CHAPTER 3 ETHNICITY, RACE AND NATIONS IN NIGERIA: A GENERAL BACKGROUND

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Before any further discussion and / or findings on globalization in the context of leadership and governance in Nigeria, it is necessary to provide a brief historical background of the country, focusing on its geography, its resources, its people and its government. These and other issues will be discussed in this chapter so as to formulate a point of departure in respect of both the private and the public sector's perceptions on globalization. The economic and socio-cultural background of Nigeria will be examined to determine how the country has fared so far in local, regional and international economic integration. If positive this could be a favourable sign for successful world integration.

3.1.1 Geography

Nigeria is located in Western Africa, bordering the Gulf of Guinea, between Benin and Cameroon. Its geography coordinates are 1 000 N, 800E and its Map reference is Africa. The total area is nine hundred and twenty three thousand, seven hundred and seventy square kilometers (923 770 sq km).

The land covers nine hundred and ten thousand, seven hundred and seventy square kilometers (910 770 sq km) and there are thirteen thousand square kilometers (13 000 sq km) covered by water.

Nigeria is slightly more than twice the size of the state of California in the United States of America. The total boundaries of Nigeria are four thousand and forty seven kilometers (4 047 km) and border countries around Nigeria include, the Benin Republic with seven hundred and seventy three kilometers (773 km); Cameroon with one thousand, six hundred and ninety kilometers (1 690 km); the Republic of Chad with eighty-seven kilometers (87 km) and the Niger Republic with one thousand, four hundred and ninety seven kilometers (1 497 km).

Nigeria has signed several international agreements including those dealing with biodiversity, climate change, desertification, endangered species, hazardous wastes, the law of the sea, marine dumping, marine life conservation, nuclear test bans, and the protection of the ozone layer (General Review on Nigeria, September 5, 1999. Access: http://www.crlp.org/Nigeria_1.html.).

3.1.2 The people

The Nigerian population is estimated to be about one hundred and twenty million, eight hundred and twenty thousand, and five hundred and eighty seven (120, 828, 587). The major ethnic groups include Hausa, Fulani, Yoruba, Ibo, Ijaw, Kanuri, Ibidio, TIV, and the major Religious group are Muslim (50%); Christian (40%); Indigenous beliefs (10%). While the major Languages are Yoruba, Hausa and Ibo, the official language is English (Okpu, 1977:19).

3.1.3 The government

The name of the country in conventional long form is Federal Republic of Nigeria and the conventional short form is Nigeria. The Capital city of Nigeria is Abuja. On the 12th December 1991 the Federal capital of Nigeria was officially moved from Lagos to Abuja.

The administrative divisions of the Nigerian Government include 36 states and 1 territory, that is the Federal Capital Territory (FCT). The thirty-six states and the Federal capital are as follows:

Abia, Abuja (Federal Capital Territory), Adamawa, Kebbi, Akwa-Ibom, Kogi, Anambra, Kwara, Bauchi, Lagos, Bayelsa, Nassarawa, Benue, Niger, Bornu, Ogun, Cross River, Ondo, Delta, Osun, Ebonyi, Edo, Oyo, Ekiti, Enugu, Plateau, Gombe, Imo, Rivers, Jigawa, Sokoto, Kadura, Toraba, Kano, Yobe, Katsina and Zamfara.

On October 1st 1960,Nigeria gained Independence from Britain and that informs why October 1st of every year is a national holiday in Nigeria. The 1999 Constitution is operational. The Nigerian Legal system is based on English, Common Law, Islamic Law and Tribal Law and the Suffrage is universal at 18 years of age.

The executive arm of government includes the head of state who is also the head of government, the head of the executive ruling council, the commander in chief of the armed forces and the executive president of the federation. The current elected president is Mr Olusegun Obasanjo, a retired army general who took the oath of office on 29th May 1999 from General Abdulsalam Abubakar.

The cabinet of the Nigerian government is The Federal Executive Council. The president is elected by popular vote for no more than two four-year terms. The last elections were held in February 1999 while the next election is expected to be in 2003. The Legislative arm of government includes the bicameral National Assembly, which consists of the Senate with 109 seats, three from each state and one from the Federal Capital Territory. Members of the senate are elected by popular vote to serve a four-year term. The second and the lower arm of the National Assembly is House of Representatives with 360 seats, members are elected by popular vote to serve a four-year term.

The judicial arm of Government includes the Supreme Court, which is the highest court of the land. The Executive Ruling Council appoints the judges. The Federal High court of Appeal is the second judicial authority after the Supreme Court. The federal government, on the advice of the Advisory Judicial Committee, appoints the judges of the Federal High Court of Appeal (Nigerian Web: The Constitution of the Federal Republic Nigeria, of p. 1-13, 1999). Access: http://odili.net/republic/constitution/constitution.html and (National May 29th Orientation and Public Affairs, 1999. Access: http://www.nopa/useful_inform/cabinetmay99.htm.

THE BASIC LEADERSHIP STRUCTURE OF NIGERIA SINCE INDEPENDENCE

NAME	PORTFOLIO	DATE
ALHAJI ABUBAKAR TAFAWA BALEWA	PRIME MINISTER (ELECTED)	1960 – 1966
NNAMDI AZIKIWE	PRESIDENT (ELECTED)	1963 – 1966
GENL JOHNSON AGUIYI-IRONSI	HEAD OF THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT	JANUARY 1966 – JULY 1966
LT COL YAKUBU GOWON	HEAD OF THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT	1966 – 1975
BRIG GENL MURTALA MOHAMMED	CHIEF OF THE SUPREME MILITARY COUNCIL	1975 – 1976
LT GEN OLUSEGUN OBASANJO	CHIEF OF THE SUPREME MILITARY COUNCIL	1976 - 1979
ALHAJI SHEHU SHAGARI	PRESIDENT (ELECTED)	1979 – 1983
MAJ GENL MOHAMMED BUHARI	CHIEF OF THE SUPREME MILITARY COUNCIL	1983 – 1985
MAJOR GENL IBRAHIM BABANGIDA	PRESIDENT (MILITARY)	1985 – 1989
MAJ GENL SANI ABACHA	PRESIDENT (MILITARY)	1989 – 1998
GENL ABDULSALAM ABUBAKAR	CHAIRMAN OF PROVISIONAL RULING COUNCIL AND THE HEAD OF STATE (MILITARY)	1998 – 1999
MR OLUSEGUN OBASANJO	CIVILIAN PRESIDENT (ELECTED)	29 TH MAY 1999 - DATE

Source: AUTHORS OWN SCHEDULE

3.2 ETHNICITY IN NIGERIA

The ethnicity of Nigeria is so diverse that there exists no clear definition of a Nigerian beyond that of someone who lives within the borders of the country. The boundaries of the formerly English colony were drawn to serve commercial interests, largely without regard for the territorial claim of the indigenous people. As a result about three hundred ethnic groups comprise the population of Nigeria, and the country's unity has been consistently under siege. Eight attempts at secession threatened the national unity between 1914 and 1977. The Biafran War was the last of the secessionist movements within the period of about sixty years (Okpu, 1977:19).

The concept of ethnicity requires definition (Okpu, 1977:10) calls an ethnic group a group of people having a common language and cultural values. These common factors are emphasized by frequent interaction between the people in the group. In Nigeria, the ethnic groups are occasionally fusions created by intermarriage, intermingling and / or assimilation. In such fusions, the groups from which they are composed maintain a limited individual identity. The groups are thus composed of smaller groups, but there is as much difference between even the small groups as the late Chief Obafemi Awolowo put it, "as there is between Germans, English, Russians and Turks" (Okpu, 1977:11).

The count of three hundred ethnic groups cited earlier, overwhelmingly emphasizes ethnic minority groups that is, those, which do not comprise a majority in the region in which they live. These groups usually do not have a political voice nor do they have access to

resources or the technology needed to develop and modernize economically (Okpu, 1977:11, 21). Therefore, they often consider themselves discriminated against, neglected or oppressed. only three ethnic groups, which have attained "ethnic majority" status in their respective regions: the Hausa-Fulani in the North, the Ibo in the South East and the Yoruba in the South West. One must be very careful to avoid the use of the term "tribe" to describe these ethnic groups. "Tribe" Ukpo pointed out is largely a racist term. The Ibo and Hausa-Fulani of Nigeria are each made up of five to ten million people, a figure comparable to the number of, for example Scots, Welsh, Armenians, Serbs or Croats. Yet Nigerians do not refer to the latter groups as "tribes". The term "tribe" is almost exclusively and very indifferently applied to people of native American or African origin. It is a label which emerged with imperialism in its application to those who were non-European and lived in a "colonial or semi-colonial dependency ... in Asia, Africa and Latin America". As Nigeria is attempting to remove the prejudices of imperialism it is in everybody's interest to avoid using the term "tribe" when referring to the ethnic groups of Nigeria (Okpu, 1977:14).

With all that in mind, brief definitions of the major ethnic groups of Nigeria are outlined below. The majority groups, as stated above are the Hausa-Fulani, Ibo and Yoruba. The first, the Hausa-Fulani, are an example of a fused ethnic group as they are actually made up of two groups, not surprisingly called the Hausas and the Fulani's.

3.2.1 The Hausas

The Hausas are themselves a fusion, a collection of Sudanese people that were assimilated long ago into the population inhabiting what is now considered Hausa-land. They believe in the religion of Islam. Their origin is a matter of dispute. Legends trace them back to Canaan, Palestine, Libya, Mecca and Baghdad, while ethnologists hold them to be from the Southern Sahara or the Chad Basin. Once they arrived in Hausa-land, they became known for setting up seven small states centered around "Birni" or walled cities. In these states the Hausas developed techniques of efficient government including a carefully organized fiscal system and a highly learned judiciary that gave them a reputation of integrity and ability in administering Islamic laws (Okpu, 1977:20).

The Fulani's are also Muslims and like the Hausa, although their origin is more or less an open question. Once a nomadic people they believe themselves to be descended from the Gypsies, Roman soldiers who became lost in the desert, a lost "tribe" of Israel, or other groups such as the relatives of the Britons or the Tuaregs, who inhabit the Southern edge of the Sahara in Central Africa. Scholars claim that the Fulani's are related to the Phoenicians or place their origin in shepherds of Mauritania that were looking for new pastures. Whatever their origin, the Fulani's are known to have arrived in the Hausa states in the early 13th Century. Since then they have inter-married with the Hausas and have mostly adopted the latter's customs and language, although some Fulani's decided to stay "pure" by retaining a nomadic life and animist beliefs. The Fulani's are instinctively known for a dispute that developed between them and the local king of Gobir, a

spat which developed into a religious war or Jihad ending with a Fulani conquest of the Hausa states (Okpu, 1977:20-21).

3.2.3 The Yorubas

The second ethnic majority group to be discussed here are the Yorubas. It is, like the others made up of numerous collections of people. Those who are identified as Yoruba consider themselves to be members of the Oyo, Egba, Ijebu, Ife, Ilesha, Ekiti or Owu people. The Yoruba are united, however, by their common beliefs in the town of Ife as their place of origin, and the Ooni of Ife as their spiritual and traditional leader. Their mythology holds that "Oduduwa" created the earth and present royal houses of the Yoruba Kingdoms trace their ancestry back to "Oduduwa", while members of the Yoruba people maintain that they are descended from his sons. Yoruba society is organized into kingdoms, the greatest of which was called Oyo and extended as far as Ghana in the West and the banks of the River Niger The Oyo Empire collapsed in 1830 when Afonja, an in the East. ambitious governor of the state of Ilornin, broke away but lost his territory to the hired mercenaries of the Fulani. Despite the fact that this event occurred in close temporal proximity to the Fulani Jihad, it was not associated with (Okpu, 1977: 29-30).

3.2.4 The I bos

The third majority ethnic groups are the Ibos who, like the Hausa-Fulani, are a synthesis of smaller ethnic groups. In this case, the smaller groups are the Onitsha Ibo, the Western Ibo, the Cross River Ibo and the North-eastern Ibo. Their origins are completely unknown

as they claim to be from about nineteen different places. They do maintain an "indigenous home" however, in the belt of forest in the country to the East of the Niger Valley. This home was established to avoid the Fulani's annual slave raids that were conducted on cavalry that was unable to explore very deeply into the forest. The Ibo thus generally inhabited inaccessible areas, although during the 19th Century they began to assert ancestral claims to Nri Town "the heart of Ibo nationality" (Okpu, 1977:32).

The Ibo established society that was fascinating its decentralization. Their largest societal unit was the village where each extended family managed its own affairs without being dictated to by any higher authority. Where chiefs existed they held very restricted political power and only local jurisdiction. The villages were democratic in nature, as the government of the community was the concern of all who lived in it. Here the modern-day thrust towards decentralized, more self-reliant local economic development should find many rural supporters among the Ibo people.

These three major ethnic groups comprise only fifty-seven percent of the total population of Nigeria. The remainders of the people are members of ethnic minority groups that include such people as Kanuri, the Nupe and the Tiv in the North. The Efik / Ibibio, the Ejaw and the Ekoi in the East, and the Edo and Urhobo / Isoko to the West, along with hundreds of other groups that differ widely in language, culture and even physique. The specific groups mentioned above are distinct in that they were found in the 1953 census to have exceeded a hundred thousand members. As the population of Nigeria has doubled to over one hundred million people in 1982 (from approximately thirty-

one million in 1953), it is safe to assume that these groups are now much larger (American Heritage Dictionary, 1982:1 509).

It is clearly a formidable task to govern such an incredible variety of people. Nigeria is an area the size of the state of Texas in the United States of America but in which over three hundred different languages are spoken, and in which the same number of separate cultures desperately try to retain their identity. One can easily imagine the ensuing complexities.

In any case, there are several available alternatives to be discussed within the confines of this study that will attempt to minimize the difficulties encountered by government and the people of Nigeria in this era of globalization. These diversities in culture, language and religion could be put to remarkable advantage, that is, strength and unity in diversity instead of the envisaged difficulties. Empowerment of the local people at grassroots levels and their participation in issues that concern them might be a solid way forward.

3.3 NIGERIA : A REVIEW OF ECO-SOCIO-POLITICAL RELATIONS IN AFRICA

Nigeria is Africa's most populous country. It also has substantial quantities of oil. Like Algeria and Libya it is a member of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and like them, it has sought to influence and shape its regional and continental environment. Nigeria's interests have led it to develop an important role in the Northern tier as well as beyond it. Yet, Nigeria was slow to assume the role that its powerful resources appeared to hold out to it.

Despite the grandiose statement of its first foreign minister who declared in 1960 that "our country is the largest single unit in Africa ... we are not going to abdicate the position in which God Almighty has placed us ... The whole black continent is looking up to this country to liberate it from thralldom" (Shaw and Aluko, 1983:205).

In fact, Nigeria has pursued a rather modest foreign policy until the mid-1970s. It did send a military contingent to the Congo as part of the United Nations (UN) operation, but otherwise the country's early leaders were sufficiently absorbed by domestic politics to steer clear of any continental or global initiatives. The first prime minister of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, the late Sir Abubabakar Tafawa Balewa, limited his efforts through 1965 to debunking the unity proposals of Ghana's former President, Kwame Nkrumah. Then, military coups and the Biafra-secession stunned the country, obliging Nigeria to limit its diplomacy to the requirements of the civil war (Osaghae, 1998:50).

Only after containing the secession did Nigeria begin to exert itself as an African power, in part to settle some scores from the civil war period. Although most African States had abstained from recognizing the Biafra rebels, and a few states – Tanzania, Zambia, Cote d'Ivoire, Dahomey (now Benin Republic) and Gabon – gave diplomatic or military support to the secessionist cause, Nigeria came to view the French influence in West Africa as a threat sufficient to reduce France's role in the region. With oil revenue gushing into the treasury, Nigeria could readily imagine itself as the economic core of a huge West African hinterland. Nigerian economic integrationists like Adebayo Adedeji, then serving as commissioner for economic development, pressed the idea of a West African common market as a lever to pry

French neocolonial influence out of Nigeria's potential hinterland. Nigeria thus embarked upon a sustained diplomatic offensive to create ECOWAS, the Economic Community of West African States (Ojo, 1980:34).

It took Nigerian leadership, extensive efforts in national coalition formation and even more intensive and difficult regional negotiations and coalition formation to get ECOWAS inaugurated. The decision to work for a regional common market was an important step in redefining West African geopolitical space, for it implicated Lagos in matters beyond economic cooperation. In assuming a leadership posture in the region, Nigeria had to respond to security concerns as well. As Niger Republic, Mali, Senegal and Cote d'Ivoire were all uneasy about Libyan policies and feared the broad destabilizing effects from the collapse of Chad, Nigeria projected itself into the various efforts to mediate a Chadian settlement.

It also sponsored a series of meetings in Kano and Lagos designed to work out a compromise. Moreover, as part of the first Kano accord Nigeria dispatched a peacekeeping force to Chad that became more involved than the Chadians wanted. Later, it briefly imposed an oil embargo to bring pressure upon the local parties. These interventions were signs of more activist diplomacy of which the ECOWAS leadership was but one component (Ojo, 1980:34).

The broad policy of diplomatic activism had become more pronounced after the overthrow of General Yakubu Gowon in 1975, which brought to power Brigadier General Murtala Mohammed. When General Mohammed was killed in an abortive coup, General Olusegun Obasanjo

succeeded him. The Muhammad / Obasanjo government (1975 – 1979) generally expanded the conception of Nigeria's interests in Africa, most notably in Southern Africa. An early expression of this "Afro-centric activism" is the decision by Lagos to recognize the leftist MPLA government in Angola. Under President Obasanjo, Nigeria assumed a place as virtually a sixth member of the Southern group of front line states which originally comprised Tanzania, Zambia, Mozambique, Angola and Botswana (Shaw, 1983 : 213).

The South African policy was a logical extension of the drive to build a structure of influence in Western Africa. At the core of both initiatives was a nationalist "Africa-for-the-Africans" impulse noted in the knowledge that Nigeria was potentially Africa's greatest power. Afrocentrism implied the expulsion of non-African influence from the continent: that of France from its immediate regional environment, that of Portugal, Great Britain and European settlers from the unliberated South. In a continent purged of the vestiges of the colonial era Nigeria's human and petro-chemical resources would provide room for their full development (Shaw, 1983:213).

The continent as a whole would assume its rightful place in global affairs and Nigeria's voice would be extremely important in representing Africa. Regional leadership accorded Nigeria continental (and global) credibility, whereas continental activism reinforced its legitimacy at the regional level. The two sub-systems, trans-Saharan and Southern, were linked in a praxis that went beyond an abstract pan-Africanism. It is important to discuss here some details of Nigeria's specific front line initiatives in the globalization process. The Obasanjo government put its weight behind pressure on Western

governments, notably those of the United States and Great Britain, to assist in the decolonization of Rhodesia and Namibia. It exerted power most directly by nationalizing British petroleum assets on the eve of the 1979 commonwealth conference in Lusaka that was to formulate a policy on Rhodesia. In these initiatives, Nigeria spurred on the process that brought Robert Mugabe's patriotic front to power about twenty years ago. Nigeria insisted on its right to be consulted as a frontline state despite its geographical distance from the "front line". The cultivation of national prestige was an integral component of this southern strategy (Osaghae, 1998: 106, 109).

Given the above review of eco-socio-political relations in Africa, Nigeria thus emerged as a major actor in the trans-Saharan system. It has backed its claim to regional leadership with financial commitments such as contributions to the completion of the trans-Saharan highway (this route, which will one day connect Algiers and Lagos is itself a manifestation of the development of a trans-Saharan system) and the road from Lagos to Cotonou in Benin. These contributions to regional infrastructure are part of a drive to enhance trade so as to translate the ECOWAS concept into economic reality. The convening in Lagos of the OAU's economic summit in 1980 applied this regional aspiration to the continent as a whole. It was appropriate that Nigeria should host this occasion for the ambitious Nigerian diplomacy of the late 1970s and early 1980s was premised on its emergent economic strength. The subsequent collapse of oil prices and the return of political instability slowed Lagos' push for continental leadership. Yet Africa's most populous country remains a major actor especially in the trans-Saharan sub-system, as its role in the Liberian civil war and other conflicts in Sierra Leone and the Democratic Republic of the Congo as the United Nations peace- keeping clearly shows (Chazan, et al., 1992:335).

President Obasanjo has appeared once again on the Nigerian political scene but this time as a democratically elected president of Nigeria. Since he took the oath of office on 29th May 1999, his role in both regional and continental issues has been considerable. He has assumed a leadership position in continental Public affairs through working in collaboration with other heads of states and government.

3.4 NIGERIA: AN OVERVIEW OF ECONOMIC DATA

Information from the following discussion was sourced from: 1999 World Facts Books on Nigeria and (http://www.nopa/useful_inform/cabinetmay99.htm. The basic economic data of Nigeria are very important in the current context of globalization. This will provide an indication of how far the country has gone economically and especially of the level of economic concentration in the overall economy.

The oil-rich Nigerian economy continues to be troubled by political instability, corruption and poor macro-economic management. Nigeria's unpopular military rulers failed to make significant progress in diversifying the economy away from over-dependence on the capital-intensive oil sector which provides 30% of the GDP, 95% of foreign exchange earnings and about 80% of budgetary revenues. The government's resistance to initiating greater transparency and accountability in managing the country's multi-billion dollar oil earnings continues to limit economic growth and prevent an

agreement with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and bilateral creditors on a staff-monitored program and debt relief. The largely subsistence agricultural sector has failed to keep up with rapid population growth and Nigeria, once a large net exporter of food, must now import food.

The World Bank Group profile on Nigeria indicates that the country has taken out 98 loans since independence in 1960 (Vanguard Business, 2000:9). The World Bank first opened its office in Nigeria in 1970 but the profile shows that the country first sought assistance from the bank for basic infrastructure to upgrade the railways in 1958 and the Papa Warf in 1963. The Word Bank group comprises the following:

- IBRD : The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.
- ii. IDA: International Development Association.
- iii. IFC: International Finance Association.
- iv. MIGA: Multi-lateral Investment Guarantee Agency.
- v. ICSID: International Center for the Settlement of Investment Disputes.

The above arms of the World Bank were founded differently and in various years but remain the single largest provider of development loans to middle income developing countries and sometimes raise similar financing from other sources. IFC and MIGA have also been active in sourcing credit facilities for Nigeria through support for private enterprise in the form of loans and equity financing, and a range of advisory services that are billed or paid for as consultancy services.

However, many states in the federation especially in the northern part of Nigeria were heavily indebted to the IDA and IFC credit packages under the military rule. The federal government had to provide collateral for and had to condone loans until 1984 when negotiations for loans abroad were suspended at state levels. Further information on World Bank group capital inflow shows that since 1964, IFC had given a total loan amount of US\$110 million to private enterprises in Nigeria while the total funding in loans and credit currently allocated, but not yet drawn by these states remained at US\$1.7 billion. Sources in the Federal Ministry of Finance in Nigeria disclosed that the ninety-eight loans and credits involve a total commitment of US\$6.8 billion. Apart from the World Bank group other multi-lateral creditors to which Nigeria is indebted since independence includes:

- i. the Paris Club;
- ii. the London Club;
- iii. none-Paris Club bilateral:
- iv. Venice Club:
- v. ADB / ADF loans;
- vi. ECOWAS Fund loans; and
- vii. European Investment Bank loans.

According to the Publication of the Federal Ministry of Finance Abuja Quarterly Review, in May 2000, The Paris Club holds the lion's share of the estimated US\$28billion external debt stock. It is important to note at this juncture that some past finance ministers and the Central Bank of Nigeria governors as well as heads of state made government sign various terms of agreement with the Paris Club.

Most of these agreements have no bailiff relief, either on the principal loan or interest rates. These various rescheduling options were mercy relief packages, which contributed to the suffering of the majority of Nigerians until today. Mostly because of the unsteady political environment, these agreements were signed without any careful study of the long-term implications. The present government of Nigeria led by Chief Olusegun Obasanjo has been campaigning for total debt forgiveness. Up until now the creditors have not given any word on these requests.

3.5 CONCLUSION

In Nigeria, there have always existed diverse socio-cultural differences and constant political instability. The government has failed the people on several occasions, thereby resulting in about four military interventions and seven military heads of states in the politics of Nigeria (see 2.1.3, The Government, and the basic leadership structure of Nigeria since independence). It was also discovered that Nigeria has played a significant role in both regional and continental projects such as the establishment of ECOWAS, and participation in both regional and continental peace efforts.

An investigation of economic data reveals that petroleum remains the mainstay of the country's economy. Therefore, there is a need for more proactive public policy aimed at diversifying the economy into various spheres, which would not only develop more healthy local economic activities, but will also create and improve the living standards of the people. Indeed, there seems to be a strong case for a greater localization policy by the Nigerian government rather than one,

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which will force full participation in a single global free-market economic system, as globalization currently demands.