

# POLITICAL HEGEMONY AS A THREAT TO ATTAINING GOOD GOVERNANCE IN A PLURALIST NIGERIA

IGNATIUS C. UZONDU Ph.D  
Department Of Philosophy,  
Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka  
08187135287, ic.uzondu@unizik.edu.ng

## ABSTRACT

*Nowadays, our country Nigeria is experiencing security challenges and serious political upheavals. The political arena is supposed to be democratic with its open and accommodating platform for fair play among the contestants from the various areas of the country. However, a seemingly hegemonic culture is gradually sweeping over the political sphere. An important problem, therefore arises when the vehicle to ensuring good governance is not guaranteed. It follows that in any country where good governance is lacking; the common good which is the ideal goal of the democratic state becomes elusive. The goal of good governance is the *raison d'être* of democratic and constitutional government. Good governance presupposed the rule of law and effective functioning of the various arms of government, all tiers. But where this is beset with hegemonic influence from the powers that be, creating a tensed climate rid with fear, the future of Nigeria calls for question. Using analytic method, this paper makes an analysis of the situation with Nigeria and goes on to demonstrate that if the hegemonic trend is not checked, the aspiration for good governance will not be attainable in the country.*

**Keywords:** Hegemony, Nigerian, Politics, Good Governance, Security

## INTRODUCTION

A sure means for attaining the common good is good governance. Thus, the democratic form of governance which in principle assures egalitarianism, social justice, rule of law, guarantee of constitutional rights and above all equal way in the people's affairs, is placed and rated better than the other forms of governance or leadership. Such government exists for the preservation and promotion of the interest of the citizens. An important problem, therefore arises when the vehicle to ensuring good governance is not guaranteed. It follows, that in any country where good governance is lacking, the common good which is the ideal goal of the democratic state becomes exclusive.

In Nigeria today, where cultural antagonisms, political upheavals, poor political culture and insecurity has been the trend, and a notable cankerworm, political - hegemony has been decried by all and sundry, clergy and secular likewise and is feared to have taken the reins of Nigerian's political climate or structure, and as such threatens not just the peaceful co-existence of Nigerians but also its continued existence. The problem has continued to gain grounds unabated following the complex pluralist nature of the Nigerian state. The animosity and antagonisms amongst the various tribes and the six major geo-political zones among

others make Nigerians pluralism a sensitive one. We now define our key terms and proceed from there.

### **Hegemony**

By hegemony, we mean leadership or dominance, dominion, supremacy, ascendancy, predominance, primacy, authority, mastery, control, power, sway, rule, or sovereignty, especially by one state or social group over others. A geo-political and cultural predominance of one part of the country over others. A social or cultural pre-dominance by one group within a society or milieu. A group or regime which exerts undue influence within a society.<sup>1</sup>

Hegemony is really a word very familiar to Nigerian elites, especially on the side of politics and political parties for in a clearer elucidation of certain regimes, government and political parties in Nigeria, one sees serious political, cultural, tribal, as well as religious hegemony in action. Hegemony **stands** as a threat to attaining the good governance that is needed to move the country forward.

### **Nigeria Politics (as seen)**

Elucidating on Nigeria and its mimicking participatory democratic government, I.C Uzundu writes:

Greek state that started the practice of participatory democracy is city–state and not nation state as in our country Nigeria. Nigeria is neither a Christian state nor a Muslim state but a secular state. Nigeria is a Republic by constitution, for constitution gives one a kind of government that a state is. Nigeria is a federation that is, conglomeration of un-autonomous states (as opposed to co-federation).<sup>2</sup>

The federation of Nigeria, as it exists today has never really been one homogeneous country; for it's widely differing peoples and tribes are yet to find any basis for true unity. After the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Nigeria in 1914 in the words of Madiebo “the only thing these peoples had in common became the name of their country”.<sup>3</sup>

As we talk of Nigerian politics (democracy), instead of having notion of types, we focus on the differences in standards that have been attained in time and place. To what extent has the Nigerian society realized the ideals of democracy or good governance? In answer to this, we summarily put it that Nigeria is still too far in realizing the ideals of democracy or good governance as its electoral or democratic process is still characterized by monetization of politics, one party hegemony and lopsided representative system. This is common in Africa. Thus, an author writes:

The electoral process (or democratic process) in many African states like Uganda, Nigeria, Zimbabwe to mention a few is always inhibited by such identifiable factors like monetization of politics, one party hegemony and lopsided representative.<sup>4</sup>

In Nigerian political reality, there is multiplication of ballot papers, stealing of ballot boxes

and there exist grass electoral malpractices in order to win election, inflation of population census where electoral staffs admit people across the border as there is no serious check on “national identity and citizenship issue especially in border areas where it is problematic to determine citizens and where parties seek to inflate the register by recruiting people across the border”<sup>5</sup>. Finally, “money politics” is the order of the day in Nigeria and this distribution of money is just to buy people's conscience. This is evident in recent elections in Nigeria as well in some African countries. Thus, William writes that massive use of money, gifts, promises of future material benefits are inhibitions to personal freedom, the right of choice and democratic practice. The monetization of election makes the voters right a cheap commodity and violates the sovereign status of the populace.<sup>6</sup>

These are Nigerian political realities or realism. There is a lot of dirty games in Nigerian democracy and is seen as a warfare. And is good to ask: Can an honest man practice honest politics in Nigeria? Although, there seems to be slight improvement in 2011 and 2015 election, as there was introduction of electronic/computer registration and real counting of citizen's votes in some places, but there were still so many irregularities, disenfranchisements of genuine voters by thugs, paid policemen and even military men especially in February/March 2019 election. Thus, the hope of authentic process and dividends of democracy are still very far. When one calculates the years of independence and democratic government, (military intervention notwithstanding) one sees that our leaders have not meet up with the basic human needs of its citizen, not to talk of fundamental human rights and freedom/liberty opted by democratic ideology. Corruption has been the bane of Nigerian politics and political leaders. Unlike their western counterparts, democratic parties and expected benefits have made very sad news for Nigeria.

This distorted practice and institutional processes of democracy, alongside capitalist models of globalization, neo-colonialism has turn Nigeria into states of political confusion, and loss of a fine-tuned democratic identity. Little wonder, some scholars now demand new ideologies for civil rule in Nigeria and Africa. At this point in time, therefore, the aim of this paper is to establish the grounds that such hegemony in Nigerian politics stands as a threat to attaining the good governance that is needed to move the country forward. Sequel to this general aim, the following objectives stand out:

### **Good governance (How can we measure good governance?)**

From the various conceptions on what makes governance good; or in other words those elements or tenets that distinguish good from bad governance, good governance is over and above all that “approach to government that is committed to creating a system founded in justice and peace, that protects individual's human rights and civil liberties”.<sup>7</sup>

This means that for leadership in the state, or for our political leaders to actually be worthy

statesmen, there is a universal standard for acknowledging the normal day-to-day business of governance as good, or as bad.

According to the United Nations paradigm for adjudging what can pass as good governance, the following factors must be considered, these are: participation, Rule of law, Transparency, Responsiveness, Consensus orientations, Equity and Efficiency and Accountability. Added to this is the inevitable factor of credible leadership. Every citizen should have the leverage participation be it directly or indirectly in the affairs of the nation. There should be freedom of expression and association.

**Rule of the law (constitution)** - A constitution is an instrument of government made by the people, establishing the structure of a country, regulating the powers and functions of government, the rights and duties of the individual and providing remedies for unconstitutional acts.<sup>8</sup> It is responsible for protecting the rights of all, rich or poor, minorities, various interest groups etc, and should be a foremost ingredient of good governance.

As a doctrine, it means observance and supremacy of civil or civilized laws; that is, laws which are reasonably justifiable in a democratic society and absence of arbitrary laws and arbitrary actions. It is application and respect of civil or regular laws in a country. Civil law is opposed to draconian, oppressive and arbitrary laws. It is rule of right and not rule of might.

It is worthy to note here that the problem with Nigerian political democratic leadership started with the constitution. This is because the 1999 constitution in use was drawn by and during the military regime.

**Equality before the Law** - Rule of law means equality of citizens before the law, and not favoritism. The law is an ass, and does not know his master. No immunity clause. The law is above all. All persons in society should be equal and subject to the law of the land. The law should be apply equally to both the rulers and the people except for the privileges permitted by the constitution or other law, for certain public officers during their term of office, for instance, judicial immunity and diplomatic immunity. In democracy, everybody is equal as far as the law and the constitution are concerned. So, by equality we mean not of status or origin but of opportunity, relevant functions and social participation.

Rule of the law means action according to the law, respect for the decision of court. and is to be obeyed except if it is manifestly unjust, illegal or contrary to the rule of the law. Rule of the law mean government according to civil law and respect for human rights. Rule of law means

operation of a constitutional and democratic system of government.

**Supremacy of Law** - It is the same with the term “Rule of the law”. The constitution is seen as the basic rule book or supreme rule of the law. Civil or regular laws are supreme. A civil law is a law which is reasonably justifiable in a democratic society. Example is 1999 constitution, subject to rule of law.

**Common Good** - By common good is to be understood as “the sum total of social conditions which allow people, either as groups or as individuals, to reach their fulfillment more fully and more easily.”<sup>9</sup>

**Majority Rule** - With the emergence of a theory of human rights beginning in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and its explicit development in the writings of Thomas Hobbes and above all, John Locke the way was prepared for conception of democracy in which the principle of majority rule was a necessary but not a sufficient condition. The will of the majority was to enjoy democratic legitimacy only if it was an expression of freely given consent.

Majority could do everything except deprive minorities of their civil rights, including freedom of speech, of the press and of the assembly and the right to a fair trial, the exercise of which might enable the minority to win over the electorate and come to power. Thus, Sidney Hooke Writes:

Since unanimity among human beings about matters of great concern is impossible, the majority principle, in so far as it truly respects human rights is the only one that makes democracy a viable alternative to tyranny (whether ancient or modern)<sup>10</sup>.

**Fundamental Human Rights (Respect for individual liberties)** - The major features of modern democracy include individual freedom which entitles citizens to the liberty and responsibility of shaping own careers and conducting their own affair. Equality before the law, universal suffrage and education. These features have been proclaimed in great historic documents e.g. US declaration of independence, which asserted the right to life liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The French declaration of the rights of man and of the citizen which affirmed the principle of civil liberty and equality before the law.

When we talk political liberty, we mean freedom, essential liberty includes: freedom of speech, of conscience, of press, association and assembly etc. J.S. Mill define liberty as “protection against the tyranny of the political rulers.”<sup>11</sup>

Liberty is against governmental paternalism where by government force us to do what it thinks best for us, however, it is against individual autonomy.

**Independent Judiciary** – Good governance demands fair-playing independent of judiciary and police force devoid of corruption.

**Transparency** - There should be transparency in decision-making process of government and a free press to adequately disseminate information and educate people on government policy, at the same time credibly represent the people's reaction to such policies.

**Government and Public Office Holders** - They should be responsive to the people, while public opinion and major government decisions are to be shaped by adequate consensus-oriented process. As such political participation and popular representation are paramount especially in the democratic setting. Public office holders and political leaders should be seen as Accountable, while the factors of Equity and Inclusiveness demands that there be no-ill feeling from any group especially those who are most vulnerable. Every tribe, nation, ethnic group, geo-political zone etc, should be involved in the political process and dividends and benefits of democracy felt by all.

The management of the nation's resources should be effective and efficient, devoid of corruption. Above all, credible leaders and men of integrity are to be at the driving wheel of the vehicle through suffrage enhanced by credible election machinery.

In light of these demonstration therefore, this paper attempts an analysis of the Nigerian political scenario especially its immediate past and the present to ascertain to what level good governance has been attained or elusive.

### **A PLURALIST NIGERIA AND STRIVE TO ATTAIN GOOD GOVERNANCE**

To say that Nigeria is a pluralist state is not just to state the obvious but to over flog an issue that is common to the modern nation state no matter the size. However, Nigeria's case has its unique antecedents and history like the others. And so, any attempt to proffer a critique or practical solution to existing problems would need an incursion into her unique predicaments.

The adjective “pluralist”, according to the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary refers to the state of a society “having many different groups of people and different political parties in it”. A pluralist democracy therefore would demonstrate the political arrangement where people from different backgrounds, nationalities, mindsets, even language and culture are accommodated in one nation\state, working together for the common good of all.

And so from its very inception the Nigerian nation which has its origins in the 1914 Amalgamation saga by Lord Lugard and the British attempt to make the administration of the different entities a lot easier for them as one single colonial entity became a pluralist state ab-initio. Nigeria was created as consequence of mere colonial greed and not on some pre-arranged social contract agreed upon by the various ethnic groups, tribes and peoples of

diverse cultures and language to come together as one nation-state. However, events have overtaken each other ranging from the gaining of independence in 1960, the becoming a Republic in 1963 to the establishment of the presidential system of government to the military takeover, its successive regimes and now the practice of civil rule since the Obasanjo's led fourth republic which started in 1999. Nigeria has thrived as a constitutional democracy till date.

The existence of many different ethnic groups, tribes, different political and religious world views especially the co-existence of the Igbo, Hausa, and Yoruba as the major tribes; the three main religion Christianity, Islam, Traditional religion has come to be a feature of the Nigerian state. In a country estimated to have between 180 million to 190 million people, the question of its strategic management politically and otherwise is a question that has impressed itself so much on the people's mindset that one cannot show real concern for its proper governance.

Pluralism defines our identity separateness on the grounds of ethnicity, religion and geography. In our nation of 270 ethnic groups, big and small, two dominant religions. And others of traditional faiths, 36 states and 774 local councils and 37 LCDA' in Lagos, Pluralism assumes further ramifications. As a nation, we must ensure that we respect these differences and also ensure they are not exploited as a basis for discrimination or cronyism.<sup>12</sup>

A country therefore as complex and as pluralist as Nigerians should have clear cut but “well meaning” political culture with open and accommodating structures to enhance good governance for all. For anything short of this smack off controversy, discomfort, distrust and conflict among the diverse sectional interests.

A single but most relevant argument stands out here. How can the political climate to attaining good governance be assured, when one single unit, or a few oligarchs or cabals try to hijack the reins of power which rightfully belongs to all in democratic Nigeria? How can a particular ethnic group claim sole ownership of the country's leadership and expect the others to remain mute in fright and in cowardice? Why would there be monopoly over the standing government, institution-executive, legislature, judiciary, security forces and even the political parties in a pluralist society in Nigeria? Following from this line of reasoning therefore, hegemony in its entire ramification would not be a welcome guest in the country's socio-political setting without provoking terrible bursts of violence, rebellion and opposition from the other aggrieved groups and sectional interests.

### **HEGEMONY AS A SERIOUS THREAT TO ATTAINING GOOD GOVERNANCE IN NIGERIA**

... The crisis of the Nigerian state far from being managerial has always been structural and it has its roots in the relation of exploitations, unjust domestic class structures, extend

dependency and distortions of the neo-colonial social formations<sup>13</sup>

The political and cultural hegemony that has come to assume structural status in Nigerian's socio-political climate has been the bane to attaining good governance in Nigeria down the years. The “assumption” that power and the position of presidency remains the exclusive reserved of a few has seriously but negatively affected any reasonable and constitutional efforts to enshrine good governance in Nigeria. Beginning from the political upheavals that enabled the commencement of the Nigerian-Biafran war, the military chiefs mostly from northern part of the country is a story too obvious to refute. The power politics has continued to rear its head in other discomfiting dimension even after the ushering in the Obasanjo-led fourth Republic to the present dispensation. As a matter of fact, Erunke argues that, To carry through a successful project of demonstration and sustainable democratic transition in the interest of good governance ... we need to go beyond the prevalent myths about immediate and remote causes of poor governance to projected solutions to arrest prospective socio-economic and political decays in Nigeria...<sup>14</sup>

Hegemony in its various dimensions, has been posing serious threat to enshrining good governance in the country, but is currently creating unrest and distrust among citizens and fear of the continued existence of the Nigerian state.

Hegemony whether political or cultural has affected Nigeria in various ways that have made the situation look alarming. Strategically poverty and hunger has been enhanced by the politician's greed and has made the needy and poor forget their rights. Votes are bought by paltry sums and by parcels of food items. Political Apathy is now the trend. The masses believe that their most sincere desires are to attain their basic needs and not to bother themselves with political games. The media has been used to brain wash the masses and make them see the politicians as gods. The power contention among the major political parties has assumed hegemonic dimension. The leading party in the country (APC) believes they own the process in INEC, legislative activities, etc in the fate of the country at the last concluded 2019 elections. Even the judiciary arm is not independent as the chief Judge of the nation is being appointed by the nation's president in power. Thus, both the presidential, legislative and gubernatorial elections held during that February/March 2019 are not free from political hegemony and intimidations by the ruling party. Nowadays, one doubts if INEC is truly independent as the name suggests. There are no fair playing grounds for healthy politics in Nigeria today.

This paper lays emphasis to the fact that Nigeria's political climate is being affected by hegemony in two guises: in an indirect sense via globalization and neo-colonialism and the likes. Thus: “A legitimate fear to be allayed for the Africans is the fear of another colonialism and imperialism in the name of globalization... There should be no imposed model as this will amount to another cultural and socio-economic imperialism.”<sup>15</sup>

No matter how African countries including Nigeria claim to be independent, the colonial influences over their current existing political and socio-cultural structures still have overriding influence over the present status quo. Thus, Makodi Biereenu Nnabugwu writes:

Today, much like in all ex-colonies, the vestiges of European exploits are evident all over Africa. For instance, four spheres of *lingua Franca*: all English, French, Portuguese and Arabic are evident in Africa. ...Beyond language and culture, the colonial legal order or heritage legislative and culture, the colonial legal order or heritage – legislative, judicial and political processes in contemporary Africa – is influenced by the pattern of the development of the productive forces of the specific colonizer.<sup>16</sup>

Going further to emphasize the overwhelming influence of international politics on Africa's current socio-political organization, Nnabugwu notes that – Law in contemporary Africa is made to meet the specific needs or *raison d'être* of such state's formations. He notes specifically that “in the making of those laws, the specific needs or dominant interests of the local and foreign segments of post – colonial dominants class factions are considered”.<sup>17</sup>

To this international perspective of political and cultural hegemony, Nigeria has its fair share. In its direct or local sense, the fact that political hegemony is currently undermining the democratization process can be accessed from the overflow of local news in newspapers and periodicals. A foremost concern on where this trend would lead us is shown in Bola Tinubu's lament:

We must examine very deeply this idea of “turn by turn Nigeria ltd”, when it comes to the aspiration for political offices particularly the presidency. This practice is an assault on the sovereignty of the people. Does such a policy honestly do Nigeria well or is it a boom for selected few? Instead of promoting harmony, it is a source of conflict and disharmony.<sup>18</sup>

## EVALUATION

Nigeria just like most other African countries has suffered enough in the hands of the hegemonic western dominating influences. An African modernity crisis springs from this source in a significant measure. The cultural hegemony is such that Nigerians are struggling to re-establish the traditional values embedded in African pre-colonial society. Through the media, foreign economic policies have devalued our currencies; the foreign gifts of foreign aids in their various guises etc are proving to be sources of concern over the African political structure. Instead of making the African/Nigerian projects indigenous affairs to be treated indigenously, Nigeria's fate at development is tailored after the thrust of the open market system of advanced capitalism. Politically, the age-long northern power politics is at it again. There is rising tension for the presidency in the country, Nigeria seems to be ruled by a network of cabals (north and south) who believe power belongs to them and other citizens are privileged to be mere spectators. The lack of proper electioneering culture or poor electoral

practice makes way for one political party lording it over the others. At a time, it was the PDP. Now the APC took over the reins of power and sets the pace. Within the parties, there are no internal democracies. Flag bearers are selected, not voted for in the primaries. 2019 primary election for 2019 general election is a case study. Also 2019 local government election in Imo state where the APC clung all the 27 local government area attest to this. Most parties were not even prepared for the elections. Court rulings were neglected and government and people no longer respect the law.

Today the south-easterners are lamenting the leashing out of the operation python dance to the geo-political zone to compel submission, instead of going to the dialogue table with aggrieved public spheres. The clamor for restructuring, referendums and affirmative action are being downplayed, and the legislature which should be the resort of the people is being censored. The recent attacks on the leaders of the National Assembly, the case of thuggery invasion, the manipulated speeches of the ministers and seemingly negligence of the security chiefs to proactively combat insecurity using the nonchalant response to the Fulani-herdsmen sporadic killings and abuse of innocent victims all attest to a trend of political and cultural domination that is gradually pervading the Nigeria socio-political sphere. How then do we hail Nigeria as portrayed in our former national anthem?

*Nigeria, we hail thee*

*Our own dear native land*

*Though tribe and tongue may differ*

*In brotherhood we stand*

*Nigerian's all, are proud to serve*

*Our sovereign motherland...*<sup>19</sup>

We must examine very deeply this idea of “Turn by Turn Nigeria Ltd”, when it comes to the aspiration for political offices particularly the presidency. This practice is an assault on the sovereignty of the people. Does such a policy honestly do Nigeria well or is it a boom for a select few? Instead of promoting harmony, it is a source of conflict and disharmony.

Constitutionally, every Nigerian has right to aspire for any office, irrespective of religion, place of origin or political preference. Mandatory rotation of position is an affront to democracy and places us further down the road of selection rather than election. It exalts mediocrity and access over talent and worth. In a more personal affirmation, Bola Tinubu writes: “I would rather install in an important office, a decent and able man from another region than a cruel and incapable man from my own family...” Thus, he continues:

This type of mindset is what has fed the anachronistic and false distinction between indigenes and settlers that has cost so many lives, destroyed so many communities and marred our national identity. We must apply the constitutional guarantees in this kind of situation. If we must deploy tanks and armed soldiers for peace, we have already lost something.<sup>20</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Political and cultural hegemony is really a big threat to Nigeria's democracy as democracy is meant to bring good governance through following the rule of the law, participation of the masses, transparency, responsiveness, equity, inconclusiveness, effectiveness and efficiency and accountability. Democratic government is to guarantee freedom of speech and other fundamental human rights and see to equitable sharing of the nation's economic resources and promotes checks and balances among the various arms of government.

Finally, though Nigeria is really a pluralist country, much effort should be made by her leaders to shun political and cultural hegemony arising from any tribe, party, religion and the likes. Those in the helm of leadership have to follow the constitution or the rule of the law.

## ENDNOTES

1. Hegemony – Wikipedia – <https://en.m.wikipedia.org> (Accessed: 7/12/2019)
2. I.C Uzundu “Assessing Nigerian Political Leadership with a Democratic Paradigm” in *Unizik Journal of Arts and Humanities* (UJAH 2020 edition) also in I.C Uzundu *African Communalism and Participatory Democracy: A Comparative Analysis*, Unpubl. Ph.D. Dissatation, (NAU, Awka, Dec. 2012.), P. 93.
3. A.A. Madiebo, *The Nigerian Revolution and the Biafran War*. (Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishers, 1980).
4. D. Seteolu “Elections and the Politics of Participatory Democracy in Africa”, [www.ajol.info/index.php/lhr/article/view/32557](http://www.ajol.info/index.php/lhr/article/view/32557).
5. A Jinadu (1997) “Matters Arising: African Elections and the Problem of Electoral Administration”, *African Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 3-11.
6. M. William (1997) Money and power in Uganda's 1996 Elections, *African Journal of Political Science*, 168-169.
7. “What is good governance?” Available @ creative learning.org (Accessed: 17/8/2019)
8. E. Malemi, *The Nigerian Constitutional Law with Fundamental Rights* (Lagos: Prinecton Pub. Co. 2010) p.1.
9. *The Catechism of the Catholic Church* (Nairobi Kenya: Pauline Publications African, 1995) No. 1906, p. 457.
10. S. Hook “Democracy” *Encyclopedia Americana* (International edition) (USA: Grolier 2001) vol. 8 pp. 684 – 685.
11. J.S. Mill “On Liberty” in *Great Books of Western World*, P. 267.
12. B. Tinubu, *Managing Nigerian's pluralism for peace and national development* (Kuru Jos: NIPSS 18/11/2011) available online @ <http://www.shapedgenews.com>
13. C. Erunke & R. Uchem, *Democracy, Good governance and Sustainable Development Retrospecting the Obasanjo's Fourth Republic*. (1986, Pg. 72) Available @ <http://www.researchgate.net>. (Accessed: 7/10/2018)
14. C. Erunke & R. Uchem, *Ibid*.

15. M. Dukor, “*Globalization and social change in Africa*” in M. Dukor {ed}, *Essence Interdisciplinary – International Journal of philosophy, Globalization and African Identity*, Vol.5.
16. M. Nnabugwu, *Africa in the march of Civilization, An outline of African Heritage*, (Enugu: Erpahd & Quintason Publishers, 2005) p.119.
17. M. Nnabugwu, *Ibid*, p. 122.
18. B. Tinubu *Ibid*.
19. Nigeria's former national anthem – Wikipedia – <https://en.m.wikipedia.org> (Accessed: 7/10/2018).
20. B. Tinubu *Ibid*.