjo was elected as a president of Nigeria. His party the People's Democratic Party (PDP) won majority of seats in both the Senate and the House of Representatives, amidst every present allegation of election irregularities. Fifteen years of military rule had come to an end. Nigeria entered the longest period of civilian rule since independence.³⁹

Obasanjo succeeded in establishing civilian rule based on a multi party democracy. He launched a campaign against corruption. Despite a surge in oil revenues that buoyed the federal coffers, his administration faced a number of serious challenges.

³⁶ *Nigeria, Country Profile* (2008), (Edit by Philip Walker), Op.Cit; p.46

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ "*Nigeria in Political Transition*", Congressional Research services (CRS) Issues Brief for Congress (23February 2006), available at www.fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/62643.pdf

³⁹ "*Nigeria in Political Transition*", Congressional Research services (CRS) Issues Brief for Congress (23February 2006), Op.Cit.

In 2000 religious tensions spiked following the imposition of sharia or Islamic law in the Muslim dominated 12 Northern states. These tensions hindered cooperation between the President and the national Assembly, among the States and between the states and the federal government.⁴⁰ In 2004, religious strife forced the government to declare a state of emergency in centrally located Plateau state. Ethnic strife complicated matters. In 2001, tribal warfare broke out in the South-Eastern state of Benue. In the oil rich Niger Delta, the Ijaw tribe continues to conduct an insurgency against international energy facilities and workers.⁴¹

Following his re-election in 2003, it was speculated that Obasanjo might seek a constitutional change that would permit him to run for a third term in 2007. However, in May 2006, the Nigerian Senate rejected a constitutional amendment that would have permitted a third term. Umar Musa Yar' Adua of the PDP, won the presidential election held in April 2007 and succeeded Obasanjo.⁴² The election of 2007 was condemned by the international community as massively flawed. The elected President got 70 per cent of the votes. Jonathan Goodluck is elected as a Vice president. In the year 2009, the President Umar Musa Yar Adua was required to go out of Nigeria for health reasons. In his absence the Vice President looked after the affairs of the state. In the absence of the President, the Senate of Nigeria amended the rules to hand over the rights of the President to the Vice President.⁴³ After sad demise of the former President Umar Musa Yar Adua, constitutional amendment was passed to make the Vice –President Jonathan Goodluck to take over as the full –fledged president .At present, Jonathan is the duly

⁴⁰ *Strategic Conflicts Assessment Nigeria*(2002) (Consolidated Report), Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution (Nigeria: Abuja),p.19

⁴¹ African Peer Review Mechanism (2008), African Peer Review Mechanism Report on "*The Federal Republic of Nigeria Review*" , African Peer review Mechanism Country Review Report ,Number 8, (Nigeria :Abuja)

⁴² *Final Report Gubernatorial and State Houses of Assembly Elections*, 14 April 2007, And Presidential and National Assembly Elections 21 April 2007 European Union Election Observation Mission, available at http://ec.europa.eu/external_relations/human_rights/eu_election_ass_observ/nigeria/report_final_annex_2_3-08-07_en.pdf. And also see Nigeria, Operational Guidance Note (OGN) Volume 4, Issued 18 January 2007 Immigration and Nationality Directorate available at <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/pdfid/46029c572.pdf>. Also see International Crisis Group ICG Report (2007), ICG Report on Nigeria: *Failed Elections, Failing State*, Africa Report Number. 126 ,(Nigeria: Abuja)

⁴³ *Death of President, often First Warning of Coup, Offers New Stability to Oil-Rich Nigeria*, available at : <http://www.foxnews.com>, [Date accessed 7 May 2010]

authorized president of Nigeria. The most urgent issue in Nigeria is the issue of democracy. It will put an end to military rule. It will be the means of the establishment of responsive and political institutions. It will promote a government that is accountable. The political history of Nigeria is the history of the attempts of setting up democracy in the country. These political developments are illustrated in the table 3 given below.

Table-1.3 .Nigerian Military / Democratic Rules and their Ethnic / Regional Origin 1960

Period of rule	Head of State	Govt. Type	Ethnic Origin	How rule ended
1960-66	Balewa	Civilian	Hausa (North)	Attempted coup assassination.
1966	Ironsi	Military	Igbo (Soluth),	Coup /assassination
1966-1975	Gowon	Military	Angas/Middle Belt (North)	Coup
1976-1979	Mohamad	Military	Hausa (North)	Attempted coup / assassination
1979 – 1983	Shagari	Civilian	Fulani (North)	Coup
1984 – 1985	Buhani	Military	Fulani (North)	Colup
1985 – 1993	Babangida	Military	Nupe, Minority group in Niger State (North)	Elections results nullified in June 1993, stepped down in Aug. 1993.
1993	Shonekan	Civilian (Interim Govt.)	Yoruba (South)	Coup
1993-1998	Abacha	Military	Kanuri (North)	Presumed heart attack
1998-1999	Abu-Bakr	Military	Nupe, Minority group in Niger State (north)	Elections
1999-2007	Obassanjo	Civilian	Yoruba (South)	Elections after serving two consecutive terms
2007	Yar'Adua	Civilian	Hausa (North)	Incumbent
2010	Jonathan Goodluck	Civilian	Yoruba (South)	Parliament delegated powers to Jonathan Goodluck after demise Yar'Adua

The relevance of these political developments is self –evident as noticed in the discussion in the next section that deals with the effects of geography and history of Nigeria on Development and human security condition in that country.

1.5. Effects of Geography and History on Development and Human Security

The geographical features and the historical developments have made an impact on the regional inequalities in Nigeria. The administrative political and economic development processes have created the regional disparities. The present overwhelming regional inequalities are likely to have evolved during the one hundred year - 1861 - 1960 period in Nigeria. In any society regional inequality is noticed in all levels of national developments in terms of income, investments, employment, human resources, education and health services. An accepted functional political and administrative system, city systems and others are inevitable during the early period of socio economic growth and political development. The geographic pattern of regional development is bound to be uneven, exhibiting core-periphery dichotomy as noticed in the case of Nigeria. The socio political and administrative perspective acknowledges that Nigeria was created out of European selfish ambitions in West Africa in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Nigeria is a collection of hundreds of hitherto autonomous ethno-linguistic groups. The birth of "Nigeria" could be at best termed "artificial". Nigerian boundaries were not out of physical, cultural, social, religions, economic and environmental homogeneity. The boundaries of Nigeria were conceived mainly as a geographical organization for the administrative convenience of British imperialism. The diverse characteristics of Nigeria might have aided over time to create diverse rates of socio-economic development, and ultimately, the regional inequalities which mean lack of development and threats to human security.⁴⁴

The activities of the British chartered Royal Niger Company a commercial enterprise had some spatial consequences on the socio-economic and political landscape of Nigeria. The company shifted its headquarters from one part of the nation to the other. The location of these headquarters originated some important population and activity needs of places like Calabar Asaba and Lokoja. This created the framework for regional inequalities. In Nigeria the allocation of location was not continuous. The negative aspects of spatial inequality were enormous as resources and people were attracted to few areas. Inevitably, resource inequalities between the core headquarter and the region as its periphery increased. In any case, the location, growth and

⁴⁴ Adeniyi, E.O (1978) "*Regional Planning*," in J.S Oguntoyinbo; O Areola & M Filani. (eds) *The Geography of Nigerian Development*, (Ibadan :Heinemann), pp401-410

development of these colonial administrative and trade headquarters actually sowed the seeds of lopsided spatial development and structures in Nigeria. These headquarters were and are still the strategic points. These are sea ports like Lagos, Calabar and Abasa. The confluence of two rivers at Lokoja makes it a strategic location. Kaduna and Lagos were developed as military headquarters, or as the transportation nodes. It can be stated that the location of these centers enormously influenced the development of Nigeria's special structure.⁴⁵

The regionalism concept was introduced into the administrative framework of Nigeria. It has entrenched in Nigeria through a series of constitutional Developments and Amendments. The Constitutional Development and Amendments were included in the 1946 Richards Constitution in 1952 in the McPherson Constitution and the 1954 Louis Chick or Federal Constitution. These laid the seeds of ethnicity and tribalism. The creation of regions and states was the outcome of the constitutional changes. This determined the course of the future unequal development and the characteristic spatial configuration of Nigeria. The beginning of the fragmentation and separatist tendencies and regional economic disparities were bunched in Nigeria. The constitutional conferences took place at London in 1945 and 1953 and in Nigeria in 1954. The federation of the three regions of Nigeria was recognized in these conferences. The Northern Region has its headquarters at Kaduna. The Eastern Region with headquarters at Enugu and the Western Region with headquarters at Ibadan were the two other regions in Nigeria. Consequently, different ethno regional political parties were formed in different regions such as Action Group (Western Region), Northern People's Congress (Northern Region), National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (Eastern Region), In the colonial times, Lugard the Administrator adopted the divide and rule policy between the South and North through the strategies of uneven administration and preparation of budgets. The result was the agitation of state creation on cultural and linguistic percepts. It could be seen that the creation of states has not solved the nation's

⁴⁵ Ebenezer , O Aka (1995), "*Regional Inequalities in the Process Nigeria's Development: Socio-Political and Administrative Perspective*", Journal of Social Development in Africa, Volume.10, Number 2, pp.61-80

socio economic disparities, regional inequalities, inter ethnic rivalries and political problems.⁴⁶

At the time of independence, the country was divided in four regions of North, East, West and South. After independence, the demand for more states grew in 1967, twelve states were created out of the original four regions. About thirty one states were still demanded, out of which on February 3, 1976, seven more states were actually created. Two more states were created in 1987 bringing the total to twenty one states. In 1991, the number of states reached thirty one by the creation of ten new states. Actually the demand for states would continue as there are more than two hundred ethno-linguistic groups. There are many who have started to mount stiff opposition to the further disintegration of the country.

The regional imbalance is on account of the uneven distribution of several mineral natural and human resources in these states. The development level of each state depends on its access to the material and non material resources. It is noticed that the Southern states like Lagos, Anambra, Bendel and Oyo have more industrial establishments than the Northern states like Bauchi, Gongola, Niger and Benue. The development strategy that was carried out in Nigeria has been ineffective as its focus was on the national needs rather than basic needs. There was no trickling down of the benefits of development from top to bottom. The new strategy that is being adopted is the one that calls for empowering of the local people in order to create a self reliant sustainable development. The poor performance of the Nigerian economy can be partly attributed to poor management, capacity and corruption. Nigeria has for many years been under military administration that has been authoritarian and repressive.⁴⁷ The historical developments in the pre-independence and post-independence Nigeria have contributed to the lack of development and have endangered the human security environment. The geography of Nigeria is changed due to the political map of Nigeria divided into 36 states and the federal Capital Territory. Unwarranted unevenness in the development is inevitable on account of inadequate administrative machinery, lack of clear distribution mechanism, non diversification of economy and technology and

⁴⁶ Ebenezer O Aka (1995), *"Regional Inequalities in the Process Nigeria's Development: Socio-Political and Administrative Perspective"*, Op.Cit, pp,70-78

⁴⁷ Sowell, Thomas (2004), *"Affirmative Action Around the World"*, OP.Cit.pp.96-100

limited employment opportunities. Ethno-centrism has fuelled and perpetuated regional imbalance in the country. The creation of a nationally integrated economy is a remedy for this problem. The federal government should exert its authority to improve the relative and absolute shares of the poor states. The grass-roots approach needs to be adapted to rural and regional development so as to create a society that is secure and sustainable. For this, Nigeria should strive to embark on the path of capacity building. This will be possible only if political, economic and social developments of the regions are fully integrated with civil commitment in every Nigerian so that each citizen of Nigeria will be capable of reducing regional inequalities such as the lack of development and lack of human security.

Summary

- The demographic and other aspects of the profile of Nigeria as a country are stated.
- The Federal Republic of Nigeria is significant both for the continent of Africa and the World as a whole.
- Nigeria is the largest populated country in the continent of Africa with its population of 140 million people.
- It is the member of N-9 countries – the most populated nine countries of the world.
- It is marked by ethnic and religious diversity.
- It is predominantly Muslim in the North and predominantly Christian in the South; the Yorubas are in the West and Ibos in the South and Hausa Fulani in the North.
- The political history is marked by the four attempts of establishing Republic and a number of military rules. The Fourth Republic established in 1999 after the fourth constitution of Nigeria came in force and is still functioning after the three General Elections to the Assemblies and for Presidentship.
- Obasanjo was elected twice as President and ruled from 1999 to 2007. Since 2007, Umaru Musa Yar' Adua as President and Goodluck Jonathan as Vice President were running the country till May 2010.