A History of The Nigerian Federal Government's National Tourism Governance System 1962 - 2006

by

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Abstract

This study explores the history of governance institutions and policies of the Nigerian Federal Government from the country's independence in 1960 until 2006 a topic, hitherto, not subjected to scholarly historical analysis.   Endowed with a rich cultural heritage and natural beauty, Nigeria possesses immense potential for tourism development. However, despite its potential, the Nigerian tourism industry has struggled to generate substantial revenue since independence because of a number of challenges, including almost continuous instability arising from several military coups and the periodic episodes of military rule. Political instability discouraged international visitors as they deemed the country unsafe. Despite these challenges, successive administrations made efforts to promote the tourism sector by establishing governance institutions and policies conducive to the development of the sector. This study examines these measures, focusing mostly on the origins and development of the various supervisory structures responsible for overseeing the Nigerian tourism industry in the period under study. It examines the legal framework governing the creation and operations of these structures, providing essential insights into their formation and operations. Furthermore, the study analyses the contributions of these administrative bodies to the overall development of the tourism sector.

Apart from the already noted political instability, the sector also suffered from inadequate infrastructure and security concerns to marketing and promotion issues. The study, thus, also analyses the role of successive administrative structures in addressing these challenges and in regulating, governing, and promoting tourism within Nigeria. The work examines the Nigerian experience also in the context of developments in other African countries facing similar challenges and their efforts to attract tourists and investors. The study, thus, seeks to fill a critical gap in the understanding of the Nigerian Federal Government's

tourism governance structures and initiatives by providing the historical context of the evolution of successive governing structures, evaluating their contributions to the industry's development, and identifying key challenges that have hindered the sector's growth. It also offers policymakers and stakeholders valuable insights into potential strategies to unlock the full potential of Nigeria's tourism industry.

Declaration

This dissertation, entitled **'A History of the Nigerian Federal Government's National Tourism Governance System, 1962 – 2006,'** is the original work of **Uwagboe Osariemen Osunde.** It was prepared and submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the **Doctor of Philosophy degree** in the **Department of Historical and Heritage Studies University of Pretoria**. I hereby affirm that this dissertation is my own creation and has not been previously submitted for any degree or evaluated in any other context.

Dedication

This Dissertation is dedicated to the Almighty God for giving me the ability to pull through. I also dedicate this thesis to my dearest father and mothers, Pastor Ephraim Osunde, Pastor Mrs Betty Osunde and Mrs E. Uwagboe, who carried the burden of raising me up to be who I am today and to all my siblings for the constant source of joy they gave me.
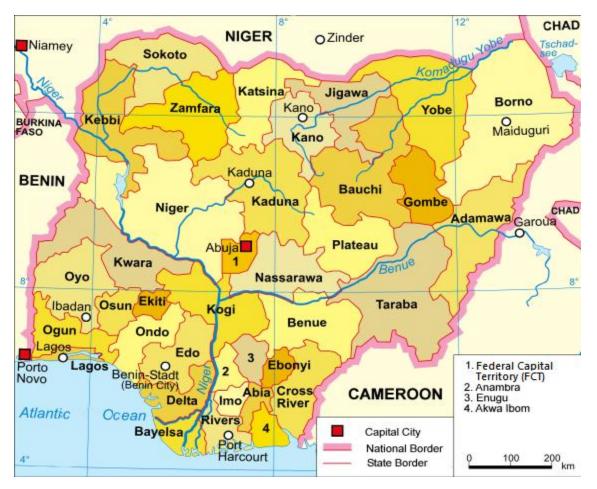
Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I extend my heartfelt gratitude to the Almighty God for granting me the strength, unwavering determination, and all-encompassing support required to successfully complete this course. I am profoundly thankful to my parents, husband, and siblings for their enduring patience, unwavering support, generous provisions, boundless love, nurturing care, fervent prayers, constant encouragement, and invaluable financial assistance that sustained me throughout these years. I owe a debt of gratitude to my esteemed supervisors, Professor Alois Mlambo, and Associate Professor Tinashe Nyamunda, who not only believed in me but also empowered me to transcend the challenges encountered during the course of my research. Special recognition and appreciation are reserved for Emeritus Professor Michael Omolewa, whose firm support, fatherly guidance, sage advice, motivational words, and insightful remarks served as a wellspring of inspiration throughout my research journey. I am also deeply indebted to my Head of Department, Professor Karen Harris, for her steadfast support and the invaluable time she dedicated to me during my pursuit of a PhD degree. To my cherished friends, Mariam Ayoade, Ayodeji Emehinola, Akorede Olanrewaju, Oluwaseyi Olanrewaju, Joachim Osheyo Gidiagba, Emmanuel Ichipi, Chibuike Daraojimba, Dorcas Adenuga, Matin Ayangemakaa Ihembe, Ibrahim Akanbi, Nomahlubi Geja, Grace Onakwi, and Steven Ugwukah, I extend my heartfelt appreciation for their steadfast moral support, friendly disposition, and timely assistance in moments of need. Their camaraderie and wise counsel made this journey memorable and enriched my experience.

Map of Nigeria

Sources: Map of Nigeria showing the States of the Federation and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT).

List of Abbreviations

ADB: African Development Bank

ADHT: African Diaspora Heritage Trail

AG: Action Group

ANPP: All-Nigeria Peoples Party

ATPN: Association of Tourism Practitioners of Nigeria

AU: African Union

CBN: Central Bank of Nigeria

CCC: Constitutional Conference Commission

CNC: Congress of National Consensus

CSR: Corporate Social Responsibility

ECOWAS: Economic Community of West African States

EFCC: Economic and Financial Crimes Commission

FCT: Federal Capital Territory

FDI: Foreign Direct Investment

FEDECO: Federal Electoral Commission

FESTAC '77: Festival of Arts and Culture

FMCT: Federal Ministry of Culture and Tourism

FMG: Federal Military Government

FTAN: Federation of Tourism Association of Nigeria

GDM: Grassroots Democratic Movement

HID: Hotel Inspectorate Division

HTEs: Hospitality and Tourism Enterprises

ICPC: Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offenses Commission

IGC: Interim Governing Council

IMF: International Monetary Fund

INEC: Independent National Electoral Commission

ING: Interim National Government

ISTF: Internal Security Task Force

IUTO: International Union of Travel Organization

IUWTO: International Union of World Travel Organization

LEEDS: Local Economic Empowerment Development Strategy

LFN: Laws of the Federation of Nigeria

LGTC: Local Government Tourism Committee

LYM: Lagos Youth Movement

MASSOB: Movement for the Sovereign State of Biafra

MDGs: Millennium Development Goals

MHAT: Ministry of Home Affairs and Tourism

MOPOL: Mobile Police

MOSOP: Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People

MTT: Ministry of Trade and Tourism

NBS: National Bureau of Statistics

NCNC: National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons

NCPN: National Congress Party of Nigeria

NDDC: Niger Delta Development Commission

NDDP: Nigerian National Democratic Party

NDP: National Development Plan

NECON: National Electoral Commission

NEEDS: National Economic Empowerment Development Strategy

NHCC: National Hotel Classification Committee

NIHOTOUR: National Institute for Hospitality and Tourism

NNA: Nigerian National Alliance

NPC: Northern People's Congress

NPN: National Party of Nigeria

NRC: National Republican Convention

NTA: Nigerian Tourism Association

NTB: Nigeria Tourist Board

NTB: National Institute for Hospitality and Tourism Bureau

NTDA: Nigerian Tourism Development Authority

NTDC: Nigerian Tourism Development Corporation

NTDMP: Nigerian Tourism Development Master Plan

NTP: National Tourism Policy

NTPF: National Tourism Policy Forum

NTTP: National Trade and Tourism Policy

NTTP: Nigerian Tourism Transformation Program

NYM: Nigerian Youth Movement

OAU: Organization of African Unity

OPC: Oodua People's Congress

OPEC: Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries

PDP: People's Democratic Party

PPP: Public-Private Partnerships

SAP: Structural Adjustment Program

SDP: Social Democratic Party

SEEDS: State Economic Empowerment Development Strategy

SMC: Supreme Military Council

STD: State Tourism Board

TDF: Tourism Development Fund

TSA: Tourism Satellite Account

TMP: Tourism Master Plan

UNCP: United Nigeria Congress Party

UNDP: United Nations Development Programme

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UPGA: United Progressive Grand Alliance

UPN: Unity Party of Nigeria

UNWTO: United Nations World Tourism Organization

WTO: World Tourism Organization

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Chapter one

Background to the Study

Nigeria gained independence from Britain in 1960. Prior to this, a modest tourism industry had emerged, attracting Europeans who visited the country primarily to engage in cultural events like the Durbar in Northern Nigeria and the Osun Oshogbo festival, among others. During the early 1960s, leisure tourism experienced significant growth and displayed considerable potential. Recognizing the opportunity to harness the industry's full economic benefits, Nigeria took steps to establish a national governing framework. This led to the formation of the Nigerian Tourism Association (NTA) in 1962, serving as a coordinating body to steer the industry toward realizing its maximum economic potential. The NTA, created by the government, encompassed various private and public local and international entities, including Nigerian Airways, foreign airlines, Shell Petroleum Corporation, Nigerian Tobacco Company, and various hoteliers. In 1964, Nigeria became a member of the International Union of Travel Organization (IUTO), which later evolved into the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO).[1]

On January 15th, 1966, Nigeria experienced its first coup orchestrated by Major Nzeogwu and a group of Igbo military leaders. This coup led to the overthrow of the country's first Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, who hailed from the northern region. This coup was swiftly followed by a counter coup on January 28th of the same year, led by General Aguyi-Ironsi and other northern military figures. This counter coup reinstated northern political dominance, placing General Gowon in power and effectively terminating

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[1] Ann Esievoadje, "Nigeria @60: A Review of the Nigerian Tourism Industry," Connect Nigeria Articles, October 2, 2020, accessed July 3, 2021, https://articles.connectnigeria.com/independence-day-review-of-the-nigerian-tourism-industry/.

Nigeria's democratic system. Regrettably, the repercussions of this coup continue to reverberate in Nigeria's contemporary landscape.

The initial 1966 coups seemed to introduce a modest revolution, yet they added complexity and steered Nigeria onto a prolonged path of instability. This period had profound implications for Nigeria's trajectory, notably culminating in the Nigerian-Biafran Civil War of 1967 to 1970. Moreover, it laid the groundwork for subsequent coups and counter coups within the nation. The initial Nigerian coup marked a pivotal juncture in the country's history, shaping its course for the ensuing six decades, during which the adverse effects of military rule became evident. The conclusion of the Biafran Civil War in January 1970 ushered in an extended era of military governance, which was far from conducive to the advancement of recreational tourism in Nigeria.[2] However, despite the earlier challenges, the Nigerian government, led by General Yakubu Gowon, demonstrated efforts to rejuvenate and foster the tourism sector.

In 1971, an important step was taken when the government engaged the African Development Bank (ADB) to conduct a feasibility study on Nigeria's tourism potential and viability. The findings of this study illuminated Nigeria's significant prospects for developing tourism as a robust economic domain. Tourism holds great importance in developing countries, including Nigeria, which is rich in both oil and tourism resources. While the distribution of oil deposits is concentrated in the South-south Geographical Zone, tourism resources are spread across all geopolitical zones of the country.[3] Tourism experts argue that tourism has the potential to drive socio-economic development in Nigeria and can serve as a

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[2] Adrianna Simwa, "The First Military Coup in Nigeria and Its Consequences," Legit.ng - Nigeria News., October 27, 2022, accessed April 5, 2021, https://www.legit.ng/1209889-when-military-coup-nigeria-consequences.html.

[3] Bassey ESU, "Transforming the Nigeria Tourism Industry through Tourism Entrepreneurial Development," *African Journal of Business Management* 9, no. 15 (August 2015): 570, https://academicjournals.org/journal/AJBM/article-full-text-pdf/296A03154724.

supplementary or even primary source of revenue. In response, the military administration, then led by General Olusegun Obasanjo, acted by establishing the first regulatory authority for the industry: the Nigeria Tourist Board (NTB) in 1976. The pivotal year of 1982 witnessed the introduction of the National Trade and Tourism Policy (NTTP)[4] by the government. Subsequently, in December 1992, the Nigerian Tourism Development Corporation (NTDC) emerged, tasked with the mission to diversify and promote tourism across the nation. Alongside the creation of the NTDC, the same legislative act established State Tourism Boards in each state to collaborate with the NTDC in fulfilling its mandate. This led to the formulation of tourism regulations in several states to oversee the industry within their respective regions.[5] Furthermore, 1992 saw the establishment of the National Council on Commerce and Tourism, entrusted with the responsibility of coordinating the strategic planning and advancement of tourism throughout Nigeria. These actions collectively reflected a commitment to fostering tourism as a vital component of the country's economic and cultural landscape.[6]

In spite of these endeavours, the persistence of military rule continued to disrupt the growth of the tourism industry until the year 1999, when civilian rule was reinstated. As a progressive stride, in June 1999, during the tenure of General Olusegun Obasanjo, the Federal Government established the Federal Ministry of Culture and Tourism. This ministry later underwent a name change in mid-2006, becoming the Federal Ministry of Tourism, Culture and National Orientation. Its primary mission was to champion the promotion of Nigeria's abundant cultural heritage by recognizing, nurturing, and presenting the diverse cultural and tourism potentials the nation possessed. However, a notable alteration took place in

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[4] Okey Ovat, "Tourism and Economic Development in Nigeria: An Empirical Investigation," *Global Journal of Social Sciences* 2, no. 1 (January 2003): 33.

[5] Esther Onoji, "Regulatory Framework for Tourism in Nigeria: How Can This Be Made Easier for Investors," Primera Africa Legal, September 3, 2019, accessed June 25, 2021, https://primeraal.com/news/regulatory-framework-for-tourism-in-nigeria/.

[6] Abiodun Bankole, "The Nigerian Tourism Sector: Economic Contribution, Constraints, and Opportunities," *Journal of Hospitality Financial Management* 10, no. 1 (January 2022): 76, https://scholarworks.umass.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1109&context=jhfm.

November 2015. At that time, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism was merged with the Ministry of Information, culminating in the formation of the current Ministry of Information, Culture and Tourism. This restructuring marked a noteworthy transition in the governance of these areas, signalling the government's commitment to blending information, culture, and tourism into a unified framework.[7] Since 2006, there has been a noticeable absence of significant legislative advancements concerning national-level tourism governance in response to evolving global trends in the industry. However, noteworthy strides have been taken in specific states, such as Lagos and Cross River States. These states have implemented legislation that oversees various aspects of the tourism sector, including regulations pertaining to hotels, food establishments, gaming activities, and the liquor industry.

Tourism is a highly subjective concept, as it holds different meanings for different individuals. However, from a quantitative standpoint, a tourist is typically defined as a person who travels more than 50 miles, which is approximately equal to 80.47 kilometres, from their usual place of residence for non-business reasons, often staying overnight at the destination.[8] This distinction helps provide a clear and measurable understanding of tourist activities. Tourism offers people the opportunity to explore new worlds, environments, and lifestyles, enabling participants to learn about diverse cultures and places. Tourism can promote peace and stability in developing countries by creating jobs, generating income, diversifying the economy, protecting the environment, and fostering cross-cultural awareness. It is the fourth largest global industry in the world and a significant source of foreign exchange, second only to oil.[9] To achieve prosperity and stability, host communities must leverage their advantages, improve services, and protect their environment. Host governments must establish supportive

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[7] "Culture and Heritage," Federal Ministry of Information and National Orientation, August 11, 2016, accessed August 14, 2021, https://fmic.gov.ng/culture/culture/.

[8] Alexandre Panosso Netto, "What Is Tourism? Definitions, Theoretical Phases and Principles," in *Philosophical Issues in Tourism*, vol. 37 (Toronto: Channel View Publication, 2009), 43–62.

[9] Martha Honey, *Tourism in the Developing World: Promoting Peace and Reducing Poverty*, vol. 233 (United States of America: Institute of Peace, 2009), 2.

strategies, remove barriers, and adopt international standards. Foreign stakeholders must prioritize tourism, invest in the sector, and facilitate knowledge transfer.[10]

Nigeria possesses immense potential for tourism, boasting the largest population in Africa.[11] The country's abundant natural resources, including diverse flora and fauna, as well as its rich cultural, geological, and archaeological heritage, present valuable opportunities for tourism development. With a unique blend of natural wonders and well-established infrastructure, Nigeria is well-positioned to foster growth in both international and domestic tourism sectors.[12] The convergence of these favourable factors should ideally have contributed to the rapid advancement of the tourism industry in the country. Remarkably, the comprehensive history of the Nigerian Federal Government's initiatives in tourism governance since gaining independence in 1960 has yet to undergo rigorous scholarly analysis. This gap encompasses the examination of the historical evolution, underlying reasons for establishing diverse oversight mechanisms over time, the legal frameworks that underpinned their establishment and operations, as well as their contributions to the industry's growth during the examined period. This study endeavours to bridge this scholarly gap in the understanding of post-colonial Nigerian tourism. By addressing this lack of comprehensive research, the study aims to shed light on the historical trajectory of the nation's efforts in tourism governance, delving into the rationale behind various regulatory structures, their legal foundations, and their impacts on the sector's development.

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[10] Martha Honey, *Tourism in the Developing World: Promoting Peace and Reducing Poverty*, vol. 233 (United States of America: Institute of Peace, 2009), 1.

[11] Abdul Raufu Mustapha, "The Survival Ethic and the Development of Tourism in Nigeria," 172.

[12] Abdul Raufu Mustapha, "The Survival Ethic and the Development of Tourism in Nigeria," in *The Native Tourist*, 1st Edition (London: Routledge, 2013), 172.

Problem Statement

The governance of tourism in Nigeria has been hampered by a range of challenges. One significant issue has been the nation's heavy reliance on revenue from oil fields, which constituted a substantial portion of Nigeria's wealth. This dependence on oil wealth has been a major obstacle to the diversified growth of the country's economy. The focus of economic activities and development shifted towards the proceeds from petroleum, following the discovery of oil in the 1950s. This reliance on oil became particularly pronounced in the 1970s when oil profits experienced a substantial surge.

Nigeria's economic situation was further affected when it became a member of the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) in 1971, which provided the nation with opportunities to enhance its oil-related earnings. The discovery of oil is widely recognized for influencing the trajectory of the civil war, underscoring its profound impact on the country's political and economic landscape. The dominance of oil in Nigeria's economic landscape has posed challenges to diversification and development in other sectors, including the growth of the tourism industry.[13]

The discovery of oil, coupled with Nigeria's newfound status as an independent African nation in 1960, created a highly precarious environment. Nigeria confronted a series of challenges, including political instability, corruption, various conflicts such as civil wars like the Biafra War, religious tensions, riots, and crime, among other issues. This multitude of problems often led foreign nations and visitors to perceive Nigeria as an inhospitable destination for tourism. Yet, tourism is a crucial sector that contributes to economic growth and serves as a means of showcasing a country's potential for foreign investment. Nigeria

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[13] Akindare Okunola, "11 Facts You Should Know about Nigeria as It Celebrates 60 Years of Independence," Global Citizen, October 1, 2020, accessed June 16, 2021, https://www.globalcitizen.org/en/content/facts-to-know-about-nigeria-independence/.

encountered numerous obstacles since gaining independence, some of which include a series of coups that transpired on January 15th, 1966, July 28th, 1966, July 29th, 1975, February 13th, 1976, December 31st, 1983, August 27th, 1985, and April 22nd, 1990. The recurring bouts of military rule and associated instability significantly tarnished the nation's reputation and, consequently, had an adverse impact on the tourism industry.

The establishment of Nigeria as a political entity occurred in 1914, a result of the British colonial authorities merging the Northern and Southern Protectorates of Nigeria, leading to the formation of the amalgamated Protectorate and Colony of Nigeria. This amalgamation united over 400 ethnic groups and tribes, creating the largest British colony at the time. The amalgamation's juxtaposition of predominantly Muslim Northern Nigeria, historically the core of the Sokoto Caliphate, with predominantly Christian Southern Nigeria, was executed for administrative and economic reasons. However, this amalgamation ignited religious tensions that persist to the present day.[14]

The most recent manifestation of these tensions is evident in the emergence of Boko Haram, whose activities are widely recognized globally.[15] The consequences of religious discord and conflicts extend to the tourism sector, illustrating just two instances of the challenges that postcolonial Nigeria has grappled with. These challenges have cast a negative image of the country on the world stage, impacting the tourism industry adversely. Additional obstacles include corruption, difficulties in obtaining travel permits or visas, health concerns like yellow fever and vaccine availability and effectiveness, among other issues. Despite these negative perceptions, Nigeria boasts a wealth of tourist destinations and activities, and successive governments have persistently sought to promote the tourism sector.

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[14] Okunola, "11 Facts You Should Know about Nigeria as It Celebrates 60 Years of Independence."

[15] Abimbola O. Adesoji, "Boko Haram and the Global War on Terror," *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*, February 25, 2019, 1–20, https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.851.

Amidst these hurdles, various administrative frameworks have been established by successive governments since Nigeria's independence in 1960, with the aim of advancing and overseeing the tourism sector. This study examines the roles played by these evolving administrative structures in the regulation, governance, and promotion of tourism within Nigeria. While the aforementioned problems and challenges are not unique to Nigeria alone, this study also investigated other nations facing similar issues. The study identifies some of the strategies these countries have implemented to mitigate challenges and attract both tourists and investors. Despite the consistent challenges faced by the Nigerian tourism sector across different administrations, and the unfavourable perceptions surrounding the country's political environment, this study scrutinizes the measures adopted by management to surmount these problems. It also explores the reasons behind the neglect of the industry and why, despite its substantial potential, the Nigerian tourism sector has struggled to generate significant revenue.

Research questions

This study addresses several pertinent questions in the context of Nigeria's tourism industry and its historical evolution. These questions provide a comprehensive framework for examining the dynamics and challenges faced by the country in promoting its tourism sector. Here are the key questions that the study addressed:

1. Pre-Independence and Early Initiatives:

   - What was the state of Nigeria's tourism industry during the colonial period, both prior to and at the time of gaining independence?

   - What were the initial steps taken by the newly independent Nigerian government to organize and advance the country's tourism industry?

2. Socio-Political and Economic Challenges:

   - What socio-political and economic challenges did Nigeria experience during the studied period (from independence in 1960 to 2006)?

   - How did these challenges impact the international perception of Nigeria and subsequently influence the country's tourism industry?

3. Administrative Structures and Promotion:

   - What administrative structures were established by successive Nigerian governments to tackle the challenges and to regulate, manage, and promote the tourism industry between 1960 and 2006?

4. Legislation and Governance:

   - What legislative measures were implemented by successive governments to facilitate the creation, operation, and effectiveness of these administrative structures for the tourism sector?

5. Effectiveness of Administrative Structures:

   - How successful were these administrative structures in addressing the challenges they encountered while attempting to promote Nigeria's tourism industry during the specified period?

By addressing these questions, the study seeks to provide a thorough analysis of the historical trajectory, challenges, governance, and impact of Nigeria's tourism industry from its post-colonial inception in 1960 up until 2006. It offers insights into the intricate interplay between governance, external perceptions, challenges, and the actual development of the tourism sector within the country's socio-political context.

Literature review

Given the study's specific focus on the development of the Nigerian Federal Government's tourism governance structures, rather than the broader scope of the Nigerian tourism industry itself, a comprehensive review of the history of tourism in Nigeria will not be conducted. Instead, the emphasis will be placed on literature that traces Nigeria's historical, political, and economic journey during the designated period. This contextual information serves as the backdrop against which the Federal Government's endeavours to regulate and supervise the tourism sector can be examined. Consequently, the analysis of literature specifically related to tourism will be constrained.

In relation to the governance structures and mechanisms established by the Nigerian Federal Government for the national tourism sector since 1960, there is a scarcity of comprehensive studies available. Notably, the work of Martin Mowforth and Ian Munt is among the few that provides insights.[16] This work offers insights into the emergence of new tourism patterns in the global south, including Nigeria, following the attainment of independence. It focuses on the relations between government policies, historical events, and the development of the tourism sector.[17]

Tourism is multifaceted, influenced by a myriad of factors that extend beyond mere leisure considerations. These factors encompass elements such as the political stability of a destination, the potential for conflicts, disease outbreaks, cost considerations, and more. Consequently, a comprehensive understanding of tourism is imperative to fully grasp its essence, manifestations, and potential repercussions. While Mowforth and Munt's work offers valuable geographical and conceptual insights into the interplay between tourism processes

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[16] Martin Mowforth and Ian Munt, *Tourism and Sustainability: Development, Globalisation and New Tourism in the Third World* (New York: Routledge, 1998).

[17] Martin Mowforth and Ian Munt, *Tourism and Sustainability: Development, Globalisation and New Tourism in the Third World* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 1-4.

and developmental dynamics, their approach lacks the historical contextualization that my study seeks to provide. Furthermore, their book does not look into the specifics of tourism management and governance unique to Nigeria. My study builds upon this foundational knowledge to create a comparative narrative that examines the Nigerian experience from a historical perspective. The objective is to offer a comprehensive historical analysis that contextualizes tourism development, governance, and management within Nigeria's evolving socio-political landscape.

In terms of tourism policy, Nigeria's trajectory has undergone changes over time. However, existing studies have predominantly concentrated on contemporary policy perspectives. For instance, Pius A. Agbebi's research explores areas such as inefficiencies among tourism personnel, governmental support for the industry, challenges in policy implementation, disinterest among tourism professionals, and unethical practices among tourism officials.[18] Agbebi's study investigates the ramifications of inexperienced tourism personnel on Nigeria's tourism policy, planning, and governance, along with the repercussions of inadequate funding on these aspects. His study, however, focuses on recent developments and does not provide the historical depth that my research seeks to unveil.[19]

Despite its limitations, the above work offers valuable insights, particularly concerning the nature of tourism policy, planning, and governance in Nigeria. It highlights that these aspects entail a structured process involving the management and regulation of the tourism sector through a framework of regulations, rules, guidelines, directives, development objectives, and strategies. This comprehensive approach influences daily responsibilities such

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[18] Pius A Agbebi, "Exploring Tourism Policy, Planning and Governance in the Transformation of Nigeria Economy," *Journal of Tourism and Hospitality* 3, no. 3 (2014).

[19] Pius A Agbebi, "Exploring Tourism Policy, Planning and Governance in the Transformation of Nigeria Economy," *Journal of Tourism and Hospitality* 3, no. 3 (2014): 1–2.

as marketing, event coordination, operation of attractions, and guest engagement initiatives. Thus, this work will prove valuable to my current study by underscoring the historical relevance of diverse administrative systems. Nevertheless, its focus remains on contemporary analyses and does not adequately trace the historical evolution of policymaking and sector management over time, a fact that my study aims to address. The historical perspective is vital in identifying the various challenges that the tourism industry has encountered, including issues like corruption, conflicts, and political interference.

Among the significant challenges that the tourism sector has encountered is the lack of prioritization by the government. Luqman Saka and Fatima Lawal posits that Nigeria's economy has been predominantly shaped by a singular sector, the oil industry, and a solitary commodity, namely crude oil production and export. Saka and Lawal emphasizes that describing the Nigerian economy's dependence on the oil sector is an understatement, as the oil industry constitutes nothing short of the lifeblood of the nation's economy. This highlights the prevalent dominance of the oil sector, which has inevitably influenced the allocation of resources and attention, thereby affecting other sectors such as tourism.[20] The growing influx of revenue from crude oil and natural gas has coincided with a decrease in revenue from sectors outside of oil. As the oil industry continues to expand, other vital sectors like agriculture, which historically served as the country's true productive foundation, have experienced a decline in prominence and have lost their role as the principal driver of the national economy. Furthermore, the development of entrepreneurship has faced considerable setbacks. This shift in economic dynamics underscores the significant impact of oil revenue on the nation's overall economic landscape.[21] While the study addressed the decline in non-oil

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[20] Saka Luqman and Fatima Motunrayo Lawal, "The Political Economy of Oil and the Reform Process in Nigeria's Fourth Republic: Successes and Continue Challenges," *Researchers World* 2, no. 2 (April 1, 2011): 59-60.
[21] Luqman and Lawal, "The Political Economy of Oil and the Reform Process in Nigeria's Fourth Republic: Successes and Continue Challenges", 60.

sectors, including tourism, it lacked comprehensive information on the management and governance of tourism during the period of oil discovery amidst the tensions of Nigeria's newfound independence in 1960 and its OPEC membership in 1971. Importantly, Saka and Lawal study provides valuable insights into how Nigeria's economic foundation, heavily reliant on oil, has contributed to diminished attention to other sectors. This research aims to explore to what extent various political administrations have either prioritized or overlooked tourism within the context of oil dependency. Although Nigeria is not exclusively a rentier state solely dependent on one product, the strong emphasis on oil has inevitably skewed focus away from other sectors, a dynamic that this study on tourism seeks to uncover.

Political dynamics have exerted a significant impact on the prospects of the tourism industry. As Dele Jemirade's work highlights, Nigeria's situation has discouraged potential tourists because tourism is inherently linked to political stability and peace.[22] Jemirade's analysis examines the overlooked development of a viable and sustainable tourism sector, shedding light on its detrimental repercussions for the Nigerian economy. This aspect underscores the profound influence that political stability and peace have on fostering a conducive environment for tourism and its potential contribution to the nation's economic growth.[23] Additionally, the study investigates why Nigeria has struggled to harness significant revenue from its tourism potential. Since gaining independence in 1960, Nigeria has encountered multiple instances where opportunities to cultivate a robust and lasting tourism industry were overlooked. The nation's excessive reliance on oil revenues and the influence of greed have been identified as major obstacles, further exacerbated by military rulers over an extended period. The unhealthy dependence on oil money and the prevalence of self-serving motivations have adversely affected the country for over two decades. However, it is

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[22] Dele Jemirade, "Tourism: The Missed Opportunities for Economic Development in Nigeria," *Journal of African Studies and Development* 13, no. 1 (January 31, 2021): 19, https://doi.org/10.5897/JASD2021.0611.

[23] Jemirade, "Tourism: The Missed Opportunities for Economic Development in Nigeria", 19.

noteworthy that civilian governments have not been exempt from these issues either. They, too, have leaned heavily on oil earnings at the expense of other economic sectors, most notably the tourism industry. This recurring pattern of prioritizing oil revenue to the detriment of diversification has hindered the growth of various sectors, including tourism.[24] Jemirade's book extensively explores Nigeria's political landscape, tracing its evolution from 1957, when the colonial government established an ad hoc advisory committee to promote tourism in the country, up until the establishment of the Ministry of Trade and Tourism in 1999. This work holds significance for the current study as it examines the roles that successive Nigerian governments have played in shaping the developmental trajectory of the tourism industry. My study builds upon Jerimade's overarching assessment of tourism since 1957 by extending its analysis to encompass the consecutive organizations established to oversee the industry, even in the face of political instability, conflicts, and wars.

Specifically, this study aims to scrutinize the functioning of entities such as the Nigerian Tourist Association (NTA), the Nigerian Tourist Board (NTB), and the Nigerian Tourism Development Corporation (NTDC), among others. The focus will be on examining the extent of interaction between these organizations, global governing bodies such as the International Union of World Travel Organisation (IUWTO) and its successor, the World Tourism Organisation (WTO), and successive Nigerian governments. This analysis will encompass efforts aimed at sustaining the tourism industry, tracing developments from the 1960s to the 2000s. The study seeks to shed light on the multifaceted interplay between local initiatives, international collaborations, and political dynamics in the continuous pursuit of promoting and sustaining Nigeria's tourism sector.

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[24] Jemirade, "Tourism: The Missed Opportunities for Economic Development in Nigeria", 15-17.

Rotimi Suberu's work extensively explores the contextual intricacies, procedural aspects, structural changes, and the consequences of Nigeria's constitutional transformation.[25] This transformation entailed a shift from a relatively decentralized parliamentary federation comprised of four distinct ethnic regions to a more centralized, presidential form of governance featuring a federal structure encompassing 36 states. Importantly, this transformation occurred under the administration of the military.

This research analyses the multifaceted aspects surrounding this constitutional evolution, aiming to provide a comprehensive understanding of the shifts in Nigeria's political framework. The focus encompasses the changes in governance procedures, the establishment of new structures, and the subsequent outcomes that ensued as a result of this significant transformation.[26] Between the years 1966 and 1999, Nigeria underwent a momentous constitutional transformation, marked by notable shifts in governance. In this period, there was a short-lived civilian interlude during the Second Nigerian Republic (1979–83), characterized by a strong central government established by the military. Despite the involvement of civilian drafting committees and constituent assemblies, the military maintained a dominant role throughout the constitutional transition process. While the military's constitutional legacy exhibited resilience and resourcefulness, it has presented considerable challenges since the restoration of civilian rule.

Following the return to civilian governance, the nation has grappled with substantial challenges that emanate from the military's participation, which was characterized by non-participatory procedures, the establishment of centralized structures, and a relatively limited

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[25] Rotimi Suberu, "Nigeria's Permanent Constitutional Transition: Military Rule, Civilian Instability and 'True Federalism' in a Deeply Divided Society," *Forum of Federations* 3, no. 4 (2019).

[26] Suberu, "Nigeria's Permanent Constitutional Transition: Military Rule, Civilian Instability and 'True Federalism' in a Deeply Divided Society", 181–183.

investment in critical institutions of oversight. These challenges have frequently been framed in terms of "political restructuring" and the pursuit of a form of democratic "true federalism." Consequently, a fervent constitutional discourse has unfolded, underscored by the ongoing nature of Nigeria's constitutional transformation. This dynamic has highlighted the enduring nature of Nigeria's constitutional evolution, shaped by its history, governance structures, and the pursuit of democratic ideals.[27] Suberu's work holds immense significance for the present study of Nigeria's political transition as it lays the foundation for understanding the historical political backdrop against which the Nigerian tourism industry operated. For instance, it sheds light on crucial contextual details, such as the government's initiative in 1971 when it engaged the African Development Bank to conduct a feasibility study on the prospects and sustainability of tourism in Nigeria.[28] However, a notable omission in the work is its lack of mention of the government's active role in the tourism sector during this specific period.

While the study provides valuable insights into the broader political landscape and its implications for governance, it misses an important dimension by not exploring the government's direct involvement in shaping and influencing the tourism industry during the same timeframe. The intersection of political shifts and their impact on the tourism sector is a vital aspect that would provide a more comprehensive understanding of the industry's evolution within the larger context of Nigeria's political transition.

Generalized histories of Nigeria underscore the extent to which both the tourism industry and the discipline itself have suffered neglect. Take, for example, Toyin Falola and Matthew Heaton's comprehensive study of Nigeria's history, spanning from ancient human

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[27] Suberu, "Nigeria's Permanent Constitutional Transition: Military Rule, Civilian Instability and 'True Federalism' in a Deeply Divided Society", 185.
[28] Esievoadje, "Nigeria @60: A Review of the Nigerian Tourism Industry."

habitation to the early twenty-first century.[29] While this work covers various aspects of the country's social and cultural fabric, it predominantly addresses social-cultural subjects and offers relatively limited coverage of the intricate political and economic history of Nigeria.

The omission of comprehensive exploration into the evolution of the tourism industry and its interaction with the broader socio-political landscape in such generalized histories underscores the need for focused studies that dive deeper into these specific domains. Such focused inquiries, as pursued in this study, are essential for providing a more nuanced and complete understanding of the multifaceted interactions between Nigeria's political development and its tourism sector.[30] The authors adeptly illustrate how Nigeria's historical trajectory has been moulded by the fluctuations of the global milieu, and how Nigerians have skilfully navigated these challenges. This is accomplished through an exploration of pivotal themes, encompassing colonialism, religion, slavery, nationalism, and the economy. Their approach transcends a narrow focus on political history, interweaving political, economic, cultural, and social evolutions into a cohesive narrative. With the exception of a concluding chapter that examines Nigeria's interactions with the world and an afterword addressing corruption and the efforts against it, the book's chapters primarily follow a chronological structure.

Chapter seven of the book focuses on the decade following Nigeria's independence, spotlighting the tumultuous political landscape that led to the downfall of the First Republic and the eruption of the 1967–70 civil war. This period witnessed the south-eastern region's bid for secession. Chapter eight shifts focus to the years between 1970 and 1983, illustrating how the oil boom wrought transformative effects. Military regimes transitioned to the Second

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[29] Toyin Falola and Matthew Heaton, *A History of Nigeria* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

[30] Toyin Falola and Matthew Heaton, *A History of Nigeria*.

Republic in 1979, which later crumbled in 1983 as oil prices declined and the international debt crisis took hold. Chapter nine examines the era spanning from 1984 to 1999, characterized by the presence of military and civilian governments in a Nigeria grappling with persistent low oil prices and escalating corruption.

The book's concluding chapter highlights the global interconnectedness of national histories, reinforcing that an understanding of Nigeria's story must be situated within a global context. The afterword underscores the critical importance of corruption in comprehending current dynamics in Nigerian politics, its international perception, and the potential for transformation in the future. This comprehensive approach emphasizes the multifaceted influences shaping Nigeria's past and present while providing insights into the nation's trajectory moving forward.[31]

A History of Nigeria stands as a remarkable work with immense relevance to this study. It deftly encapsulates the histories of Nigeria's pivotal regions while maintaining a keen awareness of the dynamic forces that are progressively driving their interaction and interdependence. The book avoids neglecting smaller societies on the periphery of these major regions. Its comprehensive nature extends to providing detailed examinations of various issues that have detrimentally impacted the governance of tourism in Nigeria, spanning both the political environment and the economy.

Despite its generalized approach to the country's history, the book effectively provides a crucial contextual framework for comprehending Nigeria's historical journey. While it does not exclusively concentrate on specific case studies or instances of specific developments, its

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[31] Falola, and Heaton. *A history of Nigeria.*

panoramic perspective contributes significantly to the contextualization of Nigeria's history, which, in turn, greatly benefits the ongoing study. The work's capacity to offer historical context, examine intricate issues, and illuminate the broader interplay of Nigeria's regions and influences makes it a valuable source in examining the complexities of Nigeria's political evolution and their repercussions on the governance of the tourism sector.

Nigeria experienced a significant turning point during its period of military rule, a phase that significantly shaped the structure and disposition of present-day society. This era brought forth seismic transformations to the political, economic, and religious terrains, often hovering on the brink of fracturing the nation on numerous occasions. Max Siollun's book explores this topic, meticulously narrating Nigeria's political trajectory spanning from December 31, 1983, to August 27, 1993.[32] The era of military rule in Nigeria witnessed a surge in violence, pervasive corruption, a series of coups, coup plots, and instigations of coups. These events significantly moulded the contours and character of contemporary Nigeria, instigating seismic shifts across its political, economic, and religious landscapes.

Max Siollun's book examines crucial historical moments, such as the annulment of the June 12, 1993, election, the execution of Mamman Vatsa, the thwarted kidnapping of Umaru Dikko, the Orkar coup, and the unresolved case of Dele Giwa's assassination. In vivid prose, Siollun captures the essence of Nigerian leaders, including Ibrahim Babangida, and Abacha among others who were driven by an unrelenting desire for power. The narrative also uncovers the involvement of civilians in backing and facilitating successive coups, re-evaluating various figures, including business magnate M.K.O Abiola in the process.[33] Siollun's work assumes a paramount role in understanding Nigeria's political trajectory.

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[32] Max Siollun, *Soldiers of Fortune. Nigerian Politics from Buhari to Babangida 1983-1993* (Abuja: Cassava Republic Press, 2013).

[33] Siollun, *Soldiers of Fortune. Nigerian Politics from Buhari to Babangida 1983-1993.*

However, it predominantly concentrates on the persistent political turbulence and a series of military autocracies, leaving out the broader economic evolution of the nation or the specific nuances of its tourism sector. This study builds upon the historical backdrop of Nigeria, particularly spotlighting its tourism industry. It seeks to analyse the impact of these political challenges on tourist development and explore how those overseeing the sector navigated the global perception of Nigeria's political instability.

Nigeria boasts the largest economy in Africa, with its primary contender being South Africa. However, a substantial portion of its revenue has been derived from petrodollars. Starting from the 1960s, the nation underwent a transition toward a rentier state, marked by a pronounced reliance on oil. In this context, Cyriacus Chijioke Oji and Augustine Ejiofor Onyishi examine the exploration of tourism's role in driving economic development.[34] Their inquiry extends beyond Nigeria's borders, encompassing prosperous nations like the United Kingdom. By investigating the economic landscape, Oji and Onyishi shed light on the potential of tourism to serve as a catalyst for development. This analysis not only holds significance for Nigeria but also offers insights applicable to countries with established affluence, such as the United Kingdom.[35]

Oji and Onyishi argue that Nigeria's historical dependence on crude oil exports, coupled with a lack of emphasis on alternative sectors such as tourism, cultural heritage, agriculture, and non-oil industries, has exacerbated its socio-economic challenges.[36] In their study, Oji and Onyishi thoroughly examine the impact of tourism and cultural resources on Nigeria's economy. Their findings reveal a correlation between the disregard for sectors like

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[34] Chijioke Cyriacus Oji and Onyish Augustine Ejiofor, "An Assessment of Potential Contributions of Tourism and Heritage Resources to Economic Growth in Nigeria," *Nigerian Journal of Archaeology* 3, no. 2 (June 2020): 187.

[35] Oji and Ejiofor, "An Assessment of Potential Contributions of Tourism and Heritage Resources to Economic Growth in Nigeria", 187.

[36] Oji and Ejiofor, "An Assessment of Potential Contributions of Tourism and Heritage Resources to Economic Growth in Nigeria."

tourism and the nation's ongoing economic crisis. In light of this, their study recommends a departure from the prevailing model that heavily relies on crude oil exports. Instead, they advocate for a paradigm shift towards economic diversification, aiming to bolster productivity across various sectors and regions within the country.[37] Nevertheless, their study primarily focuses on contemporary analyses and falls short in adequately contextualizing the historical management and governance of Nigeria's tourism sector. It lacks the incorporation of crucial historical milestones within tourism management and governance. Furthermore, their study omits an evaluation of how the historical evolution of the tourism management sector has contributed to the shaping of the nation's tourist industry. These gaps are precisely what the present study aims to address and cover.

Rarely do events wield such a profound impact on a nation's socioeconomic framework as the convulsions and displacements tied to warfare and political unrest. The tandem of coups d'état in 1966 and the subsequent civil war spanning 1967 to 1970 left an indelible mark on Nigeria's economic landscape. This, in turn, was shaped by an array of economic determinants. Wayne Nafziger undertakes an exploration of the dynamic shifts in macroeconomic indicators-output, prices, employment, and balance of payments-during the course of the conflict. His scrutiny extends to the interplay between these indicators and government actions, particularly focusing on domestic financial policies and foreign trade strategies. He examines the war's key sectors: oil, manufacturing, transportation, domestic trade, and agriculture. He specifically examines the repercussions within the context of the Nigerian economy.[38] The book adeptly delineates the Biafran economy, offering a comprehensive evaluation of the gains and losses incurred during the war. The analytical approach adopted in the study treats the political variable as self-governing, while the

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[37] Oji and Ejiofor, "An Assessment of Potential Contributions of Tourism and Heritage Resources to Economic Growth in Nigeria", 182.

[38] Wayne E Nafziger, "The Economic Impact of the Nigerian Civil War," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 10, no. 2 (July 1972): 223–245, https://www.jstor.org/stable/159964.

economic variable is portrayed as contingent. This approach, however, does not fully encapsulate the intricate dynamics where tendencies towards both political and economic fragmentation mutually augmented each other, particularly following Nigeria's independence in 1960.[39] While Nafziger's study offers a nuanced insight into the enduring economic repercussions of the conflict across an extended timeframe, the initial examination of Nigeria's economy during the war remains valuable for the present study. It furnishes a comprehensive overview of the political economy of Nigeria, shedding light on its impact across diverse sectors. However, it's noteworthy that Nafziger's study neither examines the origins and development of tourism, nor discusses the governance, institutions, and policies related to tourism since 1960. These pivotal aspects will find thorough exploration and discussion in this study.

Nigeria's tumultuous history is punctuated by prolonged stretches of military rule in contrast to periods of democratic governance. Out of the nation's 61 years of independence, an astonishing 29 years have been lived under the rule of military dictatorships. It is crucial to bear in mind, however, that Nigeria has grappled with the weighty challenge of development throughout these years. Unfortunately, multiple human development indices continue to place Nigeria among the world's lowest-ranked nations in terms of socioeconomic advancement.

In this context, Patrick Oluseun Bamgboye undertakes a comprehensive assessment of the military's role in shaping Nigeria's socioeconomic progress.[40] His study highlights that during Nigeria's military regimes, diverse policies and initiatives intended to foster the nation's socioeconomic growth were enacted. However, these efforts yielded minimal to no

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[39] Nafziger, "The Economic Impact of the Nigerian Civil War", 223-245.

[40] Patrick Oluseun Bamgboye, "The Military and Socio-Economic Development in Nigeria (1983 – 1999). A Critical Appraisal," *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences* 5, no. No 23 (November 1, 2014): 2340, http://dx.doi.org/10.5901/mjss.2014.v5n23p2340.

positive impact on the overall socioeconomic development of the country's populace. As a recommendation, Bamgboye suggests, among other strategies, the necessity of professionalizing the Nigerian military and augmenting their budgetary allocation. This, he asserts, would not only encourage the military to concentrate on their primary constitutional duties but would also discourage their intervention in politics. Such a course of action would thereby enable civilian authorities, who are better equipped for the task, to initiate and execute policies and programs geared towards the country's socioeconomic progress.[41] In his article, Bamgboye explores the socioeconomic policies enacted by military regimes in Nigeria and their repercussions on critical areas such as agriculture, poverty alleviation, and economic transformation. The article underscores that despite the multitude of programs undertaken by Nigerian military governments, the prevalent outcome was one of economic downturn. This is evident through widespread poverty, escalating inflation, rising unemployment, policy reversals, and a state of economic standstill.[42]

This study focuses on the governance of tourism in Nigeria during the period of military administration. In this context, Bamgboye's article holds substantial significance. It serves as a valuable resource in tracing and comprehending the intricate political and social milieu that encapsulated Nigeria during this epoch, enriching the study's understanding of the era's multifaceted dynamics.

The interplay between political and economic forces has intricately shaped government policies, institutional frameworks, and developmental trajectories in Nigeria. Within the context of exploring this complex interplay, Tom Forrest's work stands out. His research discusses the crux of Nigerian politics, meticulously addressing significant issues

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[41] Bamgboye, "The Military and Socio-Economic Development in Nigeria (1983 – 1999). A Critical Appraisal", 2340.
[42] Bamgboye, "The Military and Socio-Economic Development in Nigeria (1983 – 1999). A Critical Appraisal", 2343.

and challenges.[43] He places particular emphasis on the evolutionary journey of the federal system, dimensions of political competition, and the character of ruling entities. Forrest's analysis extends to the intricate connections linking political demands and incentives with economic strategies and capitalist advancement. He further dissects the progression of economic policy and performance, with a notable focus on the impact of substantial oil revenues, policies concerning agriculture, and the economic liberalization initiative. His scrutiny encompasses pivotal moments, including the annulment of the 1993 presidential election, the continuation of military rule, the setbacks encountered by the economic reform program, and the escalation of the economic crisis.

In essence, Forrest's work unravels the intricate tapestry of Nigeria's political and economic dynamics, offering valuable insights into the evolution of policies, institutions, and development patterns within the country.[44] Considering that the primary goal of this study is to retrace the trajectory of Nigeria's tourism governance and management, Forrest's book emerges as a highly pertinent reference. This is due to its dual capacity of pinpointing key issues, challenges, and conflicts while simultaneously offering an all-encompassing narrative of Nigeria's historical political economy, a landscape within which the tourism industry found its footing.

On a global scale, tourism has evolved into a substantial revenue stream that stands on par with manufacturing, especially in developed nations. Nevertheless, when scrutinizing Nigeria's economic landscape, it becomes evident that tourism's role in fostering economic development remains strikingly insufficient. In a bid to rectify this disparity and harness tourism's potential to meaningfully contribute to Nigeria's economic advancement, Okey

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[43] Tom Forrest, *Politics and Economic Development in Nigeria* (Routledge, 2020).
[44] Tom Forrest, *Politics and Economic Development in Nigeria*, 1-2.

Ovat embarks on an appraisal of the strides taken towards realizing tourism's economic development impact in Africa. His study involves a comprehensive analysis of the intricate fabric of tourism development, together with the identification of barriers and hurdles that impede its substantial growth.[45] While Ovat's article may not discuss the management and governance of tourism within the region, it remains a valuable resource for this study due to its identification of challenges faced by the tourism industry. The overview provided earlier serves as the bedrock upon which this study is built. It has explored various works that have delved into postcolonial developments in Nigeria, spanning the realms of economy, politics, and contemporary transformations. Nonetheless, none of these works specifically focus on the nuanced management strategies that facilitated the tourism sector's pivotal contribution to the nation's economy.

This study aims to enrich the existing knowledge on Nigeria's economy by examining the intricate web of how tourism was overseen at the national level, a task undertaken by various organizations established between 1962 and 2006. Through this lens of tourism administrative history, the study not only seeks to fathom how a particular sector adeptly navigated the challenges engendered by diverse events, but also endeavours to gauge the extent to which these developments resonated from a tourist's standpoint.

Research Methodology

The study employs a qualitative research approach, which is based on the use of archival sources in the Nigeria National Archives and records in various Nigerian museums and other repositories. The study also utilised the archives of tourism regulatory bodies, including the Nigeria Tourism Development Corporation (NTDC), and the Federal Ministry of Culture and Tourism (FMCT). These repositories encompass foundational documents,

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[45] Ovat, "Tourism and Economic Development in Nigeria: An Empirical Investigation."

mandates, founding and enabling legislation, activity reports, internal performance evaluations, budgetary information, and other materials contributing to an in-depth understanding of these organizations, their operations, and effectiveness. The archives provided insight into Federal Government policies concerning the promotion and regulation of the tourism sector in more recent years. Secondary sources, including pertinent books and journal articles, were incorporated into the research. Furthermore, the study benefited from open-ended interviews with key stakeholders within tourism governing bodies, present and past tourist guides. Lastly, the study also benefited from several dissertations, theses, conference papers, and relevant online newspaper articles.

Chapter Overview

Chapter Two outlines the historical backdrop of Nigeria's political evolution from 1960 to 2006. It seeks to provide a thorough understanding of the political-economic context within which the tourism industry operated. Over the past decades, tourism has been a key avenue for foreign exchange earnings and economic advancement. Thus, Chapter Three focuses on the historical underpinnings, mandates, and functionalities of the foremost regulatory bodies in the tourism sector. This encompasses an in-depth examination of entities like the Nigerian Tourist Association (NTA) and the Nigeria Tourist Board (NTB), which culminated in the formulation of the 1990 National Trade and Tourism Policy (NTTP). Furthermore, the chapter examines the industry's development in the context of the various challenges it encountered in the run-up to and after Nigeria's independence. The chapter also analyses the inception, evolution, functions, and operational trajectory of the Nigeria Tourism Development Corporation (NTDC). It probes the factors contributing to NTDC's inability to establish robust foundations for the industry's success, particularly when compared to early

administrative efforts in countries like South Africa. This comparison highlights the influence of political will and government support on the development of a thriving tourist sector.

The development of the Federal Ministry of Culture and Tourism (FMCT), established in 1999, is also explored in this chapter, as well as the structural framework, operational methodologies, and management policies employed by FMCT over time. The fourth chapter analyses the multifaceted impact of tourism on both the Nigerian economy and society at large. The strategies employed for destination branding and other promotional campaigns by these organizations, both on local and global scales, are also scrutinized. While the preceding chapters have been dedicated to tracing and comprehending the historical and political transformations that have impacted the tourism industry, Chapter Five explores Tourism Planning and Management, a domain encompassing several crucial aspects. These include the intricate threads of Tourism Infrastructure Development, the establishment of key Tourism Centres, an exploration of the role of Festivals and their inherent potentials, as well as an in-depth analysis of the challenges that have impeded Tourism Development and Growth in Nigeria. This chapter attempts to offer a comprehensive understanding of the dynamic landscape of tourism within the country. The concluding chapter summarises the findings of the study.

Chapter Two

Political History of Nigeria, 1960 – 2006

Introduction

This chapter traces the political history of Nigeria from 1960 to 2006. To understand the context in which the tourist industry operated, it investigates the trajectory of tourism development in Nigeria's colonial, military, and democratic phases. The chapter also examines the tourist industry and its governance within the wider context of the country's social, cultural, economic, political, and environmental conditions over time.

Nigeria has generally been governed by military regimes since independence in 1960. The nature of political regimes strongly influences a country's image, including potential visitors or tourist perceptions.[46] The three periods of civilian rule include the years between 1 October 1960, when Nigeria attained its independence and 15 January 1966. The second period of civilian rule was between 1 October 1979 and 31 December 1983. From 1999, however, Nigeria has consistently been governed under civilian rule. Nigeria has had a tumultuous political history, with seven military coups resulting in 14 rulers taking the helm as head of state under 16 different administrations. Notably, eight of these rulers had military backgrounds, including Olusegun Obasanjo and Muhammadu Buhari, both of whom previously served as military leaders before being elected as civilian presidents.[47]

Following the attainment of independence from British colonial rule, Nigeria's economic prospects appeared promising. Despite the military coup of 1966, the discovery of substantial quantities of petroleum contributed to economic growth. As shown in what follows, the ultimate dependency on oil resulted in a neglect of other sectors, including tourism. Moreover, by 1970, the country's stability had been badly weakened by years of corruption, economic underdevelopment, regionalism, and subsequent military coups, which led to a two-and-a-half-year war that cost over 2 million lives.[48] These coups created a legacy of political instability and economic malaise explored in what follows. The study examines the factors

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[46] Dele Jemirade, "Tourism: The Missed Opportunities for Economic Development in Nigeria," *Journal of African Studies and Development* 13, no. 1 (January 31, 2021): 17, https://doi.org/10.5897/JASD2021.0611.

[47] Yusuf Akinpelu, "Analysis: From Bullet to Ballot: 14 Men Who Have Led Nigeria Since Independence," *Premium Times*, October 2, 2020, accessed April 4, 2023, https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/418005-analysis-from-bullet-to-ballot-14-men-who-have-led-nigeria-since-independence.

[48] Toyin Falola and Matthew Heaton, *A History of Nigeria* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 158.

To understand the establishment of modern-day Nigeria's borders in 1914 by British colonizers, a comprehensive resource is the book Falola, Toyin, and Matthew M. Heaton. *A history of Nigeria*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008. This book provides a detailed historical account of Nigeria, including the colonial period and the events surrounding the demarcation of its borders. By exploring this book, readers can gain insights into the geopolitical factors, policies, and processes that shaped Nigeria's boundaries during that time, as well as the implications of these decisions on the country's history and development.

shaping Nigeria's economic trajectory, investigating the interplay of politics and its impact on the economic, social, cultural, and political policies pursued in the period between1962 and 2006.

The chapter is divided into three sections. The first briefly foregrounds the making of Nigeria into a colonial state and the ways in which African nationalists challenged British rule. The disparate nature of nationalist politics and the formation of political parties provides a critical backdrop to understanding the instability and competition that informed post-colonial Nigeria and explains the historical makings of the multiple coups. The second section analyses political dynamics in the context of the transition from colonial rule between 1960 and 1979. Oil was central to the political tensions and competition leading to the coups in 1966, the Biafra war between 1967 and 1970, and subsequent coups that were ultimately confronted by politicians across the country leading to a transition towards civilian rule in 1979. The third section examines a fragile peace and attempts to rationalise the economy between 1979, looking at what conditions led to subsequent coups and a final shift towards civilian rule from 1999 onwards. This period is particularly important in considering to what extent the government recognised the necessity to improve the country's image and diversify the economy to consider other sectors, including tourism.

Colonial Legacies and the making of Nigeria to the First Republic

Postcolonial Nigeria is a product of processes of colonial state and economy making. In the pre-colonial era, the area consisted of several empires and kingdoms such as the Oyo Empire, Hausa - Fulani Caliphates, Benin Kingdom, among others.[49] The British colonial administrator, Lord Frederick Lugard combined these various political formations into a

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[49] Victor Osaro Edo, "The Practice of Democracy in Nigeria: The Pre-Colonial Antecedent," *LUMINA* 21, no. 2 (2010): 1–7, http://lumina.hnu.edu.ph/past_issues/articles/edoOct10.pdf.

single British colony. Although Parts of Nigeria had come under British colonial rule in 1884, it was only amalgamated in 1914.[50] The pace and nature of the colonisation process was shaped by a variety of factors, including local conditions, the impact of missionaries, traders, and French and German incursions, among others. However, in the end, it was the British use of force, which subdued the various pre-colonial political entities to form the colony of Nigeria.[51] British colonisation, thus, brought together several historically independent entities that may have had some degree of cultural and commercial connectivity during the preceding centuries, but had no prior form of political union. This merger of the Northern and Southern Protectorates of Nigeria then brought together over 400 ethnic groups.[52] As Mbalisi and Okeke argue, this was the pre-cursor to post-colonial disunity in Nigeria.[53]

When the Lugard administration amalgamated the Christianized southern protectorate and the Islamic northern protectorate to form a single colony in 1914,[54] the British set the borders of present-day Nigeria.[55] Combining people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds created, in some ways, an unproductive diversity especially as the decision to amalgamate was a British, not a local one.[56] As such, these diverse customs created challenges for the creation of one national identity around which such industries as tourism could eventually thrive. But despite these challenges and resultant ethnic tensions, anti-

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[50] Chinedu Nnaemeka Mbalisi and Chiemela Adaku Okeke, "The 1914 Amalgamation: Pre-Cursor to Misconstrued Unity in Post-Colonial Nigeria.," *Kenneth Dike Journal of African Studies* 1, no. 2 (2021): 91, https://www.nigerianjournalsonline.com/index.php/KDJAS/article/download/1390/1366?__cf_chl_tk=jHcItLHdrxi930HPTk7HLNXHrsgHcI4Y7Vg1.htLr_k-1694563477-0-gaNycGzNC_s.

[51] Dare Arowolo, "The Effects of Western Civilisation and Culture on Africa," *Afro Asian Journal of Social Sciences* 1, no. 1 (2010): 1–13, https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Dare-Arowolo-2/publication/266252078_The_effects_of_western_civilisation_and_culture_on_Africa/links/5822117d08ae61258e359961/The-effects-of-western-civilisation-and-culture-on-Africa.pdf.

[52] Falola and Heaton, *A History of Nigeria*, 109-110.

[53] Mbalisi and Okeke, "The 1914 Amalgamation: Pre-Cursor to Misconstrued Unity in Post-Colonial Nigeria."

[54] Adiele Afigbo, "Background to Nigerian Federalism: Federal Features in the Colonial State.," *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 21, no. 4 (1991): 13–29, https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordjournals.pubjof.a037965.

[55] Falola and Heaton, *A History of Nigeria*.

[56] Babatunde Adeyemi, *Nigerian People and Culture* (Ogun State, Nigeria: Babcock University Press, 2011), 65-66.

colonial nationalist movements emerged from the 1930's. These movements were varied, covering both national and ethnic formations.[57]

In 1934, a new generation of intellectuals formed an organisation known as the Lagos Youth Movement (LYM) which later became the Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM) in 1936. It began as a body that demanded quality education for Nigerians,[58] but in a space of four years it became the most powerful nationalist movement in the country. By 1938 the NYM had spread beyond Lagos to many parts of Nigeria boasting a combined membership of over 10,000.[59] The NYM went a long way in trying to form a national anti-colonial movement. For example, in 1945, it was an active participant in the workers strike that lasted for 37 days. The strikers demanded wage increases commensurate with the rising cost of living.[60] They shut down postal, railway and Telegraph services around the country. In the process a new organisation, the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC) was formed and was an active participant in the strike. This new organization became a force in the nationalist struggle for Nigerian unity and self-governance. Its leader Nnamdi Azikiwe was the most influential Nigerian nationalist that emerged in the 1930s.[61]

European conflicts were also critical in the shaping of Nigeria. For example, the Second World War stimulated changes in the Nigerian economy that informed the shape and direction of its economy.[62] However, the years between 1945 and 1954 saw the introduction of three new constitutions in Nigeria. Nigeria became a three-region federal state with houses

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[57] Falola and Heaton, *A History of Nigeria*, 136.

[58] S. O. Arifalo, "The Rise and Decline of the Nigerian Youth Movement, 1934—1941," *The African Review: A Journal of African Politics, Development and International Affairs* Vol. 13, no. No. 1 (1986): 60-64, http://www.jstor.org/stable/45342049.

[59] Arifalo, "The Rise and Decline of the Nigerian Youth Movement, 1934—1941", 66.

[60] G. O. Ogunremi, "The Nigerian Motor Transport Union Strike of 1937.," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 9, no. 2 (1978): 127–144, http://www.jstor.org/stable/41857065.

[61] Falola and Heaton, *A History of Nigeria*, 144.

[62] Falola, and Heaton. *A history of Nigeria*, 144.

of assembly in each region and a central legislature based in Lagos, setting the scene for potential future conflict. This was provided for in the Richard constitution which was the first formal constitution in the country. It overhauled the legislative council, allowing Nigerians to become the majority for the first time.[63]

It is called the Richards Constitution in Nigeria because it is named after Sir Arthur Richards, the British colonial governor who was responsible for its creation. The constitution was introduced in 1946. It aimed to establish a framework for governance and representation in Nigeria during the colonial era. The Richards Constitution was significant because it marked a shift in the political structure of Nigeria. It introduced regionalism, dividing the country into three regions-Northern, Western, and Eastern-each with its own legislative and executive councils. The constitution also established the concept of indirect rule, which allowed traditional rulers to have a role in the governance of their respective regions. The Richards Constitution is also important because it laid the foundation for subsequent constitutional developments in Nigeria. It shaped the political landscape by defining the powers and jurisdictions of the regions, and it influenced future discussions on federalism and regional autonomy.[64]

The NCNC, which had originally been founded on the basis of its pan-Nigerian motives as a prominent nationalist organisation, shifted its focus to the eastern region and rose to become the most powerful organisation among the Igbos. Yoruba Chief, Obafemi Awolowo became the leader of the NYM. Awolowo transformed NYM into the Action Group (AG), a Yoruba-dominated organisation in the West. He rose to prominence as the main

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[63] John A. Ayoade, "Electoral Laws and National Unity in Nigeria," *African Studies Review* 23, no. 2 (September 1, 1980): 39, https://doi.org/10.2307/523440.

[64] John Flint, "Governor versus Colonial Office: An Anatomy of the Richards Constitution for Nigeria, 1939 to 1945," *Historical Papers* 16, no. 1 (April 26, 2006): 124–143, https://doi.org/10.7202/030871ar.

advocate of Yoruba nationalism by concentrating his efforts on winning over Yoruba supporters in the western region. In the north the major cultural organisation was the Hausa Fulani inclined Northern People's Congress (NPC) founded in 1943 by three northerners. The NPC sought to promote Northern unity and maintain regional autonomy. However, under the leadership of Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Sultan of Sokoto, the NPC ultimately became the most influential organisation in the north.[65] The background spelt out here demonstrates the extent to which African nationalism was emerging in a problematic context of a federated Nigeria in which there were significant contests and tensions.

Sir John Stuart Macpherson served as the Governor-General of Nigeria from 1948 to 1954. He succeeded Sir Arthur Richards. In 1950, Sir John MacPherson amended the Richards Constitution. The MacPherson Constitution provided for the nation's first national elections and expanded the number of regional legislatures.[66] The MacPherson Constitution created new Regional Houses of Assembly: It expanded the existing legislative councils in Nigeria's regions into more comprehensive and powerful Regional Houses of Assembly. Prior to this constitution, the regions had legislative councils with limited powers. However, under MacPherson's reforms, these legislative bodies were given greater autonomy and authority. It also Increased Representation: The expansion of regional legislatures meant that more representatives were added to these bodies. This allowed for a more inclusive and representative government, as a broader range of voices and perspectives could be heard and considered in the decision-making process.

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[65] Falola, and Heaton. *A history of Nigeria*, 148-151.

[66] Falola, and Heaton. *A history of Nigeria*, 152.

Furthermore, the constitution Broadened Legislative Powers; The MacPherson Constitution granted regional legislatures a wider range of legislative powers, including control over important areas such as education, health, and agriculture. This devolution of powers from the central government to the regions aimed to promote local autonomy and responsiveness to regional needs. Additionally, it paved the way for National Elections: Another significant aspect of the MacPherson Constitution was its provision for the first national elections in Nigeria. While it expanded regional legislatures, it also laid the groundwork for a federal legislative council and introduced the idea of a federal government. This was a step toward Nigeria's eventual independence and the establishment of a federal system of government. Likewise, it Promoted Political Participation; by expanding regional legislatures and preparing for national elections, the MacPherson Constitution aimed to increase political participation among Nigerians. It provided an opportunity for aspiring politicians and leaders to engage in the political process and to represent their constituencies at both the regional and federal levels and prepared the country for the transition to independence; The expansion of regional legislatures and the broader constitutional reforms under the MacPherson Constitution were part of the broader process of preparing Nigeria for self-governance and eventual independence. It allowed Nigeria to develop a more mature and representative political system in the years leading up to independence in 1960.[67]

As the Nigeria general election approached, the NCNC, AG, and NPC evolved into fully-fledged political parties in their respective areas. However, conflict arose in 1951 over centralized governance, which led to the Lyttleton Constitution of 1954.[68] This constitution found a middle ground between the objectives of the three regions. The general elections in

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[67] Charles Parkinson, "The Social and Political Foundations of the Nigerian Constitution," in *Social and Political Foundations of Constitutions*, ed. Denis J Galligan and Mila Versteeg (Cambridge University Press, 2013), 532–560.

[68] Olakunle LawaI, "Decolonization and Constitutional Tinkering in Nigeria the Background to the 1954 Lyttleton Constitution (1,545 KB) (KB).," *The Constitution* 1, no. 2 (December 2000): 36–37, https://journals.co.za/doi/pdf/10.10520/AJA15955753_286.

1954, 1956, and 1959 strengthened regional political consciousness in Nigeria. The AG, NCNC, and NPC governed their respective regions in both regional and central legislatures before the three constitutions were united. The federal administration structure Nigeria adopted after independence in 1960 was established under this constitution.[69] The question of Nigeria's independence gained momentum and became the primary focus at the Constitutional Conference of 1957 held in London, as well as the 1958 Conference that took place in Lagos.[70] Sir Alhaji Tafawa Balewa of the NPC was appointed prime minister of Nigeria in 1957. The NPC won the most seats in the 1959 elections. The NPC and NCNC formed a coalition, becoming the majority in the new government, while the AG became the main opposition. Balewa kept his position as prime minister, and Nnamdi Azikiwe of the NCNC became Nigeria's first indigenous governor general, though the position was largely ceremonial.[71] Following independence however, the foundations were shaky. This is due to the fact that the newly independent nation, though it initially appeared to be united, was nevertheless very divided. Regionalism and ethnicity endured as serious obstacles.[72]

Nigeria's First Republic and subsequent military coups, 1960 – 1979

The section examines political developments between 1960 and 1979. It demonstrates how political instability influences the international image of a country. In what follows, the political developments in Nigeria between 1960 and 1979 will be discussed to demonstrate how international negative perceptions had an impact on its development, keeping in mind how this affected tourism, an aspect fully explored in subsequent chapters.

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[69] Falola, and Heaton. *A history of Nigeria*, 152-154.

[70] Daniel Gberevbie and Samuel Oni, "Postcolonial Nigeria: Power and Politics in the First Republic, 1960–1966," in *Advances in African Economic, Social and Political Development*, ed. Rotimi Ajayi and Joseph Yinka Fashagba (Springer Cham, 2020), 54, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-50509-7_4.

[71] Gberevbie and Oni, "Postcolonial Nigeria: Power and Politics in the First Republic, 1960–1966", 56.

[72] Falola, and Heaton. *A history of Nigeria*, 156.

The time span from Nigeria's independence in 1960 until the military's assumption of power in 1966 is commonly known as the First Republic.[73] The First Republic of Nigeria faced considerable political turmoil, marked by intense power struggles between numerous political parties across different regions. These parties fiercely vied for control over both federal and regional assemblies, which held significant sway over Nigeria's economy. Consequently, the allocation and management of the country's resources hinged on political influence wielded at both levels of government. The federal system, which had started to delineate regional boundaries in the 1950s, descended into utter chaos from 1960 to 1966.[74]

The NPC, led by the federal Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa (first Prime Minister of Nigeria after independence) swiftly gained control over the NPC-NCNC coalition. The coalition had held power at the federal level, while the northern premier, Sir Ahmadu Bello sought to improve the lives of people from the north, who had been deliberately underdeveloped during colonial times, by giving preferential treatment to less qualified northerners over more qualified southerners, causing resentment among the southerners who felt that the federal system was increasingly prioritizing ethnicity over merit.[75] As a result, funds allocated for defence, health, education, and roads were directed towards projects in the north.[76] Additionally, the western region's AG party faced a crisis in 1962 when Chief Akintola, who had taken over as premier in 1959, believed that the party had lost its significance at the national level and formed an alliance with the NPC, leading to a major parliamentary crisis between him and Chief Awolowo. In response, Awolowo tried to remove Akintola from office and replace him with Chief Oleye D. S. Adegbenro,[77] but Balewa,

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[73] Gberevbie and Oni, "Postcolonial Nigeria: Power and Politics in the First Republic, 1960–1966", 63.

[74] Falola, and Heaton. *A history of Nigeria*, 164-165.

[75] Eghosa E. Osaghae, *Crippled Giant: Nigeria Since Independence* (North America: Indiana University Press, 1998), 38-39.

[76] Falola, and Heaton. *A history of Nigeria*, 167.

[77] Amusa Saheed Balogun, "An Assessment of the Partisan Role of the Nigeria Police Force in the 1962 Action Group Crisis," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* Vol. 22 (January 2013): 34 & 46, https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Saheed-Amusa-

hoping to support Akintola and gain influence in the western region, declared a state of emergency and suspended the AG government for six months. Balewa replaced it with an interim government, before Akintola was re-elected as premier.[78] As the allocation of seats in the federal legislature was determined on the voters of each region, and since northerners made up the majority from 1953, the 1962 census gave the southern parties a chance to challenge NPC dominance of the National Assembly.

The southern government knew that falsifying census data would increase its representation in the federal assembly (The Nigerian Federal Assembly refers to the legislative branch of the federal government of Nigeria. It is composed of two separate chambers: The Senate, which is the upper chamber of the Nigerian National Assembly, and the House of Representatives, this is the lower chamber of the National Assembly). When the results were announced, the eastern and western region had an immense 70 percent population growth compared to a 30 percent increase in the north. Balewa rejected the census results, so another census was taken the following year. This time, the NPC manipulated the results, and 8 million new northerners were apparently found in just one year. Although the NCNC vehemently disagreed with this outcome, they were unable to stop it from becoming law. The country's new official population was approximately 55 million, of which 29 million lived in the north.[79]

2/publication/353917714_An_Assessment_Of_The_Partisan_Role_Of_The_Nigeria_Police_Force_In_The_1962_Action_Group_Crisis/links/611937741ca20f6f8623179b/An-Assessment-Of-The-Partisan-Role-Of-The-Nigeria-Police-Force-In-The-1962-Action-Group-Crisis.pdf.

[78] Osaghae, *Crippled Giant: Nigeria Since Independence*, 1998, 40.

[79] Falola, and Heaton. *A history of Nigeria*. 168.
To gain a deeper understanding of the partisan role in the 1962 Action Group Crisis, read Balogun, Amusa Saheed. "An Assessment of the Partisan Role of the Nigeria Police Force in the 1962 Action Group Crisis." *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* (2013): 33-62, This article examines the involvement of the police force in the crisis and provides valuable insights into their actions and impact during that period. For a comprehensive analysis of the crisis and conflict in the Western Region during 1962-63, "Crisis and Conflict in the Western Region, 1962–63" by Larry Diamond is a significant resource. This article is featured in the book "Class, Ethnicity, and Democracy in Nigeria: The Failure of the First Republic" (1988), which explores the intricate dynamics of Nigerian politics during that era. For a broader historical perspective on Nigeria, Falola, Toyin, Matthew M. Heaton. *A history of Nigeria*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008, is an excellent resource, for understanding the state formation, political institutions, commercial activities, and political economy of Nigeria. provides a detailed examination of Nigeria's historical development, encompassing various aspects of its political, economic, and social evolution. this book provides a comprehensive overview of Nigeria's history, including crucial events, political developments, and societal changes.

The political parties in the south concentrated their efforts on winning the impending elections in 1964 after failing in their attempt to seize control of the federal legislature.[80] To maintain the status quo, the NPC joined forces with Akintola's unified Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) and a few extremist parties in the South to form the Nigerian National Alliance (NNA) headed by Sir Ahmadu Bello, Premier of the North, while the NCNC and AG aligned with minority parties in the north to form the United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA) led by Dr. M. I. Okpara.[81] However, the 1964 elections were marred by violent clashes between NNA and UPGA supporters in the western region, where lives were lost, and property damaged. In the north, NNA officials imprisoned UPGA officials and prevented their supporters from campaigning. With the help of election mercenaries, the NNA managed to obstruct the nomination process for UPGA candidates, preventing them from standing for election and presenting many of their candidates as unopposed.[82] Infuriated by the harassment they endured, UPGA officials called for a boycott of the election, but the boycott was only successful in the eastern region. As a result, the NNA was unchallenged in several states in the western and northern parts of the country. Tafawa Balewa initially asked Nnamdi Azikiwe to form an NNA-led government after the election, but Azikiwe refused. Balewa eventually agreed to include more UPGA members in his government, postpone the elections for the boycotted seats, and hold new elections for the western regional assembly before the elections.

 For discussions of the post-independence period and the challenges faced by Nigeria, see Osaghae, Eghosa E. *The crippled giant: Nigeria since independence*. North America: Indiana University Press, 1998, is highly recommended. This book offers valuable insights into Nigeria's political landscape, governance issues, and socio-economic challenges since gaining independence. Additionally, Azaigba, Kenneth T. and David Dura Yongo. "The Historicity of Electoral Violence in Nigeria." *SECURITY, ELECTIONS.* provides a focused analysis of electoral violence in Nigeria. This article, published in 2018, explores the historical context, causes, and implications of electoral violence in the country, shedding light on an important aspect of Nigerian politics.

These sources provide a comprehensive coverage of Nigeria's historical and political development from different perspectives, allowing for a more nuanced appreciation of the country's past and present dynamics, as well as historical events, and the challenges the country has faced throughout its history.

[80] Falola, and Heaton. *A history of Nigeria*, 169.

[81] Anglin Douglas, "Brinkmanship in Nigeria: The Federal Elections of 1964–65," *International Journal* 20, no. 2 (June 1965): 176.

[82] Kenneth Azaigba and David Dura Yongo, "The Historicity of Electoral Violence in Nigeria," in *Security, Elections and Electoral Violence in Nigeria*, ed. Boumo Ezonbi and Changwak Emmanuel Jonah (Eiwa Publishers, 2018), 120.

In the 1965 elections, the UPGA won the majority of the boycotted seats, but this was not enough to support the NNA's claim to the majority. The handling of the referendum had been poor, which angered UPGA supporters and led many Nigerians to question the stability of the country's democratic system.[83] After the preliminary findings were made public on October 13, both sides claimed victory in the elections. Official statements indicated that thirty seats were still vacant, with Akintola and the NNDP securing 51 seats to the UPGA's 11. However, the interim leader of the AG, Chief Adegbenro, immediately announced 68 victories for the UPGA and declared the establishment of a temporary government. Adegbenro and other UPGA leaders were arrested and imprisoned for disobeying court rulings. The election results were contested by citizens, and protests erupted in the streets of the Western Region. During the months of November and December, UPGA supporters attacked NNDP members' homes, looted and set them on fire, and even killed some individuals. They also engaged in violent confrontations with the police, further exacerbating the unrest in the country.[84] The deteriorating situation ultimately led to the military overthrow of the first republic administration.

Throughout Nigeria's post-independence political history, military involvement has played a significant role, with various coups, countercoups, and even a civil war affecting the country's political landscape. As a result, military rule has been prevalent for much of the country's history since gaining independence. For a period of 29 years, the military held sway over Nigeria, exerting significant influence on the country's political, economic, and social structures during the post-independence era. Consequently, much of the analysis of Nigerian

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[83] Azaigba and Yongo, "The Historicity of Electoral Violence in Nigeria."

[84] Falola, and Heaton. *A history of Nigeria*, 171.

politics has focused on the phenomenon of military rule.[85] The organizers of the coup justified their military action as a brief and decisive revolt aimed at eradicating corruption and elitism. The coup brought to the fore the vulnerability of the state and how effortlessly the government could be attacked, rather than defended, using military force.[86] The political miscalculations of Nigeria's First Republic provided an opening for military involvement in politics. Internal and external factors have influenced the military's engagement in politics.[87] Internal political crises, such as the census upheaval that led to disputes over the North's population estimates, created a major obstacle. In a democratic system where elections are the means by which people exercise their power, political power is tied to the strength of the population. Therefore, the political system developed following World War II depended on the population's capacity to elect representatives who would uphold constitutionalism, democracy, and the rule of law.[88]

Nigeria's independence was based on the decision to allow individuals to hold positions of power, and conflicts within the political elite were fuelled by the desire for political power. The growing ethnic animosity, especially between the Hausa-dominated north and the Yoruba-led opposition party (Action Group) in the southwest, exacerbated the issue. The First Republic was overthrown in a 1966 coup due to rampant corruption in government and violent political conflicts, including the Awolowo and Akintola dispute in Yoruba land. The military, seeing the political and ethnic conflict that was tearing the country apart, intervened in January 1966 to quell the public demonstrations that had sparked

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[85] Osaghae, *Crippled Giant: Nigeria Since Independence*, 1998, 54.

[86] BBC News, "How First Coup Still Haunts Nigeria 50 Years On," *BBC News*, January 15, 2016, accessed March 30, 2023, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-35312370.

[87] Zoltan Barany, "Comparing the Arab Revolts: The Role of the Military," *Journal of Democracy* 22, no. 4 (2011): 25, https://www.journalofdemocracy.org/articles/comparing-the-arab-revolts-the-role-of-the-military/.

[88] Eunice Jeje, Adebayo Oladunni, and Kenneth Azaigba, "The Implications of Military Rule on Democracy in Nigeria, 1966-2018," *Journal of Humanities and Peace Studies* Vol. 3, no. NO. 1 (2023): 3–6, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/359380954_The_Implications_of_Military_Rule_on_Democracy_in_Nigeria_1966-2018.

instability, the election, and census crises.[89] Apart from internal factors, external forces also played a significant role in creating an environment conducive to military coups in Nigeria.

After the end of colonialism in Africa, the political culture of the colonialists had naturally been adopted. As a result, democratic political institutions were developed or adopted across the continent. However, Africans were still learning how to operate these institutions when in 1952, the Egyptian military overthrew King Farouk. This singular event sparked a chain reaction, with other African nations following suit. Sudan overthrew its government in 1958, Algeria in 1965, Congo (Brazzaville) in 1963, Zaire (Congo-Kinshasa) in 1965, and the Central African Republic in 1966. In West Africa, Togo experienced a coup in 1963, followed by Ghana in 1966 and Benin (formerly known as Dahomey) in the same year.

The contagious effect of the coup d'état continued with Nigeria experiencing coups in January 1966, 1975-1979, 1983, and 1993. This trend continued in Nigeria until 1999, with the military ruling for a total of 34 years.[90] Coups can spread quickly, and the success of one coup in a nation and its neighbours raises the likelihood of succeeding in another. Nigeria was not immune to this phenomenon. The coup plotters who participated in the Nigerian coup believed that they could get away with it without facing significant consequences, given that other nations had carried out successful coups without international interference. As a result, the military's involvement in politics has become a frequent practice in many nations,

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[89] Jeje, Oladunni, and Azaigba, "The Implications of Military Rule on Democracy in Nigeria, 1966-2018", 3-6.

[90] Frank Etim and Wilfred Ukpere, "The Impact of Military Rule on Democracy in Nigeria," *Journal of Social Sciences* 33, no. 3 (December 2012): 287, https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Wilfred-Ukpere/publication/261672856_The_Impact_of_Military_Rule_on_Democracy_in_Nigeria/links/0c960534f771093d1b000000/The-Impact-of-Military-Rule-on-Democracy-in-Nigeria.pdf.

diverting them from their primary responsibility of defending the State against external threats and upholding national sovereignty.[91]

In 1966, three years after Nigeria's transition to a Republic, the country experienced its first military coup. The coup, led by Kaduna Nzeogwu, had only limited success in Lagos, Ibadan, and Kaduna. Tragically, it resulted in the deaths of several key figures, including former Prime Minister Tafawa Balewa, Ahmadu Bello, Festus Okotiebo, and others. Despite its failure, the assassination of leaders from the federal, Northern, and Western regional administrations had severe consequences for the nation. Additionally, the coup briefly caused a rift between the army's Southern and Northern units. Under these circumstances, General Aguiyi-Ironsi, as the Nigerian army's commander, easily persuaded the federal government to transfer power to him. This led to military rule in Nigeria, with General Aguiyi-Ironsi serving as the country's first military ruler and assuming the role of head of state.[92] Not only did Ironsi appoint military governors in every region, but he also abolished political parties. One of the prominent military governors was Lieutenant Colonel Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu, who became the governor of the Eastern Region.[93]

The regime undertook the task of researching and proposing solutions for complex issues such as economic planning, national unity, public sector restructuring, and constitutional reform through temporary group discussions. Additionally, they established the principles of military governance, which were subsequently adopted by future regimes.[94] The intervention by the military was initially met with great enthusiasm, as many believed it

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[91] Jeje, Oladunni, and Azaigba, "The Implications of Military Rule on Democracy in Nigeria, 1966-2018", 6-8.
[92] Osaghae, *Crippled Giant: Nigeria Since Independence*, 1998, 54-57.
[93] Falola, and Heaton. *A history of Nigeria*, 173.
[94] Osaghae, *Crippled Giant: Nigeria Since Independence*, 1998, 57.

would lead to a corrective regime and significant national development.[95] However, in the Northern region, this reception quickly turned into fear, resentment, and, ultimately, animosity as leaders began to detect anti-Northern motives and efforts towards Igbo dominance in the coup. Riots and violent protests were initiated by students from the North, as well as professors at Ahmadu Bello University and government officials. These demonstrations persisted for an additional two months, during which time Igbo individuals residing in the North were killed and their property was destroyed.[96] Despite General Aguiyi Ironsi's efforts to quell the January 1966 coup, he was still associated with it and viewed with suspicion by northern soldiers. They believed that the coup, which was led by Igbo army officers and targeted non-Igbo political leaders, was part of a wider plot to undermine the northern-led civilian government.

These tensions eventually led to a countercoup, which was organized on July 29th of the same year, led by General Murtala Mohammed, which resulted in Ironsi's assassination and the installation of Lt-Colonel Yakubu Gowon as head of state.[97] The military coup that occurred in Nigeria in 1966 had far-reaching implications for the country's future, particularly for the civil war that erupted a year later. After the 1966 coup that killed Major General Aguiyi Ironsi, Lt. Colonel Yakubu Gowon became the new Head of State and Commander-in-Chief of Nigeria's Armed Forces. However, Lt. Col. Emeka Odumegwu-Ojukwu refused to recognize Gowon's authority, arguing that Gowon was his junior. This move violated the military hierarchy and caused issues with control and command for the army. Ojukwu's scepticism about the new government's legitimacy only served to heighten the growing

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[95] Jeje, Oladunni, and Azaigba, "The Implications of Military Rule on Democracy in Nigeria, 1966-2018", 8.
[96] Osaghae, *Crippled Giant: Nigeria Since Independence*, 1998, 60.
[97] Max Siollun, *Soldiers of Fortune. Nigerian Politics from Buhari to Babangida 1983-1993* (Abuja: Cassava Republic Press, 2013).

tensions between the northern and eastern regions, which eventually led to the outbreak of the civil war.[98]

After General Ironsi disbanded the federal government in May, the Igbo and other Easterners in northern Nigeria faced persistent violence until September 1966, with up to 100,000 lives lost. The northern forces were responsible for many of the killings, leading to retaliatory attacks. Ojukwu questioned whether peaceful coexistence was possible within a federal Nigeria and proposed that people relocate to their respective regions.[99] In November 1966, Lt. Colonel Odumegwu Ojukwu refused to accept Lt. Colonel Yakubu Gowon's leadership and skipped Supreme Military Council (SMC) meetings. After persuasion, he agreed to attend if meetings were held outside the country or within the Eastern Region. Ghanaian Head of State, General J.A. Ankrah mediated a peace meeting in Aburi, Ghana, resulting in the Aburi Accord. The Accord established the SMC as the governing body for the army, with each region represented in the military headquarters and an Area Command established in each region. However, it was never implemented as a victory for Ojukwu and led to its collapse due to Gowon's refusal to carry it out.[100]

In May 1967, Lt. Col. Yakubu Gowon announced the creation of twelve states in Nigeria, effectively abolishing the regional political structure. Lt. Col. Odumegwu Ojukwu, the Governor of the defunct Eastern Region, refused to recognize the new states and considered this act a conspiracy against the Igbo people. On May 30, 1967, Ojukwu proclaimed the independence of the Republic of Biafra from Nigeria, citing malevolent acts

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[98] Johnson Olaosebikan Aremu and Oluwafemi Buhari Lateef, "Sense and Senselessness of War: Aggregating the Causes, Gains and Losses of the Nigerian Civil War, 1967-1970," *IAFOR Journal of Arts & Humanities* 4, no. 1 (October 2017): 65, http://iafor.org/archives/journals/iafor-journal-of-arts-and-humanities/10.22492.ijah.4.si-06.pdf.

[99] Falola, and Heaton. *A history of Nigeria*, 174.

[100] Aremu and Lateef, "Sense and Senselessness of War: Aggregating the Causes, Gains and Losses of the Nigerian Civil War, 1967-1970, 65.

against the Igbo as the reason. This led to a full-scale war on July 6, 1967, as Gowon was determined to stop the secession, which he considered unconstitutional.[101]

On July 6, 1967, the Nigerian civil war began, with the Federal Government expecting a swift victory and the Biafran People believing they were invincible.[102] An unstable peace and stability which had dogged Nigeria since independence culminated in the actual war. The roots of Nigeria's unstable peace and stability can be traced to its geography, history, and population. The coup and countercoup of 1966, which transformed the political dynamic and shattered the brittle trust between the major ethic groups, might be seen as the primary antecedent of the civil war itself. The twelve states that were created by the Federal Government in May 1967 from the four existing regions, including the former Eastern Region, led Ojukwu who was the leader of that region to declare secession from Nigeria. They considered the act of the creation of the states by decree without any consultation as the last resort, and Ojukwu declared the Region to be the independent state of Biafra. On July 6, 1967, Federal soldiers opened fire for the first time in the civil war. It was intended to be a swift and limited police action to put an end to the insurrection and properly reintegrate the rebel-held region with the rest of the nation. The Federal side planned and prepared for an operation that would last a day as opposed to several weeks. But, due to Biafran resistance, the momentum could not be maintained.[103]

It was only on January 12, 1970, that Lt.-Col. Phillip Effiong, to whom Ojukwu had delivered a largely defeated "Republic" when he fled to the Ivory Coast the day before, announced the surrender of Biafra, thereby ending the civil war. Tremendous destruction was

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[101] Aremu and Lateef, "Sense and Senselessness of War: Aggregating the Causes, Gains and Losses of the Nigerian Civil War, 1967-1970, 65-56.

[102] Olusegun Obasanjo, *My Command: An Account of the Nigerian Civil War, 1967-1970*, vol. 249 (East African Publishers, 1980), Xi.

[103] Obasanjo, *My Command: An Account of the Nigerian Civil War, 1967-1970*, Xi.

left in the wake of the war. even though the war's exact costs are uncertain. It was estimated that about 1 to 3 million people—mostly Easterners died and another 3 million were made homeless and became refugees. The Eastern economy was in ruins, with infrastructure and utilities damaged and severe deficits of housing, food, clothing, and medicine. Gowon disproved the last-ditch propaganda of the Biafran leaders that genocide awaits the Biafrans at the end of the "war of brothers," claiming that neither a "victim" nor a "vanquished" emerged from the conflict.[104] It is essential to keep in mind that the challenges faced by Nigeria during the 1960s were not sudden occurrences, but rather the result of long-standing political, religious, economic, and ethnic tensions among the different ethnic groups that existed before independence. Regrettably, the authorities were more focused on consolidating their power rather than finding solutions to Nigeria's myriad of ethnic conflicts. Instead of promoting tolerance and harmony among the populace, political leaders have exploited religion and ethnicity for their own selfish interests. Sadly, this lack of attention and concern eventually led to the outbreak of a 30-month civil war in Nigeria. It is worth noting that the Gowon administration remained in power until 1975 and it was the determination of Gowon that had, eventually, led to a full-blown war on 6 July 1967.[105] With revenue from the 1970s oil boom, General Gowon attempted to rebuild the damage left by the war, but suspicions of rampant corruption abounded, creating unrest among the army. On July 29, 1975, he was overthrown while in Kampala, Uganda, for an Organization of African Unity (OAU) now African Union (AU) summit.[106]

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[104] Osaghae, *Crippled Giant: Nigeria Since Independence*, 1998, 69.
[105] Osaghae, *Crippled Giant: Nigeria Since Independence*, 1998, 69-78.
[106] Akinpelu, "Analysis: From Bullet to Ballot: 14 Men Who Have Led Nigeria Since Independence."

The first two coups in Nigeria resulted in the deaths of notable Nigerians, but the coup of July 1975 was bloodless; only Yakubu Gowon was overthrown.[107] The soldiers who staged the coup were dissatisfied with Gowon's administration of the nation. Yakubu Gowon had been head of state since he assumed power in 1966, which was approximately nine years. The 1975 coup was led by a number of officers, including Col. Joseph Garba, and Lt.-Col. Musa Yar'Adua. Garba had previously served as the commander of the brigade of guards under Gowon, while Yar'Adua took over as chief of staff at supreme headquarters following Mohammed's assassination.[108] The regime that followed, led by General Murtala Muhammed and his deputy, General Olusegun Obasanjo, was a continuous one. Muhammed had previously led the July 1966 coup and became the new head of state after being appointed as such by the group of officers who staged the bloodless coup that brought him to power. In 1976, Muhammed initiated plans to establish a new Federal Capital Territory, for which the Justice Akinola Aguda-led panel recommended Abuja. Additionally, he established seven new states, including Bauchi, Borno, Imo, Niger, Ogun, and Ondo.[109]

The Murtala administration assumed office at a time when Nigeria's economy was thriving, and the government had ample resources at its disposal. General Murtala had a clear agenda of what needed to be done and wasted no time in implementing his vision. The regime introduced significant reforms and restructured the nation in a comprehensive and thorough manner.[110] The coup that occurred was largely embraced and lauded as it marked the beginning of a new era of authentic governance in the country and paved the way for a

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[107] Ademola David Oluwabiyi and Moses Metumara Duruji, "The Military in Nigerian Politics," *Acta Universitatis Danubius. Relationes Internationales* 14, no. 2 (July 2021): 12–13.

[108] Osaghae, *Crippled Giant: Nigeria Since Independence*, 1998, 79-80.

[109] Osaghae, *Crippled Giant: Nigeria Since Independence*, 1998, 82-86.

[110] John Monday Etebom, "The Long Years of Military Rule in Nigeria: A Blessing or a Curse," *Journal of Public Administration and Governance* 11, no. 2 (2021): 78.

civilian administration.[111] Unfortunately, the Murtala administration only lasted six months as it was cut short by a violent attempted coup led by Lieutenant Colonel B.S. Dimka on 13 February 1976.

After the attempted coup, General Olusegun Obasanjo, Murtala's deputy, assumed office as the fourth military Head of State and continued with the initiatives and policies of the previous administration. Obasanjo implemented measures to instil discipline in the Nigerian workforce through his "Low Profile" concept, which aimed to curb unnecessary expenditures in government, as seen during the Yakubu Gowon regime.[112] The Obasanjo administration aimed to promote national unity by organizing "Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture." FESTAC '77[113], a global celebration of black and African arts and culture, in 1977. The festival showcased Nigeria's traditional practices and facilitated communication among African and diaspora leaders and intellectuals.

The festival, however, faced setbacks during the Mohammed regime, which resulted in its postponement and the scaling back of public works initiatives. When Obasanjo took over, he successfully hosted the festival at the National Theatre and accomplished some of its primary goals.[114] During Obasanjo's regime, the Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO) was established in 1976 with Michael Ani as its chairman. The Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO) was a significant institution in Nigeria during its Second Republic, which lasted from 1979 to 1983. It played a crucial role in organizing and overseeing electoral processes, including the delineation of electoral constituencies, registering political parties, and

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[111] Falola, and Heaton. *A history of Nigeria*, 188.

[112] Etebom, "The Long Years of Military Rule in Nigeria: A Blessing or a Curse", 78.

[113] Ife Enohoro, "The Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture: Lagos, Nigeria," *The Black Scholar* 9, no. 1 (September 1977): 28–29, https://www.alkalimat.org/festac/pdfs/articles-enohoro%201977%20festac.pdf.

[114] Falola, and Heaton. *A history of Nigeria*, 195.

overseeing the transition elections.[115] The Obasanjo regime elevated Nigeria's standing in international politics and achieved a significant milestone in the country's history by conducting general elections at different levels as part of a five-stage transition program. This culminated in Nigeria's return to civilian rule on October 1, 1979, marking the end of the military's first foray into politics after a 13-year period.[116]

The section has examined the conflicts and military coups experienced by Nigeria between 1966 and 1979. It has shown how one of these leaders, Obasanjo, tried to revive the image of the country to improve its international political and economic relations. Through FESTAC 77, Obasanjo attempted to showcase Nigeria's potential, including in the tourist aspects. What follows examines attempts to resolve conflict and hand over power to civilian rulers, examining to what extent this was successful in the period after 1979.

Nigeria's Second Republic, and its Political Developments up until 2006.

Between 1977 and 1979, Nigeria made extensive preparations for the upcoming Second Republic.[117] During the period spanning from May 1977 to September 1978, the Federal Military Government (FMG) took the initiative to establish the Federal Electoral

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[115] Osaghae, *Crippled Giant: Nigeria Since Independence*, 1998, 90-95.

[116] Etebom, "The Long Years of Military Rule in Nigeria: A Blessing or a Curse", 78.

For more on the political economy of Nigeria under military rule, in addition to the books by Falola and Osaghae, and Etebom, see the following: John Monday. "The Long Years of Military Rule in Nigeria: A Blessing or a Curse." *Journal of Public Administration and Governance* 11, no. 2 (2021), this article examines the impact of military rule on Nigeria's political and economic landscape. It discusses the various dimensions and consequences of military rule and provides a critical analysis of its long-term effects. And Aiyede, Emmanuel Remi. "The political economy of fiscal federalism and the dilemma of constructing a developmental state in Nigeria." *International Political Science Review* 30, no. 3 (2009): 249-269, this article focuses on the challenges faced in constructing a developmental state in Nigeria within the framework of fiscal federalism. It explores the intricate relationship between fiscal federalism, governance, and economic development in the Nigerian context.

[117] David Laitin, "The Sharia Debate and the Origins of Nigeria's Second Republic," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 20, no. 3 (March 1982): 411, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022278X00056901.

Commission (FEDECO).[118] In the year 1979, Nigeria conducted five elections, which took place from 7 July to 11 August. The election process commenced with the Senate, House of Representatives, and state House of Assembly elections, followed by the gubernatorial and presidential elections. Participation in these elections was restricted to candidates who successfully passed the screening conducted by The Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO). The election results reflected the regional affiliations of the political parties involved and were mostly peaceful, except for some controversy surrounding the presidential election. Alhaji Shehu Shagari emerged as the victor, garnering a total of 5,688,857 votes, meeting the requirement for a simple majority.[119]

A legal dispute arose over the interpretation of the requirement of a two-thirds majority for the presidential election during the period in question. Richard Akinjide, the legal advisor of the National Party of Nigeria (NPN), argued that a simple majority vote was sufficient.[120] Chief Awolowo of the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) challenged the election results before the electoral tribunal, seeking a run-off election in case no clear winner emerged. The case was eventually taken to the Supreme Court, where a 5-2 majority ruling favoured the victory of Alhaji Shagari from the NPN. Despite widespread suspicions of favouritism towards Shagari's party by the military regime, his win was upheld, leading to persistent doubts about its legitimacy expressed by the UPN and their supporters.[121] The new government, comprised of businessmen and career politicians, encountered challenges in establishing a truly inclusive and nationwide governance system as outlined in the constitution.[122] Despite their positions, corruption and rent-seeking persisted, while extensive

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[118] Peter Koehn, "Prelude to Civilian Rule: The Nigerian Elections of 1979," *Africa Today* 28, no. 1 (1980): 21, http://www.jstor.org/stable/4185980.
[119] Koehn, "Prelude to Civilian Rule: The Nigerian Elections of 1979", 20-43.
[120] Osaghae, *Crippled Giant: Nigeria Since Independence*, 1998, 28.
[121] Koehn, "Prelude to Civilian Rule: The Nigerian Elections of 1979", 43.
[122] James Read, "The New Constitution of Nigeria, 1979: 'The Washington Model'?" *Journal of African Law* 23, no. 2 (1979): 155–157, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021855300010810.

borrowing initiatives failed to halt the economic downturn, resulted in high inflation and unemployment rates.[123] In an attempt to attribute the nation's economic woes to external factors, the federal government expelled numerous foreign workers, primarily from Ghana in January and February 1983. This decision, which potentially impacted around 2 million workers, received strong criticism from neighbouring West African governments which viewed it as a violation[124] of the 1979 Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) protocol, which guaranteed the free movement of people and goods among member states.[125] Additionally, Nigeria faced a significant nationwide strike in May 1981, leading to the closure of essential services and establishments.[126]

In 1980, the city of Kano witnessed the emergence of the Maitatsine movement (Maitatsine in Hausa, 'he who curses others')[127], named after a Cameroonian religious leader who met a violent end in Kano, Nigeria. The movement was led by Mohammed Marwa and strongly opposed the corrupt Nigerian government while calling for resistance against what they perceived as infidels. The movement faced accusations of weapon smuggling, which escalated tensions and led to violent clashes between Marwa's supporters and the military. These clashes resulted in a devastating loss of over 5,000 lives and widespread destruction of property. The riots triggered religious unrest, with some Muslim individuals setting fire on churches located in Christian neighbourhoods of Kano. The violence quickly spread to other

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[123] Falola, and Heaton. *A history of Nigeria*, 201-203.

To gain insight into the development of the Nigerian constitution during the 1979 administration, read an article titled Read, James S. "The New Constitution of Nigeria, 1979: "The Washington Model"?" *Journal of African Law* 23, no. 2 (1979): 131-174. It highlights the similarities between the Nigerian constitution and the constitutional framework adopted in Washington. It explores the parallels between the Nigerian constitution developed during the 1979 administration and the constitutional framework implemented in Washington.

[124] Roger Gravil, "The Nigerian Aliens Expulsion Order of 1983," *African Affairs* 84, no. 337 (October 1985): 523–524, http://www.jstor.org/stable/722326.
[125] Sunday Babalola Ajulo, "Sources of the Law of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)," *Journal of African Law* 45, no. 1 (April 2001): 82–83.
[126] Gravil, "The Nigerian Aliens Expulsion Order of 1983", 523-537.
[127] Raymond Hickey, "The 1982 Maitatsine Uprisings in Nigeria: A Note," *African Affairs* 83, no. 331 (April 1984): 252, http://www.jstor.org/stable/721562.

cities such as Zaria and Kaduna, underscoring the deepening religious divide within Nigeria.[128]

During the 1983 elections, the ruling National Party of Nigeria (NPN) resorted to fraudulent tactics in order to maintain its grip on power. These tactics included expanding the size of the police force and inflating voter registration rolls.[129] Despite opposition and calls for military intervention, President Shagari managed to secure re-election, and the NPN secured a significant majority in the National Assembly as well as governorships in thirteen out of the nineteen states.[130] However, the victory was marred by allegations of corruption and a lack of respect for democratic principles, which led to a military coup on 31 December 1983. This coup d'état overthrew Shagari's government and installed Major General Muhammadu Buhari as the new head of state. The coup was prompted by widespread corruption, mismanagement, and the exploitation of rent-seeking opportunities within the oil-driven economy.[131]

The Second Republic in Nigeria concluded on 31 December 1983, as a military coup resulted in the appointment of General Muhammadu Buhari as the country's new leader. This event marked the onset of an extended period of military rule that endured for fifteen years. Throughout this period, three military regimes, led by General Muhammadu Buhari, General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida (known as IBB), and General Sani Abacha, governed the nation until the eventual restoration of civilian government in 1999. President Olusegun Obasanjo, who had previously served as a military ruler but transitioned into politics, assumed leadership during the restored civilian government.[132]

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[128] Elizabeth Isichei, "The Maitatsine Risings in Nigeria 1980-85: A Revolt of the Disinherited," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 17, no. 3 (October 1987): 194–208, https://wikileaks.org/gifiles/attach/10/10138_The%20Maitatsine%20Risings%20in%20Nigeria%20-%201980-1985.pdf.

[129] Michael Ogbeidi, "A Culture of Failed Elections: Revisiting Democratic Elections in Nigeria, 1959-2003," *Historia Actual Online* 21 (2010): 48–49.

[130] Christopher Hart, "The Nigerian Elections of 1983," *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 63, no. 3 (July 1993): 399–416.

[131] Ogbeidi, "A Culture of Failed Elections: Revisiting Democratic Elections in Nigeria, 1959-2003", 49.

[132] Falola, and Heaton. *A history of Nigeria*, 209.

Military coups can indeed be motivated by various factors, including personal ambition, sectarian interests, and the pursuit of organizational or corporate goals. While it is challenging to attribute specific motives to a particular coup without detailed historical analysis, it is plausible that similar underlying factors influenced the coup that brought General Buhari and General Idiagbon to power in Nigeria. The complex dynamics of power, ambitions within the military, dissatisfaction with the previous civilian government, and perceived need for change could have played significant roles in shaping the motivations behind the coup.[133] Following the collapse of the Second Republic, Nigeria experienced an era of authoritarianism that surpassed anything witnessed in its post-independence history. This period was characterized by a strong alliance between the military, who were striving to stabilize the precarious economy at any cost, leading to the restriction of individual freedoms. In response, civil society embarked on a subsequent struggle to safeguard these liberties.[134] It is worth noting that during the events leading up to the deposition of President Shagari, there were allegations of civilian involvement in the plot. Opposition leaders who had been defeated in the election allegedly conspired with army officers to orchestrate a military coup against Shagari following his re-election. Shagari accused these politicians of engaging in "coup baiting,"[135] a strategy that eventually led to the attempted coup. This suggests a complex interplay between certain individuals within the military and elements within the civilian sphere during that period.[136]

The Kano religious riot in December 1980 played a significant role in the establishment of the Federal Military Government led by General Muhammed Buhari. This

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[133] Osaghae, *Crippled Giant: Nigeria Since Independence*, 1998, 185.

[134] Osaghae, *Crippled Giant: Nigeria Since Independence*, 1998, 166.

[135] Siollun, *Soldiers of Fortune. Nigerian Politics from Buhari to Babangida 1983-1993*, 4

[136] Yinka Odumakin, "Obasanjo's Letter, Coup Baiting: Afenifere Warns Political Class!" Sahara Reporters Press Release, December 30, 2013, accessed May 20, 2023, https://saharareporters.com/2013/12/30/press-release-obasanjos-letter-coup-baiting-afenifere-warns-political-class.

tragic event resulted in a substantial loss of life, with over 4,177 civilians, 100 policemen, and 35 army personnel killed.[137] Mallam Muhammed Marwa, also known as Maitasine, a Cameroonian, led the riot, as previously mentioned. Additionally, around 20% of the extremist Muslim participants were foreigners expelled from Nigeria, hailing from neighbouring African countries such as Niger, Chad, Cameroon, Mali, and Upper Volta. This incident fostered a widespread belief among many Nigerians that illegal aliens posed the primary security threat in the country.[138]

In 1984, Nigeria was plagued by persistent rumours of potential coups orchestrated by junior officers. In September of that year, a group of these junior officers reportedly attempted to overthrow most of the army's generals, which ultimately led to their execution. It was believed that this action was taken to thwart another planned coup by junior officers. The tumultuous circumstances surrounding the 1983 elections, characterized by rampant corruption and mismanagement of the economy, proved to be the final trigger that prompted the military to overthrow the newly established Republic on 31 December 1983. Subsequent investigations into government officials following the coup revealed widespread instances of abuse and embezzlement of public funds, resulting in the imposition of jail sentences and the recovery of misappropriated funds.[139]

Major General Muhammadu Buhari became the fifth military Head of State through a palace coup amid economic crisis and political uncertainty. The previous civilian government's mismanagement, corruption, and economic depletion, coupled with falling oil prices, caused severe turmoil. The Southwest region in Nigeria experienced significant

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[137] Olajide Aluko, "The Expulsion of Illegal Aliens from Nigeria: A Study in Nigeria's Decision-Making," *African Affairs* 84, no. 337 (October 1985): 539, http://www.jstor.org/stable/722327.
[138] Aluko, "The Expulsion of Illegal Aliens from Nigeria: A Study in Nigeria's Decision-Making", 539.
[139] Osaghae, *Crippled Giant: Nigeria Since Independence*, 1998, 154-156.

political unrest.[140] Buhari's administration resorted to countertrade, exchanging oil reserves for essential goods, to address the economic crisis.[141] However, his strict and authoritarian leadership style hindered effective governance. Although Buhari had good intentions, his inflexible leadership undermined positive aspirations. Stringent measures were imposed on Nigerians and within the Supreme Military Council. The administration prioritized trade and existing foreign policies domestically, while seeking guidance from traditional rulers. The Buhari administration made significant changes, replacing the national currency in 1984[142] and launching the 'War Against Indiscipline' campaign to foster national unity.[143] However, its legacy is tainted by the harsh provisions of Decrees, which led to widespread human rights abuses.

The administration's rigid discipline, high-handedness, coercion, and arbitrary actions resulted in its removal through a palace coup known as 'the Coup of the Generals'.[144] Dubbed as 'the Coup of the Generals,' the overthrow of the democratically elected government of President Shehu Shagari was orchestrated by a group of senior Army officers. This group included Majors General Ibrahim Babangida and Muhammadu Buhari, as well as Brigadiers Ibrahim Bako, Sani Abacha, and Tunde Idiagbon. Interestingly, Babangida assumed the title of President instead of the traditional title of Head of State.[145]

The widespread targeting of prominent organizations, including trade unions and student unions, along with the detention of journalists, labour leaders, and social critics,

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[140] Etebom, "The Long Years of Military Rule in Nigeria: A Blessing or a Curse", 78.

[141] R. A. Akindele, "Nigeria's External Economic Relations, 1960-1985." *Africa Spectrum* 21, no. No. 1 (1986): 28.

[142] Etebom, "The Long Years of Military Rule in Nigeria: A Blessing or a Curse", 79.

[143] Francisca Osarumwense Odeka, *Enlightenment Campaigns in Nigeria: A Case Study of Audience Reaction to the Nigerian TV'War Against Indiscipline'* (United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland: University of Glasgow, 1988), 7.

[144] Etebom, "The Long Years of Military Rule in Nigeria: A Blessing or a Curse", 79.

[145] Festus Ajeli, "A Historical Assessment of The Military as An Agent of Change That Changes Nothing, 1966-1998," *AKU: An African Journal of Contemporary Research* 4, no. 2 (April 2023): 28.

created a growing opposition to the Buhari/Idiagbon administration.[146] It was not a surprise to many when the Chief of Army Staff, Major-General Ibrahim Babangida, overthrew the administration on 27 August 1985.[147] The new regime, upon assuming power, accused the previous administration of human rights violations and disregarding public sentiments.[148] It took steps to address these concerns by abolishing counter-trade and the corrupt import-licensing scheme, engaged with traditional rulers and the media, and implemented a Structural Adjustment Program (S.A.P.) inspired by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF). To maintain its grip on power, the Babangida Government employed various tactics, including diversionary tactics, propaganda, incorporating opposition voices, intimidation, and repression.[149] It successfully navigated two known attempted coups. The first, led by Major-General Mamman Jiya Vatsa, resulted in the execution of 10 officers in March 1986. The second coup, led by Major Gideon Orka, was described as the bloodiest in Nigeria's history and led to the execution of 42 officers in August 1990, followed by an additional 27 the following month.[150] Despite the significant challenges of economic hardship, political and social turmoil, and religious violence, the Babangida regime managed to endure and maintain its hold on power for eight years. Major General Ibrahim Babangida demonstrated a strong grip on leadership, refusing to relinquish power in the face of any challenge.[151]

The Babangida years were marked by a mix of positive and negative developments. On one hand, there was a sense of economic potential and a possibility of returning to

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[146] Julius Ihonvbere, "A Critical Evaluation of the Failed 1990 Coup in Nigeria," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 29, no. 4 (December 1992): 607, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022278X00005681.

[147] Segun Osoba, "Corruption in Nigeria: Historical Perspectives," *Review of African Political Economy* 23, no. 69 (September 1996): 381, https://doi.org/10.1080/03056249608704203.

[148] Adewunmi James Falode, "The Military and Political Development in Nigeria: The General Sani Abacha Regime, 1993-1998," *Elk Asia Pacific Journal of Social Science* 4, no. 4 (November 2018): 39.

[149] Ihonvbere, "A Critical Evaluation of the Failed 1990 Coup in Nigeria", 601.

[150] Ihonvbere, "A Critical Evaluation of the Failed 1990 Coup in Nigeria", 602-608.

[151] Siollun, *Soldiers of Fortune. Nigerian Politics from Buhari to Babangida 1983-1993*. 2013, 114.

prosperity, reinforced by international agreements and Nigeria's improved status in the global community. The regime's credibility was enhanced by its democratic transition program and efforts to address persistent political, social, and economic issues. However, the pursuit of a "new socio-political order" and various reform initiatives led to an endless search for an ideal state, potentially undermining the country's foundation.[152] The years of Babangida were also marred by high levels of corruption, repression, and political unrest, with acts of violence and protests becoming commonplace. The structural adjustment program (SAP) and the complex democratic transition program further contributed to civil society's uprising and hardships faced by the urban poor and vulnerable groups.[153] Babangida's transition to civilian rule caused resentment and civil society response. The process was prolonged and influenced by him, with frequent banning of politicians, date changes, and amendments. Babangida prioritized his own position over a smooth transition. The process started in 1986 but only saw presidential elections in June 1993. Each date change led to crises and political bans.[154] The government disqualified all candidates from future party nominations in October 1992. The presidential election date was moved to June 12, 1993, and only two candidates were approved: M.K.O. Abiola for the Social Democratic Party (SDP) and Bashir Tofa for the National Republican Convention (NRC). The June 12 election is considered Nigeria's fairest and freest. Babangida hoped the Muslim candidates would divide the vote, but Abiola emerged as the likely winner. Babangida declared the election invalid on June 23, citing money use, ethnic strife, and electoral system insecurity. This led to widespread protests that couldn't be suppressed by force alone.[155]

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[152] Osaghae, *Crippled Giant: Nigeria Since Independence*, 1998, 188-189
[153] Osaghae, *Crippled Giant: Nigeria Since Independence*, 1998, 189.
[154] Falola, and Heaton. *A history of Nigeria*, 221-225.
[155] Falola, and Heaton. *A history of Nigeria*, 226-227.

The Ogoni people actively mobilized to advocate for political and economic justice using peaceful methods, such as boycotting the 1993 presidential election. Kenneth Saro-Wiwa, who was a prominent leader and activist who headed the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP). MOSOP was an organization dedicated to advocating for the rights and well-being of the Ogoni people, a community in Nigeria.[156] He characterized the government's harsh suppression of the population in response to the Ogoni revolt as genocide due to the perceived threat it posed to the country's vital source of revenue, which is oil. During the events, 20 Ogonis were fatally shot, with over 40 sustaining injuries, facing assault or rape. Many others were detained without trial, and soldiers set fire on 18 homes while occupying 43 villages. Additionally, significant amounts of money and livestock were seized from Ogoni communities. The deployment of soldiers to Ogoniland transformed the area into a battleground to quell the uprising.[157] Additionally, Nigeria suffered significant losses in various sectors due to ongoing strikes, protests, and riots. Political instability led to capital flight, disinvestment, unemployment, broken families, avoidable deaths, poverty, increased criminal violence, and a decline in safety and security. The annulment of the 1993 presidential election further exacerbated the situation, isolating Nigeria internationally and causing domestic unrest. The country faced the risk of disintegration and civil war as ethno-regional forces gained strength. Despite the transition's failure, the Babangida regime attempted to maintain control through strategic appointments and the continuation of military influence.[158]

Babangida appointed Ernest Shonekan with the purpose of placing him in charge of the country and facilitating a seamless shift towards democratic rule. However, the selection

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[156] Amnesty International Ltd [A Criminal Enterprise], *Shell's Involvement in Human Rights Violations in Nigeria in the 1990s* (London: Amnesty International Ltd Peter Benson House, 2017), 5.
[157] Osaghae, *Crippled Giant: Nigeria Since Independence*, 1998, 246.
[158] Osaghae, *Crippled Giant: Nigeria Since Independence*, 1998, 241-262.

of Ernest Shonekan as the leader of the Interim National Government raised several unresolved matters. These included the length of the new administration's tenure, the future of the ruling national defence and Security Council, the identity of the Nigerian head of state, and the entity responsible for overseeing the armed forces.[159] Despite serving for a brief period of 84 days, Shonekan's primary objective during his time in office was to bring about peace and stability in Nigeria's political landscape. Regrettably, his pursuit of peace was cut short by General Sani Abacha's military coup. It is worth noting that Abacha, a senior military officer in the Interim Governing Council (IGC), played a pivotal role in removing Shonekan from power. Consequently, Shonekan's administration did not achieve the desired outcomes, falling short of its intended goals.[160]

On 17 November 1993, General Sani Abacha forcibly displaced Shonekan, dissolved the Interim National Government (ING),[161] and declared himself the head of state and commander-in-chief of the armed forces. Abacha had previously been involved in various military coups in Nigeria and held a strong authoritarian stance. Initially, Abacha's coup resulted in a temporary reduction of political tensions in the country, receiving a somewhat positive reception from many political elites. However, the actions taken by Abacha's regime from 1994 onwards escalated political unrest in Nigeria, turning these political elites into staunch adversaries of the regime. Abacha's failure to transfer political power to Chief Moshood Abiola, the winner of the 1993 presidential elections, and his subsequent imprisonment of Abiola, along with the regime's intolerance towards dissent and opposition, contributed to its unpopularity.[162]

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[159] Oladiti Abiodun Akeem, "Ernest Shonekan and Interim National Governance in Nigeria," *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences* 4, no. 18 (2014): 183, https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/234674111.pdf.

[160] Akeem, "Ernest Shonekan and Interim National Governance in Nigeria", 183.

[161] Ogbeidi, "A Culture of Failed Elections: Revisiting Democratic Elections in Nigeria, 1959-2003", 50.

[162] Falode, "The Military and Political Development in Nigeria: The General Sani Abacha Regime, 1993-1998", 2.

The Abacha administration was marked by two significant events. The first event was the trial of individuals accused of plotting a coup in 1995, while the second event was the execution of Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight other Ogoni activists in the same year.[163] Ken Saro-Wiwa, renowned as an author as well, played a key role in raising awareness about the environmental degradation and socio-economic challenges faced by the Ogoni people due to oil exploration in their region. He campaigned for environmental justice and the fair distribution of resources for the Ogoni community.[164] In March 1995, the regime made an announcement regarding the discovery of a plot by certain active and retired military officers to overthrow the federal government. Subsequently, the alleged plotters were subjected to a secretive trial, resulting in death sentences or lengthy imprisonments. Prominent figures such as Olusegun Obasanjo, who later became the president of Nigeria in the Fourth Republic, and Shehu Yar'Adua were among those imprisoned due to their alleged involvement in the coup.[165]

The Abacha government established the Rivers State Internal Security Task Force (ISTF) with the stated objective of restoring peace and order in Ogoniland. However, it was widely believed that the primary motivation behind the ISTF's formation was to facilitate the resumption of operations by Shell, the largest corporate actor in Ogoniland. On 21 May 1994, the ISTF apprehended leaders of MOSOP, including Ken Saro-Wiwa, based on suspicions of their involvement in the assassination of four influential traditional chiefs. During their captivity, they endured torture and other forms of cruel treatment. Concurrently, the ISTF carried out raids on Ogoni villages, leading to numerous extrajudicial and illegal killings, sexual assault against women and girls, as well as arbitrary arrests and torture of many individuals. According to an Amnesty International report published on June 24, 1994,

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[163] Falode, "The Military and Political Development in Nigeria: The General Sani Abacha Regime, 1993-1998", 3.
[164] Amnesty International Ltd [A Criminal Enterprise], *Shell's Involvement in Human Rights Violations in Nigeria in the 1990s*, 5.
[165] Falode, "The Military and Political Development in Nigeria: The General Sani Abacha Regime, 1993-1998", 3.

approximately 30 villages were attacked, and over 50 members of the Ogoni community claimed to have been extrajudicially executed.[166]

In July of the same year, the Dutch ambassador informed Shell that the army had allegedly killed around 800 Ogonis. Following a grossly unfair trial, nine men from Ogoniland, including the renowned author Ken Saro-Wiwa, were executed by the military authorities on 10 November 1995. Their bodies were disposed of in unmarked graves. The military administration accused them, without providing any evidence, of participating in the assassination of four Ogoni elders who were known critics of MOSOP. While the other men were convicted of committing the killings, Ken Saro-Wiwa, John Kpuinen, and Barinem Kiobel were sentenced for their alleged involvement in encouraging the murders. The execution of the "Ogoni Nine" sparked global outrage, with former British Prime Minister John Major describing it as a "fraudulent trial, followed by judicial murder." Sanctions were imposed by the European Union and the United States, and Nigeria's membership in the Commonwealth group of former British colonies was suspended.[167]

The coup trials gained global attention due to the charges brought against former heads of state, General Olusegun Obasanjo and General Shehu Yar'Adua. Alongside them, a number of civilians, including journalists and pro-democracy activists, were also convicted. Moreover, both the media and human rights advocates claimed that the coup aimed to eradicate individuals considered as threats to the state within the military and suppress its adversaries.[168] In October 1994, Abacha initiated a plan to transition Nigeria to civilian rule. The objective was to establish democracy within a 36-month timeframe, culminating in the

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[166] Amnesty International Ltd [A Criminal Enterprise], *Shell's Involvement in Human Rights Violations in Nigeria in the 1990s*, 8.

[167] Amnesty International Ltd [A Criminal Enterprise], *Shell's Involvement in Human Rights Violations in Nigeria in the 1990s*, 8&17.

[168] Osaghae, *Crippled Giant: Nigeria Since Independence*, 1998, 276-303.

inauguration of a new government by October 1998. The transition plan encompassed various steps, including the creation of a new constitution, the formation of an electoral body, the expansion of states and local administrations, and the conduction of local, state, and federal elections. To facilitate the drafting of a functional constitution, Abacha appointed the Constitutional Conference Commission (CCC), which convened the Constitutional Conference Election Committee.[169] Upon completion of their deliberations, the conference presented the initial version of the constitution to the state in 1995. With the constitutional phase accomplished, Abacha proceeded to the subsequent stages of the transition program.

In 1996, Abacha announced the establishment of six additional states, bringing the total to 36, and also introduced 138 new local government areas.[170] To oversee the elections in the Fourth Republic, the regime established the National Electoral Commission (NECON), which registered five political parties. These parties were the National Congress Party of Nigeria (NCPN), the Congress of National Consensus (CNC), the Grassroots Democratic Movement (GDM), and the United Nigeria Congress Party (UNCP).[171] Abacha used manipulative tactics to undermine genuine democratic elections and position himself as Nigeria's future civilian leader. By coercing all political parties to nominate him as their presidential candidate, he consolidated his power and attempted to legitimize his rule. However, his sudden death on June 8, 1998, allegedly due to a heart attack, disrupted the deceptive transition. Following Abacha's death, General Abdulsalami Abubakar took over and dismantled the existing political parties.[172] He released many detainees and initiated a process to expedite Nigeria's transition to democracy, signalling a decisive shift towards democratic governance. Abacha's rule damaged Nigeria's foreign relations, with democratic nations,

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[169] Falode, "The Military and Political Development in Nigeria: The General Sani Abacha Regime, 1993-1998", 4.

[170] Falode, "The Military and Political Development in Nigeria: The General Sani Abacha Regime, 1993-1998", 4.

[171] B. I. C. Ijomah, "Nigeria's Transition from Military to Civilian Rule: An Overview," *Journal of Political & Military Sociology* 28, no. No. 2 (December 2000): 206–307, http://www.jstor.org/stable/45292816.

[172] Ogbeidi, "A Culture of Failed Elections: Revisiting Democratic Elections in Nigeria, 1959-2003", 51.

particularly the UK and the US, criticizing his refusal to acknowledge the outcome of the June 12 election. His unreliable actions, such as abolishing and reintroducing the SAP, also affected Nigeria's reputation and led to decreased foreign investment.[173]

On 29 May 1999, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo assumed the position of Nigeria's second elected executive president, marking the commencement of Nigeria's Fourth Republic after a successful transition program led by General Abdulsalami Abubakar. Olusegun Obasanjo, representing the People's Democratic Party (PDP), emerged as the presidential candidate. He was re-elected for a second term in 2003 under the same political party. Notably, Obasanjo's presidency spanned eight years, constituting the longest period of civilian rule in Nigeria's history during the period under study.[174] Obasanjo's 1999 presidential victory, following a tumultuous period of military rule in Nigeria, carried significant hope. As a respected statesman and diplomat who had endured imprisonment during the oppressive regime of Sani Abacha, he took on the responsibility of leading a deeply corrupt government, a struggling economy, and a divided federation plagued by long-standing ethnic tensions.[175]

The April 2003 presidential election marked a significant milestone as it was the first election conducted under the auspices of an elected civilian government in over 20 years. This event signified a crucial moment in Nigeria's political history, reflecting the transition from a long period of military rule to a return to democratic governance. The election held in April 2003 represented a notable step towards establishing a democratic framework and allowing the Nigerian people to exercise their right to choose their leaders through a civilian-led electoral process. More than thirty political parties were registered for the 2003

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[173] Falola, and Heaton. *A history of Nigeria*, 233-234.

[174] Adewunmi James Falode, "Nation-Building Initiatives of the Olusegun Obasanjo Administration in the Fourth Republic, 1999-2007," *University of Mauritius Research Journal* 19 (July 3, 2013): 3.

[175] Samuel Ovuete Aghalino, "The Olusegun Obasanjo Administration and the Niger Delta Question, 1999-2007," *African Renaissance* 6, no. 1 (July 2008): 57, https://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/document?repid=rep1&type=pdf&doi=286a5783432d9f02049bafad505550d81957d708.

presidential elections in Nigeria,[176] the competition still boiled down to a two-way race between Chief Olusegun Obasanjo of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) and Alhaji Muhammadu Buhari of the All-Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP). Following the elections, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo was declared the winner by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). However, Buhari contested the results and sought legal recourse. It was only through the intervention of the Nigerian Supreme Court that Obasanjo's administration was eventually validated.

The federal election during this period became highly contentious due to unprecedented levels of election manipulation in Nigeria. The election campaigns were marred by widespread political assassinations, fraud, corruption, and intimidation. The questionable conduct of the election and the resulting outcomes significantly damaged the reputation of Obasanjo's administration.[177] Obasanjo implemented a wide range of political and socioeconomic initiatives aimed at advancing Nigeria's development. On the political front, Obasanjo sought to strengthen and expand Nigeria's democratic practices. The administration played a crucial role in the formulation of the 1999 Constitution, which embraced principles such as federalism, rule of law, accountability, good governance, openness, and due process. This constitutional framework provided the foundation for the administration's governance agenda.[178] To address the structural challenges within Nigeria's federal political system, the administration introduced several initiatives. Notably, the National Economic Empowerment Development Strategy (NEEDS), State Economic Empowerment Development Strategy (SEEDS), and Local Economic Empowerment Development Strategy (LEEDS) were implemented to bolster Nigeria's economic resilience and combat corruption. From 2003, these initiatives served as the administration's

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[176] Ogbeidi, "A Culture of Failed Elections: Revisiting Democratic Elections in Nigeria, 1959-2003", 52.

[177] Falode, "Nation-Building Initiatives of the Olusegun Obasanjo Administration in the Fourth Republic, 1999-2007", 3-4

[178] Falode, "Nation-Building Initiatives of the Olusegun Obasanjo Administration in the Fourth Republic, 1999-2007", 4-5.

socioeconomic reform platforms, aiming to drive sustainable development and socioeconomic progress across the country.[179]

Opinions on Obasanjo's eight-year presidency are polarized. While some argue that he achieved this milestone through manipulation of the political system, resulting in a lack of stability and lasting democratic governance, it remains the longest period of civilian rule in Nigeria's history during the given period. However, the majority of Nigerians did not experience significant improvements in their living standards despite Obasanjo's efforts, although he did manage to slow down the country's economic decline to some extent. Many of the deep-rooted socioeconomic issues in Nigeria, including ethnic and regional tensions and the volatile political situation in the Niger Delta, were left unaddressed under Obasanjo's leadership. Insufficient measures were taken to tackle these challenges, leading to ongoing conflicts and violence as communities fought for their rights and a fair share of oil revenues while grappling with environmental degradation.[180] During this administration, Obasanjo grappled with significant corruption issues. Corruption was prevalent at all levels of government, including the local, state, and federal levels. In response to this pervasive problem, Obasanjo established the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offenses Commission (ICPC) in 2000 and the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) in 2004.

These organizations were intended to combat the high levels of corruption present during his administration. The achievements of the Obasanjo government heavily relied on

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[179] Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala and Philip Osafo-Kwaako, *Nigeria's Economic Reforms: Progress and Challenges* (New York: The Brookings Institution, 2007), 7.
[180] Falola, and Heaton. *A history of Nigeria*, 234-235.

the ICPC and, particularly, the EFCC.[181] Furthermore, The Niger Delta was in turmoil, with deteriorating values and infrastructure causing unrest among the people. To address the crisis in the oil-producing communities, President Obasanjo implemented the 13 percent derivation in 2000 as mandated by the 1999 Constitution and initiated a bill for the region's development in the National Assembly.[182] The National Assembly passed the bill establishing the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) in accordance with the 1999 Constitution.[183] However, there was a disagreement between the National Assembly and the Presidency regarding the funding of the Commission due to the president's refusal to sign the legislation. The National Assembly asserted that it acted in the best interests of the country by overriding the president's decision and passing the bill.[184]

In light of the federal government's allocation of 13% of its revenue to state governments in oil-producing regions, there arose allegations of extortion and the spreading of false information in an attempt to undermine the resource control movement. There were unverified rumours circulating that certain members of parliament from the Niger Delta had shifted their positions on this matter.[185] The NDDC's management committee comprises a managing director, a governing council, and eight directors. An advisory group consisting of governors from member states provides guidance and oversight. The NDDC's main objectives are to facilitate stakeholder interaction, establish development priorities, and mobilize funding for sustainable development in the Niger Delta. It also carries out

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[181] Falode, "Nation-Building Initiatives of the Olusegun Obasanjo Administration in the Fourth Republic, 1999-2007", 5.

[182] Aghalino, "The Olusegun Obasanjo Administration and the Niger Delta Question, 1999-2007", 60.

[183] Amnesty International, "Nigeria: Ten Years on: Injustice and Violence Haunt the Oil Delta - Amnesty International," August 17, 2021, 2 https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/afr44/022/2005/en/.

[184] Aghalino, "The Olusegun Obasanjo Administration and the Niger Delta Question, 1999-2007", 60.

[185] Aghalino, "The Olusegun Obasanjo Administration and the Niger Delta Question, 1999-2007", 61.

monitoring activities to ensure compliance with laws and equitable procedures. Efforts were made to establish enduring institutions and systems to prevent past shortcomings.[186]

In late 1999, a group of young men in Odioma, Bayelsa State, abducted and killed several police officers in retaliation for alleged killings of Ijaws by Yoruba militants in Lagos. They sought refuge in Odioma, which led to a violent response from security personnel after the deadline to surrender the perpetrators had passed. The assault on Odioma was reportedly meant to send a message to other militant settlements and serve as a lesson to the town's residents. Tragically, more than 2,000 lives were lost, many others were injured, and significant resources were destroyed during this operation.[187]

In February 2005, the military raided Odioma in Bayelsa State, highlighting oppressive government tactics. The military claimed militants-initiated gunfire, resulting in 17 fatalities. Excessive force by security forces led to the loss of civilian lives, injuries, and destruction of entire towns. The Joint Task Force, comprising personnel from the army, navy, military, Mobile Police (MOPOL), and regular police, conducted these operations. Established in 2003 as "Operation Restore Hope,"[188] the Joint Task Force aimed to protect oil installations, combat kidnappings, address disruptions, curb theft, and respond to unrest. Amnesty International reports over 1,500 casualties from 2003-2004, primarily due to intercommunal violence over oil-related issues and political boundaries, with notable incidents in Warri, Delta State. Government failures in upholding economic and social rights triggered protests met with excessive force.[189]

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[186] Aghalino, "The Olusegun Obasanjo Administration and the Niger Delta Question, 1999-2007", 61.

[187] Aghalino, "The Olusegun Obasanjo Administration and the Niger Delta Question, 1999-2007", 64.

[188] Amnesty International, "Nigeria: Ten Years on: Injustice and Violence Haunt the Oil Delta - Amnesty International", 3.

[189] Amnesty International, "Nigeria: Ten Years on: Injustice and Violence Haunt the Oil Delta - Amnesty International", 2-3.

During Obasanjo's presidency, religious tensions heightened due to the Sharia controversy. Sharia also spelled as "Shari'a" or "Islamic law," is a system of religious laws and principles that govern the moral and legal aspects of the lives of Muslims. The enactment of Sharia in Zamfara state by Governor Ahmed Yerima led to constitutional concerns and challenges regarding the status of Christians in Sharia states. Ethnic tensions also rose, with active ethnic militias like Movement for the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) advocating for Biafran independence in the southeast and the Oodua People's Congress (OPC) posing a political challenge in the southwest.[190]

In 2006, violent protests erupted in Nigeria over cartoons of Prophet Mohammed that were published in a Danish newspaper, which resulted in loss of life in Maiduguri, Katsina, Bauchi, and Onitsha, reflecting the close link between religious tensions and global events. Muslims and Christians in Nigeria still seek greater political power. Obasanjo's presidency could not effectively address these tensions. His economic policies prioritized foreign investment, debt reduction, and privatization.[191] Obasanjo's presidency aimed to improve Nigeria's global image through democracy and foreign investment but faced allegations of election rigging. Economic growth benefited elites, leaving many Nigerians impoverished with limited access to social services. Opinions on Obasanjo's legacy remain divided.[192] The Nigerian tourism industry was prioritized for growth under President Olusegun Obasanjo's administration. A Presidential Committee was established, and consultants were hired to develop a tourism development master plan. The plan addressed various aspects of tourism, including policy, governance, product development, marketing, transportation, education, and

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[190] Falode, "Nation-Building Initiatives of the Olusegun Obasanjo Administration in the Fourth Republic, 1999-2007", 6-7.
[191] Falola, and Heaton. *A history of Nigeria*, 236-239.
[192] Falola, and Heaton. *A history of Nigeria*, 242.

management information systems. Reports were delivered at different stages of the project, highlighting key recommendations.[193]

Conclusion

Military governments in Nigeria from 1966 and 1979 governed with a skilful hand and rarely made use of brutal force. They did not act much differently from the civilians they replaced, other than the fact that they were not elected. Most regimes in that period were typically more popular than civilian governments and would have likely defeated their predecessors in an election. Compared to the institutional instability surrounding civilian politicians, the military was seen as an instrument of order and stability. With little opposition, the military was able to maintain popular support. Nigerians found the military rule to be a desirable substitute for democratic rule. Since 1966, the same elites have been in authority over Nigeria's political and military existence. The officers who put Gowon as head of state in August 1966 laid the groundwork for every subsequent military government up until 1998. The people behind the coups and regimes did not change, even when their leadership did. Military governments in Nigeria from 1966 and 1979 governed with a skilful hand and rarely made use of brutal force. They did not act much differently from the civilians they replaced, other than the fact that they were not elected. Most regimes in that period were typically more popular than civilian governments and would have likely defeated their predecessors in an election. Compared to the institutional instability surrounding civilian politicians, the military was seen as an instrument of order and stability. With little opposition, the military was able to maintain popular support. Nigerians found the military rule to be a desirable substitute for democratic rule. Since 1966, the same elites have been in authority over Nigeria's political

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[193] Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria [Nigeria Tourism Development Master Plan Final Report], "Institutional Capacity Strengthening to the Tourism Sector in Nigeria," Pdf4pro, January 2006, accessed February 6, 2023, 1, https://pdf4pro.com/amp/view/nigeria-tourism-development-master-plan-6d880.html.

and military existence. The officers who put Gowon as head of state in August 1966 laid the groundwork for every subsequent military government up until 1998. The people behind the coups and regimes did not change, even when their leadership did.[194]

The military, despite being credited with certain accomplishments, also contributed to the emergence of additional challenges that continue to pose a threat to Nigeria's unity. They were responsible for leading the nation into a prolonged civil war, resulting in the loss of numerous Nigerian lives. Prior to that, the country had already witnessed significant casualties due to a series of coups and countercoups orchestrated by the military. Furthermore, the military's decision to restructure the four regions into thirty states disrupted the existing regional framework, which had initially provided a suitable structure for a country with diverse ethnic groups. This move had far-reaching consequences.[195]

The assessment of a government's effectiveness is often based on the socioeconomic development of a country. When individuals seek or assume power, they often declare their plans and programs to improve the socioeconomic prospects of their nations. This pattern can also be observed in the past military governments of Nigeria. Subsequent governments frequently use the current level of socioeconomic growth as a justification for their political interference. These governments commonly make promises to further the nation's socioeconomic progress. However, it is important to recognize that different regimes employ varying strategies to achieve these goals.[196]

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[194] Siollun, *Soldiers of Fortune. Nigerian Politics from Buhari to Babangida 1983-1993*, Viii.

[195] Ajeli, "A Historical Assessment of The Military as An Agent of Change That Changes Nothing, 1966-1998."

[196] Patrick Oluseun Bamgboye, "The Military and Socio-Economic Development in Nigeria (1983 – 1999). A Critical Appraisal," *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences* 5, no. No 23 (November 1, 2014): 2340-2344, http://dx.doi.org/10.5901/mjss.2014.v5n23p2340.

The desire to strengthen agriculture, tourism, and other sectors, to reduce poverty, and improve the economy has been a recurring theme in the socioeconomic policies implemented by military governments in Nigeria. Despite the implementation of numerous programs, there has been a prevailing trend of economic decline, characterized by widespread poverty, high inflation, increasing unemployment, policy reversals, and economic stagnation. Additionally, there has been a depletion of the country's foreign reserves, a decline in real income and GDP, widespread corruption among public officials, and inadequate infrastructure development. Despite the significant revenue generated from crude oil during the military rule, the socioeconomic situation actually worsened, diminishing the impact of subsequent military regimes' socioeconomic programs on the overall growth of Nigeria.[197]

Nigeria missed opportunities to develop its tourism industry due to various reasons. The political administrations, both during the colonial period and after independence, created a tense and hostile environment, discouraging visitors. The focus on crude oil exports as the main source of revenue led to neglect of other potential sources, including tourism. Despite the establishment of tourism-related organizations, factors such as overdependence on oil, political crises, instability, and economic decline hindered the growth of the tourism industry. The situation worsened with the outbreak of a civil war in 1967.[198] The use of blame games has been a significant characteristic of both the military and civilian regimes in Nigeria. It is usually evoked to justify either their inability to adhere to the proper election procedure or their ineffective performance in government.

Undoubtedly, one of the most pressing challenges facing Nigeria's democracy has been the need to conduct credible, free, and fair elections. Previous attempts at building a

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[197] Bamgboye, "The Military and Socio-Economic Development in Nigeria (1983 – 1999). A Critical Appraisal."
[198] Jemirade, "Tourism: The Missed Opportunities for Economic Development in Nigeria", 16-17.

sustainable democratic system have faltered due to widespread election fraud. The importance of successful elections cannot be overstated, as they are a vital component of a democratic process, and Nigeria is no exception in this regard. Unfortunately, Nigeria has been trapped in a vicious cycle of electoral disorder, characterized by violence, rigging, corruption, and other detrimental practices that hinder the growth of democracy in the country. A significant flaw in the existing electoral legislation is the lack of prosecution for electoral offenders. Failing to hold these individuals accountable only perpetuates transgressions and undermines the integrity of the electoral process. To ensure the sustainability of democracy, all components of the system, including elections, must be allowed to function properly. Elections serve as a crucial element and their quality is pivotal in deepening democratic governance and fostering socioeconomic development.

Throughout Nigeria's history, there have been numerous instances of failed elections and the disruption of democracy due to electoral fraud and other factors. This culture of electoral fraud has hindered the smooth transition of power and has made it exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to manage a credible electoral process. Nigeria, like other emerging democracies, has witnessed the adverse consequences of electoral fraud, including violence and ethnic tensions. In summary, the establishment of a stable and vibrant democracy in Nigeria will undoubtedly pave the way for unhindered socioeconomic development in the country. However, addressing the challenges surrounding credible elections is crucial for achieving this goal. Efforts to combat election fraud, ensure the prosecution of offenders, and promote a culture of transparency and fairness are vital steps towards strengthening democracy and fostering positive growth in Nigeria.

Chapter Three

The Origins and Effects of Tourist Regulatory Organizations in Tourism Development in Nigeria

Introduction

Tourism has roots as ancient as humanity itself and can be traced back to the very beginnings of life on Earth. In the context of Nigeria, the history of tourism can be traced back to the earliest civilizations. However, organized development of modern tourism in

Nigeria commenced in 1962.[199] Some of the successive post-colonial governments in Nigeria showed interest in developing the tourism industry since the 1960s, with significant steps taken to promote its growth.

This chapter examines the historical roots and the subsequent effects of tourist regulatory bodies between 1962 and 2006. In this period, Nigeria experienced both military and civilian rule, all of which informed the fortunes of the tourist industry in different ways. As explored in what follows, the state established different bodies to regulate tourism in the country. These regulatory bodies were characterised by different experiences which informed how successors build up their capacity to facilitate and promote the tourist industry. The first of these bodies was the Nigerian Tourism Association (NTA), established in 1962. It was succeeded by the other bodies such as the Nigeria Tourism Board (NTB), the Nigeria Tourism Development Corporation (NTDC). The Ministry of Culture and Tourism, which, at a later stage, merged with the Ministry of Information, ultimately created the foundation for the establishment of the Ministry of Information, Culture, and Tourism. The experiences of the tourist sector will be traced by examining its relationship with these regulatory bodies.

The chapter also investigates the need for the Nigerian government to formulate the National Tourism Policy (NTP) in 1990 and the development of the Master Plan in 2005, to provide support for the industry's growth and development. These initiatives reflect the recognition of tourism and showcase the government's commitment to tapping into the country's tourism potential. The main argument of this chapter posits that these regulatory organizations underwent progressive transformations, adapting to promote Nigerian tourism

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[199] C.A Afolalu, K.A OIatunji, and C.C Nwagbo, "A Point-of-Interest Directory for Mobile Tourists in Abuja, Nigeria," *Journal of Multidisciplinary Engineering Science and Technology* 3, no. Issue 10 (October 2016): 5643, https://www.jmest.org/wp-content/uploads/JMESTN42351797.pdf.

in evolving ways. It suggests that the initial organizations lacked the comprehensive capabilities that subsequent iterations would benefit from, as they endeavoured to rectify the shortcomings of their predecessors.

The chapter is divided into three sections. In the first section, it examines the inception and progressive development of tourist regulatory organizations in the country. It traces their evolution over time, encompassing the transition from the colonial era to the early post-colonial period between 1962-1976. Following this, the second section offers a comprehensive analysis of the shift from ad-hoc measures to government intervention, specifically focusing on the role played by the NTB from 1976 to 1992. This analysis evaluates both the positive and negative impacts of these changes. In the third section, the study investigates the promotion of Nigerian tourism through marketing, with a particular emphasis on the role played by NTDC from 1992 to 2006. This section scrutinizes the dynamic nature of the nation's tourism sector over this period. Finally, the study concludes with a summary of findings and insights.

A key milestone in the historical development of the country's regulatory bodies was the establishment of the NTDC in 1992, which played a crucial role in regulating and promoting tourism at the national level, working towards enhancing the overall tourism experience in Nigeria. Its critical role will be analysed in this chapter. The development of tourist regulatory organizations, which reflects the changing dynamics and priorities of the tourism industry in Nigeria, will also be discussed. This chapter will also look at efforts that were put in place for the sector to align with global standards and best practices, as well as to foster international collaborations. The study of the historical development of tourist regulatory organizations in Nigeria provides valuable insights into the country's journey in

managing and regulating its tourism industry. It highlights the importance of effective regulation, the role of regulatory bodies, and the continuous adaptation required to meet the evolving needs of the tourism sector in Nigeria.

Origins of Tourism Regulation: Late Colonial Era to the Early Post-Colonial Period

This section explores the historical background of the establishment of tourist regulatory organizations in Nigeria. It covers the early initiatives, key milestones, and the development of regulatory frameworks related to tourism in the country.

The early stages of tourism development in Nigeria occurred under British colonial rule. For example, the Old Residency Museum, a colonial building from Scotland, was shipped to Nigeria in the 1880s.[200] The building is a prefabricated structure of Scandinavian red-pine wood shipped in knockdown parts from Britain to old Calabar.[201] It once housed the British colonial administration and now holds the world's largest collection of Nigerian government documents and artifacts. The museum focuses on the history of the Calabar and Cross River Regions, including that of the slave trade. It features exhibitions on the slave trade and European trade items, as well as palm oil production after the abolition of slavery.[202] Because of its historical significance, the museum became an important tourist attraction.

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[200] Rebecca Nelson, "Old Residency Museum," Antislavery Usable Past, accessed November 26, 2022, https://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/2037.
[201] Nigeria Galleria, "Old Residency Calabar, Cross River State," nigeriagalleria.com, accessed August 29, 2023, https://www.nigeriagalleria.com/Nigeria/States_Nigeria/Cross-River/Old-Residency-Calabar.html#:~:text=In%20Calabar%2C%20built%20in%201884,the%20Southern%20Protect%20orate%20of%20Nigeria.
[202] Nelson, "Old Residency Museum."

Modern tourism in Nigeria began to develop after the Second World War, when the country started receiving a small number of European tourists and adventurers.[203] The concept of a Nigeria Festival of the Arts was initially conceptualized in 1949 with the purpose of providing Nigerian artists, musicians, dancers, and craftsmen an annual platform to showcase their art to the public. The inaugural festival, held under the auspices of the British Council, was officially inaugurated by the then Governor Sir John Macpherson on Sunday, 23 April 1950.[204] This event marked the beginning of a significant cultural celebration that aimed to promote and celebrate the artistic talents and cultural heritage of Nigeria.

A letter from the Survey of Antiquities in Ibadan to the Government at the Nigerian Secretariat dated May 22, 1953, discussed the relocation of the Nigerian Antiquities headquarters, also known as the Nigerian Museum, from Ibadan to Lagos. In doing this, the government recognised the significance of the movement of a cultural institution, indicating an awareness of the importance of preserving and showcasing Nigeria's cultural heritage to both local and international visitors.[205] Even as these developments preserved Nigerian colonial heritage, it was important in attracting tourists interested in learning more about the country. In the same year, an important step was taken with the establishment of the Colonial Antiquities Commission (CAC), which aimed to manage and preserve Nigeria's tourism resources. The primary objective of the commission was to identify and safeguard national monuments and antiquities found within the country. This initiative reflected the recognition of the cultural and historical significance of these sites and the need to preserve them for

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[203] Abdul Raufu Mustapha, "The Survival Ethic and the Development of Tourism in Nigeria," in *The Native Tourist*, 1st Edition (Routledge, 2013), 176.

[204] J.A Adedeji, A Profile of Nigerian Art Theatre 1960-1970., Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (Federal Ministry of Education) National Archives University of Ibadan, Nigeria Nos. 107-109, PX/D69, *Official Magazines and Periodicals, Nigeria's Art Treasures-Nigeria Magazine*, issued August 1971.

[205] Royal Exchange Assurance (Nigeria) Limited [Nigeria Magazine], Headquarters of Nigerian Antiquities Service, Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (Federal Ministry of Education) National Archives, University of Ibadan FDA1/4, Box 3, B.109/1, *Move of the Antiquities Headquarters to Lagos in 1953*, issued August 1971.

future generations.[206] Through the CAC, efforts were made to document and protect Nigeria's heritage, including ancient artifacts, archaeological sites, and historical landmarks. This early attempt at tourism development laid the foundation for the preservation and promotion of Nigeria's rich cultural and historical assets. Although the scope of the CAC was focused on heritage preservation rather than tourism promotion, its establishment marked a crucial milestone in recognizing the value of Nigeria's tourism resources and the need for their protection. Subsequent developments in the tourism sector built upon this foundation, leading to the establishment of organizations and policies dedicated to the development and management of tourism in Nigeria.[207]

The history of tourism regulation in Nigeria can be traced back to 1959 when the colonial government recognized the potential of tourism and established an ad hoc advisory committee to promote it. This committee recommended the establishment of the Nigerian Tourist Association (NTA).[208] In 1962, the NTA was formed as a quasi-governmental organization, consisting of government representatives, private individuals, and organizations with a vested interest in tourism. The NTA played a significant role in promoting tourism within Nigeria and internationally. The NTA was tasked with developing a robust domestic tourism program and harnessing the benefits of international tourism for foreign exchange earnings. In recognition of its efforts, in 1963 the NTA joined the International Union of Official Travel Organizations (IUOTO), which is now known as the World Tourism Organization (WTO). This membership provided the NTA with a platform to engage with the global tourism community and collaborate on initiatives to enhance tourism development. Being a member of the IUOTO/WTO allowed the NTA to access international expertise,

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[206] Rowland Effiom, "The Tourism Industry Conundrum and the Nigeria Experience," *LWATI: A Journal of Contemporary Research* 10, no. 2 (August 2013): 79.

[207] Effiom, "The Tourism Industry Conundrum and the Nigeria Experience", 79.

[208] Dele Jemirade, "Tourism: The Missed Opportunities for Economic Development in Nigeria," *Journal of African Studies and Development* 13, no. 1 (January 31, 2021): 16, https://doi.org/10.5897/jasd2021.0611: Mustapha, "The Survival Ethic and the Development of Tourism in Nigeria", 176.

shared best practices, and participated in global tourism forums. It offered opportunities for networking, knowledge exchange, and cooperation with other countries in the tourism sector. By affiliating with the IUOTO/WTO, the NTA demonstrated Nigeria's commitment to tourism development and its recognition of the importance of international cooperation in achieving its goals. The association's membership in this prestigious international body further bolstered Nigeria's standing in the global tourism arena and opened doors for collaboration and partnerships with other countries. The NTA's involvement with the IUOTO/WTO reflected Nigeria's aspiration to position itself as a significant player in the international tourism industry and leverage the benefits that come with it, both in terms of economic growth and cultural exchange.[209]

The NTA, though a private and voluntary organization, received financial assistance from the government to fulfil its mandate of developing and promoting tourism in Nigeria. It played a crucial role in laying the foundation for the growth of the tourism industry in the country. During this period, efforts were made to showcase Nigeria's diverse attractions, cultural heritage, and natural wonders to attract both domestic and international tourists.[210] The government recognized the importance of tourism as a potential economic driver and supported the NTA in its endeavours.

The establishment of the NTA marked a significant milestone in the development of tourism in Nigeria. It laid the groundwork for subsequent initiatives and paved the way for the formulation of policies and the establishment of regulatory organizations to further drive the growth of the tourism sector in the country.[211] Soon after the NTA became a member of

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[209] Effiom, "The Tourism Industry Conundrum and the Nigeria Experience", 79.

[210] Okey Ovat, "Tourism and Economic Development in Nigeria: An Empirical Investigation," *Global Journal of Social Sciences* 2, no. 1 (January 2003): 33–34.

[211] Jemirade, "Tourism: The Missed Opportunities for Economic Development in Nigeria", 16.

IUOTO, the tourism industry in Nigeria faced a significant setback.[212] The setbacks it had faced were due to the crisis and conflict that occurred in the country during 1962-63, referred to as the "Crisis and Conflict in Nigeria".[213] These events, along with subsequent crises, including the civil war of 1967 to 1971, had an adverse impact on the development and progress of the tourism sector.[214] The political, governance issues, and socio-economic challenges Nigeria faced since it gained its independence highlighted in the previous chapter also contributed to these setbacks.[215] However, it is common for tourism industries to face challenges and setbacks due to various factors such as political instability, economic crises, security concerns, natural disasters, or negative perceptions in the international community.[216]

Given Nigeria's history, during this period, the country experienced political instability, which had a detrimental effect on the tourism industry. Political instability often leads to a decline in tourist arrivals, as potential visitors may perceive the destination as unsafe or unstable. Additionally, economic factors, such as currency fluctuations, inflation, or changes in government policies, can also impact the tourism industry negatively. Despite the short-lived period of relative peace and stability following independence in 1960, this changed in 1964 when political unrest erupted following accusations of election rigging. The ensuing violence and political instability hindered the progress of the NTA in marketing Nigeria as a safe tourist destination as the country became embroiled in a series of assassinations, riots, and a military coup in January 1966. This was followed by a countercoup in July 1966, deepening ethnic divisions and leading to a civil war that lasted

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[212] Okey Ovat, "Tourism and Economic Development in Nigeria: An Empirical Investigation," *Global Journal of Social Sciences* 2, no. 1 (January 2003): 33–34.

[213] Larry Diamond, *Class, Ethnicity and Democracy in Nigeria: The Failure of the First Republic* (London: The Macmillan Press LTD, 1988), 93–130.

[214] Jemirade, "Tourism: The Missed Opportunities for Economic Development in Nigeria", 17-18.

[215] Eghosa E. Osaghae, *Crippled Giant: Nigeria Since Independence* (North America: Indiana University Press, 1998).

[216] Afolalu, OIatunji, and Nwagbo, "A Point-of-Interest Directory for Mobile Tourists in Abuja, Nigeria", 5643.

from 1967 to 1971.[217] Amidst these turbulent times, the NTA struggled to make a significant impact in developing a sustainable tourism industry. The organization faced challenges and could not achieve tangible results during this period of instability. Its main notable achievement was joining the IUOTO/WTO. However, the NTA remained largely inactive until its replacement by another tourism regulatory body in 1976.[218] These factors have had an impact on the development and functioning of the tourism industry.

The instability worked against the NTA in many ways. For example, the economy was bedevilled by the uncertainty of tourists' purchasing power because of currency fluctuations, making travel to Nigeria less affordable or attractive. In response to the pressure from the NTA and recognizing the potential of tourism for economic development, the Nigerian government acted in 1971.[219] Just after the 30-month civil war in Nigeria, which ended in 1970[220], with the revenue generated from the 1970s oil boom, General Gowon attempted to rebuild the damage left by the war, including restoring a positive image of the country.[221]

The Nigeria Military government engaged the African Development Bank (ADB) to conduct a feasibility study to assess the tourism potential of Nigeria. The ADB report concluded that Nigeria possessed significant tourism potential that could contribute to its economic growth. As illustrated in the previous chapter, political instability hampered this potential by discouraging tourist arrivals to Nigeria. In an effort to improve the country's image and attract tourists, the Federal Government of Nigeria accepted the suggestions of the

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[217] E.C. Ejiogu, *The Roots of Political Instability in Nigeria: Political Evolution and Development in the Niger Basin*, *Routledge eBooks*, 1st Edition (London: Routledge, 2016), https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315553214.

[218] Jemirade, "Tourism: The Missed Opportunities for Economic Development in Nigeria", 17-18.

[219] Afolalu, OIatunji, and Nwagbo, "A Point-of-Interest Directory for Mobile Tourists in Abuja, Nigeria", 5643.

[220] Johnson Olaosebikan Aremu and Lateef Oluwafemi Buhari, "Sense and Senselessness of War: Aggregating the Causes, Gains and Losses of the Nigerian Civil War, 1967-1970," *IAFOR Journal of Arts & Humanities* 4, no. 1 (October 2017): 61-79, http://iafor.org/archives/journals/iafor-journal-of-arts-and-humanities/10.22492.ijah.4.si-06.pdf.

[221] Yusuf Akinpelu, "Analysis: From Bullet to Ballot: 14 Men Who Have Led Nigeria Since Independence," *Premium Times*, October 2, 2020, accessed April 4, 2023, https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/418005-analysis-from-bullet-to-ballot-14-men-who-have-led-nigeria-since-independence.

NTA and adopted the recommendations of the ADB's feasibility study.[222] In 1975, after thirteen years of the NTA's existence, the Nigerian government allocated N120 million for tourism development, marking a significant shift in recognizing its economic potential.[223] The government also issued Decree No 54 on 8 November 1976, establishing the Nigerian Tourist Board (NTB) as the regulatory body for tourism in the country (See Appendix 1). This highlighted the government's commitment to fostering the growth and professional management of the tourism industry in Nigeria.[224]

From NTA Measures to Government Intervention: The Nigerian Tourist Board, 1976 to 1992

Ajibola, the former Director of Culture and Tourism in Nigeria, highlighted the historical background of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. He opined that prior to 1971, there existed only the Ministry of Information. However, in 1971, the Nigerian government recognized the significance of culture and subsequently integrated it into the ministry. This inclusion of culture encompassed tourism within its purview, leading to the establishment of the Nigerian Tourism Board (NTB), which operated under the ministry.[225]

The decree that established the NTB marked an important step towards the development and regulation of the tourism industry in the country. It signified the government's recognition of the importance of tourism and its commitment to promoting and harnessing Nigeria's tourism resources. The enactment of Decree No. 54 of 1976

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[222] Afolalu, OIatunji, and Nwagbo, "A Point-of-Interest Directory for Mobile Tourists in Abuja, Nigeria", 5643.

[223] Effiom, "The Tourism Industry Conundrum and the Nigeria Experience", 79.

[224] The Federal Military Government of Nigeria [Nigerian Tourist Board Decree 1976. Decree No. 53. Supplement To Official Gazette No.56, Vol. 63], "Industrial Training Fund (Amendment)," *Gazettes.Africa*, November 18, 1976, A233, https://gazettes.africa/archive/ng/1976/ng-government-gazette-supplement-dated-1976-11-18-no-56-part-a.

[225] Augustus Babajide Ajibola, Former Director of Culture and Tourism: Interview by Osariemen Osunde Uwagboe January 19, 2023 (Nigeria, n.d.).

demonstrated the government's willingness to support and facilitate the growth of the tourism sector. It laid the foundation for subsequent policies, initiatives, and regulatory frameworks that aimed to unlock the full potential of tourism in Nigeria. By taking this step, the Nigerian government acknowledged the significance of tourism as a driver of economic development and sought to create an enabling environment for the industry to thrive. This decision marked a pivotal moment in the history of tourism in Nigeria, setting the stage for further efforts to promote and develop the sector in the years to come.[226]

Under the provisions of the decree, the NTB's responsibilities were to oversee operational, financial, and economic initiatives in the tourism industry. In addition, it was to formulate land-use policies specifically tailored to the tourism sector. To realize these tourism-oriented goals effectively, the Board was empowered to establish subsidiary entities as needed.[227] As the Nigerian economy was thriving in the 1970s, the government had sufficient room to manoeuvre as it considered the role the Board should play.[228] The decree also empowered the NTB with the authority and accountability to promote and enhance Nigeria's tourism industry, with a view to establish it as a thriving and sustainable source of income. The Board was also to implement strategies to drive the transformation of the country's tourism sector into a viable and lucrative industry.[229] Government also set up state level Tourism Committees to give advice and assistance to the NTB.[230] These objectives were designed to provide a framework for effective governance, strategic planning, and coordinated efforts in developing and promoting tourism in Nigeria. However, the board's financial dependence on the federal government and its bureaucratic nature led to

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[226] Afolalu, OIatunji, and Nwagbo, "A Point-of-Interest Directory for Mobile Tourists in Abuja, Nigeria", 5643.

[227] Jemirade, "Tourism: The Missed Opportunities for Economic Development in Nigeria", 18.

[228] John Monday Etebom, "The Long Years of Military Rule in Nigeria: A Blessing or a Curse," *Journal of Public Administration and Governance* 11, no. 2 (2021): 78.

[229] The Federal Military Government of Nigeria [Nigerian Tourist Board Decree 1976. Decree No. 53. Supplement To Official Gazette No.56, Vol. 63], "Industrial Training Fund (Amendment)", 243.

[230] The Federal Military Government of Nigeria [Nigerian Tourist Board Decree 1976. Decree No. 53. Supplement To Official Gazette No.56, Vol. 63], "Industrial Training Fund (Amendment)", 235.

inefficiencies and a lack of productivity. Meanwhile, the National Development Plan (NDP) introduced a specific allocation for tourism development, with each state receiving a grant of 1 million naira in 1978. These funds were intended for the construction of tourism villages and camps to accommodate both local and foreign visitors.[231]

The decree granted the NTB various other powers, including the mandate to encourage Nigerians to make use of the tourist sites which would help boost domestic tourism and foreigners to visit tourist attractions in Nigeria and to promote the development of tourist amenities, including hotels. In addition, the Board had the authority to provide advisory and information services, conduct tourism research, classify hotels, offer financial assistance to states in tourism, and support other organizations engaged in activities within its purview. The Board was also empowered to engage in activities necessary for the growth of the tourism industry, such as assisting in the development of museums, parks, game reserves, beaches, natural beauty spots, holiday resorts, and souvenir industries. It could also advise relevant authorities on improving tourism facilities, promote tourism, and undertake any actions incidental to its functions. Moreover, the Board had the option to establish a tour operating company called the National Travel Bureau (hereafter, the Bureau), which would operate tours both within and outside Nigeria. The bureau was required to run as a commercially viable entity, ensuring that its revenue covered the total cost of its services. Finally, the Commissioner had the authority to issue general directives to the Board concerning the exercise of its functions, which the Board was obligated to follow.[232] These directives were of a general nature and related to the overall management of the Board's responsibilities rather than specific cases or individuals.

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[231] Mustapha, "The Survival Ethic and the Development of Tourism in Nigeria", 178.

[232] The Federal Military Government of Nigeria [Nigerian Tourist Board Decree 1976. Decree No. 53. Supplement To Official Gazette No.56, Vol. 63], "Industrial Training Fund (Amendment)", 234-235.

Through the NTB, most state governments took proactive measures by forming state tourism committees to facilitate the development of tourism within their respective jurisdictions. An example of this occurred in 1985 when the Lagos State government established a twelve-member committee to oversee tourism development in the state. Subsequently, this committee evolved into the Ministry of Home Affairs and Tourism (MHAT) in Lagos State. Similarly, the Kaduna State government established a state tourism committee in 1986 with the objective of aligning government tourism policies to support the prevailing economic conditions for tourism investors in the state.[233]   However, in 1986, Nigeria implemented a Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) that significantly curtailed both domestic and foreign tourism due to reduced demand. One notable outcome of the policy was the proliferation of bureaucratic structures without a corresponding improvement in the efficiency of managing government institutions involved in tourism coordination.[234] Nevertheless, by the late 1980s, the recognition of tourism as a significant sector of the national economy in government circles had solidified, generating greater support for its promotion. Thus, in February 1987, the Anambra State government introduced the Mmanwu festival. Mmanwu is a masquerade Theatre festival among the Igbo of Nigeria which proved to be an important event that contributed to boosting tourism in the state.[235] Additionally, the Plateau State government entered into partnerships with private investors for various tourism ventures within the state. Examples of these collaborations include the Plateau Amusement Park Limited, which operates the Jos Amusement Park, and the Rock Hotel Limited, the owners of Jos Sheraton Hotel. The drive to promote tourism became a prominent feature in many states across the federation, leading to increased initiatives and investments in the tourism sector.[236]

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[233] Effiom, "The Tourism Industry Conundrum and the Nigeria Experience", 79-80.
[234] Mustapha, "The Survival Ethic and the Development of Tourism in Nigeria", 180.
[235] Effiom, "The Tourism Industry Conundrum and the Nigeria Experience", 79-80.
[236] Effiom, "The Tourism Industry Conundrum and the Nigeria Experience", 80.

As part of these efforts, a National Hotel Classification Committee (NHCC) was established in May 1987 with the objective of incentivizing improvements in the standards of the hotel industry. In the same year, a Tourism Expo took place in Lagos, aimed at stimulating local businesses to invest in tourism-related ventures and raising awareness among the general public about the abundant opportunities for domestic tourism within the country. While the objective of the tourism policy initiatives included the promotion of domestic tourism on an annual pilgrimage basis, the primary focus of the policy was on attracting international tourists to Nigeria. The intention was to encourage international tourism as a key driver of growth and development in the sector.[237] The primary objective of the policy was to position the tourism sector as a significant source of foreign exchange, considering the adverse impact of the decline in global crude oil prices since 1982 on Nigeria's foreign earnings.

In 1989, a significant national conference on tourism took place in Maiduguri. The primary purpose of the conference was to assess the progress of tourism development in Nigeria under the NTB. Following in-depth discussions and deliberations, the conference put forth recommendations that ultimately resulted in the creation of a dedicated Department of Tourism within the Ministry of Trade. This development aimed to advance and strengthen the tourism sector in Nigeria further.[238] Subsequently, the ministry changed its name to the Ministry of Trade and Tourism (MTT) to reflect its expanded focus. To ensure comprehensive coverage, government created six zones, each with its own headquarters, to oversee tourism initiatives across the entire country. Later, it also established state headquarters to enhance

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[237] Mustapha, "The Survival Ethic and the Development of Tourism in Nigeria", 178.

[238] Afolalu, OIatunji, and Nwagbo, "A Point-of-Interest Directory for Mobile Tourists in Abuja, Nigeria", 5644.

administration and coordination, while it also directed state governments to establish similar ministries and local governments to form tourism committees.[239]

During this period, the development and implementation of tourism policies in Nigeria were a collaborative effort involving the three tiers of government, with valuable assistance from the NTB. The Board played a vital role by establishing offices in each state to provide guidance and support on tourism-related matters.[240] It allocated grants for tourism development; however, the utilization of these funds by several states lacked transparency and accountability. Nevertheless, there were a few states that effectively utilized the resources to establish or upgrade various tourism ventures, which continue to operate successfully to date.

Among the notable examples of attractions that benefitted from NTB grants are the renowned Yankari Game Reserve, offering a rich wildlife experience. The iconic Hotel Presidential in Port Harcourt, located in River State, stands as a symbol of hospitality and elegance. The vibrant Arugungu Fishing Festival showcases the cultural heritage of Nigeria. The enchanting Ikogosi Warm Spring allures visitors with its unique blend of warm and cold springs flowing side by side. Lastly, the scenic Mado Tourist Village nestled amidst the refreshing environs of Jos provides a tranquil getaway for tourists.[241] These successful ventures demonstrate the positive outcomes achieved when funds are effectively utilized in tourism development. They serve as examples of the potential for sustainable tourism growth and the creation of memorable experiences for visitors to Nigeria. However, the unfavourable macro-political, economic, and security climate in the country continued to exert a negative

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[239] Afolalu, OIatunji, and Nwagbo, "A Point-of-Interest Directory for Mobile Tourists in Abuja, Nigeria", 5644.
[240] Jemirade, "Tourism: The Missed Opportunities for Economic Development in Nigeria", 16.
[241] Mustapha, "The Survival Ethic and the Development of Tourism in Nigeria", 178.

influence on tourism arrivals. The government persisted in implementing policy interventions, nevertheless.[242]

Despite some limited successes, the NTB faced challenges such as inefficiency and a lack of well-trained personnel and sincere efforts to drive its mission. Over the course of its sixteen-year existence, the board failed to demonstrate tangible results or to utilize the funds and goodwill invested by the government and private entities effectively. Instead, it became another government agency plagued by corruption and wasteful resource allocation.[243] As Ajibola observes, "lip service was paid to the tourism industry".[244] suggesting a lack of genuine or meaningful action or support for the tourism sector. While there may have been public statements or promises regarding the importance of tourism, these words were not backed up by concrete actions, policies, and investments that would actually benefit the industry. The officials/organizations may have spoken positively about the potential of tourism, acknowledged its significance, or made promises to improve it, but they did not follow through with substantial efforts, resources, or policy changes to genuinely promote or develop the tourism sector. The NTB was never fully committed to supporting the industry as demonstrated by inaction towards many causes. The board did not earnestly pursue the objectives outlined in the decree that established it.[245] After the enactment of Decree 54 of 1976, successive military regimes continued to define the rules and regulations governing the tourism sector. These regulations, according to tourism stakeholders, have remained a major challenge for the sector to this day. In 1982, for example, Muhammadu Buhari regime initiated the Master Plan on Tourism Development in Nigeria.[246] However, the country's first tourism development policy was not finalized until 1990.

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[242] Mustapha, "The Survival Ethic and the Development of Tourism in Nigeria", 180.

[243] Jemirade, "Tourism: The Missed Opportunities for Economic Development in Nigeria", 18.

[244] Ajibola, Former Director of Culture and Tourism: Interview by Osariemen Osunde Uwagboe January 19, 2023.

[245] Jemirade, "Tourism: The Missed Opportunities for Economic Development in Nigeria", 18.

[246] Mustapha, "The Survival Ethic and the Development of Tourism in Nigeria", 180.

The Master Plan on Tourism Development had significant policy implications. It paved the way for the promulgation of Decree No. 86 of 1991[247] which resulted in the establishment of another regulatory body discussed in what follows. In the same year, the government established the National Tourism Policy Forum (NTPF) as a think-tank to drive tourism development. Furthermore, a study commissioned by the federal government pertaining to tourism development was released. Subsequently, considering the suggestions delineated within the study, government enacted Decree 81 of 1992 to govern the management of tourism in Nigeria. This decree abolished the NTB,[248] and subsequently, government established the Nigerian Tourism Development Corporation (NTDC) in its place. The NTDC was tasked with regulating the sector from 1992 onward. However, due to the military's influence during the policy's formulation, the federal government continued to have full control over the tourism sector during the military era.[249]

The NTDC was established because its predecessor had proved to be ill-equipped to effectively manage the growing demands of an increasingly complex tourism industry.[250] Prior to the creation of the NTB, the Director-General of the Federal Ministry of Trade and Industries, which oversaw the then board, acknowledged the lacklustre achievements and commented on its disappointing performance. He stated, "A close observation of the performance of the NTB since 1976 has left much to be desired. NTB has a chequered history. It failed to create any impact on the country's tourism industry."[251] In addition, Ajibola, the former director of culture and tourism in Nigeria, mentioned that the "transformation of the

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[247] Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria [Nigeria Tourism Development Master Plan NIR/03/002 Final Report Volume 1], "Institutional Capacity Strengthening to the Tourism Sector in Nigeria," *Pdf4pro*, August 2006, https://pdf4pro.com/amp/view/nigeria-tourism-development-master-plan-6d880.html.

[248] Mustapha, "The Survival Ethic and the Development of Tourism in Nigeria", 180.

[249] Gboyega Akinsanmi, "Brewing War over Tourism," *Thisdaylive*, September 20, 2017, accessed April 16, 2023, https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2017/09/20/brewing-war-over-tourism.

[250] Ajibola, Former Director of Culture and Tourism: Interview by Osariemen Osunde Uwagboe January 19, 2023.

[251] Jemirade, "Tourism: The Missed Opportunities for Economic Development in Nigeria", 18.

NTB into the NTDC was also prompted by government's realization that the board's sole focus on hotels was insufficient to propel the growth of the tourism industry in Nigeria".[252]

Promoting Nigerian Tourism through Marketing: The Role of Nigeria Tourism Development Corporation (NTDC) 1992 to 2006

The journey leading up to the establishment of the NTDC was marked by a series of disappointments for the Nigerian tourism industry, despite the country's abundant opportunities and potentials. This trend of failures persisted from the earlier establishment of the ad hoc committee in 1957 to the creation of the Ministry of Trade and Tourism.[253] In response to the NTB's underperformance, the Federal Military Government (FMG) Enacted Decree 81 on December 14, 1992, which superseded Decree No. 54 of 1976, as stipulated in the Nigerian Tourism Development Corporation Decree No 81, 1992.[254]

The NTDC, which exists to date, was established during the administration of General Ibrahim Babangida. Before its establishment, the Supreme Military Council (SMC) had promulgated Decree No. 54 of 1976, which created the NTB, the country's first tourism regulatory body.[255] Consequently, the NTDC became the primary tourism agency of the Federal Government of Nigeria, entrusted with the comprehensive mandate of promoting, marketing, and coordinating tourism activities across the country.[256] The NTB, established by the FMG, fell short of its primary objective to position Nigerian tourism as a significant

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[252] Ajibola, Former Director of Culture and Tourism: Interview by Osariemen Osunde Uwagboe January 19, 2023.

[253] Jemirade, "Tourism: The Missed Opportunities for Economic Development in Nigeria", 16.

[254] Nigerian Tourism Development Corporation [An Act to establish the Nigerian Tourism Development Corporation and for matters connected therewith], "Nigerian Tourism Development Corporation Act," Data set, *Revised Edition of Decree No. 81 of 1992* (FAOLEX, December 14, 1992), https://faolex.fao.org/docs/pdf/nig120668.pdf.

[255] Akinsanmi, "Brewing War over Tourism."

[256] Afolalu, OIatunji, and Nwagbo, "A Point-of-Interest Directory for Mobile Tourists in Abuja, Nigeria", 5643.

foreign exchange earner for the country. Despite attempts to reorganize administrative structures and policies, the board faced challenges.[257]

The Ministry of Trade and Tourism (MTT) and relevant stakeholders conducted numerous meetings to discuss and facilitate the transition process. These meetings addressed various aspects related to the transformation from the NTB to the NTDC and sought to gather input, exchange ideas, and ensure a smooth and efficient transition that would effectively serve the needs of the tourism industry in Nigeria. Through extensive consultations and discussions, the MTT formulated the necessary steps and strategies to establish the NTDC as a capable entity for driving the growth and development of tourism in the country.[258]

The NTDC remains the government agency responsible for the development of the tourism industry in Nigeria, yet the challenges and setbacks have persisted to the present day.[259] It lays out provisions for the formation of the State Tourism Board (STB), the Local Government Tourism Committee (LGTC), and the Hotel Inspectorate Division (HID).[260] To diversify its heavily oil-dependent economy, the Nigerian Government took several measures to promote travel and tourism. These measures included the formulation of the National Tourism Policy (NTP), the creation of the National Institute for Hospitality and Tourism Bureau, as a tour operating company under the NTDC, the adoption of a Tourism Master Plan (TMP), and the establishment of a National Tourism Council with the President serving as Chairman.[261]

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[257] Jemirade, "Tourism: The Missed Opportunities for Economic Development in Nigeria", 18.

[258] Ajibola, Former Director of Culture and Tourism: Interview by Osariemen Osunde Uwagboe January 19, 2023.

[259] Jemirade, "Tourism: The Missed Opportunities for Economic Development in Nigeria", 16.

[260] Nigerian Tourism Development Corporation [An Act to establish the Nigerian Tourism Development Corporation and for matters connected therewith], "Nigerian Tourism Development Corporation Act."

[261] Effiom, "The Tourism Industry Conundrum and the Nigeria Experience", 80.

The Bureau function as the commercial division of the NTDC, offering a range of services including guided tours/excursions, bus rental services, travel consultancy, and tour guide services. The concept of establishing a National Travel Bureau was initially conceived by the Nigerian Tourist Association with the objective of facilitating guided tours, sightseeing, and package holidays. The intention behind its establishment was to provide support to private tour companies that may face challenges in acquiring their own tourist infrastructure and resources. By offering these services, the bureau enhanced and strengthened the capabilities of private tour operators, enabling them to provide comprehensive tourism experiences to visitors.[262] The overarching goals of these measures were to make Nigeria the ultimate tourism destination in Africa and to position tourism as a significant foreign exchange earner in an economy reliant on oil exports. Nevertheless, the ongoing discussion still revolves around the factors that have impeded Nigeria from becoming a favoured tourism destination and the reasons behind its lack of recognition as a top global tourist destination, despite the country's wealth of tourism attractions.[263]

Section 7, number 1 of the decree established state tourism boards in each state of the federation. These boards were responsible for coordinating tourism activities within their respective states. Additionally, Section 10, number 1 of the same decree mandated the formation of local government tourism committees in each local government area of the states.[264] These committees were entrusted with promoting and developing tourism at the local level. The establishment of these committees and boards aimed to foster a robust and flourishing tourism industry in Nigeria, emphasizing the importance of collaboration and

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[262] "Nigerian Tourism Development Corporation," Tournigeria.gov.ng, accessed June 16, 2023, https://www.tournigeria.gov.ng/about.us.php.
[263] Effiom, "The Tourism Industry Conundrum and the Nigeria Experience", 80.
[264] Nigerian Tourism Development Corporation [An Act to establish the Nigerian Tourism Development Corporation and for matters connected therewith], "Nigerian Tourism Development Corporation Act."

coordination at various levels of government.[265] To address the evolving challenges and align with the objectives outlined in the Tourism Policy, the NTDC Decree 81 of 1992 was amended to transform it into an Act of Parliament.[266] This significant development elevated the NTDC to the position of the apex tourism regulatory body in the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The NTDC was entrusted with the vital role of promoting, marketing, and coordinating tourism activities across the country, guided by the following objectives:[267]

Promoting the flourishing of tourism activities involves fostering high standards and efficient service delivery within the hospitality industry, while also facilitating investments in the sector. This can be achieved by utilizing Nigeria's abundant cultural heritage and other viable tourism assets, supported by a proactive and motivated workforce, to establish tourism as a major revenue generator. Additionally, implementing industry standardization and improvement measures through registration, inspection, classification, and grading of hospitality and tourism enterprises to meet international standards is crucial to ensure customer satisfaction. To showcase Nigeria's attractions effectively, various media channels, including print, electronic media, and the internet, should be utilized. It is essential to produce high-quality promotional materials such as brochures, flyers, guide maps, and documentaries, and actively participate in local and international fairs and exhibitions. Establishing a reliable and up-to-date tourism Data Bank and implementing the Tourism Satellite Account (TSA) to assess tourism's impact on the national economy is also important.

Collaboration with government agencies such as the Immigration Service, National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN), and National Population

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[265] Nigerian Tourism Development Corporation [An Act to establish the Nigerian Tourism Development Corporation and for matters connected therewith], "Nigerian Tourism Development Corporation Act."

[266] Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria [Nigeria Tourism Development Master Plan NIR/03/002 Final Report Volume 1], "Institutional Capacity Strengthening to the Tourism Sector in Nigeria," Pdf4pro, August 2006, https://pdf4pro.com/amp/view/nigeria-tourism-development-master-plan-6d880.html.

[267] Sweetie Feranmi, "NTDC Vol I," *Academia.Edu*, September 5, 2014, 8, https://www.academia.edu/1517683/NTDC_Vol_I.

Commission leads to the production of Annual Tourism Statistical Data and Tourism Statistical Accounts. Identifying, evaluating, and documenting tourism sites and attractions for investment and promotional purposes is a fundamental step. Enforcing codes of conduct for travel, trade, and business operators in the industry is necessary for maintaining high standards. Working in tandem with relevant government ministries, departments, and agencies is vital to ensure necessary infrastructure provision at tourism sites. Offering technical and advisory services to both public and private sector players within the tourism industry is part of the comprehensive strategy.

The planning, coordination, and contribution to the development of tourist sites nationwide is essential to ensure the sector's growth. To provide financial assistance to practitioners and developers, it is important to facilitate the establishment of the Tourism Development Fund (TDF). Moreover, promoting and marketing tourism products and services domestically and internationally is essential for attracting tourists. Lastly, encouraging and facilitating private sector and local community involvement in the growth of the tourism industry is a means to ensure sustainable development. Fostering the development of technical and professional tourism services is a continuous effort in promoting tourism in Nigeria.[268]

The NTDC operates as a statutory body under the Federal Ministry of Culture, Tourism, and National Orientation. It offers services primarily in the areas of regulation, coordination, and promotion of tourism activities in the country, which include:[269] Regulating, classifying, and grading Hospitality and Tourism Enterprises (HTEs) to ensure standardized

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[268] Festus Aweneri Akande, "An Assessment of the Impact of Culture and Tourism on International Public Relations Practice: A Study of Nigerian Tourism Development Corporation (NTDC)," *Journal of Culture, Society and Development* 4 (2014): 12–13, https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/234690933.pdf.
[269] Feranmi, "NTDC Vol I."

facilities and efficient service delivery in line with international standards. Coordinating and promoting major tourism and cultural events, such as festivals, to attract international tourists and promote tourism in Nigeria. Providing technical and advisory services to states, local governments, and the organized private sector on tourism development matters. Identifying, documenting, and promoting major tourist sites and attractions in each state of Nigeria, creating awareness about the potential and investment opportunities in the Nigerian tourism sector. Assisting in the rehabilitation, upgrading, and development of important tourist sites throughout the country.[270]

These objectives reflect the NTDC's mandate to drive the growth and success of the tourism industry in Nigeria in alignment with national priorities and international standards. In relation to the Nigerian tourism sector, officials drafted two new bills and an amending bill. These legislative proposals aimed to address key aspects of tourism regulation and governance in the country. A Bill Amendment of the NTDC Act 1992 (Private Members Bill) aimed to introduce changes to several sections of the existing act. The proposed amendments primarily focused on the composition of the Corporation, the appointment process for the Director-General, the powers of inspectors, penalties, financial provisions, and the transfer of certain functions from the Minister to the President and Senate.[271]

The NTDC Act is governed by the Act Cap. N137, Laws of the Federation of Nigeria (LFN), 2004. This means that the NTDC Act is regulated and guided by the legal framework specified in the Act Cap. N137 of the Laws of the Federation of Nigeria (LFN) for the year 2004. In other words, the operations, rules, and provisions outlined within the NTDC Act are subject to the legal guidelines set forth in the Act Cap. N137 of the LFN for the year 2004.

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[270] Akande, "An Assessment of the Impact of Culture and Tourism on International Public Relations Practice: A Study of Nigerian Tourism Development Corporation (NTDC)", 12–13.
[271] Feranmi, "NTDC Vol I. 5.

This Act serves as the primary document dictating how the NTDC functions and is governed in accordance with the laws of Nigeria.[272] There was a proposal to nullify or revoke the existing NTDC Act and potentially replace it with a new legislation or make significant amendments to the current act. During a public hearing, Senator Matthew Urhoghide, the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Culture & Tourism, discussed the Senate's decision to initiate a bill for repealing the NTDC Act CAP N137 LFN 2004. He explained that prior to the Nigerian Tourism Development Authority (NTDA) Bill, the NTDC Act, 2004 was the sole existing law regulating tourism and hospitality in Nigeria.[273]

Ajibola opined that during the military regime in 1990, a dedicated Ministry of Culture and Tourism was established as a separate entity from the Ministry of Information. This separate ministry focused specifically on cultural, and tourism matters until 1992/1993 when it was merged back with the Ministry of Information. However, in 1999, during the civilian government led by President Obasanjo, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism was once again established as a distinct and independent ministry. Within the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, there are two departments that specifically cater to tourism: the Domestic Tourism Control Department and the International Tourism Department. These departments handle various aspects related to tourism, both within Nigeria and internationally. He further said, in addition to the departments, there are two prominent parastatals operating under the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. The first is the NTDC, which was established during the Tourism Master Plan. The NTDC plays a vital role in driving and promoting tourism in Nigeria. It is responsible for implementing tourism policies, developing tourism products, and marketing Nigeria as a tourist destination. The second parastatal is the National Institute for Hospitality and Tourism (NIHOTOUR), which was initially established as a training institute

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Ayooluwatunwase Fadeyi and Chuks Okoriekwe, "Increasing Investment Attractiveness of Nigeria's Hospitality Industry: Legal and Other Considerations," *Lexology*, (June 29, 2020): 1-4, https://www.lexology.com/library/detail.aspx?g=87715b42-c971-4332-afb4-adb912a82373.
[273] Akinsanmi, "Brewing War over Tourism."

for the hospitality business in Nigeria. NIHOTOUR's primary objective is to provide professional training and education to enhance the quality of hospitality services in the country.[274]

Ajibola highlights that the institutional reforms, such as the transformation of the NTB into the NTDC and the creation of NIHOTOUR, were essential steps in strengthening the governance and management of the tourism industry. These reforms aimed to bridge the gap between policy formulation and practical implementation. The NTDC, as a corporate entity, was tasked with the responsibility of executing tourism policies, coordinating tourism activities, and driving the development of the sector. Meanwhile, NIHOTOUR's establishment ensured the availability of trained professionals in the hospitality and tourism industry, contributing to the overall growth and quality of services in the sector.

The establishment of a separate ministry for culture and tourism, the formulation of policy documents, and the implementation of institutional reforms were significant measures taken to foster the growth and development of the tourism industry in Nigeria. These initiatives aimed to create a conducive environment for tourism, enhance sector management, and promote Nigeria as an attractive tourist destination both domestically and internationally.[275] In 2006, the Nigerian Tourism Transformation Program (NTTP) was replaced by the Nigerian Tourism Development Master Plan (NTDMP). This new master plan, implemented in 2006, provided a comprehensive framework for the development and management of the tourism sector in Nigeria. The NTDMP addressed various aspects related to tourism investment and business setup in Nigeria. It specifically focused on foreign ownership and Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in the tourism industry. The plan outlined

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[274] Ajibola, Former Director of Culture and Tourism: Interview by Osariemen Osunde Uwagboe January 19, 2023.
[275] Ajibola, Former Director of Culture and Tourism: Interview by Osariemen Osunde Uwagboe January 19, 2023.

guidelines and regulations concerning the extent of foreign ownership allowed in tourism businesses and emphasized the protection of investment rights in the sector. Additionally, the NTDMP aimed to streamline the process of setting up a tourism business in Nigeria. It identified the time and cost requirements involved in establishing tourism ventures, aiming to reduce bureaucratic obstacles and promote a more efficient and investor-friendly environment.

By introducing the NTDMP, Nigeria sought to attract foreign investment, promote sustainable tourism practices, and position itself as a competitive tourism destination. The plan played a crucial role in providing a clear roadmap for the development and growth of the tourism industry while ensuring the protection of investment rights and facilitating a conducive business environment.[276] As part of its ongoing efforts, the Federal Government took subsequent action to alter the name of the Federal Ministry of Culture and Tourism, which was initially established in June 1999. By the middle of 2006, the ministry underwent a name change and became known as the Federal Ministry of Tourism, Culture, and National Orientation. This renaming was accompanied by a new directive to enhance the promotion of the country's abundant cultural heritage. The ministry's primary objective is to identify, develop, and market the diverse cultural and tourism potentials of the nation.[277] The 1992 NTDC Act, which governs the NTDC, has not undergone significant amendments to align with current global trends and advancements in the tourism industry. This lack of updates in the legislation hampers the ability to address emerging challenges and take advantage of new opportunities in the sector.[278]

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[276] Esther Onoji, "Regulatory Framework for Tourism in Nigeria: How Can This Be Made Easier for Investors," Primera Africa Legal, September 3, 2019, accessed June 25, 2021, https://primeraal.com/news/regulatory-framework-for-tourism-in-nigeria/.

[277] "Culture and Heritage," Federal Ministry of Information and National Orientation, August 11, 2016, accessed August 14, 2021, https://fmic.gov.ng/culture/culture/.

[278] Onoji, "Regulatory Framework for Tourism in Nigeria: How Can This Be Made Easier for Investors."

A major challenge faced by the corporation is the scarcity of funds. Direct government funding for the NTDC is still insufficient, and despite ambitious dreams, the financial resources needed to realize them are lacking. The paucity of funds hinders the NTDC's ability to fully execute its plans and initiatives.[279] While some states, such as Lagos and Cross River States, have taken steps to regulate certain aspects of the tourism industry by enacting laws pertaining to hotels, food, gaming, and liquor businesses, there are still several areas within tourism that remain unaddressed by both federal and state laws. This regulatory gap leaves aspects of the tourism sector without clear guidelines and standards. One notable example is the absence of a clear strategy for operating tour services in Nigeria, which effectively renders this aspect of tourism virtually non-existent in the country. The lack of specific regulations and frameworks for tour operators limits their ability to operate effectively and inhibits the growth of this crucial component of the tourism industry.[280]

The tourism industry in Nigeria faces several key setbacks when it comes to regulation and implementation at various levels. These setbacks include, among others, the implementation of existing regulations. These have also been consistently inadequate, thus diminishing their desired impact. Despite having regulatory frameworks in place, the enforcement mechanisms have been lacking, resulting in a lack of compliance within the industry. Insufficient enforcement undermines the intended purpose of these regulations and hampers their effectiveness. It is crucial to address this issue by improving the enforcement processes and ensuring strict adherence to the regulations to promote industry-wide compliance and achieve the desired outcomes.[281]

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[279] Akande, "An Assessment of the Impact of Culture and Tourism on International Public Relations Practice: A Study of Nigerian Tourism Development Corporation (NTDC)", 16.

[280] Onoji, "Regulatory Framework for Tourism in Nigeria: How Can This Be Made Easier for Investors."

[281] Onoji, "Regulatory Framework for Tourism in Nigeria: How Can This Be Made Easier for Investors."

Sam Adeleke, from Federation of Tourism Association of Nigeria (FTAN), highlighted some of the challenges posed by intricate visa requirements in Nigeria. The complex visa procedures and strict entry regulations frequently encountered by visitors can act as deterrents, discouraging potential tourists from choosing the country as their destination.[282] To foster tourism growth and encourage more visitors, it is crucial to simplify and streamline the visa processes, making them more user-friendly and efficient. By doing so, Nigeria can enhance its appeal as a tourist-friendly nation and attract a greater number of travellers.

Michael Balogun, from Tour2Nigeria, opined that investors in Nigeria face significant burdens when it comes to registering and establishing tourism-related businesses. The system requires compliance with multiple registration requirements across various authorities, including the Corporate Affairs Commission, Local Government Authority, State Ministry of Commerce and Industry, State Hotels Board, and the NTDC. This multitude of registration processes can be arduous, time-consuming, intricate, and expensive, creating substantial challenges for investors and impeding the growth of businesses in the tourism sector.[283]

To foster a more conducive environment for investment and business development, it is essential to streamline and simplify the registration procedures. Consolidating the registration requirements and creating a unified, user-friendly process would alleviate the burden on investors, reducing time, effort, and costs associated with compliance. By implementing a more efficient registration system, Nigeria can encourage greater investment and stimulate the growth of tourism-related businesses in the country.[284]

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[282] Sam Adeleke, Federation of Tourism Association of Nigeria (FTAN), Interview by Osariemen Osunde Uwagboe October 15, 2022 (Nigeria, n.d.).

[283] Balogun, Michael. Tour2Nigeria. Interview by Osariemen Osunde Uwagboe October 23, 2022 (Nigeria, n.d.).

[284] Onoji, "Regulatory Framework for Tourism in Nigeria: How Can This Be Made Easier for Investors."

Addressing these gaps and shortcomings in legal and regulatory development is essential for fostering a conducive environment for growth and development, attracting both domestic and international investment. Updating existing legislation, providing clear and comprehensive guidelines, and implementing comprehensive strategies for various aspects of the tourism sector are critical steps to Nigeria's tourism industry to enhance its competitiveness on the global arena. By enhancing the enforcement processes and ensuring rigorous adherence to regulations, industry-wide compliance can be promoted, ultimately leading to the desired outcomes for the Nigerian tourism sector. To achieve this, it is imperative to execute the existing regulations, simplify visa requirements, and streamline the investor registration process. These actions collectively contribute to establishing a more conducive environment for tourism businesses, attracting investment, and improving the overall visitor experience in the country. These measures are poised to play a critical role in propelling the growth and competitiveness of the Nigerian tourism sector.

Even after the transition to civilian rule in 1999, military thinking has continued to shape the country's tourism industry for the past four decades. Although the 1999 Constitution limits the regulatory power of the federal government on tourist traffic alone, the same thinking persisted in the governance of the tourism sector.[285] Ajibola, opined that, the ineffective implementation of regulatory bodies in Nigeria's tourism industry can be attributed to several factors, including a lack of political will, inadequate financial commitment, and the appointment of individuals without passion or commitment to the sector. He further explained that a significant challenge in Nigeria is the tendency to develop comprehensive policies and regulatory frameworks without demonstrating sincere intentions

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[285] Akinsanmi, "Brewing War over Tourism."

for their proper implementation.[286] While well-crafted documents are created, there is often a lack of commitment and follow-through in executing these policies successfully. This disconnect between policy formulation and implementation undermines the desired impact and hampers progress in various sectors, including tourism.

The lack of political will in the Nigerian government poses a significant obstacle to the progress of the tourism industry. Insufficient allocation of funds and resources towards supporting tourism initiatives hampers the industry's ability to attract investments and achieve sustainable growth and development. The appointment of individuals without a genuine passion for the tourism industry contributes to the problem. Placing individuals in positions of authority who lack the necessary expertise, passion, and understanding of the sector undermines the potential for effective governance and decision-making. Without the dedication and commitment of passionate professionals, the industry suffers from a lack of direction and proper management.

This lack of political will, financial constraint, and appointment of disinterested individuals creates a loveless marriage, so to speak, between those responsible for governing the industry and the tourism sector itself. Consequently, the necessary commitment and enthusiasm required to drive the industry's success are absent. Addressing these challenges necessitates a shift in mindset and approach. It requires fostering a genuine commitment to the tourism industry from political leaders, allocating adequate financial resources for its development, and appointing passionate individuals who understand and value the potential

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[286] Ajibola, Former Director of Culture and Tourism: Interview by Osariemen Osunde Uwagboe January 19, 2023.

of the sector. By cultivating a stronger sense of commitment, Nigeria can unlock the full capacity of its tourism industry and reap the economic and social benefits it offers.[287]

Michael Nwandu posits that the tourism sector in Nigeria faces challenges in the areas of security, infrastructure, and manpower/skills. Insufficient manpower and a lack of necessary skills pose obstacles in protecting key assets and effectively operating within the tourism industry. In addition, he explained that policy change has had adverse impact on the sector. Regarding policy changes, it is vital to establish a stable and predictable regulatory environment to provide confidence and attract investments in the tourism industry. Ensuring that policies are carefully crafted and implemented with long-term sustainability in mind can mitigate the negative effects of policy fluctuations. Attending to these challenges and focusing on security, infrastructure development, manpower/skills, and stable policies, Nigeria can create an enabling environment for the growth and success of its tourism sector.[288] Furthermore, negative perceptions surrounding Nigeria have played a role in hindering the growth of the tourism sector. Unfavourable views arising from security concerns, political instability, governance issues, and socio-economic disparities have affected the perception of Nigeria as a tourist destination.[289] Overcoming these negative perceptions is key to attract more visitors and realize the full prospective of the country's tourism industry. Tackling the political, governance, and socio-economic challenges, along with improving security measures, promoting stability, and enhancing Nigeria's image as a safe and welcoming destination, are vital steps towards overcoming these setbacks and fostering the growth of the tourism sector.

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[287] Ajibola, Former Director of Culture and Tourism: Interview by Osariemen Osunde Uwagboe January 19, 2023.

[288] Michael Nwandu, Nigerian Tourism Development Corporation (NTDC): Planning, Research, and Statistics (PRS) Department Lagos State, Interview by Osariemen Osunde Uwagboe August 16, 2022 (Nigeria).

[289] Eghosa E. Osaghae, *Crippled Giant: Nigeria Since Independence* (North America: Indiana University Press, 1998).

Conclusion

The development of tourist regulatory organizations in Nigeria sheds light on the country's endeavours to regulate and promote its tourism industry. Despite Nigeria's considerable tourism potential, challenges such as political instability and security concerns have hindered its ability to fully leverage its advantages. Nonetheless, the establishment of various regulatory bodies, including the NTA, NTB, NTDC, and the Federal Ministry of Tourism, Culture, and National Orientation, demonstrates Nigeria's attempts to regulate and develop the industry.

These organizations were established to address the need for specialized and comprehensive regulation in recognition of Nigeria's tourism potential. The government's record of shaping the country's image, whether unwittingly through political instability, corruption and conflict, or intently marketing the country in various ways has incrementally shaped the country's image, with a direct corelation to the development of the tourism industry. Subsequent military regimes and civilian governments have attempted to develop tourism by passing relevant decrees, formulating policies, and devising master plans that align with global standards. These initiatives aim to attract foreign investment, streamline business processes, and position Nigeria as a competitive tourism destination. While Nigeria's tourism industry has achieved successes such as the creation of notable attractions and increased focus on domestic and international tourism, sustained collaboration among government bodies, private sector stakeholders, and regulatory organizations remains vital for long-term growth and industry sustainability. Yet despite these incremental developments, several challenges still persist to date.

Tourism organisations consistently point to several failures. These include, among others, inadequate financial support, cumbersome visa procedures, complex registration processes, security concerns, infrastructure development, and manpower training. Enhancing the implementation and enforcement of regulations, streamlining procedures, and fostering a genuine commitment to the industry, tourist players persistently suggest, could unlock Nigeria's tourism sector's full potential. This not only enhances the country's image and reputation but also plays a significant role in its economic and social development.

Addressing challenges related to political stability, security, and crime is essential to fully expand tourism in Nigeria. By prioritizing efforts to create a peaceful and safe environment, Nigeria could attract more international visitors and develop its tourism industry to its full capacity. It is worth noting that setbacks in the tourism industry are not uncommon and can occur in any country. The key is for governments and tourism stakeholders to identify the challenges and work towards addressing them through strategic planning, policy reforms, infrastructure development, marketing campaigns, and partnerships to revive and strengthen the tourism sector. However, it highlights the need for continuous efforts to overcome challenges and create an enabling environment for tourism to thrive.[290]

Chapter Four

The Tourist Regulatory Bodies and Their Impact on Nigeria's Global Image

Introduction

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[290] Martha Honey, *Tourism in the Developing World: Promoting Peace and Reducing Poverty*, vol. 233 (United States of America: Institute of Peace, 2009), 6.

The Nigerian tourism sector has long been recognized as having the capability to become a significant contributor to the nation's economy. However, the realization of this possibility has been shaped and influenced by various factors, including the presence and role of regulatory authorities. This chapter explores the multifaceted impact of tourist regulatory bodies on the Nigerian tourism industry, spanning from its inception to 2006. Throughout this period, Nigeria witnessed a series of transitions in its approach to tourism regulation, from the establishment of the first regulatory body in the colonial era to subsequent reforms and adaptations in response to changing economic, political, and social dynamics. These regulatory bodies were tasked with not only overseeing the tourism sector but also fostering its growth, ensuring quality standards, and promoting Nigeria's attractions to both domestic and international audiences.

This chapter critically assesses the influence of these regulatory organizations on the development of tourism industry standards, marketing strategies, and overall sector growth. It explores the effectiveness of these authorities in creating an enabling environment for tourism businesses, safeguarding cultural heritage, and maximizing the economic benefits of tourism. The influence of tourist regulatory organizations on the Nigerian tourism sector cannot be understated, the chapter, therefore, investigates the key role these organizations played in shaping and promoting the industry, thereby contributing significantly to the country's cultural heritage preservation, economic growth, and global recognition. The NTDC's journey is intertwined with Nigeria's rich cultural heritage, and its efforts have extended far beyond the country's borders. To illustrate this impact, the chapter begins with the symbolic presentation of "The Oba of Benin with Attendants," a traditional Nigerian artwork.

Further, the chapter investigates the historical context, tracing how the evolution of tourist regulatory bodies in Nigeria, including the NTA and the NTB have paved the way for significant events like Festac '77, which celebrated Africa's cultural achievements and fostered Pan-African unity, emphasizing the importance of cultural preservation and exchange. Additionally, the chapter will explore the NTDC's role in hosting the Ecotourism Conference/Symposium in 2000, showcasing Nigeria's commitment to sustainable practices, the NTDC's participation in international events, such as the Global Summit on Tourism, which underscores Nigeria's contributions to the global tourism industry. The chapter also examines the NTDC's launch of the Satellite Navigation and Mobile Phone planner aimed to enhance tourist experiences.

Furthermore, the chapter analyses the financial impact of the NTDC in experiencing significant growth. Therefore, this chapter explores how the NTDC, in conjunction with other regulatory bodies, has significantly influenced Nigeria's global image and reputation through cultural and tourism promotion. It underlines the importance of continued efforts to enhance Nigeria's positive image as a tourist destination and highlights the need for greater attention to local cultural preservation. Thus, this chapter examines the influence and effectiveness of tourist regulatory organizations in shaping and promoting the tourism industry in Nigeria. It analyses the role of these organizations in attracting tourists, ensuring quality standards, fostering sustainable practices, and contributing to the overall growth and development of the tourism sector in the country.

Impact of Tourist Regulatory Organizations on the Nigerian Tourism Industry

In 1967, as part of the grand opening ceremony for San Diego's International Airport terminal in the United States, a prominent display featured a traditional Nigerian artwork

titled "The Oba of Benin with Attendants." This exceptional piece of art was graciously gifted by the Government of the Federation of Nigeria, symbolizing a special present to commemorate the terminal's inauguration. "The Oba of Benin with Attendants" sculpture holds a significant history preceding its placement at the airport. It was originally exhibited at the independence building in Lagos during the Nigerian Independence celebration anniversary in 1962.[291] This significant year also saw the establishment of the NTA.[292] Moreover, the sculpture gained attention at the Wind Symphony Orchestra exhibition in Pennsylvania, USA, in 1963,[293] which coincided with the NTA's inclusion in the IUOTO/WTO.[294] Through the presentation of this remarkable Nigerian artwork at San Diego's International Airport, Nigeria showcased its vibrant cultural heritage and artistic contributions to a global audience. This act fostered cultural exchange, appreciation, and recognition of Nigeria's rich artistic traditions on an international scale.[295]

After the formation of the NTB in 1976,[296] Festac'77, also recognized as the Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture, took place in Lagos, Nigeria, from 15 January 1977 to 12 February 1977. This significant international festival was held as a follow-up to the initial festival that occurred in Dakar in 1966.[297] This extravagant international festival served as a vibrant celebration of Africa's rich cultural achievements and legacies, both within the continent and across its diaspora communities. It provided a

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[291] Royal Exchange Assurance [Nigeria Magazine], Lagos Art Galleries, Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (Federal Ministry of Education) National Archives, University of Ibadan No. 92, PX/D69, issued March 1967.

[292] Rowland Effiom, "The Tourism Industry Conundrum and the Nigeria Experience," *LWATI: A Journal of Contemporary Research* 10, no. 2 (2013): 79.

[293] Royal Exchange Assurance [Nigeria Magazine], Lagos Art Galleries.

[294] Effiom, "The Tourism Industry Conundrum and the Nigeria Experience", 79.

[295] Royal Exchange Assurance [Nigeria Magazine], Lagos Art Galleries.

[296] The Federal Military Government of Nigeria [Nigerian Tourist Board Decree 1976. Decree No. 53. Supplement To Official Gazette No.56, Vol. 63], "Industrial Training Fund (Amendment)," *Gazettes.Africa*, November 18, 1976, 243, https://gazettes.africa/archive/ng/1976/ng-government-gazette-supplement-dated-1976-11-18-no-56-part-a.

[297] A Daily Times [Official Magazines and Periodicals, FESTAC'77-A preview of the 2nd World Black and African festival], The Black of the World, Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (Federal Ministry of Education) National Archives, University of Ibadan PX/D55B, *Festac '77*, n.d.

platform for showcasing the diverse artistic expressions, traditions, and contributions of African cultures worldwide.[298]

The principal aims of the Festac '77 festival were,

a) Cultural Celebration: The festival aimed to celebrate and showcase the diverse cultural heritage of Africa and its diaspora. It sought to highlight the artistic, musical, dance, literary, and visual arts traditions of African communities worldwide.

b) Pan-African Unity: Festac '77 aimed to foster a sense of unity and solidarity among African nations and people of African descent. It provided a space for cultural exchange, dialogue, and collaboration, promoting mutual understanding and appreciation across different African cultures.

c) Cultural Education and Awareness: The festival aimed to raise awareness and promote a deeper understanding of African cultures and their contributions to the world. Through exhibitions, performances, workshops, and discussions, Festac '77 sought to educate both participants and the general public about the richness and diversity of African cultural expressions.

d) Cultural Revival and Preservation: Festac '77 aimed to revive and preserve traditional African arts and cultural practices that were at risk of being lost or forgotten. By showcasing and promoting traditional music, dance, crafts, and other cultural forms, the festival aimed to ensure their continuity for future generations.

e) Socioeconomic Development: The festival had the objective of promoting tourism, trade, and investment in Nigeria and Africa as a whole. It sought to leverage the international attention and gathering of artists, scholars, and visitors to boost local economies, create employment opportunities, and stimulate cultural industries. Overall, the Festac '77 festival

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[298] A Daily Times [Official Magazines and Periodicals, FESTAC'77-A preview of the 2nd World Black and African festival], The Black of the World.

aimed to celebrate African cultures, strengthen Pan-African connections, promote cultural education, revive traditional arts, and contribute to the socioeconomic development of Nigeria and Africa.[299]

Under the auspices of the Federal Ministry of Culture, Tourism, and National Orientation, Nigeria took the initiative to host the Ecotourism Conference/Symposium in Abuja in 2000. This marked the first time Nigeria organized and hosted such an event. The NTDC played a supportive role in ensuring the success of the conference. The event aimed to promote and explore the potential of ecotourism in Nigeria, focusing on sustainable practices and the preservation of natural and cultural heritage. By hosting this conference, Nigeria demonstrated its commitment to developing and showcasing its ecotourism offerings and engaging in international discussions on sustainable tourism practices.[300]

The NTDC achieved a significant milestone by participating in the second Global Summit on Tourism held in Switzerland from October 14-17, 2002. This participation showcased Nigeria's commitment to the global tourism industry and provided a platform for the NTDC to contribute to international discussions on tourism development. Through its various promotional programs, the NTDC has successfully garnered global recognition for Nigeria's abundant natural assets. These efforts have highlighted the country's diverse tourism offerings, ranging from stunning landscapes to unique cultural heritage. To enhance travel experiences, the NTDC launched the Satellite Navigation and Mobile Phone planner. This initiative aimed to provide domestic and international tourists with convenient tools for easy navigation and trip planning within Nigeria. Furthermore, the NTDC's active involvement in

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[299] A Daily Times [Official Magazines and Periodicals, FESTAC'77-A preview of the 2nd World Black and African festival], The Black of the World.

[300] Olaniyi Ogunkoya, Nigerian Tourism Development Corporation (NTDC): Planning, Research, and Statistics (PRS) Department Lagos State, Interview by Osariemen Osunde Uwagboe. August 16, 2022 (Nigeria, n.d.).

international events further placed Nigeria's people and culture on the global stage. Notably, the NTDC attended the Third Annual International African Diaspora Heritage Trail (ADHT) Conference in the Bahamas. This conference provided an opportunity to showcase Nigeria's rich African heritage and strengthen cultural ties within the African diaspora. Overall, the NTDC's participation in global events and its promotional endeavours have significantly contributed to raising awareness and attracting attention to Nigeria's tourism potential, fostering international recognition and engagement with the nation's natural and cultural treasures.[301]

Olaniyi Ogunkoya, of the NTDC's department of planning research on Statistics Lagos State, Nigeria, highlights the significant role played by the combination of culture and tourism in promoting and managing Nigeria's global image and reputation. He emphasizes that the NTDC has been instrumental in achieving this through diverse publicity programs. The NTDC, through initiatives such as local and international cultural exhibitions, fares, and symposia, has effectively drawn attention to Nigeria on a global scale. These events have showcased Nigeria's cultural heritage, attracting considerable interest and patronage from around the world. The efforts of the NTDC in promoting cultural and tourism experiences have contributed to enhancing Nigeria's reputation and increasing global awareness of the country's offerings. These activities have served as platforms for showcasing Nigeria's rich cultural diversity and attracting visitors from various regions.[302]

Michael Nwandu from the Planning, Research, and Statistics (PRS) Department in Lagos State stated that the NTDC has successfully leveraged the influence of cultural and tourism media to establish Nigeria and the entire African continent as significant players in

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[301] Festus Aweneri Akande, "An Assessment of the Impact of Culture and Tourism on International Public Relations Practice: A Study of Nigerian Tourism Development Corporation (NTDC)," *Journal of Culture, Society and Development* 4 (2014): 14.
[302] Ogunkoya, Nigerian Tourism Development Corporation (NTDC): Planning, Research, and Statistics (PRS) Department Lagos State.

the global tourism landscape. The media's role in promoting culture and tourism has demonstrated its power, reliability, and effectiveness in international public relations. Through strategic media engagements, the NTDC has effectively showcased Nigeria's rich cultural heritage and tourism offerings to a global audience. The media has played a crucial role in disseminating information, creating awareness, and shaping positive perceptions of Nigeria's cultural diversity and tourism attractions. The NTDC's ability to harness the potential of cultural and tourism through media has resulted in increased visibility and recognition for Nigeria and Africa as attractive destinations. The media's influence in this capacity has been instrumental in positioning Nigeria and the continent on the global tourism map, attracting attention, and generating interest from tourists and travellers around the world.[303]

Cultural and tourism offerings, particularly those from Africa, continue to attract attention and make lasting impacts when showcased at international forums. In acknowledgement to the efforts of the NTDC, Nigeria's tourism industry has experienced a significant boost of between 10 and 15 billion United States Dollars annually,[304] with even brighter prospects on the horizon. People from around the world have come to know Nigeria, and foreigners, regardless of their race, creed, or colour, now willingly engage with its citizens due to the positive experiences they have encountered through tourism engagements. Nigeria's image and standing among other nations have markedly improved through the medium of tourism.[305]

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[303] Michael Nwandu, Nigerian Tourism Development Corporation (NTDC): Planning, Research, and Statistics (PRS) Department Lagos State, Interview by Osariemen Osunde Uwagboe August 16, 2022 (Nigeria, n.d.).

[304] Akande, "An Assessment of the Impact of Culture and Tourism on International Public Relations Practice: A Study of Nigerian Tourism Development Corporation (NTDC)", 16.

[305] Akande, "An Assessment of the Impact of Culture and Tourism on International Public Relations Practice: A Study of Nigerian Tourism Development Corporation (NTDC)", 16.

Festus, Akande Aweneri highlights that NTDC has surpassed the expectations of both Nigerians and the international community. By showcasing Nigeria's rich cultural heritage and mobilizing tourists from across the globe to experience the positive aspects they have heard about the most populous black nation on earth, the NTDC has cemented its success.[306] However, some respondents highlighted the need for greater efforts in opening local and traditional media channels to sensitize rural communities about the importance of nurturing and preserving their cultural heritage, which has yet to receive the desired national and global attention.[307] Ultimately, while the NTDC has achieved remarkable success in its cultural and tourism promotional activities, there is a need for increased financial support and the utilization of local media to raise awareness and preserve Nigeria's rich cultural heritage. Addressing these challenges would contribute to further enhancing Nigeria's positive image and reputation as a tourist destination.

Conclusion

The impact of tourist regulatory organizations on the Nigerian tourism industry, as exemplified by the NTDC, is a story of cultural enrichment, global recognition, and economic growth. Throughout its journey, the NTDC has undertaken a series of strategic initiatives that have not only celebrated Nigeria's rich cultural heritage but have also elevated the nation's global image and reputation in the aspect of tourism. The notable expedition began with the presentation of "The Oba of Benin with Attendants" sculpture at San Diego's International Airport, a symbol of Nigeria's vibrant cultural traditions. This act of cultural diplomacy fostered cultural exchange and appreciation, shedding light on Nigeria's artistic contributions to a global audience. Subsequently, the Festac '77 festival emerged as an indication to

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[306] Akande, "An Assessment of the Impact of Culture and Tourism on International Public Relations Practice: A Study of Nigerian Tourism Development Corporation (NTDC)", 16.

[307] Akande, "An Assessment of the Impact of Culture and Tourism on International Public Relations Practice: A Study of Nigerian Tourism Development Corporation (NTDC)", 16.

Nigeria's commitment to celebrating Africa's cultural achievements and forging Pan-African unity. This extravagant event showcased diverse artistic expressions and traditions, strengthening Nigeria's position as a cultural hub on the international arena.

The NTDC continued to play a fundamental role in shaping Nigeria's tourism landscape. Hosting the Ecotourism Conference/Symposium in Abuja in 2000 marked a significant milestone, highlighting Nigeria's dedication to sustainable tourism practices and the preservation of natural and cultural heritage. Participation in the second Global Summit on Tourism in Switzerland in 2002 underlined Nigeria's commitment to the global tourism industry. The NTDC's promotional efforts, including the Satellite Navigation and Mobile Phone Planner, effectively showcased Nigeria's abundant natural assets, attracting global recognition.

The NTDC's engagement in international events and media outreach has significantly contributed to raising awareness of Nigeria's tourism potential and fostering international recognition. This has translated into a substantial boost in the country's tourism industry, with billions of dollars in annual revenue. However, it is clear that there are still challenges to overcome. Efforts to sensitize rural communities about the importance of preserving cultural heritage and leveraging local media channels need further attention. Increased financial support and resources are essential to build upon the NTDC's success and further enhance Nigeria's image as a tourist destination. The NTDC's impact on the Nigerian tourism industry transcends the promotion of culture and tourism; it has elevated Nigeria's global image and reputation, paving the way for a brighter and more prosperous future in the world of tourism. Nigeria's rich cultural diversity and tourism offerings continue to captivate the world, promising continued growth and engagement in the global tourism landscape.

Chapter Five

Development of Tourism Sites in Nigeria: Preserving Cultural Heritage, Natural Wonders, Economic Prospects, and Infrastructure Growth

Introduction

Tourism is a significant sector of the Nigerian economy, contributing to job creation, revenue generation, and cultural preservation. To effectively manage and promote this industry, various government regulatory bodies have been established at both the federal and state levels. In this context, this chapter provides an overview of the key government regulatory bodies and their roles in tourism planning and management in Nigeria. It also highlights the importance of effective governance in the tourism sector to harness its potential for economic growth and cultural preservation. However, to fully capitalize on these assets and address the challenges facing the industry, effective regulatory mechanisms are essential. These regulatory bodies are tasked with ensuring the industry's sustainability, attracting tourists, preserving cultural heritage, and generating revenue for the country.

This chapter explores the challenges and opportunities within Nigeria's tourism sector and the importance of collaboration between these regulatory bodies, local communities, and the private sector for successful tourism planning and management. The interaction between government regulatory bodies and tourism planning and management in Nigeria is fundamental to unlocking the nation's tourism offerings and reaping the associated economic and cultural benefits. This exploration will shed light on the dynamic landscape of Nigeria's tourism industry and the critical role played by these regulatory bodies in its development and sustainability. This chapter explores the continuously shifting landscape of tourism planning and management, and the overarching consequences for Nigeria's tourism sector.

This chapter is divided into three sections and a conclusion. The first section traces the tourism infrastructure development and administrative efficiency, while the second examines tourism centres, festivals and their potential in promoting tourism. The third section

looks at the challenges hindering tourism and how they have negatively affected the development and growth of the industry.

Advancing Tourism Sites in Nigeria through Infrastructure Development

The interconnected growth of a nation's tourism sector relies heavily on effective preparation, organization, and the establishment of regulatory frameworks.[308] Within Nigeria's context, the development of governing bodies and structures for the tourism field has significantly influenced how tourism is planned and managed. The progression of Nigeria's tourism industry, from its early beginnings to its emergence as a noteworthy economic and cultural contributor, is closely intertwined with the establishment and development of regulatory bodies and frameworks. These mechanisms not only reacted to challenges but also acted as catalysts for the deliberate advancement of the tourism sector.

As previously outlined in the previous chapter, regulatory bodies of Nigeria's tourism industry can be traced back to periods before and after the nation's independence. During the colonial era, initial attempts to systematize and showcase the nation's cultural and natural assets resulted in the formation of rudimentary regulatory bodies such as the CAC. These organizations laid the groundwork for subsequent efforts in tourism planning and management.[309] Throughout Nigeria's journey through socio-political and economic hurdles post-independence, the necessity for a more comprehensive regulatory structure became apparent. Economic fluctuations, shifts in political leadership, and societal transformations influenced the direction of the tourism sector. Regulatory bodies needed to adjust, incorporating these evolving realities into their strategies and policies, consequently

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[308] Peter Mason, *Tourism Impacts, Planning and Management* (UK: imprint of Elsevier, 2003).

[309] Ikeanyibe Okey Marcellus, "Development Planning in Nigeria: Reflections on the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS) 2003-2007," *Journal of Social Sciences* 20, no. 3 (September 2009): 197–210.

becoming indispensable components of the broader machinery for tourism planning and management.[310]

This development of regulatory bodies paralleled the creation of legislation and governance systems specifically tailored to the tourism sector. Legislative measures were introduced not only to provide a legal foundation for regulatory bodies but also to empower them to effectively supervise and oversee the industry. The alignment of legislation and regulatory frameworks became a fundamental pillar in the comprehensive approach to how tourism is planned and managed. Regulatory bodies progressed from being mere oversight entities to active participants in the process of tourism planning and management. Their roles expanded beyond regulatory functions to encompass strategic planning, sustainable development, and promotional activities. Collaborative endeavours between these bodies and stakeholders within the tourism industry cultivated a holistic strategy for overseeing tourism resources, infrastructures, and visitor experiences.[311] The regulatory bodies and frameworks that govern Nigeria's tourism sector have been integral components of the broader landscape of tourism planning and management. These entities have not just reacted to challenges; they have also contributed to the calculated growth of tourism centres.

In the pursuit of a thriving tourism sector, the regulatory bodies and frameworks are a fundamental viewpoint to strategic development of tourism infrastructure. This infrastructure encompasses a robust network of hotels, well-connected transportation systems, and captivating attractions that collectively form the backbone of a flourishing tourism industry. Central to this success are regulatory bodies, working in synergy with various stakeholders, to orchestrate the intricate roadmap of infrastructure expansion. The guidelines and directives

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[310] Abdul Raufu Mustapha, "The Survival Ethic and the Development of Tourism in Nigeria," in *The Native Tourist*, 1st Edition (Routledge, 2013), 172.
[311] Mustapha, "The Survival Ethic and the Development of Tourism in Nigeria."

crafted by these regulatory organizations have consistently served as the blueprint for crafting world-class amenities, capable of enticing both domestic and international travellers.[312]

The convergence of regulatory evolution, meticulous infrastructure development, and administrative efficiency is not just a historical narrative; it stands as a contemporary framework for contemporary tourism planning and management. Lessons from the achievements and setbacks of the past continue to illuminate the path for policymakers and stakeholders, offering insights into moulding a dynamic and adaptable tourism sector aligned with national aspirations and global trends. In the context of Nigeria's tourism industry, the regulatory bodies and frameworks have interwoven a rich tapestry that envelops both infrastructure expansion and administrative prowess. This intricate interplay stands as an indication to the immense potential for growth when these components operate harmoniously. As Nigeria surges forward in its ambitious tourism endeavours, the past acts as a guiding scope, showcasing the profound influence of regulatory foresight and meticulously structured administrative endeavours in nurturing a thriving, sustainable, and vibrant tourism landscape.[313] This section investigates the planning and management strategies for developing tourism infrastructure in Nigeria. This includes the establishment of resorts, museums, zoos, and game reserves, as well as the initiatives taken to improve transportation, accommodation, and other facilities to attract tourists.

Tourism infrastructure is vital for boosting a country's tourism potential and attracting visitors, both locally and internationally.[314] Efforts have been made by the government and relevant authorities in Nigeria to enhance infrastructure, capitalizing on the nation's cultural

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[312] Bassey Esu, "Transforming the Nigeria Tourism Industry through Tourism Entrepreneurial Development," *African Journal of Business Management* 9, no. 15 (2015): 569-580.

[313] Esu, "Transforming the Nigeria Tourism Industry through Tourism Entrepreneurial Development", 569-580.

[314] A. M Imikan and K. J Ekpo, "Infrastructure and Tourism Development in Nigeria: A Case Study of Rivers State," *International Journal of Economic Development Research and Investment* 3, no. 2 (2012): 54.

richness, natural beauty, and distinctive attractions.[315] The connection between infrastructure and tourism development is reciprocal: tourism propels infrastructure improvements such as transportation and communication, while developed infrastructure draws more tourists and elevates their experiences. Infrastructure quality significantly shapes tourists' perceptions of a destination, encompassing elements like roads, airports, electricity, water supply, and sanitation. Inadequate infrastructure hampers visitor accommodation and obstructs tourism growth.[316] Moreover, having adequate infrastructure provides a comparative and competitive advantage for destinations. Tourists are more likely to choose places with well-developed infrastructure as it ensures a smoother and more enjoyable travel experience.

For sustainable tourism development, it is imperative for governments and stakeholders to invest in infrastructure to meet the growing demands of tourists and foster tourism growth. Infrastructure development not only benefits tourism but also contributes to the overall socio-economic development of a destination. It enables local communities to access essential services, supports the growth of other industries, and enhances the quality of life for residents. In essence, infrastructure is a crucial and necessary element for tourism development, as it facilitates the movement of tourists, shapes their perception of a destination, and provides the foundation for sustainable growth and competitiveness in the tourism industry.[317] Some of the planning and management strategies for developing tourism infrastructure in Nigeria include:

a) strategic planning and policy formulation. Effective tourism infrastructure development begins with comprehensive strategic planning and policy formulation. In

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[315] Augustus Babajide Ajibola, Former Director of Culture and Tourism, Interview by Osariemen Osunde Uwagboe January 19, 2023 (Nigeria, n.d.).
[316] Imikan and Ekpo, "Infrastructure and Tourism Development in Nigeria: A Case Study of Rivers State", 54.
[317] Imikan and Ekpo, "Infrastructure and Tourism Development in Nigeria: A Case Study of Rivers State", 54.

collaboration with tourism boards and local authorities, the Nigerian government identifies priority areas for tourism development, sets specific goals, and devises strategies to achieve them.[318] Tourism is a thriving industry with the power to drive socio-economic development in nations. However, while some countries like South Africa, and Kenya benefit significantly, Nigeria has not experienced substantial economic gains from tourism. There is need to tap into its potential fully.[319]

It was only in 1990 that a comprehensive national tourism policy came into existence and gained approval. Throughout the past forty years, multiple initiatives for tourism advancement have been initiated by both the central (national) government and different state administrations. These initiatives encompass projects focused on safeguarding wildlife and conserving museums and archaeological sites, as well as enhancing lodging and infrastructure in regions of exceptional natural allure.[320] Several attempts and efforts have been made by the government to enhance Nigeria's accessibility to tourists, aiming to diversify the economy away from its heavy dependence on crude oil as a primary revenue source. However, these endeavours are consistently met with a numerous challenge.[321]

The reason is evident as Frangialli argues, tourism can only contribute to socio-economic development when it is well-developed and effectively managed.[322] Achieving this requires meticulous planning to ensure appropriate development and subsequent management of tourist destinations. Addressing these issues becomes crucial for any substantial

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[318] Esu, "Transforming the Nigeria Tourism Industry through Tourism Entrepreneurial Development", 571.

[319] J. N Ekeke and W. O Olori, "Strategic Planning and Modelling of Tourism Planning Process for Nigeria," *Journal of Tourism and Heritage Studies* 5, no. Nos. 1 & 2 (September 2016): 38.

[320] Bola Olusola Adeleke, ed., *Peace and Tourism in Nigeria*, Paper commissioned for Travellers' Philanthropy Conference, Arusha, Tanzania, *Academia.Edu*, 2008, 2, https://www.academia.edu/81609058/Peace_and_Tourism_in_Nigeria.

[321] Dorcas Ayeni, "Promoting Sustainable Tourism through Tourism Infrastructure Development in Nigeria," *Scottish Journal of Arts, Social Sciences and Scientific Studies* 9, no. 1 (February 2013): 6, https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/32225925.pdf#page=3.

[322] Francesco Frangialli, *The TSA's Relevance for Policy-Makers: Implementation Project: Enzo Paci Papers on Measuring the Economic Significance of Tourism*, vol. 5 (Madrid: World Tourism Organization (WTO), 2006), 103-118.

advancement and progress in the tourism sector, which is pivotal to serving as a viable alternative for bolstering and diversifying the Nigerian economy.[323]

b) Public-Private Partnerships (PPP): The government often collaborates with private investors and businesses to develop tourism infrastructure. PPP models allow for more efficient utilization of resources, expertise, and funding for various projects, such as resorts, museums, zoos, and game reserves.[324] Involving tourism stakeholders in the planning process is vital due to their diverse economic aims and objectives as independent businesses and individuals within the industry. Embracing a shared vision through strategic planning fosters cooperation among stakeholders. Unfortunately, Nigeria's tourism master plan, developed during former president Olusegun Obasanjo's administration, did not involve critical stakeholders in the tourism sector. Instead, the project was contracted to Tourism Development International Ltd by the United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) for consultation. Despite the plan's publication in 2006, the tourism sector has not experienced the anticipated boost.[325]

Tourism involves multiple sectors, including economic, social, cultural, business, marketing, and environmental aspects. Key elements of a tourism plan encompass attractions, accommodation, facilities, transportation, infrastructure, and institutional aspects. Stakeholders range from private firms to heritage sites, non-profit organization such as Association of Tourism Practitioners of Nigeria (ATPN), and host communities.[326] Effective tourism planning employs diverse strategies, such as master plans for long-term development,

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[323] Ayeni, "Promoting Sustainable Tourism through Tourism Infrastructure Development in Nigeria", 6.

[324] Bing Li and Akintola Akintoye, "An Overview of Public-Private Partnership," in *Public-Private Partnerships: Managing Risks and Opportunities*, ed. Akintola Akintoye, Matthias Beck, and Cliff Hardcastle (Blackwell Publishing Company, 2003), 4–24, https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470690703.ch1.

[325] Ekeke and Olori, "Strategic Planning and Modelling of Tourism Planning Process for Nigeria", 38.

[326] Michael Balogun, Tour2Nigeria, Interview by Osariemen Osunde Uwagboe October 23, 2022 (Nigeria, n.d.).

flexible adaptations to changing circumstances, holistic systems approach, comprehensive consideration of economic, social, and environmental factors, integration with other sectors, eco-friendly practices for sustainability, community involvement for shared benefits, and practical implementable strategies.[327] For instance, the outcomes derived from analysing strengths, opportunities, weaknesses, and threats prompted the Nigerian government, in collaboration with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), to craft a comprehensive tourism master plan. This plan outlines strategic initiatives aimed at positioning Nigeria as an appealing and marketable tourist destination. The core purpose of the tourism master plan revolves around enhancing the socio-economic well-being of the Nigerian populace and fostering economic diversification. At its heart, the plan seeks to facilitate the sustainable growth of the tourism sector by enhancing the federal government's capacity through various developmental measures.[328]

The Master Plan has tackled numerous critical aspects and offers strategic suggestions across various domains, including tourism policy, governance, the creation of tourism offerings, marketing strategies, both international and domestic transportation, hospitality education and training, tourism organization and legislation, and the establishment of tourism management information systems. By executing the recommendations outlined in this Master Plan, it is anticipated that the Nigerian government, specifically through its Ministry of Culture and Tourism, will be more adept at nurturing and overseeing the growth of the tourism sector.[329] Integrating these approaches helps destinations craft well-rounded, sustainable tourism plans that benefit both the industry and local communities. The strategic

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[327] Ekeke and Olori, "Strategic Planning and Modelling of Tourism Planning Process for Nigeria", 39-40

[328] Sanusi Abubakar Sadiq, "Nigeria's Tourism Master Plan and Issues on Its Strategic Implementation," *International Journal of Management Science and Entrepreneurship* 19, no. No.7 (September 2020): 142–143, https://www.cambridgenigeriapub.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/CJMSE_Vol18_No7_Sept_2020-10.pdf.

[329] Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria [Nigeria Tourism Development Master Plan NIR/03/002 Final Report Volume 1], "Institutional Capacity Strengthening to the Tourism Sector in Nigeria," *Pdf4pro*, August 2006, https://pdf4pro.com/amp/view/nigeria-tourism-development-master-plan-6d880.html.

planning process framework possesses the capability to harmonize the interests and objectives of all stakeholders, resulting in a finely crafted destination product. A key advantage of strategic planning is its ability to establish and gain consensus on shared goals among the various components, sub-groups, or units that constitute the system.[330]

For the tourism industry to thrive and remain profitable in the long run, product development becomes a crucial requirement. Ideally, tourism products should align with the evolving demands of the market, be produced in a cost-efficient manner, and utilize the cultural and natural resources of the destination wisely. By meeting these criteria, tourism products can ensure customer satisfaction and sustainability in the industry.[331] Given the identifiable components of tourism, including attractions, transportation, institutional elements, accommodation, travel intermediaries, food and beverage, tourism services, and recreation, adopting a systematic and collaborative approach becomes imperative.[332]

In nations like Nigeria, facing challenges such as a mono economy, recession, and leadership issues, a strategic planning framework for the tourism sector is vital. This approach fosters collaboration among industry subsystems, preventing sub-optimization.[333] Through a well-structured framework, Nigeria can harness its tourism resources cohesively, involving government, private sector, and local communities.[334] While the strategic planning framework for the tourism sector aligns with Nigeria's governmental efforts to diversify its economy and promote sustainable development, however, the effectiveness of this approach hinges on the functionality of the governmental structures overseeing the sector. Nigeria's

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[330] A. O Ovbiagele and M. C Ijeh, "Strategic Planning as an Effective Tool on Organizational Performance in Nigeria: An Empirical Study of Some Firms in Delta State," *Global Journal of Interdisciplinary Social Science* 4, no. 6 (2015): 68.

[331] Stephen L.J Smith, "The Tourism Product," *Annals of Tourism Research* 21, no. 3 (January 1994): 582.

[332] Ekeke and Olori, "Strategic Planning and Modelling of Tourism Planning Process for Nigeria", 45.

[333] Ekeke and Olori, "Strategic Planning and Modelling of Tourism Planning Process for Nigeria", 45.

[334] Balogun, Tour2Nigeria.

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governmental tourism governance has faced challenges in terms of policy implementation, coordination among different agencies, and ensuring meaningful participation of local communities. In some cases, bureaucratic hurdles and a lack of streamlined communication have hindered the cohesive development and management of tourism resources. The focus on other sectors, economic issues, and governance problems has diverted attention and resources from fully supporting the strategic planning and holistic development of the tourism sectors.[335] Strategic planning identifies and prioritizes assets, encourages sustainable practices, builds vital infrastructure, and implements effective marketing.[336] This diversifies the economy, increases revenue, creates jobs, and promotes socio-economic growth. Collaboration addresses obstacles, fostering a resilient industry despite uncertainties and leadership challenges.[337]

Nigeria's focus on tourism as a means of economic development and cultural promotion gained significant attention in the late 20th century. The NTDC was established in 1992 as the primary agency responsible for the development and promotion of tourism in the country. Its role included policy formulation, planning, and implementation of tourism-related activities.[338] This included the establishment and maintaining of tourist attractions available throughout all of Nigeria's 36 states with their own distinct attractions, covering vast and diverse geographical regions.[339] The heart of any tourism product is its physical foundation, including sites, natural resources, and facilities like waterfalls, resorts, and hotels. This encompasses fixed properties and mobile equipment, along with environmental factors like weather and infrastructure quality. The physical plant, comprising land, water, buildings,

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[335] Sadiq, "Nigeria's Tourism Master Plan and Issues on Its Strategic Implementation."

[336] George Albert Steiner, *Strategic Planning: What Every Manager Must Know* (New York: Free Press, 1979), 3-10.

[337] Ekeke, and Olori, "Strategic Planning and Modelling of Tourism Planning Process for Nigeria", 46.

[338] B. E. A Oghojafor and O. A Ogunkoya, "Business Resources and Capabilities as Drivers of Environmental Strategy: A Case Study of the Nigerian Tourism Development Corporation (NTDC)," *International Journal of Information, Business and Management* 8, no. 4 (November 2016): 224–241, http://ijibm.elitehall.com/.

[339] Oluwaseyi Alabi Awodele and Dorcas Ayeni, "Managing Risk in Tourism Development Projects: A Case Study of Nigeria," *Journal of Construction Project Management and Innovation* 1, no. 2 (December 2011): 108, https://journals.co.za/doi/pdf/10.10520/EJC118916.

and infrastructure, shapes both natural and cultural experiences. Its design significantly impacts visitors' satisfaction, environmental preservation, and accessibility for diverse tourists. A thoughtfully designed physical plant can elevate enjoyment, satisfaction, sustainability, and inclusivity in the tourism industry.[340]

The federal governments of Nigeria and other tourism governing bodies took an active role in tourism due to public awareness of social needs. They establish protected areas for resources and allocate funds for development and operation. This shift ensures sustainable practices, benefits local communities, and preserves resources. Collaborative public-private efforts create a balanced tourism landscape, fostering economic growth and environmental preservation.[341] Tourist sites foster community cohesion and peace within the host area. Community engagement leads to sustainable practices that preserve heritage. This involvement also promotes economic benefits, community unity, and peaceful coexistence. Careful planning with community input ensures a mutually beneficial and culturally sensitive tourism experience.[342]

The inclusion of encouraging and developing domestic base tourist enterprises as an objective in the tourism policy suggests that the Federal Government aims to benefit the local inhabitants residing near tourist attractions. However, despite the existence of numerous tourist centres in Nigeria, tourism has been largely neglected.[343] The country's excessive

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[340] Smith, "The tourism product", 582.

[341] Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria [Nigeria Tourism Development Master Plan NIR/03/002 Final Report Volume 1], "Institutional Capacity Strengthening to the Tourism Sector in Nigeria.

[342] Kolawole Ijasan and M. O Izobo, "Assessing Community Engagement in Tourism Planning and Development in Nigeria: A Case Study of Arinta Waterfall Tourist Resort, Ipole Iloro Ekiti State," *Transnational Journal of Science and Technology* 2, no. 4 (May 2012): 11, http://tjournal.org/celosni/may2012.pdf?i=1.

[343] Ijasan and Izobo, "Assessing Community Engagement in Tourism Planning and Development in Nigeria: A Case Study of Arinta Waterfall Tourist Resort, Ipole Iloro Ekiti State", 14.

dependence on revenue from crude oil exports resulted in corruption and poor organizational practices, contributing to the disregard of potential sources of income, notably tourism.[344]

c) Destination Development: Nigeria has a rich cultural and natural heritage, which can be leveraged to develop specific tourism destinations. This involves creating well-designed resorts, eco-lodges, and attractions that offer unique experiences to visitors. The primary objective behind the establishment of the initial National parks and game reserves in Nigeria was to safeguard and ensure the survival of wildlife and its natural habitats. While the system of parks and game reserves may still be relatively young, the present necessity for tourism development to earn foreign exchange presents an opportunity to integrate tourism into the operation of many of these areas.

The abundance of tourism potentials, including table mountains, stunning landscapes, vibrant local communities, serene wildlife, breath-taking waterfalls, rich festivals, captivating architecture, and exquisite crafts in Nigeria has been a driving force for the country's tourism efforts.[345] Tourist attractions in Nigeria encompass a wide range of destinations, including tourism centres, museums, zoos, game reserves, monuments, national parks, resorts, and festivals. Tourism has significant benefits for community and national development. Countries like Spain, Gambia, South Africa, Kenya, and others have recognized and leveraged the power of tourism to drive their progress.[346] It generates employment, boosts the economy through foreign exchange earnings, promotes cultural exchange, enhances infrastructure, and encourages environmental conservation. Tourism's positive impact is undeniable, making it an asset for development.

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[344] Dele Jemirade, "Tourism: The Missed Opportunities for Economic Development in Nigeria," *Journal of African Studies and Development* 13, no. 1 (January 31, 2021): 16, https://doi.org/10.5897/jasd2021.0611.

[345] Ijasan and Izobo, "Assessing Community Engagement in Tourism Planning and Development in Nigeria: A Case Study of Arinta Waterfall Tourist Resort, Ipole Iloro Ekiti State", 12–13.

[346] Esu, "Transforming the Nigeria Tourism Industry through Tourism Entrepreneurial Development", 569.

Nigeria has a significant number of tourism potential sites, with approximately 776 attractions identified throughout the country, including nature-based, historical, cultural, recreational, industrial, educational, and religious sites.[347] The country boasts approximately 29 national parks and game reserves, providing opportunities for wildlife enthusiasts and nature lovers to explore its diverse ecosystems. Additionally, there are around 60 museums that showcase the rich cultural and historical heritage of Nigeria, while 25 scheduled sites hold archaeological or historical importance, offering insights into the country's past. Furthermore, Nigeria features 13 tourist villages, centres, and complexes that cater to visitors seeking immersive cultural experiences.[348]

Many Nigerian cities are home to captivating old quarters, bustling markets, and historical artefacts, providing glimpses into the African cultural conditions and the country's histories and heritage. Furthermore, Nigeria is known for its vibrant festival culture, boasting around 1,500 annual festivals that celebrate the diverse traditions and customs of its people. Additionally, the presence of prehistoric rock paintings (Ancient Rock Art) adds another layer of historical significance to Nigeria's tourism offerings.[349] The tourism sector in Nigeria has experienced a significant decline since the 1980s, marking a stark reversal from the progress made during the 1960s and 1970s. The economic crisis that emerged during this period resulted in financial constraints for the majority of Nigerians, making it difficult for them to afford domestic holidays. Simultaneously, prolonged political and economic instability generated widespread social tension, increased levels of violent crime, and heightened

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[347] Esu, "Transforming the Nigeria Tourism Industry through Tourism Entrepreneurial Development", 570.

[348] Abdul Raufu Mustapha, "The Survival Ethic and the Development of Tourism in Nigeria," in *The Native Tourist*, 1st Edition (London: Routledge, 2013), 174.

[349] Mustapha, "The Survival Ethic and the Development of Tourism in Nigeria", 174.

insecurity. These unfavourable conditions collectively rendered Nigeria an unattractive destination for international tourists.[350]

Michael Balogun, the CEO and founder of Tour2Nigeria and the Domestic Tourism Promotion Company and tour packaging, noted that tourism in Nigeria offers numerous advantages, including the creation of extensive networks among various businesses, such as hotels, restaurants, adventure sports providers, and food suppliers. This leads to the formation of complex and diverse supply chains, supporting a flexible labour market with a wide range of job opportunities for tour guides, translators, cooks, cleaners, drivers, hotel managers, and other service sector workers. Additionally, tourism encourages the development of multipurpose infrastructure that benefits the host community, including roads, healthcare facilities, sports centres, and not just upscale hotels and restaurants catering to foreign visitors.[351] Recognizing these benefits, the United Nations has identified tourism development as a method for poorer countries to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), specifically in alleviating poverty.[352]

Nigeria has around 840 forest/game reserves, but less than ten percent of them are developed. Yankari, the first reserve, is abundant with diverse wildlife.[353] Examples of specific animal species found in the Yankari game reserve include Buffalo, Tantalus monkey, Patas monkey, Roan antelope, Kongoni (Western Hartebeest), Bush Buck, Waterbuck, and Elephant.[354] Kainji Lake National Park offers fishing and lake cruises. Developing these

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[350] Mustapha, "The Survival Ethic and the Development of Tourism in Nigeria", 173.

[351] Michael Balogun, Tour2Nigeria, Interview by Osariemen Osunde Uwagboe October 23, 2022 (Nigeria, n.d.).

[352] Martha Honey, *Tourism in the Developing World: Promoting Peace and Reducing Poverty*, vol. 233 (United States of America: Institute of Peace, 2009), 2.

[353] A Adeyemo, T Akinbode, and Afolabi Bada, "Tourism Planning and Development: A Panacea to Economic Recession in Nigeria," *Journal of Tourism, Hospitality and Sports* 33 (2018): 7, https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/234696957.pdf.

[354] Yusuf Abdullah Magama et al., "Assessment of Wildlife Species Mostly Involved in Human-Wildlife Conflict around Yankari Game Reserve, Bauchi State, Nigeria," *International Journal of Contemporary Research and Review* 9, no. 09 (September 27, 2018): 20268, https://doi.org/10.15520/ijcrr/2018/9/09/605.

reserves can boost ecotourism and conservation. Old Oyo National Park, in Oyo State, not only boasts natural beauty, but also has historical sites. It originated from Upper Ogun River and Old Oyo Forest reserve in 1936 and was renamed in 1988. The park holds historical significance as the heart of the Old Oyo Empire. Its ruins, including the capital city, Oyo-Ile, offer a resource for historians. Proper development could make Old Oyo National Park a global attraction, blending natural beauty with historical treasures, inviting visitors to explore the region's rich past and cultural heritage.[355]

Nigeria's tourism resources stem from its unique topography shaped by morphological formations and geomorphological processes. These resources span all states and Abuja, the capital. Examples include Owu falls in Kwara State, Idanre and Oke Maria hills, Esa cave, Ogbunike cave, Olumo rock, Zuma rock, and Mambila Plateau. Cultural festivals like Eyo, Osun-Osogbo, and annual carnivals hold tourism potential. Events like Argungu fishing, Olojo, Udi-iroko, and Ogun Festival also appeal to tourists. Historic Obas' palaces, like Alaafin of Oyo, Ooni of Ife, and Sultan of Sokoto, offer educational landmarks reflecting Nigeria's diverse heritage.[356] Promoting these assets enhances tourism and fosters cultural pride, making Nigeria an enriching and vibrant global destination. Beach areas are highly sought-after recreational sites in Nigeria, attracting people from nearby and faraway locations.[357]

Despite the considerable economic potential of tourism resources, there exist several inhibiting challenges that impede the growth and advancement of this sector. These challenges include an insecure environment that permeates all regions of Nigeria.

[355] A Adeyemo, T Akinbode, and Afolabi Bada, "Tourism Planning and Development: A Panacea to Economic Recession in Nigeria," *Journal of Tourism, Hospitality and Sports* 33 (2018): 7, https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/234696957.pdf.

[356] Adeyemo, Akinbode, and Bada, "Tourism Planning and Development: A Panacea to Economic Recession in Nigeria", 8.

[357] Funmilola Ajani and Haminat Abisola Adedoyin, "Evaluation Environmental Indicators: A Case Study of Public and Private Resorts in Lagos State, Nigeria," *International Journal of Business and Social Research* 6, no. 07 (August 12, 2016): 23–36, https://thejournalofbusiness.org/index.php/site.

Additionally, inadequate infrastructure poses a significant hurdle, evident in the lack of well-maintained roads leading to tourist sites, as well as inconsistent access to basic amenities such as electricity and water. Even when accommodations like standard hotels, inns, and guest houses are available, they often lack essential features like restaurants and facilities for meals and refreshments. Another significant concern is the pervasive poverty stemming from high levels of unemployment and underemployment, coupled with a lack of education and information regarding the potential of tourism. Regrettably, the NTDC and the State Tourism Boards have not effectively promoted awareness of the tourism opportunities within their respective regions. Further compounding the issue is the insufficient government funding allocated to this sector, and the absence of substantial interest from private investors.[358]

For instance, numerous untapped mountainous tourist destinations in developing nations like Nigeria remain underutilized in terms of their potential for socio-cultural integration, educational enrichment, and economic advancement. Among these locations, Ondo State stands out as possessing a plethora of distinctive resources with international ecological and touristic significance. However, like many other Nigerian states, these resources have not been effectively packaged and promoted to entice and satisfy visitors.

Inadequate planning and management of tourist inflows give rise to risks of environmental degradation and jeopardize tourist safety within mountainous tourism sites. Examining the potential of mountainous tourism sites in Ondo State, Nigeria, reveals intriguing insights. When comparing sites such as Oyemekun Rock and Cave of Ashes, it becomes evident that Idanre Hills boasts a more extensive array of tourism attractions and supporting facilities, followed closely by Oke-Maria. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that the

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[358] Olufunke Kehinde Adeola, Olufemi Abifarin, and Aderemi Oyebanji, "Harnessing Nigeria's Tourism Potentials for Sustainable Socio-Economic Development: The Context of Law and Policy," *Megatrend Revija Megatrend Review* 19, no. 3 (September 2022): 137, https://doi.org/10.5937/MegRev2203115A.

existing tourist attractions and support facilities at these potential mountainous destinations remain inadequate and require further development. All four of these tourism destinations hold remarkable promise for mountain-oriented recreational pursuits, encompassing activities such as sports and relaxation, wildlife observation, nature photography, cultural experiences, camping, hiking, and activities aimed at enhancing the economic well-being of host communities.[359]

An additional example pertains to Owu Falls, initially stumbled upon by the local community but brought to prominence by Revd Welfare Guy, a British man, in 1928. The establishment of the Kwara State Tourism Board occurred later, in 1980, backed by the supporting edict No. 3 of 1989.[360] Notably, tourists who are unfamiliar with the route to the falls reach out to the State Tourism Board for guidance, incurring guide fees ranging from N5,000.00 to N20,000.00. Nevertheless, a significant number of tourists visit the falls without seeking assistance from the Tourism Board. This discrepancy arises due to the absence of Kwara State Tourism Board staff to oversee activities at the falls. Furthermore, the absence of proper access roads compounds the issue, compelling tourists to traverse a 1-kilometer walk to and from the site (approximately 2 hours) where vehicles are parked. Regarding essential infrastructure, it becomes evident that prior to the falls' discovery, no significant infrastructure existed. Even subsequent to its discovery, and persisting to the present, the absence of infrastructure stands as a major deterrent to attracting global visitors seeking relaxation at the site. Notably absent are well-constructed roads linking to the site, leisure facilities like lodgings, medical centres, supermarkets, piped water, and dining establishments, among other amenities. In certain instances, tourists who are unable to manage the distance

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[359] O. E Olaniyi, D Godwin, and E. E Ofuya, "Towards Harnessing the Aesthetic Values of Potential Mountainous Tourism Sites in Ondo State, Nigeria: Terrain Characterization and Mapping Approaches," *Journal of Tourism and Heritage Studies* 11, no. No. 2 (2022): 100–114, https://doi.org/10.33281/JTHS20129.2022.2.8.

[360] Afolabi Monisola Tunde, "Harnessing Tourism Potentials for Sustainable Development: A Case of Owu Water Falls in Nigeria," *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa* 14, no. 1 (2012): 127–28, https://jsd-africa.com/Jsda/Vol14No1-Spring2012A/PDF/Harnessing%20Tourism%20Potentials%20for%20Sustainable%20Development.Afolabi%20Monisola%20Tunde.pdf.

from the parking area to the falls opt to forego the visit altogether and return to their original destination.[361] Compounding these challenges is the government's inability to effectively implement the National Tourism Development Master Plan in alignment with the broader national tourism policy.[362]

Tourism and the environment share a symbiotic relationship. The natural and man-made environments offer numerous attractions to tourists, and the growth of tourism has both positive and negative impacts on the environment.[363] Nigeria's vast tourism resources remain underdeveloped. With strategic planning and investments, these natural wonders and cultural attractions can be harnessed and promoted to attract both local and international tourists, fostering economic growth and prosperity. A significant challenge in planning in Nigeria is the lack of sufficient data. When it comes to planning, developing, and redeveloping tourist sites in the country, there should be a specific focus on sustaining both the authentic essence of tourist activities and exploring their potential benefits. It is essential to move away from the era where each state government pursues politically motivated tourism agendas. Instead, there should be a collective and unified approach to tourism development that focuses on the overall national interest, sustainable growth, and equitable distribution of benefits.[364]

The reason for this can be attributed to the consistent failure of many tourism development initiatives in Nigeria to yield the desired outcomes. This predicament largely stems from a noticeable communication gap that persists between industry experts and the individuals who act as custodians of the majority of the nation's resources. In reality, a

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[361] Tunde, "Harnessing Tourism Potentials for Sustainable Development: A Case of Owu Water Falls in Nigeria", 127–28.

[362] Adeola, Abifarin, and Oyebanji, "Harnessing Nigeria's Tourism Potentials for Sustainable Socio-Economic Development: The Context of Law and Policy", 137.

[363] Ajani and Adedoyin, "Evaluation Environmental Indicators: A Case Study of Public and Private Resorts in Lagos State, Nigeria", 23.

[364] Adeyemo, Akinbode, and Bada, "Tourism Planning and Development: A Panacea to Economic Recession in Nigeria", 8-9.

multitude of untapped resources and potential tourist attractions remain hidden within rural landscapes. Unfortunately, these treasures are yet to be unveiled, let alone utilized, due to the absence of proper engagement between governmental bodies and local communities. Given this backdrop, it becomes imperative for each local government to establish a dedicated tourism development committee. Such a committee would ideally consist of representatives from pertinent government sectors (e.g., the Ministry of Information, Culture, and Tourism) alongside community leaders. The formation of these committees holds significant promise. By fostering collaboration between governmental agencies and the local populace, they can bridge the communication gap and facilitate the identification, harnessing, and promotion of untapped tourism assets.[365]

Promoting cultural and natural preservation is an essential focus of sustainable tourism in safeguarding cultural heritage sites, wildlife reserves, and natural landscapes, ensuring they endure for future generations. In developing nations, sustainable tourism development serves as a pivotal driver of economic growth. Eco-tourist resorts exemplify this approach, emphasizing educational visits, eco-friendly activities, and nature-based experiences within natural settings. By prioritizing local community development, these resorts promote sustainable practices that benefit both visitors and residents. With a strong commitment to conservation, community engagement, and responsible tourism, eco-tourist resorts contribute to lasting environmental, social, and economic sustainability.[366]

Museums play a significant role in sustainable tourism infrastructure development in Nigeria. The first museum was formally opened to the public in Jos in April 1952. Over the

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[365] Dalat Gershom Danglah, "Developing Rural Based Tourism as a Strategy for Rural Development in Nigeria," *International Journal of Creativity and Technical Development* 2 (2009): 40.

[366] Meshack Jonathan, "Integration of Landform and Cultural Design Elements in The Design of An Eco-Tourist Resort, Plateau, Nigeria" (PhD dissertation, Federal University of Technology Minna, 2021).

years, the small Antiquities Service, which initially had only two senior officers, expanded into a Federal Department of Antiquities. This department oversees a large technical establishment responsible for various museums across the country.[367] Apart from the Jos Museum, inaugurated as Nigeria's first national museum commissioned in Nigeria in 1952, subsequently, other national museums were established, including the Ife Museum in 1954, Lagos Museum in 1957, Oron Museum in 1958, Benin Museum in 1960, Kano Museum in 1960, and Owo Museum in 1968. The Nigerian Museum system underwent significant developments in 1979 with the decree that expanded the commission's responsibilities.[368] This decree broadened the commission's mandate to include various areas of cultural preservation and education. With the expanded responsibilities, the commission was entrusted with administering the National Museum, Antiquities, and Monuments. Additionally, it took on the task of establishing and maintaining national museums and other outlets related to a diverse range of subjects. These subjects included antiquities, science and technology, warfare, African and Black antiquities, arts and crafts, architecture, natural history, and education services.[369]

Whispering Palms Resort for example, is a captivating resort situated on approximately 8 to 12 acres of land in the rural area of Iworo-Ajido, Badagry Local Government Area, Lagos State. Its development began in February 1981 with the acquisition of the primary grounds. Nestled on the lagoon, the resort exudes the natural beauty of the area, featuring cool Atlantic breezes, silica sands, swaying palm trees, and the pleasant melodies of chirping birds.[370] Another example is the Suntan Beach, also known as "Coconut Beach,"

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[367] Bernard Fagg, "The Museums of Nigeria," *Museum International* 16, no. 3 (September 1, 1963): 124–48, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0033.1963.tb01548.x.

[368] Filane, Kunle. "Museums in Nigeria: Historical Antecedents and Current Practice." Archives De La Critique D'Art, August 29, 2023. 5, https://archivesdelacritiquedart.org/.

[369] Filane, "Museums in Nigeria: Historical Antecedents and Current Practice", 5

[370] Ajani and Adedoyin, "Evaluation Environmental Indicators: A Case Study of Public and Private Resorts in Lagos State, Nigeria", 25.

which is a stunning coastal destination located approximately 6.44 kilometres from the centre city of Badagry and 11.27 kilometres from the Seme border. Established in 1999 and commissioned in 2000 by the local government chairman, Honourable Moses Owolabani, this beautiful beach marks the dawn of tourism development in the region. The primary goal was to generate additional revenue for the local government and create employment opportunities for the residents in the surrounding communities. Suntan Beach's scenic beauty and strategic location have made it a popular and promising destination for both locals and visitors, contributing to the growth of tourism in the area.[371] La Campagne Tropicana Beach Resort, established in 1984, holds the distinction of being Africa's first-ever African themed Beach Resort. Located in Lagos State, Nigeria, the resort is situated in a non-urban area, offering a tranquil and idyllic setting for guests to immerse themselves in an authentic African experience.[372]

The significance of culture in sustainable resort design cannot be overstated. Sustainable design seeks harmony with the local community, culture, and environment. This is particularly crucial for destinations like Nigeria, which boast a high level of cultural diversity and primarily offer cultural tourism products. In recognition of this importance, the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria has identified cultural heritage as a strategic element in the country's tourism product. As a result, the government recommends the development of distinctive facilities that promote tourism while preserving and showcasing the rich cultural heritage of the nation. This approach ensures that sustainable resorts in Nigeria celebrate and contribute to the preservation of its unique cultural identity.[373]

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[371] Ajani and Adedoyin, "Evaluation Environmental Indicators: A Case Study of Public and Private Resorts in Lagos State, Nigeria", 26.

[372] Wanle Akinboboye, "La Campagne Tropicana Resort," Our History, accessed July 28, 2023, https://lacampagnetropicana.com/home/history.

[373] Stephen Nwabunwanne Oluigbo, *Cultural Expression and Sustainable Design of Resorts in Nigeria*, *In West Africa Built Environment Research (Waber) Conference* (University of the Witwatersrand Johannesburg, 2013), 357.

In Nigeria, culture plays a crucial role as one of the primary tourism resources and a core element of the tourist experience in many destinations. Travelers are motivated to visit to experience both historical relics and contemporary life and society of others. One significant method employed to express culture in resorts is through the architectural building form. This is evident in the use of curvilinear hut-like buildings with conical roofs, which are commonly used for accommodation units and gazebos. Such architectural styles can be observed in resorts like Suntan Beach Resort in Badagry, Oluigbo 360 Lagos, La Champagne Tropicana Beach Resort in Lagos, Saminaka Resort in Kaduna, and Argungu Fishing Village in Kebbi State, among others. These traditional architectural designs not only provide a unique and culturally immersive experience for tourists but also contribute to the preservation and celebration of Nigeria's rich cultural heritage. By integrating cultural expressions into resort design, Nigeria showcases its identity and enhances the appeal of its tourism offerings, attracting visitors seeking an authentic and culturally enriching experience.[374] At La Campagne Tropicana Beach Resort, the accommodation types are thoughtfully furnished to reflect the diverse cultural heritage of Nigeria. For instance, the 'Labalaba' (meaning butterfly) is styled in the Yoruba tradition, 'Obieze' showcases Igbo decor, and 'Kodi' (meaning shell) features the traditional Hausa decoration from Northern Nigeria. The resort proudly incorporates local arts, crafts, and ornaments such as cane furniture, pottery products, mats, murals, wall decorations, and artworks, showcasing the richness of Nigerian culture.

At Trappco Ranch and Resort, decorations on steel beds symbolize Northern Nigeria, and half clay pots are ingeniously used as lamp holders. Cane furniture and wall decorations are widely utilized, adding to the traditional ambiance. Similarly, Saminaka Resort exhibits murals painted on fence walls, reflecting local cultural activities, while Argungu Resort

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[374] Oluigbo, "Cultural Expression and Sustainable Design of Resorts in Nigeria", 359-360.

incorporates murals in the cultural and dancing arena, among other artistic expressions. These resorts thoughtfully integrate the cultural essence of different regions, creating a unique and immersive experience for guests to appreciate the diverse cultural tapestry of Nigeria.[375] La Campagne Tropicana Beach Resort integrates cultural stages for dances and live performances, enriching guests' experience with local traditions. Canoeing pays homage to the community's fishing heritage. Similarly, at Argungu Fishing Village, traditional wrestling and dances highlight local culture. Trappco Ranch and Resort introduces polo, a Northern Nigerian elite sport. Each resort's design reflects cultural significance. Suntan Beach Resort's huts mirror indigenous architecture. Saminaka Resort blends Western and local styles, featuring open sheds with thatch roofs. Trappco Ranch and Resort seamlessly combines Nigerian and Western elements, offering guests a diverse cultural experience.[376]

The development of tourist attractions often paves the way for the establishment or enhancement of infrastructure, yielding advantages for both tourists and local communities. In Nigeria, the journey of infrastructural development dates back to the colonial era when the British administration laid the groundwork for basic infrastructure. The primary purpose was to facilitate the exploitation of natural resources and bolster administrative control in the region.[377] During the colonial era, significant infrastructure projects were undertaken, encompassing electricity, tarred roads, railways, ports, piped water, communication networks, health centres, and schools. However, this infrastructure primarily catered to a privileged few residing in urban areas, limiting access for the broader population. Post-colonial Nigerian leaders inherited the colonial infrastructure and sought to maintain and expand it. Unfortunately, these efforts were hampered by official negligence and mismanagement of resources, leading to the failure of extending the benefits of these infrastructural

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[375] Oluigbo, "Cultural Expression and Sustainable Design of Resorts in Nigeria", 360-361.
[376] Oluigbo, "Cultural Expression and Sustainable Design of Resorts in Nigeria", 362-363.
[377] Eghosa E. Osaghae, *Crippled Giant: Nigeria Since Independence* (North America: Indiana University Press, 1998), 11.

developments to all parts of the country and its people.[378] Following Nigeria's independence in 1960, the government continued its efforts in investing in infrastructural development, with a focus on key areas such as transportation, energy, telecommunications, and water supply. However, during General Aguiyi Thomas Ironsi's military government, which replaced the civilian regime, there were notable investigations into the activities of certain government parastatals. A series of commissions of inquiry were instituted to probe the widespread corruption that had permeated the public service sector during the previous regime.

The investigation revealed concerning findings regarding several parastatals, including the Nigeria Railway Corporation, Nigeria Ports Authority, defunct Electricity Corporation of Nigeria, and Nigeria Airways. The report exposed that some ministers had established companies and exploited their influence to secure contracts improperly. Additionally, they were found guilty of misappropriation of funds and disregarding established procedures in awarding contracts to parastatals under their respective Ministries.[379] After the Nigerian Civil War, the tourism industry began to experience growth, especially with the introduction of the Festival of Black Arts and Culture. This significant cultural event highlighted the need for substantial infrastructural projects, especially in the post-independence period, where there was an increased emphasis on developing and enhancing infrastructure.[380]

Recognizing the importance of fostering tourism and cultural exchange, the Nigerian government and relevant authorities embarked on large-scale infrastructural projects aimed at

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[378] Akeem Ayofe Akinwale, "The Menace of Inadequate Infrastructure in Nigeria," *African Journal of Science, Technology, Innovation and Development* 2, no. 3 (January 2010): 212, https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Akeem-Ayofe-Akinwale/publication/355329864_The_Menace_of_Inadequate_Infrastructure_in_Nigeria/links/616a1b36039ba26844488edd/The-Menace-of-Inadequate-Infrastructure-in-Nigeria.pdf.

[379] Michael M Ogbeidi, "Political Leadership and Corruption in Nigeria since 1960: A Socio-Economic Analysis," *Journal of Nigeria Studies* 1, no. 2 (season-03 2012): 7.

[380] Toyin Falola and Matthew Heaton, *A History of Nigeria* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 183.

accommodating the growing number of tourists and promoting overall development in the country.[381] These projects encompassed various aspects of infrastructure, including transportation, accommodation, public facilities, and utilities, all with the goal of facilitating tourism growth and providing better experiences for both visitors and local communities.[382] In remote or less developed areas, tourism often acts as a catalyst for infrastructural development, prompting both the government and private sector to invest in enhancing access and amenities to attract more visitors. Nigeria has recognized the importance of this and, in recent years, has placed an increasing focus on infrastructural development to support its growing tourism sector and elevate the overall travel experience for tourists. Efforts include upgrading airports, improving road networks to popular destinations, and investing in eco-tourism initiatives, among others. However, one of the visible challenges hindering tourism development in Nigeria is the lack of adequate infrastructure. In any tourist destination, the presence of well-developed infrastructure significantly contributes to its attractiveness. While attractions play a vital role as motivators influencing tourists' choices and trips, the deficiency in supporting infrastructure hampers the full realization of Nigeria's tourism potential.[383]

Akogun highlights the critical issue of infrastructure as a major hindrance to the progress of tourism in Nigeria. He argues that the existing infrastructure is generally unreliable, unavailable, or notably weak. He further notes that these setbacks pose significant challenges for the tourism industry's growth and sustainability. Without reliable and accessible infrastructure, the country faces difficulties in providing a seamless and enjoyable experience for tourists, which ultimately affects the sector's overall potential to contribute to

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[381] A Daily Times [Official Magazines and Periodicals, FESTAC'77-A preview of the 2nd World Black and African festival]. The Black of the World. Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (Federal Ministry of Education) National Archives, University of Ibadan PX/D55B. *Festac '77*, n.d.

[382] Falola and Heaton, *A History of Nigeria*, 183.

[383] Dorcas Ayeni, "Promoting Sustainable Tourism through Tourism Infrastructure Development in Nigeria," *Scottish Journal of Arts, Social Sciences and Scientific Studies* 9, no. 1 (February 2013): 6, https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/32225925.pdf#page=3.

the economy and attract more visitors.[384] Akinwale's observation emphasizes the inadequacy of infrastructure in Nigeria, describing it as meagre.[385] Despite efforts to improve the infrastructure, the expected outcomes have not been achieved. This deficiency in infrastructure poses significant challenges for various sectors, including tourism. The lack of substantial and effective infrastructure can deter tourists from visiting and hinder the overall growth and development of the tourism industry in the country.[386]

It is evident that several urban areas and even some tourist destinations in Nigeria suffer from a lack of basic infrastructure. The absence or insufficiency of essential amenities such as well-maintained roads, reliable water supply, consistent electricity, parks, playgrounds, health facilities, schools, and open spaces can significantly hinder the quality of life for both residents and visitors. The lack of these fundamental infrastructure components can be particularly detrimental to the tourism sector. Tourists seek comfort, convenience, and safety during their travels, and the absence of necessary facilities may discourage them from visiting certain areas or returning for future trips. Additionally, inadequate infrastructure can hamper the potential for local economic growth through tourism and limit opportunities for community development and improved living standards.[387]

Furthermore, the lack of new developments in expanding roads and railways in Nigeria since 1970 has had adverse effects on the country's competitiveness at the global level. In an era of rapid globalization and increasing connectivity, efficient transportation infrastructure is crucial for a nation's economic growth and its ability to attract foreign

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[384] Akogun. T Ibrahim, "A Survey of Infrastructural Facilities and Their Effects on Rental Values of Residential Properties in Ilorin Metropolis," *Journal of Environmental Sciences* 3 (April 2011): 42, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/273761033_A_Survey_Of_Infrastructural_Facilities_And_Their_Effects_On_Rental_Values_Of_Residential_Properties_In_Ilorin_Metropolis.

[385] Akinwale, "The Menace of Inadequate Infrastructure in Nigeria", 224.

[386] Akinwale, "The Menace of Inadequate Infrastructure in Nigeria", 224.

[387] Ibrahim, "A Survey of Infrastructural Facilities and Their Effects on Rental Values of Residential Properties in Ilorin Metropolis", 42.

investments and tourists. Without significant advancements in road and railway infrastructure, Nigeria may face limitations in optimizing its trade potential and efficiently moving goods and people within and outside the country. This could lead to increased transportation costs, delays, and decreased competitiveness in the global market. In addition, a well-developed and modern transportation network is vital for the tourism sector. Tourists seek accessibility, convenience, and ease of travel when choosing their destinations. The absence of new and upgraded roads and railways can deter potential visitors and hinder the growth of the tourism industry in Nigeria.[388]

There should be a strong emphasis on encouraging the provision of such infrastructure. Not only does it contribute to the development of tourism, but it also plays a significant role in generating employment opportunities. The availability of infrastructure ensures that those employed can effectively deliver the required tourism services, thus fostering the growth and success of the tourism industry.[389] According to Ayeni and Ebohon, the issue of inadequate tourism infrastructure in Nigeria is particularly pronounced. This observation underscores the significant challenges the country faces in terms of providing the necessary facilities and amenities to support and enhance its tourism sector.[390] The inability to maintain the few existing tourism infrastructure in Nigeria has put tremendous strain on the limited resources available. This challenge is particularly acute in rural areas where many tourist sites are located. The lack of proper infrastructure in these regions not only affects the overall travel experience of tourists but also hampers the economic potential of tourism as a driver of development.

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[388] Ayeni, "Promoting Sustainable Tourism through Tourism Infrastructure Development in Nigeria", 6.
[389] Ayeni, "Promoting Sustainable Tourism through Tourism Infrastructure Development in Nigeria", 7.
[390] Ayeni, "Promoting Sustainable Tourism through Tourism Infrastructure Development in Nigeria", 129.

Despite these limitations, there is a recognition that tourism can have a significant positive impact on economic development if adequate attention is given to infrastructure development. Investing in improving and expanding tourism infrastructure will not only attract more visitors but also create employment opportunities and stimulate economic growth in both urban and rural areas.[391] For meaningful tourism development, the provision of basic infrastructural facilities is crucial as tourism cannot thrive without them.[392] The allocation of general infrastructure, marketing services, and created attractions in tourism destinations was significantly segregated. There existed notable disparities in the distribution of essential amenities, such as water, electricity, paved roads, and health facilities, among different tourist destinations. These discrepancies in infrastructure and marketing efforts led to uneven development and varying levels of accessibility and appeal in different areas. Some tourism destinations enjoyed better facilities and promotion, while others lagged, impacting their ability to attract visitors and contribute to the overall growth of the tourism industry.[393]

It is essential to assess certain key aspects of Nigeria's economy that have been adversely impacted by poor infrastructural facilities. Such an overview provides valuable insights into the extent of deterioration in the nation's infrastructure. One of the sectors most severely affected is the energy sector, which has continuously received unwarranted praise and propaganda from successive governments in Nigeria. The failure of Nigeria's governments from 1966 to the present regarding energy and power supply has been nothing short of a spectacular failure bordering on criminal negligence. The situation has reached its peak, and the failure to address this critical issue is becoming increasingly concerning. The power supply situation has deteriorated to such an extent that uninterrupted power availability

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[391] Yekinni. O Bello and Mercy. B Bello, "Infrastructure Development: A Strategic Approach for Sustainable Hospitality Business in Edo State (a Study of Selected Hotels in Benin City)," *Continental Journal of Sustainable Development* 3, no. 1 (2012): 47, https://doi.org/10.5707/cjsd.2012.3.1.47.54.

[392] Ayeni, "Promoting Sustainable Tourism through Tourism Infrastructure Development in Nigeria", 7.

[393] Eno Eyak James and Aniedi Udo Essien, "Infrastructure and Sustainable Tourism Development in Nigeria," *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science (IOSR-JHSS) Volume* 24, no. 1 (January 2019): 79, https://www.iosrjournals.org.

for even six hours a day has become a rarity. This significant energy crisis poses a severe threat to both industries and domestic users, leading to expensive operating costs and hindering economic growth and development.[394]

Road construction in Nigeria experienced significant growth in the 1970s, largely driven by the increase in government revenue during that period. The expansion of the Nigerian road network was quite remarkable, with its total length increasing from 6,500km in 1960 to 10,000km in 1970, 29,000km in 1980, and 194,000km in 2003. The management of the Nigerian road network was carried out under different tiers of government. Despite this considerable growth, the Nigerian roads faced numerous challenges that have persisted over the years. These problems include faulty design, inadequate drainage systems, the presence of potholes, dilapidated pavement, and a lack of proper maintenance. The failure to address these issues has resulted in deteriorating road conditions, hindering smooth and safe transportation for commuters and goods alike.[395]

Nigerian railroads are in a state of disrepair, and the attempts to privatize the Nigerian Railway Corporation have not yielded the desired results. As of 2003, the poorly maintained rail system consisted of 3,557 kilometres of track, with 3,505 kilometres being narrow gauge and the rest standard gauge. The proposed plan to extend the rail network to neighbouring countries has not been implemented, further hindering the potential for efficient transportation and trade connectivity in the region. Similarly, the Nigerian aviation and marine sectors face significant challenges.

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[394] Cynado C. N. O Ezeogidi, "The Impact of Poor Infrastructural Development on Nigeria Education and Global Economy, 1960-2014," *COOU Interdisciplinary Research Journal* 78, no. 86 (December 2014): 79, https://www.coou.edu.ng/journals/pgs_journal/vol_1_no_1/the_impact_of_poor_infrastructural.pdf.
[395] Akinwale, "The Menace of Inadequate Infrastructure in Nigeria", 218.

Nigerian Airways has collapsed, and the overall aviation system and airports remain inefficient. This situation negatively impacts air travel services and creates limitations for both domestic and international tourists.

To salvage the situation and prevent the impending collapse of Nigerian ports, the government took the initiative to grant concessions to private port operators. This move aimed to improve the quality and efficiency of the ports, leading to enhanced trade activities and economic development.[396] The truth is that the underlying causes of poor infrastructure development in Nigeria and many other African countries can be traced back to historical factors, particularly the legacy of colonial administration. structural, systemic, and socio-political deficiencies that originated during the colonial era continue to have a lasting impact on the present-day situation. The effects of colonialism are exacerbated by the persistence of neo-colonial practices, militarism, and the political manoeuvring of present-day bourgeois democrats. These factors create challenges in planning, implementing, and maintaining infrastructure projects, as resources and priorities may be skewed or mismanaged.

The consequences of historical and contemporary influences are visible in the inadequate maintenance of existing infrastructure, limited investment in new projects, and the prevalence of corruption and inefficiency in the system.[397] Indeed, inadequate infrastructure has been a persistent issue in Nigeria since the 1960s, and it has been linked to various crises that the country has faced over the years. Insufficient infrastructure has been cited as a significant cause of several crises, including the 1967-1970 civil war, general industrial strikes, students' demonstrations in Nigerian higher institutions, and the spate of militancy in

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[396] Akinwale, "The Menace of Inadequate Infrastructure in Nigeria", 219.

[397] Ezeogidi, "The Impact of Poor Infrastructural Development on Nigeria Education and Global Economy, 1960-2014", 82.

the Niger Delta region.[398] The lack of proper infrastructure has exacerbated social and economic disparities, leading to grievances and frustrations among various groups in the country. The resulting crises, in turn, further hindered the progress of infrastructure development, creating a vicious cycle of challenges. The absence of adequate infrastructure can result in poor access to essential services, limited economic opportunities, and disparities in living standards. These conditions can spark discontent and lead to social unrest and political instability. In this way, crises represent both consequences and causes of inadequate infrastructure in Nigeria. To break this cycle, there is a need for strategic and sustained efforts to address the infrastructure gaps in the country. By investing in robust and modern infrastructure, Nigeria can create a more inclusive and stable society, fostering economic growth, social cohesion, and overall development. Additionally, addressing the underlying causes of crises, including infrastructure deficiencies, can help Nigeria build resilience and promote a more prosperous and harmonious future.[399]

During the democratic government's tenure from 1999 to 2007, efforts to improve infrastructure in Nigeria were renewed, accompanied by an anti-corruption policy and reform known as the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS).[400] To combat corruption, two major anti-corruption agencies were established: the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) and the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC).[401] Corruption was perceived as a significant obstacle to infrastructure development in the country. As a result of these anti-corruption efforts, several cases of corruption involving high-profile individuals came to light between 1999 and

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[398] Akinwale, "The Menace of Inadequate Infrastructure in Nigeria", 221.

[399] Akinwale, "The Menace of Inadequate Infrastructure in Nigeria", 221.

[400] Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala and Philip Osafo-Kwaako, "Nigeria's Economic Reforms: Progress and Challenges," *Brookings Global Economy and Development Working Paper* 6 (June 1, 2007): 7.

[401] Adewunmi James Falode, "Nation-Building Initiatives of the Olusegun Obasanjo Administration in the Fourth Republic, 1999-2007," *University of Mauritius Research Journal* 19 (July 3, 2013): 5.

2006. Notably, in 2005, the Nigerian government successfully recovered US$458 million in illicit funds that had been deposited in a Swiss bank by the late General Sanni Abacha, who served as the head of state from 1993 to 1998. In addition, due to corruption allegations, the former Inspector General of Police was retired in 2005. Similarly, the former chairman of the Nigerian Port Authority received a 30-month jail sentence for his involvement in corrupt practices.[402]

Countries worldwide, including Nigeria, are grappling with challenges in improving their infrastructure and municipal service delivery. Infrastructure development plays a crucial role in sustaining various industries, including the hospitality sector. Bello highlights that there has been a notable increase in the proliferation of the hospitality business in Nigeria in recent times.[403] However, the continued success and viability of these establishments heavily depend on the level of available infrastructure. Therefore, infrastructure development becomes a critical factor in ensuring the long-term sustainability of the hospitality business in Nigeria and fostering a thriving and resilient industry.[404] Addressing these deeply rooted issues requires a multi-faceted approach, encompassing transparent governance, accountable leadership, fair resource allocation, and sustained investment in infrastructure development. By acknowledging and actively overcoming historical and present-day challenges, Nigeria can strive towards achieving sustainable and comprehensive infrastructural development that benefits its citizens and fosters economic growth. To tackle these infrastructure issues effectively, the Nigerian government must focus on formulating and implementing efficient policies, while investing in the modernization of transportation systems and encouraging

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[402] Akinwale, "The Menace of Inadequate Infrastructure in Nigeria", 223.

[403] Bello and Bello, "Infrastructure Development: A Strategic Approach for Sustainable Hospitality Business in Edo State (a Study of Selected Hotels in Benin City)", 47.

[404] Bello and Bello, "Infrastructure Development: A Strategic Approach for Sustainable Hospitality Business in Edo State (a Study of Selected Hotels in Benin City)", 47.

private sector participation in infrastructural development. By doing so, Nigeria can revitalize its transportation sectors, stimulate economic growth, and create a more conducive environment for both domestic and international businesses and tourists.

Unlocking the true potential of Nigeria's tourism sector requires addressing infrastructural gaps as a top priority. Upgrading and expanding basic amenities will not only attract more visitors but also improve the overall living conditions for residents, leading to significant economic benefits and an enhanced quality of life for all. To enhance Nigeria's competitiveness on the global stage, a focus on investments in expanding and modernizing transportation infrastructure is vital. This will not only boost economic activities and trade but also make the country more appealing to tourists and foreign investors, ultimately contributing to sustainable development and growth. To foster a more equitable and sustainable tourism sector, it becomes essential to address disparities in infrastructure and marketing resources among all tourism destinations. A balanced approach will lead to enhanced opportunities for economic development and create a more inclusive and enriching experience for tourists throughout the country.

The Role of Tourism Centres and Festivals in Advancing the Development of Tourism Sites in Nigeria

In the dynamic of Nigeria's tourism sector, a multifaceted evolution has taken place, linking the development of regulatory bodies, the emergence of iconic tourism centres, and the vibrancy of diverse festivals. This intricate interplay has not only shaped the nation's tourism landscape but also unlocked a wealth of potential for growth and enrichment. As

Nigeria's tourism ambitions have matured over time, so too have the regulatory bodies and frameworks that govern this industry. The journey began with the strategic alignment of regulatory initiatives that facilitated the growth of essential tourism infrastructure. This included the meticulous orchestration of hotels, transportation networks, and attractions – the building blocks of a thriving tourism sector. These regulatory bodies, often working in collaboration with stakeholders, have laid down guidelines and directives that have, in turn, served as the foundation for creating world-class facilities capable of attracting both domestic and international tourists.

The foresight of these regulatory bodies did not happen in isolation; it was closely tied to the emergence of captivating tourism centres across the country. These centres, strategically positioned to showcase Nigeria's cultural, natural, and historical treasures, have become the pulsating heart of the nation's tourism narrative. From the vibrant markets emanating the reality of Nigerian life to the tranquil natural landscapes inspiring admiration, these destinations provide a diverse array of experiences that captivate visitors. Adding to the allure are Nigeria's vibrant festivals, each a celebration of the nation's rich cultural tapestry. These festivals not only preserve traditions but also serve as magnets for tourists, gesturing them to partake in the vibrant colours, rhythms, and essences of the country. From the exuberant displays of dance and music to the tantalizing aroma of local cuisines, these festivals paint a vivid picture of Nigeria's identity and heritage.

The nexus formed by the regulatory bodies, the emergence of tourism centres, and the exuberance of festivals holds immense potential. It serves as a blueprint for holistic growth, inviting policymakers and stakeholders to harness the collective power of these elements. The stories of success and lessons learned from the past stand as beacons, guiding the path toward

a resilient, diversified, and globally relevant tourism sector that mirrors Nigeria's aspirations and aligns with international trends.[405] This section explores the various tourism centres, cultural festivals in promoting tourism in Nigeria, highlighting their significance, attractions, the management strategies implemented to promote tourism in some of these areas.

Tourism involves people traveling for leisure or business, demanding an adaptable approach to meet changing preferences. Nigeria's natural landscapes, from rainforests to savannahs and mangroves, create diverse attractions. Its year-round pleasant climate and varied features, like tropical forests, parks, waterfalls, and beaches, appeal to nature and culture enthusiasts. The nation's coastal location adds to its charm. Nigeria's culture is equally compelling, with national museums, ancient slave sites, grand palaces, and revered shrines reflecting its history and heritage. The rich tapestry includes diverse handicrafts and a warm, approachable populace, offering authentic interactions.[406] Nigeria is custom-made for tourism, boasting an ideal configuration to cater to travellers' interests. With an impressive count of 370 distinct ethnic groups, the country presents an incredibly diverse cultural heritage that adds a unique tapestry of experiences for visitors. Moreover, Nigeria's abundance of natural wonders further enhances its appeal as a tourist destination.[407] Nevertheless, certain tourism sites in Nigeria remain relatively obscure or underutilized, despite these appealing attractions.[408]

Nigeria possesses a wealth of both essential and optional components for tourism, abundantly spread across its 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT), Abuja. This diversity extends to a myriad of tourism destinations distributed throughout the country,

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[405] Mustapha, "The Survival Ethic and the Development of Tourism in Nigeria."

[406] Adeleke, "Peace and Tourism in Nigeria", 1.

[407] Martha Honey, *Tourism in the Developing World: Promoting Peace and Reducing Poverty*, vol. 233 (United States of America: Institute of Peace, 2009), 6.

[408] Emeka Daniel Oruonye et al., "An Assessment of the Ecotourism Potential of Gashaka Gumti National Park in Nigeria," *Asian Research Journal of Arts & Social Sciences* 3, no. 2 (January 10, 2017): 1–11, https://doi.org/10.9734/ARJASS/2017/33293.

encompassing natural marvels and human-made wonders. Within the natural features, Nigeria's attractions are numerous and varied and include the following circuits:

North-Eastern Circuit (Borno, Yobe, Bauchi, Taraba, and Adamawa State): Natural Attractions in this circuit encompass Lake Chad Sanctuary, Kyarimi Part, Lake Alau, Lake Njakira, Yankari National Park, Wikki Warm Spring, Lame Burra Game Reserve, Manbila Plateau, Hot Spring at Lamale, Kamale Peaks of Mubi, "Three Sisters Rocks" at Sorg, Jangani Mountain range of Ganye, Rolling Uplands of, and Zanda Hills. Cultural/Historic attractions in this circuit include Kukas (Tombs of the Shehus), Maliki Dance of the Kanuris, Rabeh Fort at Dikwa, Birnin Ngazargamu, The Legend Snake at Guwo, Shami-Menwala Festival, Bade Fishing Festival, Shira Rock Painting, Kushi Festival, Gere Masquerade, Keffin Madaki Historic Monument, Lamido Palace at Yola, Graveyard of Modibbo, Calabash Carvings, Mat Weaving, Pottery, and Metal Works.

The North-Western Circuits (Kaduna, Katsina, Kano, Jigawa, Sokoto, Kebbi, and Niger including Abuja) encompass the River Garden in Kaduna with its historic Lugard Bridge, Kusugu Well in Daura, Buguadu/Rock Castle Area game reserve, camping grounds at River Wudil, Wana Fabi and Kuruju Rocks, Tigan Dam, Gurara falls, Zuma Rock, and Shiroro Gorge. Cultural/Historic Attractions in this circuit include the Regimental Museum of Nigerian Army at Zaria City, National Museum at Kaduna, Lugard Hall at Kaduna, Katsina City Walls, Gobarau Minaret in Katsina, Yan Awaki Camel Market, Groundnut Pyramids, Historic Building in Kano, Koba Mata Dye Pits in Kano, Kano Central Mosque, Dubar in Kano, Makama Museum, Kanta Museum, Usman Dan Fodio Tomb, Sultan's Palace, Argungu Fishing Festival, Ohota Festival, Abuja Pottery, Bida glass and bead Works, Hand Made glass beads and bangles, Embroidery, Dyeing among others.

The natural attractions in the Middle Belt Circuit (Plateau, Benue, and Eastern Area of Kogi, including Lokoja) include Jos Wildlife Safari Park, Shere Hills, Assop Falls, Wase Rock, Kara Falls, Karang Volcanic Mountain, and Niger Benue Confluence Zone at Lokoja. Cultural/Historic Attractions in this circuit include Jos Zoological Garden, National Museum in Jos, Museum of Traditional Nigerian Architecture (MOTNA), Barkin Ladi Golf Club, Ogani Fishing Festival, Jos Cultural Centre, Kwagh-hir Theatre, Fishing Festivals at Katsina Ala, Iron of Liberty Cenotaph in Lokoja, The First Primary School in Northern Nigeria at Lokoja, Ajaokuta Steel Complex.

Natural attractions in the South-Western Circuit (Lagos, Oyo, Osun, Ondo, Kwara, Western Part of Kogi State) encompass Badagry Beach, Bar Beach, Tarkwa Bay, Tin Can Island Park, Lekki Beach, Erin Ijesha Waterfalls, Ikogosi Warm Spring, Ebonmi Lake at Ipesi Akoko, Ipole/Itoro Waterfalls, Borgu Game Reserve, Kainji National Park (Game Reserve), Olumo Rock, and Uren Bank Holiday Resort. Cultural/Historic Attractions in this circuit include Tafewa Balewa Square, National Museum in Onikan, Badagry Slave Trade Chain, Eyo Festival, Ilojo Bar, Zoological Garden at the University of Ibadan, Osun Oshogbo shrines, Ife Museum of Antiquities, The Palace of various Obas, Owo Museum, Holy Apostles Community (Aiyetoro), Shrine of Brikisu Sungbo, Agemo and Egungun Masquerade festivals, Wreckage of Mungo Park's Boat at Jebba, Old City walls of Benin, and Bronze Casters' Studio in various parts of Benin City.

In the South-Eastern Circuit (Akwa Ibom, Anambra, Enugu, Imo, Abia, Bayelsa, Rivers, Cross River State, and Delta State), natural attractions range from the wonder tree at Ikot Ekpene, Ogbusike Cave, Agulu Lake, Amaokpilla Lake, The Coal Mines at Enugu,

Agulu Nanka Erosion, Range of Hills around Enugu and Nsukka, Oguta Lake (Holiday Resort at Patani), Arochukwu Cave, River Niger Holiday resort at Patani, Niger Bridge at Asaba, Oil Towns of Sapele, Ughali, and Warri, Obudu Cattle Ranch, Agbokin Waterfall near Ikom, Oil Museum Oloibiri, Oil Refinery at Alesa Eleme, to Ahasse Beach. Cultural/Historic Attractions in this circuit include Oron Museum, The Mask Market at Ikot Ikpene, Mmonwu festival, Ofala Festivals in parts of the circuit, Mkpokiti Aerobatic Dance Troupe in Umunze, Uzoiyi Cultural festival at Umuoji, Wide Range of local crafts including pottery at Inyi at Achi and Awgbu, Blacksmithing at Awka and Nkwerre, Zoological Garden at Enugu, National War Museum at Umuahia, The Gigantic Ikoro Drums in Bende Abia State, Aba Central Market, National Museum of Colonial History in Aba, Grave of Mary Slessor in Calabar, King Jaja of Opobo's Grave at the Monument and Palace, Isaac Boro Amusement park, Slave ports at Brass and Bonny, National Museum in Port Harcourt, Amadioha Ozuzu Shrine among others.[409]

All in all, Nigeria's rich blend of natural wonders and cultural treasures, spread across its various circuits, create a captivating tapestry that invites exploration and appreciation by tourists from around the world. Apart from the previously mentioned tourism centres, festivals, and potentials, there exist additional destinations that possess a degree of historical significance or have been established relatively recently. Such examples can be found in various states across Nigeria, including Lagos state. Notably, several of these newer destinations are under private ownership.

Lagos, Nigeria's most populous state and a prominent tourist destination within Africa, offers a plethora of attractions. Ranging from the historic slave market in Badagry to the

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[409] Charles U Adora, "Managing Tourism in Nigeria: The Security Option," *Management Science and Engineering* 4, no. 1 (March 1, 2010): 16–19.

sprawling fish market in Epe, and encompassing stunning beaches that dot the city, Lagos boasts diverse tourism offerings. The tourism landscape of Lagos encompasses several categories:

a) Art and Cultural Centres: These include esteemed venues like the National Theatre, Nike Arts Gallery, The New Afrika Shrine, Kalakuta Republic Museum, and Freedom Park.

Beach Resorts and Leisure: Lagos offers a wealth of options for relaxation and leisure, featuring prominent names such as Inagbe Grand Resort and Leisure, Whispering Palms Beach Resort, Kamp Ikare Beach Resort, Elegushi Private Beach Resort, Ibeshe Lagoon Beach Club and Spa, La Campagne Tropicana Beach Resort (figure 6 and 6.6), La Manga Luxury Beach Villas, and Casa Ilashe, among others, and

b) Events and Festivals: The city comes alive with vibrant events and celebrations, including the Eyo Festival, Felabration, Fanti or Careetta Carnival of Lagos, The Lagos Marathon, The Lagos International Trade Fair, Eko Akete `Lagos Creative Festival, The Lagos Seafood Festival, Lagos Food Festival, Yoruba Arts Festival, and the GTBank Food and Drink Festival.

Nature and Amusement Parks: Lagos embraces both the beauty of nature and the thrill of amusement, evident through destinations like Lekki Conservation Centre (figure 5 and 5.5), Apapa Amusement Park, Dreamworld Africana, Funtopia Water Park, Funplex Amusement Park, Omu Resort, and Landmark Leisure Beach and Resort,[410] among others. Pictures in Figures 1 to 6 below show some of the country's tourist attractions.

FIGURE 1: OLUMO ROCK

The pictures in figure 1 and 1.1 show Olumo Rock

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[410] Travelwaka, "List of Tourist Attractions in Lagos," TravelWaka, August 2, 2020, accessed August 14, 2023, https://www.travelwaka.com/list-of-tourist-attractions-in-lagos/#Landmarks_In_Lagos.

Source: Olumo Rock is a historic mountain in Abeokuta, Nigeria, used as a fortress during inter-tribal warfare in the 19th century. It holds religious significance in the Yoruba tradition as the name "Olumo" combines "olu" (god/deity) and "mo" (moulded/formed), signifying a rock moulded by a deity.

FIGURE 1.1

FIGURE 2: OBUDU CATTLE RANCH

The pictures in figure 2 and 2.1 show Obudu Mountain Resort, also known as Obudu Cattle Ranch

Source: Obudu Mountain Resort, also known as Obudu Cattle Ranch, is a top-tier African tourist destination situated in the highlands and lush tropical forests of Cross River State, offering a unique and captivating experience.

FIGURE 2.2

FIGURE 3: ERIN IJESHA WATERFALL

The pictures in figure 3 and 3.1 show Erin-Ijesha Waterfalls

Source: Erin-Ijesha Waterfalls, is a stunning natural wonder featuring seven separate cascades. It is nestled on the southwestern slopes of the verdant Effon Ridge in Erin-Ijesha town, Osun State, Nigeria.

FIGURE 3.3

FIGURE 4: ASO ROCK

The picture in figure 4 shows Aso Rock

Source: Aso Rock is a prominent granitic outcrop on the outskirts of Abuja, Nigeria's capital. It serves as a distinctive landmark, with the Nigerian Presidential Complex, Nigerian National Assembly, and Nigerian Supreme Court situated in its vicinity.

FIGURE 5: LEKKI CONSERVATION CENTRE

The pictures in figure 5 and 5.5 show Lekki Conservation Centre

Source: Lekki Conservation Centre, situated in Lagos, Nigeria, is a nature reserve that serves as a crucial sanctuary for diverse plant and animal species. This centre plays a significant role in the preservation of the local ecosystem.

FIGURE 5.5

FIGURE 6: LACAPINE TROPICANA

The pictures in figure 5 and 5.5 show La Campagne Tropicana Beach Resort

Source: La Campagne Tropicana Beach Resort is an African-themed beach, lagoon, and forest resort located in Lagos, Nigeria.

FIGURE 6.6

These attractions in Lagos, along with their counterparts in other parts of Nigeria, collectively contribute to a dynamic and diverse tourism landscape that continues to draw both domestic and international visitors.[411] Nigeria takes pride in its diverse array of tourism centres, each offering distinct attractions and immersive experiences that contribute significantly to the nation's flourishing tourism sector. These centres serve as essential conduits for showcasing Nigeria's rich cultural heritage, breath-taking natural landscapes, and storied historical past.[412]

Exploring several of these exceptional tourism hubs, and investigating their significance, attractions, and methods for achieving proficient management; One of the prominent voices, Ilori Funmilayo, representing a tourism destination, Olumo Rock, underscores the significance of this site in Nigeria's tourism landscape. Located in Abeokuta, Ogun State, Olumo Rock as seen in figure 1.1, stands out as a cherished destination that

[411] Travelwaka, "List of Tourist Attractions in Lagos," TravelWaka, August 2, 2020, accessed August 14, 2023, https://www.travelwaka.com/list-of-tourist-attractions-in-lagos/#Landmarks_In_Lagos.

[412] Joseph I Uduji, Elda N Okolo-Obasi, and Simplice A Asongu, "Sustaining Cultural Tourism through Higher Female Participation in Nigeria: The Role of Corporate Social Responsibility in Oil Host Communities," *International Journal of Tourism Research* 22, no. 1 (February 2020): 120–143, https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/101517/.

captivates both locals and tourists alike. This rock formation provides visitors with an exceptional opportunity to explore its historical importance while also relishing panoramic vistas of the surrounding city. This majestic rock holds a deep-rooted cultural and historical value as it once served as a refuge during inter-tribal conflicts of the past. Beyond its historical context, Olumo Rock now serves as a symbolic representation of unity and resilience. She asserted that to effectively manage and promote Olumo Rock as a premier tourism centre, the government has strategically implemented infrastructure development initiatives. These enhancements include the construction of well-designed walkways, sturdy staircases, and strategically positioned viewing platforms. These additions not only enhance accessibility for visitors but also prioritize their safety, ensuring a seamless and enjoyable experience for all. Olumo Rock's appeal lies not only in its natural splendour but also in its ability to engage visitors with the captivating stories of Nigeria's history. Through this integration of culture, history, and breath-taking vistas, Olumo Rock exemplifies the essence of sustainable tourism, offering a compelling and enriching encounter for those who venture to explore its wonders. As Nigeria's tourism centres continue to evolve, attractions like Olumo Rock showcase the country's commitment to preserving its heritage while embracing modern amenities that cater to the needs and interests of a diverse range of travellers.[413]

Aso Rock (figure 4), in Abuja, Nigeria, is a tourism gem with deep significance. Beyond its geological beauty, it embodies political and cultural identity. It hosts the Nigerian Presidential Complex and National Mosque, symbolizing administrative power and spiritual resonance. Aso Rock's towering presence signifies political authority and national unity. Enhanced security measures ensure visitor safety. Visitor facilities like parking and informative centres enhance the experience. Aso Rock's convergence of history, politics, and

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[413] Funmilayo B Ilori, One of the Prominent Voices at Olumo Rock, Interview by Osariemen Osunde Uwagboe October 20. 2022.

culture allows travellers to engage with Nigeria's heritage on various levels. This natural wonder offers insights into the country's character. By prioritizing security and accessibility, Nigeria maintains Aso Rock as a captivating destination for those wanting to explore the heart of the capital.[414]

The Sukur Cultural Landscape in Adamawa State is a United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) World Heritage Site, showcasing Nigeria's cultural richness. It offers insight into the Sukur people's heritage through terraced fields, a palace, and a shrine, reflecting their traditions and architecture. This site is a living testament to the Sukur community's enduring practices. To preserve this heritage, the government has established a management committee and implemented a comprehensive plan. These efforts demonstrate Nigeria's commitment to conserving the site's integrity and cultural significance. As a UNESCO World Heritage Site, Sukur Cultural Landscape underscores Nigeria's dedication to preserving cultural legacies responsibly. It exemplifies how a nation can honour its past while ensuring future generations can appreciate and learn from these treasures.[415]

Effective management of Nigeria's tourism centres requires collaboration among government agencies, tourism regulatory bodies, local communities, private partners, and international organizations. This joint effort can involve shared marketing campaigns, infrastructure development, cultural preservation, capacity building, and engagement of local communities. By working together, these stakeholders ensure the authenticity, sustainability, and success of these destinations.[416] Tourism centres within Nigeria play a fundamental role in highlighting the nation's rich cultural, natural, and historical heritage, driving the

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[414] Uduji, Okolo-Obasi, and Asongu, "Sustaining Cultural Tourism through Higher Female Participation in Nigeria: The Role of Corporate Social Responsibility in Oil Host Communities", 120-143.

[415] Uduji, Okolo-Obasi, and Asongu, "Sustaining Cultural Tourism through Higher Female Participation in Nigeria: The Role of Corporate Social Responsibility in Oil Host Communities", 120-143.

[416] Christina Aas, Adele Ladkin, and John Fletcher, "Stakeholder Collaboration and Heritage Management," *Annals of Tourism Research* 32, no. 1 (January 1, 2005): 28–29.

promotion of tourism. These centres, exemplified by Olumo Rock, Aso Rock, and the Sukur Cultural Landscape, among others offer distinctive and immersive experiences for visitors. To ensure the effective promotion and sustainability of these destinations, strategic management approaches are essential. Collaboration among stakeholders, coupled with infrastructure development and conservation initiatives, forms the bedrock of success. Notably, the input of the tourism sector, particularly in cultural tourism, holds paramount importance for the sustainable progress of local communities in Nigeria.

Uduji et al.'s study underscores the influence of corporate social responsibility (CSR) in advancing cultural tourism and elevating female involvement in the field.[417] The study accentuates the necessity for cohesive efforts among the tourism industry, government, and local communities to secure the enduring viability of cultural tourism in Nigeria. In essence, these collaborative endeavours are essential for shaping a future where these tourism centres thrive while authentically contributing to the nation's cultural and economic landscape.[418]

To ensure the effective management and sustainability of tourism centres, a range of strategies are employed. The first is preserving cultural heritage. Safeguarding and promoting the cultural essence of these sites is fundamental. Documenting, restoring, and educational programs help conserve traditions, artifacts, and practices linked to these attractions, fostering awareness and appreciation.[419] The second strategy is promoting sustainable tourism practices. Sustainable tourism minimizes negative environmental and socio-cultural impacts while maximizing local benefits and resource preservation. Waste management, energy conservation, supporting local businesses, and involving communities in decisions uphold

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[417] Uduji, Okolo-Obasi, and Asongu, "Sustaining Cultural Tourism through Higher Female Participation in Nigeria: The Role of Corporate Social Responsibility in Oil Host Communities".

[418] Uduji, Okolo-Obasi, and Asongu, "Sustaining Cultural Tourism through Higher Female Participation in Nigeria: The Role of Corporate Social Responsibility in Oil Host Communities", 120-143.

[419] Aas, Ladkin, and Fletcher, "Stakeholder Collaboration and Heritage Management", 28-29.

these practices.[420] The third is investing in infrastructure. Effective management demands investment in infrastructure. Developing and maintaining facilities like transport networks, accommodations, visitor centres, and interpretation sites elevates the experience, accessibility, and safety for visitors.

The fourth is enhancing Security Measures. Visitor safety and attraction protection are paramount. Security protocols, surveillance systems, and training programs ensure safety, create trust, and attract tourists to the destination. Fifth is conducting marketing campaigns. Marketing campaigns create awareness and attract visitors. Leveraging digital platforms, social media, travel agency partnerships, and participation in events enhance visibility and allure.[421] Lastly, another useful strategy is fostering collaborations. Collaboration among government, communities, and private sectors is vital. Sharing resources, expertise, and responsibilities leads to effective and sustainable practices. Collaboration incorporates diverse perspectives and ensures well-rounded decision-making.[422] These strategies holistically contribute to the vitality, cultural preservation, and economic prosperity of these tourism centres, fostering a dynamic environment that benefits both visitors and host communities. The management of tourism centres encompasses a spectrum of strategies aimed at cultural heritage preservation, sustainable practices promotion, infrastructure investment, security enhancement, marketing campaigns, and collaboration facilitation. These strategies are essential for drawing tourists, ensuring the perpetuation and sustainability of attractions, and enriching local communities and the broader tourism sector.

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[420] Sadat Al S. M Sajib, Francesco Nicolli, and Alfredo Alietti, "Problematizing Tourism for Conservation: An Eco-Cultural Critique on Sustainability," *European Journal of Cultural Management and Policy* 12 (December 28, 2022): 01–09, https://doi.org/10.3389/ejcmp.2022.11094.

[421] Long Zhao et al., "Public Policies and Conservation Plans of Historic Urban Landscapes under the Sustainable Heritage Tourism Milieu: Discussions on the Equilibrium Model on Kulangsu Island, UNESCO World Heritage Site," *Built Heritage* 7, no. 1 (May 5, 2023): 6, https://doi.org/10.1186/s43238-023-00086-0.

[422] Aas, Ladkin, and Fletcher, "Stakeholder Collaboration and Heritage Management", 29-34.

Cultural festivals hold substantial significance in Nigeria's tourism promotion. These events spotlight the distinct traditions, arts, music, and ways of life inherent in various ethnic groups. This convergence captivates both domestic and international tourists, fostering cultural appreciation and cross-cultural exchange. As cultural tourism burgeons in Nigeria, its potential to drive sustainable development becomes increasingly pronounced, particularly in rural regions where many cultural tourism resources are nestled.[423] The efficacy of tourism management strategies hinges on the Nigerian government's political determination and steadfast commitment to propel the industry, encouraging economic advancement. Acknowledging the tourism sector's potential, the government has identified it as an important aspect for economic revitalization, positioning it as a priority area. However, a shift in tourism policies was noted subsequent to the departure of President Olusegun Obasanjo from power in 2007.[424]

Maximizing the effective use of cultural resources for tourism necessitates the implementation of strategies focused on the enhancement, promotion, development, and management of these resources. Notably, cultural institutions like museums play a crucial role in this endeavour. Museums serve as essential conduits for promoting the rich cultural tapestry and tourism prospects of a destination. Their strategic management and utilization contribute significantly to attracting tourists and fostering sustainable development.[425] Nigeria boasts a rich array of tourism destinations and vibrant cultural festivals that play a paramount role in promoting its tourism sector. The amalgamation of the country's

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[423] Matthias U Agboeze and Elochukwu A. Nwankwo, "Actualizing Sustainable Development Goal-11 in Rural Nigeria: The Role of Adult Literacy Education and Tourism Development," *Business Strategy & Development* 1, no. 3 (July 18, 2018): 180–188, https://doi.org/10.1002/bsd2.21.

[424] Bello and Bello, "Infrastructure Development: A Strategic Approach for Sustainable Hospitality Business in Edo State (a Study of Selected Hotels in Benin City)", 302-306.

[425] Anim Ajake et al., "Assessment of Cultural and Museum Landscapes for Tourism Development: The Calabar Museum Scenario, Cross River State, Nigeria." Ottoman," *Journal of Tourism and Management Research* 1, no. 1 (September 2015): 119–34, https://doi.org/10.26465/ojtmr.2016132259.

captivating natural wonders and impressive man-made attractions positions it as an alluring and evolving destination within the West African region.[426]

Nigeria's cultural festivals encompass traditions, arts, music, and celebrations, amplifying the diverse ethnic groups and rich heritage. These events foster community unity and honour cultural identity, drawing domestic and international tourists alike. For instance, the Eyo Festival in Lagos, the Calabar Carnival in Cross River State, the Osun-Osogbo Festival in Osun State, the Argungu Fishing Festival in Kebbi State, the New Yam Festival (Iriji) in Igbo-speaking regions, the Durbar Festival in northern states, the Olojo Festival in Osun State, and the Ofala Festival among the Igbo people are prominent instances. These festivals provide glimpses into Nigeria's ethnic tapestry, offering a cultural mosaic of experiences for both locals and visitors.[427]

After the Festac 77 Cultural Art celebration, the Federal Military Government, on September 24, 1979, established an organization called the Centre for Black and African Arts and Civilisation (referred to as "the Centre" in the decree) (See Appendix II). Its primary mission was to locate, identify, and gather all recorded materials, published items, and museum artifacts related to the 1977 Festival. The objective was to create a comprehensive inventory of these works. The management of the Centre was entrusted to a body known as the Centre for Black and African Arts and Civilisation Management Board. This institution, the Centre, was designed as a multidisciplinary organization. Its core responsibilities, as outlined in this decree, included fostering public interest in Black and African arts and civilization and ensuring the preservation of valuable creative works from each participating

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[426] Edwin Chigozie Nwokorie and Eneloke Esther Adeniyi, "Tourists' Perception of Ecotourism Development in Lagos Nigeria: The Case of Lekki Conservation Centre," *Turizam* 25, no. 1 (April 14, 2021): 11–13, https://doi.org/10.5937/turizam25-27414.

[427] "Nigeria Culture and Heritage," Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Nigeria, accessed August 16, 2023, https://foreignaffairs.gov.ng/nigeria/nigeria-%20culture/.

country during the Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture in 1977 (referred to as "the 1977 Festival" in the decree) or similar cultural events. This also encompassed creative works originating from or associated with the 1977 Festival or similar cultural manifestations, whether donated directly or through the International Festival Committee of the 1977 Festival or any future donations by individuals or organizations.[428]

Nonetheless, the expansion of Nigeria's tourism industry is confronted by certain challenges. One key challenge lies in the insufficient awareness surrounding conservation areas as viable tourism destinations. Another significant hurdle involves the imperative of robust government commitment and political will.[429] Successful cultural festival tourism management relies on collaborative efforts among government, communities, private sectors, and international entities. These strategies encompass marketing campaigns, infrastructure development, security measures, cultural preservation, and global digital visibility. Understanding attendee motivations, such as health values, social interactions, cultural exploration, and novelty, informs tailored experiences. This comprehensive approach amplifies festivals' potential for tourism promotion, cultural exchange, and economic development.[430]

Tourist influx has not only boosted government revenue but also developed remarkable destinations. Cross River State, for example, has seen growth in resorts like Orange, Marina, Obudu Ranch (figure 2 and 2.2), and the prominent Tinapa Business Resort. These sites draw visitors, becoming recreational hubs. This thriving sector brings leisure opportunities and influences arrivals, fuelling economic and infrastructural progress. However, resorts grapple

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[428] The Federal Military Government of Nigeria, "Centre For Black and African Arts and Civilisation Decree 19," Data set (Published by Authority of the Federal Military Government of Nigeria and Printed by the Ministry of Information, Printing Division, Lagos., September 24, 1979), https://gazettes.africa/archive/ng/1979/ng-government-gazette-supplement-dated-1979-09-27-no-46-part-a.pdf.

[429] Manzuma-Ndaaba Mohammed, Yoshifumi Harada, and Md. Aminul Islam, "Challenges to Growth in Tourism Industry of a Developing Country: The Case of Nigeria," *Asian Social Science* 10, no. 19 (October 2014): 282, https://ccsenet.org/journal/index.php/ass/article/view/40850.

[430] Yoo In Young, Timothy Jeonglyeol Lee, and Choong-Ki Lee, "Effect of Health and Wellness Values on Festival Visit Motivation," *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research* 20, no. 2 (December 2013): 152–170, https://doi.org/10.1080/10941665.2013.866970.

with seasonality and business sustainability. Diversification, effective marketing, and consumer preference adaptation are fundamental for enduring success.[431]

While a destination such as Olumo rock, according to Ilori Funmilayo, has also enhanced and aided development in that area, for example, in Abeokuta, Nigeria, Olumo Rock is a historical, cultural, and spiritual gem. It has evolved into a prominent tourism hub, enhancing experiences and promoting sustainability. The site boasts improved accessibility with paved walkways and handrails, welcoming a diverse range of visitors. This development has triggered infrastructure advancements, benefiting both tourists and locals. Enhanced roads and transport links ease travel to the rock, boosting connectivity across the city. She opined that the flourishing tourism scene has spurred entrepreneurial growth, generated jobs and invigorating the local economy. She asserted that, Olumo Rock is not just a geological marvel; it is a symbol of Abeokuta's identity.[432] Ilori further explained that through cultural events and festivals, its historical significance is celebrated, contributing to a sense of pride and attachment for residents. Academic and research opportunities have flourished, enriching the city's intellectual landscape. The resonance of Olumo Rock extends globally, enticing a cross-cultural exchange. Its magnetic pull brings together domestic and international visitors, fostering a deeper understanding of Nigeria's diverse heritage. In essence, Olumo Rock's transformation has ignited growth, connected communities, preserved culture, and cultivated a strong sense of identity among Abeokuta's people.[433]

Between 1945 and 1985, Nigeria witnessed significant museum growth, with over thirty federal museums established. These institutions safeguard the nation's cultural heritage,

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[431] Eja Iwara Eja and Mary Eru Iji, "Visitors' Arrivals and Destination Development: A Case Study of Selected Recreational Resorts in Cross River State. Nigeria," *European Journal of Research in Social Sciences* 6, no. No. 3 (June 2018): 1–2.

[432] Ilori, One of the Prominent Voices at Olumo Rock.

[433] Ilori, One of the Prominent Voices at Olumo Rock.

providing insights into diverse cultures, traditions, and art forms. These museums fuel cultural tourism and sustainable development, allowing locals and tourists to explore Nigeria's heritage. This cultivates a deeper understanding of the country's history and identity. By preserving and showcasing artistic, archaeological, and historical treasures, these museums drive sustainable tourism, national pride, education, and economic growth. They also facilitate cultural exchange, attracting global cultural tourism enthusiasts. The 1979 decree marked a key moment, broadening the commission's mandate to safeguard and share cultural treasures. This showcases Nigeria's dedication to preserving its heritage and making it accessible. Through museums and educational outlets, Nigeria engages citizens and visitors, sharing its history, arts, and achievements.[434]

Challenges Hindering Tourism Development and Growth in Nigeria

The cultures, customs, and traditions, including the sacred grooves and worship sites, are some of the touristic features that have been neglected over the years, which negatively affected the development and growth of the industry.[435] Amidst the captivating tapestry of natural and cultural historic sites that hold boundless promise, the Nigerian tourism sector grapples with a host of challenges that have impeded its realization. These hurdles have collectively restrained the industry's performance and its contribution to the nation's economy. Several factors have converged to cast a veil of difficulty over the Nigerian tourism landscape.

Infrastructure Deficiencies and Poor Infrastructure Maintenance: The inadequate interlinking of transportation networks, alongside poorly maintained roadways, and the insufficient development of infrastructure connecting various tourist destinations, cumulatively discourage travellers and hinder accessibility. The absence of necessities like

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[434] Filane, "Museums in Nigeria: Historical Antecedents and Current Practice", 5.
[435] Dele Jemirade, "Tourism: The Missed Opportunities for Economic Development in Nigeria," *Journal of African Studies and Development* 13, no. 1 (January 31, 2021): 16, https://doi.org/10.5897/jasd2021.0611.

dependable electricity and clean water further sullies the tourist experience. Furthermore, the lack of proper maintenance for existing tourist sites and attractions accelerates their deterioration, thereby eroding the overall quality of the visitor's encounter.

Security Concerns: Pertinent safety and security challenges, encompassing criminal activities and periods of political instability, have dissuaded both domestic and international tourists from embarking on journeys to explore Nigeria's multifarious attractions. The resultant negative perceptions surrounding safety have correspondingly led to a waning interest in selecting Nigeria as a destination.[436] Nigeria grapples with widespread crimes, violence, and civil unrest, hindering national security and socio-economic progress since the 1980s. Kidnapping, drug trafficking, fraud, human trafficking, and money laundering are tied to Nigerian criminal networks. Recognized as a major threat, crime affects all aspects of life, from the economy to health, politics, and society. Crime dampens investment, erodes human capital, damages citizen-state relations, and undermines development, making it a significant challenge to Nigeria's progress. In addition to regular crimes, Nigeria grapples with recurrent ethnic, ethno-religious conflicts, and intra-tribal wars. Since independence, these conflicts have repeatedly emerged, posing significant threats to national security.[437]

A concise summary of notable crises in Nigeria from 1945 to 2006 follows, beginning with the 1945 Jos riot that occurred in October and witnessed a two-day conflict between the Hausa and Ibo communities in Jos. The underlying causes of the riot were complex, rooted in ethnic, religious, and economic disparities, with underlying political tensions further fuelling the flames. it was one of the first instances of major violence between Northern Nigerians and the Biafrans, indicating the ethnic and regional tensions.

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[436] Hanny Dickson Dillimono and Janet E Dickinson, "Travel, Tourism, Climate Change, and Behavioral Change: Travelers' Perspectives from a Developing Country, Nigeria," *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 23, no. 3 (March 16, 2015): 437–454.

[437] Adora, "Managing Tourism in Nigeria: The Security Option", 21.

Likewise, the May 1953 Kano riot marked the first major violence between Northern Nigerians and the emerging Biafrans and another milestone in Nigeria's pre-independence history. It marked a significant point in the growing turmoil between Northern Nigerians and the Biafrans.[438] The Kano riot revealed the deep-seated grievances and hostilities that were simmering just beneath the surface of the Nigerian society, waiting to erupt when circumstances were gives it a chance. The dispute revolved around the timing of Nigeria's independence, leading to a mass demonstration in Kano on May 15, 1953.[439] The 1945 Jos riot, and the May 1953 Kano riot are significant historical events that not only represent early instances of violence between Northern Nigerians and Biafrans but also serve as poignant indicators of the social and political unrest predominant in Nigeria even before it attained independence. However, these riots were not merely indicative of ethnic conflicts. They were symptoms of the broader unsettlement that characterized Nigeria's pre-independence environment. The country was grappling with a host of challenges, including political uncertainty, economic disparities, and a fragile colonial legacy. As Nigeria inched closer to independence, these issues intensified, ultimately shaping the future of the nation. They served as early warnings of the ethnic and regional tensions that would culminate in the Nigerian Civil War and demonstrated the larger societal unrest that was already prevalent in the country before it gained independence. These incidents were reflective of the complex web of issues that needed to be addressed to build a stable and unified nation.

The Tiv uprising from 1960 to 1964 was a significant historical event in Nigeria that occurred shortly after the country gained independence from British colonial rule in 1960. This uprising was driven by the Tiv ethnic group's grievances against the perceived

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[438] Leonard Plotnicov, "An Early Nigerian Civil Disturbance: The 1945 Hausa-Ibo Riot in Jos," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 9, no. 2 (August 1971): 297–298.

[439] Hussaini Abdu, "Ethnic and Religious Crises in Northern Nigeria; Issues in Informer Repression," *Department of Political Science and Defence Studies, Nigerian Defence Academy, Kaduna*, October 2011, 7, https://www.academia.edu/24024206/Ethno_religious_Crisis_in_Northern_Nigeria.

oppression and mistreatment they had endured under the dominant rule of the Hausa-Fulani elites in Northern Nigeria. The Tiv people had several grievances against the Hausa-Fulani rulers. These grievances included land disputes, taxation, and what they perceived as oppressive and discriminatory policies enforced by the traditional authorities. The Tiv felt marginalized and sought to assert their rights and autonomy. The Riots was a series of violent outbursts that began in 1960 and continued until 1964. The Tiv people organized protests, strikes, and even violent confrontations with the authorities as a means of expressing their discontent and demanding change.[440]

The 1962 violence in the Western Region resulted from ideological divisions within the party, particularly between Party Leader Obafemi Awolowo and Regional Premier Samuel Ladoke Akintola's rival factions over political strategy and control.[441] Prior to the Nigerian Civil War (1967-1970), ethnic massacres within the army erupted in mid-1966, resulting in mass violence against Igbos in northern towns. These brutal events led to a significant exodus of over a million refugees to the Eastern Region. This turmoil set the stage for the Nigerian Civil War, also known as the Biafra War (1967-1970), triggered by attempts to secede the south-eastern provinces.[442] The 1980 Maitatsine crisis, led by Muhammad Marwa (Maitatsine), revealed socio-economic and political problems in Nigeria's north. Falola's "Violence in Nigeria" contextualized this religious and social turmoil.[443] The Ife-Modakeke conflict began in 1981, involving Yoruba communities in southwestern Nigeria. Fuelled by land disputes, political power, and socio-economic disparities, the conflict escalated in the early 1980s, resulting in clashes, violence, and property destruction. It serves as a notable

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[440] Ubongabasi Ebenezer Israel and Patrick Chukwudike Okpalaeke, "Ethno-Political Conflicts and the One Nigeria Project: Issues and Lessons from The First Republic, 1960-66," *Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 23, no. 2 (February 2018): 70.

[441] Larry Diamond, *Class, Ethnicity and Democracy in Nigeria: The Failure of the First Republic* (London: The Macmillan Press LTD, 1988), 93–94.

[442] A. Dirk Moses and Lasse Heerten, eds., *Postcolonial Conflict and the Question of Genocide: The Nigeria-Biafra War, 1967-1970* (New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2018), 7.

[443] Toyin Falola, *Violence in Nigeria: The Crisis of Religious Politics and Secular Ideologies* (New York: University Rochester Press, 1998), 3-5.

example of prolonged tensions within the same ethnic group due to historical and socio-economic factors.[444]

The 1982 Fagge crisis in Kano, Nigeria, was a significant and tragic event that unfolded against the backdrop of the country's deep-seated socio-economic, ethnic, and religious divisions. This crisis primarily occurred between two major ethnic and religious groups in Nigeria against each other: the Muslim Hausa-Fulani and the Christian Igbo communities. The Fagge crisis also serves as a stark example of how a combination of ethnic, religious, and economic factors can create a tinderbox of tensions, ready to ignite into violence at any moment. The aftermath of such crises often includes a breakdown in social cohesion, loss of trust between communities, and the perpetuation of cycles of violence.[445]

The 1990 Tiv/Jukun conflict was a significant and highly destructive ethnic conflict that occurred in central Nigeria, particularly in the Taraba and Benue states. This conflict, which occurred as one of the most severe in the region since the Nigerian Civil War (1967-1970), had its roots in several complex issues, primarily revolving around land, political power, and questions of indigeneity. One of the primary drivers of the Tiv/Jukun conflict was land ownership and land use. These disputes were further exacerbated by the encroachment of nomadic herders into the region, leading to conflicts over grazing rights and access to water resources. Political power and representation also played a significant role in the conflict. This struggle for political power at the local and state levels exacerbated existing tensions, as both communities sought to secure their interests and maintain their positions in the political hierarchy. The concept of indigeneity is closely tied to land and political power.

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[444] Jack Ferguson, "Violence in Nigeria: The Crisis of Religious Politics and Secular Ideologies," *American Ethnologist* 27, no. 4 (November 2000): 969–970, https://doi.org/10.1525/ae.2000.27.4.969.

[445] Jibrin Ibrahim, "The Politics of Religion in Nigeria: The Parameters of the 1987 Crisis in Kaduna State," *Review of African Political Economy* 16, no. 45–46 (January 1, 1989): 65–66.

The issue of who is considered an "indigene" in a particular region and who has the right to claim land and political authority has been a contentious one. Both Tiv and Jukun communities had claims to indigeneity, and these claims became a source of tension and conflict. This issue often led to discrimination, marginalization, and violence against those perceived as non-indigenous or "settlers." Despite having coexisted peacefully in the past, the 1990 Tiv/Jukun conflict arose due to the intensification of these issues over time, which, in turn, heightened ethnic and communal tensions. The consequences of this conflict were devastating, with loss of life, displacement of communities, and widespread economic and social disruptions.[446]

The Reinhard Bonnke crisis of 1991 in Nigeria originated from the October Kano riot. This crisis was ignited by the government's decision to grant permission to German Christian revivalist Reinhard Bonnke to conduct evangelical activities in Nigeria, specifically in the city of Kano. However, this decision was met with strong opposition from the Muslim community in Nigeria, leading to a series of events that escalated into a full-blown crisis. In Nigeria, where religious diversity is a prominent feature, the permission granted to Bonnke became a source of concern among the Muslim population, particularly in Kano, which had a predominantly Muslim demographic. The Muslims feared that Bonnke's large-scale Christian evangelical event posed a threat to their faith and considered it a form of religious intrusion.

This discontentment and apprehension culminated in a violent outbreak known as the October Kano riot. During this riot, there were mass protests, extensive property damage, and violent clashes between Muslims and Christians. The clashes resulted in injuries, fatalities, and widespread civil unrest. The October Kano riot vividly exposed the deep-seated tensions

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[446] Ukertor Gabriel Moti, "An Examination of the Effect of the Tiv-Jukun Conflict of Central Nigeria on Development," *Alternative Perspectives in the Humanities and the Social Sciences* 26 (2010): 26.

and religious divisions between the Muslim and Christian communities in Nigeria. The Nigerian government had to intervene to restore order and prevent further violence. Although the crisis eventually subsided, it left a lasting impact on the relations between these religious communities in Kano and Nigeria as a whole. This crisis also underlined the complex religious dynamics in Nigeria, where religious identity and competition can sometimes lead to violent confrontations.[447]

The Zangon Kataf crisis of February 1992 in a central region of Nigeria that has unfortunately experienced recurring inter-communal conflicts primarily related to disputes over land and agricultural resources emerged due to a disagreement regarding the construction of a new market by the Local Government Authority. This dispute pitted members of both the Kataf and Hausa communities against each other and eventually escalated into violent clashes in early February 1992, resulting in a tragic loss of lives. Subsequently, from May 15 to 17 in the same year, fresh rioting erupted in Zangon Kataf, further exacerbating the tensions and violence. The events surrounding the May riots have since become a subject of intense controversy, with each community attempting to justify its actions during the conflict. This unfortunate history underscores the complex and deeply rooted nature of communal conflicts in the region, often intertwined with issues related to land, resources, and historical grievances.[448]

In February 1992, a conflict erupted between two neighbouring communities, Ugep and Idomi, both of the same ethnic background. These communities are situated in south-eastern Nigeria, specifically within the Yakurr Local Government Area of Cross River State,

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[447] Isaac Olawale, "Ethnic Relations in a Nigerian City: A Historical Perspective of the Hausa-Lgbo Conflicts in Kano 1953-1991," *French Institute for Research in Africa*, no. 2 (1993): 16, https://doi.org/10.4000/books.ifra.3100.

[448] Abdul Raufu Mustapha, "Transformation of Minority Identities in Post-Colonial Nigeria," in *Identity Transformation and Identity Politics under Structural Adjustment in Nigeria*, ed. Jega Attahiru (Elanders Gotab, Stockholm, 2000), 90–91.

which falls in the middle Cross River geopolitical zone. The Ugep/Idomi conflict is best characterized as a local socio-economic conflict, with its roots deeply intertwined with issues related to the social and economic well-being of the communities involved. Regrettably, this conflict has resulted in significant human suffering and atrocities, posing threats to human rights, regional stability, and communal harmony. The toll has been immense, with extensive destruction of property and tragic loss of human lives. What makes this conflict particularly distressing is its prolonged nature, spanning from 1992 to 1997, during which it caused enduring disaffection and discord among the affected communities.[449]

Tafawa Balewa Local Government Area (L.G.A) is a region situated in Bauchi State, Nigeria, and it has been a recurring hotspot for conflicts among the 20 local government areas in the state. One of the underlying factors contributing to these conflicts is the historical delineation of boundaries in Tafawa Balewa by the former colonial administration. This boundary configuration resulted in the coexistence of different ethnic groups, each distinguished by its unique religious beliefs, cultural norms, and values, all residing within the same geographical area. Unfortunately, this coexistence of diverse groups has given rise to a pattern of recurrent conflicts since the early 1990s up till 2011. These conflicts have often been fuelled by the politicization of ethnicity and religion, further exacerbated by the manipulation of these factors by local elites. As a consequence, Tafawa Balewa Local Government has been marred by episodes of violent conflict. The issue of identity differences has particularly become problematic when there is a perception of unequal access to political participation, including power sharing, and when discrimination in resource allocation is evident. In many cases, one ethnic group has dominated others within the local society, leading to grievances and tensions.

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[449] Otu Abam Ubi, "Communal Conflict and Traditional Conflict Resolution: The Ugep/Idomi 1992 Conflict Experience," *Ife Psychologia: An International Journal* 9, no. 3 (2021): 71–82.

Regrettably, these ethnoreligious conflicts in Tafawa Balewa have exacted a heavy toll. They have resulted in the loss of numerous lives and have significantly hampered the political and economic development of the area. The destructive impact of these conflicts underscores the urgent need for efforts to promote peace, reconciliation, and inclusive governance in the region, addressing the root causes of these recurrent tensions.[450]

The Jos ethnoreligious crisis in 2001 was a deeply tragic event that resulted in the loss of approximately 4,000 lives in Jos, as well as in smaller cities and villages within Plateau State, Nigeria, over the past decade. The crisis was ignited by large-scale riots that erupted in Jos in September 2001, primarily triggered by disputes over political appointments. Shockingly, less than one week of intense fighting during these riots claimed the lives of at least 1,000 individuals. Following the 2001 Jos riot, longstanding rural land conflicts escalated into violent confrontations. Over the years from 2002 to 2004, an estimated 1,000 to 2,000 more lives were lost due to this ongoing violence. This unrest in southern Plateau State culminated in a devastating massacre, where approximately 700 people were killed in the city of Yelwa.

The initial roots of the Jos crisis were political in nature, involving a confrontation between the Berom, supported by the Anaguta and Afizere ethnic groups (referred to as 'indigenes' of Plateau State), and the Hausa-Fulani community, commonly regarded as 'settlers.' The dynamics of urban violence during these episodes were characterized by attacks, counterattacks, and street battles involving youth gangs and thugs. A disturbing urban practice during riots involved blocking major streets and selectively targeting individuals who could not correctly recite religious verses. While much of the violence in 2001 was

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[450] Ibrahim Suleiman, "Ethno-Religious Conflict in Nigeria: A Case Study of Tafawa Balewa LGA," *International Journal of Political Science and Governance* 1, no. 2 (2018): 30–37.

carried out using knives and machetes, the use of firearms and gunshot fatalities subsequently became prominent features of urban violence in the region.[451] The Mangul Bokkos crisis (1992-1995), and the Akaluka incident (Kano) 1994 are among the notable conflicts during this period.[452] From 1999 to 2004, was the Niger Delta Unrest when ethnic tensions and resource-related disputes in the Niger Delta region resulted in violence and attacks on oil installations.[453] These incidents highlight the diverse challenges of civil unrest and conflicts that Nigeria has faced during this period.

More recently, the country has faced the scourge of the Boko Haram destabilisation campaign, Boko Haram translates as 'Western Education is Forbidden' and is an extremist Islamic movement which draws its support from disgruntled populations of Northern Nigeria who have been economically and otherwise marginalised in post-colonial Nigerian development. Historically, northern Nigeria has harboured a deep-seated socio-economic disparity when compared to the southern part of the country. In the north, many states grapple with poverty, illiteracy, and a lack of basic infrastructure, setting a fertile ground for discontent and extremist ideologies. Boko Haram took advantage of this discontent, framing western influences and education as the source of their grievances and advocating for the implementation of Sharia law as a solution. Boko Haram emerged around 2002 under the leadership of Mohammed Yusuf, a charismatic cleric who successfully harnessed the mounting frustration and disenfranchisement among the youth to foster a strong following. The transition from a radical but non-violent group to a violent extremist organization can be traced back to confrontations with the Nigerian government.

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[451] Jana Krause, *A Deadly Cycle: Ethno-Religious Conflict in Jos, Plateau State, Nigeria* (Switzerland: Geneva Declaration Secretariat, 2011), 12-37.
[452] Adeleke, "Peace and Tourism in Nigeria", 2.
[453] Markus Schultze-Kraft, *Nigeria's Post-1999 Political Settlement and Violence Mitigation in the Niger Delta*, Evidence Report; 5 (Institute of Development Studies (IDS), 2013), https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/bitstream/handle/20.500.12413/2671/ER5%20Final%20Online.pdf?sequence=1.

After Yusuf's death, Abubakar Shekau took over the leadership, steering the group down a far more violent and extremist path. The group started to carry out systematic attacks on government institutions, security forces, schools, and civilians. Their tactics evolved to include suicide bombings, kidnappings, and large-scale assaults on villages and towns. Over the years, the violence perpetrated by Boko Haram has escalated, causing widespread destruction, death, and displacement, particularly in the north-eastern regions of Nigeria. Boko Haram's rise has also been facilitated by Nigeria's complex ethno-religious landscape. The organization effectively exploited existing religious tensions between the predominantly Muslim north and the Christian south to foster division and recruit new members. The group uses religious doctrines to justify its actions, which include enforcing a strict version of Sharia law in areas under its control.

Internationally, Boko Haram drew inspiration and possibly even material support from other jihadist groups like Al-Qaeda and ISIS. Over the years, there have been indications of the group aligning with the broader jihadist movement globally, further amplifying the threat it poses to the region and beyond. In grappling with the Boko Haram insurgency, the Nigerian government and its neighbours have faced numerous challenges, including coordination issues between military and civilian authorities, corruption, and human rights violations, all of which have at times hampered the effectiveness of counter-insurgency operations. To sum up, the rise of Boko Haram is a complex interplay of socio-economic inequalities, political failures, religious extremism, and regional instability.[454]

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[454] Jacob Zenn, *Unmasking Boko Haram: Exploring Global Jihad in Nigeria* (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2020).

For an in-depth analysis and comprehensive understanding of the emergence and operations of Boko Haram in Nigeria, refer to Jacob Zenn, *Unmasking Boko Haram: Exploring Global Jihad in Nigeria* (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2020), which offers a profound exploration of the group's integration into global jihadist movements, situated within the unique socio-political and religious contexts of Nigeria. This publications a critical resource for comprehending the complex dynamics surrounding Boko Haram's rise and its sustained campaign of violence in Nigeria.

Apart from the political instability demonstrated by the various crises described above, the tourism sector has also suffered from frequent oscillations in the government's policies, coupled with the irregularities in their application, which engender an environment of uncertainty for potential investors and stakeholders. To foster growth within the industry, it is imperative to establish a stable and conducive policy framework that nurtures investment. Similarly, the absence of sustainable tourism practices has engendered environmental degradation, pollutants, and the depletion of natural resources in select tourist destinations. These adverse impacts are twofold, as they not only compromise the environment's integrity but also erode the allure of these sites to potential tourists. In addition, the labyrinthine bureaucratic processes, visa complications, and exorbitant fees for obtaining permits and licenses act as a formidable deterrent for potential investors and operators in the tourism sector.[455]

Furthermore, the scarcity of investment directed towards strengthening tourism infrastructure, upgrading facilities, and nurturing training initiatives curtails the industry's capacity for expansion and growth. Finally, the negative depiction of Nigeria in the global media, frequently emphasizing security issues and socio-political challenges, creates a perception that discourages potential tourists from considering the country as a suitable destination.[456] Between 1998 and 2003, Nigeria's tourism earnings were notably low, constituting only about three percent of Africa's international travel.[457] Most foreign visitors were business travellers, officials, and those on family visits.[458] This group mainly originated from Western Europe, North America, South-East Asia, and nearby West African countries.[459]

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[455] Dillimono and Dickinson, "Travel, Tourism, Climate Change, and Behavioral Change: Travelers' Perspectives from a Developing Country, Nigeria", 437-454.
[456] Adeleke, "Peace and Tourism in Nigeria", 2.
[457] Adeleke, "Peace and Tourism in Nigeria", 2.
[458] Michael Balogun, Tour2Nigeria, Interview by Osariemen Osunde Uwagboe October 23, 2022 (Nigeria, n.d.).
[459] Adeleke, "Peace and Tourism in Nigeria", 2.

Compounding these challenges, Nigeria struggled with inadequate arrival and departure data. Developing a substantial international tourism industry and assessing its effects necessitates a reliable system for tracking inbound and outbound traffic. Additionally, domestic tourism remained limited due to the combination of financial constraints among many Nigerians and a lack of widespread "tourism culture" among those with means.[460]

In a study by Ayodele et al., it was found that only 55% of Nigerians were familiar with tourist destinations in their vicinity. Among this group, 46% were academics from higher education institutions, while government civil servants and business executives made up just 5.75% and 2.30%, respectively. Despite the rebranding efforts of the Nigeria campaign, these statistics have remained largely unchanged.[461] This data reveals a chronic issue of unawareness and apparent lack of interest, particularly among the respondents. Despite the potential benefits of tourism for local communities and the country, a considerable portion of the population remains uninformed and disengaged regarding their own tourist attractions. To address this challenge, there is a need for targeted awareness campaigns, educational initiatives, and collaboration between the government, private sector, and local communities. By fostering awareness and interest in tourism, Nigeria can unlock the potential of its tourist destinations, enhance economic opportunities, and promote sustainable growth in the industry.[462]

Compared to South Africa, tourism promotion involves giving attention to various factors, including natural attractions, cultural diversity, infrastructure, safety, and overall visitor experience. Both countries have unique offerings, but South Africa has traditionally

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[460] Balogun, Tour2Nigeria.

[461] I. A Ayodele and G. O Falade, "Some Aspects of Tourism Potentials of Nigerian Parks," in *Environment and Tourism in Nigeria*, ed. Boyowa Anthony Chokor (Environment and Behaviour Association of Nigeria, 1993), 211–18.

[462] Ijasan and Izobo, "Assessing Community Engagement in Tourism Planning and Development in Nigeria: A Case Study of Arinta Waterfall Tourist Resort, Ipole Iloro Ekiti State," May 2012, 14.

been a more popular tourist destination for several reasons. For instance, in addition to various interventions implemented to safeguard the well-being of its citizens, South Africa's laws and regulations play an essential role in ensuring the effectiveness and success of these interventions.[463] As part of their efforts to draw in more visitors, both government and private sector entrepreneurs frequently dedicate resources to enhance infrastructure, which can yield favourable economic outcomes and benefit rural communities.[464] South Africa has a well-developed tourism infrastructure with modern airports, good roads, and a range of accommodation options to suit various budgets. It also has a well-established tourism industry with experienced tour operators. It boasts a robust transportation network that greatly facilitates tourist mobility. It offers major international gateways, including OR Tambo International in Johannesburg and Cape Town International, ensuring convenient access for visitors. Additionally, the country's domestic flight network seamlessly connects cities and popular tourist destinations, allowing for efficient travel within South Africa. The extensive road system, characterized by well-maintained highways and picturesque routes, makes road trips and self-drive tours highly favoured options among tourists.[465]

South Africa is privileged to possess its own national carrier, South African Airways (SAA), which holds a prominent position among African airlines. Remarkably, SAA stands out as the sole African airline to rank among the world's top 50 airlines based on annual revenues. As of the financial year ending on March 31, 1995, SAA achieved impressive statistics, including carrying 4.48 million passengers, generating 11.1 million revenue

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[463] Patrick T Mogale and Kola O Odeku, "Transformative Tourism Legislation: An Impetus for Socioeconomic Development in South Africa," *African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure* 7, no. no.3 (2017): 1–16.

[464] Iain Christie et al., *Tourism in Africa: Harnessing Tourism for Growth and Improved Livelihoods* (washington DC: World Bank Publications, 2014), 24.

[465] Government of South Africa Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, *The Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa: White Paper* (Commission of Inquiry, 1996).

passenger kilometres, and achieving a noteworthy operating profit of R220 million.[466] Moreover, South Africa benefits from excellent international connectivity, as over 50 international airlines provide services to and from the country. This extensive network of global carriers contributes to South Africa's accessibility and attractiveness as a destination for international travellers.

South Africa's ground transportation sector is marked by its diversity and capacity to serve a wide range of travellers, both domestic and international. Notably: Car rental is supported by 33 companies with a combined fleet of around 25,000 vehicles. The coach charter industry is well-developed, comprising 15 major firms and about ten smaller ones, operating approximately 500 coaches. The tourism industry benefits from 135 inbound tour operators and group handlers, serving around 222,000 visitors annually. To further advance the tourism sector, there is focus on safety, sustainability, accessibility, infrastructure development, and the integration of technology. South Africa is dedicated to collaborating with other nations in the Southern Africa region to foster the growth and development of its tourism industry.[467]

In 1998, notable patterns emerged among the most visited destinations and top earners in Africa. South Africa stood out as the favoured destination, attracting 24% of the total tourist traffic. Following closely were Tunisia (18%) and Morocco (13%) from the Northern region, as well as Zimbabwe (6.4%) and Kenya (4.3%) representing, southern Africa and Eastern Africa, respectively. Similarly, in terms of earnings, South Africa led the pack with 24.8% of the revenue generated from tourism. Tunisia and Morocco also showcased strong

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[466] Government of South Africa Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, *The Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa: White Paper* (Commission of Inquiry, 1996).
[467] Government of South Africa Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, *The Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa: White Paper* (Commission of Inquiry, 1996).

performance in generating income from the industry. However, Mauritius and Tanzania successfully capitalized on their tourism offerings, resulting in higher revenue generation.[468] In contrast, Nigeria's contribution to the country's GDP from tourism in 1998 was relatively low, with a ratio of 0.2 compared to the aforementioned countries. This indicates that the tourism sector had a modest economic impact compared to sectors like oil and gas, which Nigeria primarily focused on.[469]

Among the developing countries, Kenya stood out with a well-established and successful tourism sector catering to both conventional and ecotourism markets. International tourism played a significant role in Kenya's economy, contributing 2.24 percent to its GDP in 2006. On the other hand, Nigeria has faced challenges in developing a thriving tourism industry, resulting in a negligible contribution of only 0.02 percent to the country's GDP in 2006.[470] Factors contributing to this situation include difficulties in attracting foreign visitors to Nigeria's cultural and natural attractions. In terms of prerequisites for tourism success, peace and economic development are crucial. Tourism can both benefit from and reinforce existing conditions of peace and development, but effective management is key to its success.[471] Thus, while Nigeria's tourism governance and regulatory structures have achieved much in promoting the sector through providing infrastructure and implementing various plans over time, there is still much left to be done to make the country's tourism industry prosperous and viable, as well as competitive in the African market in particular and the world market in general.

Conclusion

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[468] Peter U.C Dieke, "Developing Tourism in Africa: Issues for Policy Consideration," *In the Development Policy Management Forum* 7, no. 1 (2000): 27, https://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/document?repid=rep1&type=pdf&doi=a15e4a6966265b31460534329d586765d34ea820.

[469] Abiodun Bankole, "The Nigerian Tourism Sector: Economic Contribution, Constraints, and Opportunities," *Journal of Hospitality Financial Management* 10, no. 1 (January 2002): 83, https://scholarworks.umass.edu/jhfm/vol10/iss1/7.

[470] Honey, *Tourism in the Developing World: Promoting Peace and Reducing Poverty*, 3.

[471] Honey, *Tourism in the Developing World: Promoting Peace and Reducing Poverty*, 3.

In conclusion, this chapter explored the historical evolution of Nigeria's National Tourism Governance System, investigating its regulatory frameworks, legal foundations, and their profound implications for the sector's advancement. The nation's vast forests and game reserves hold immense potential for driving economic growth through tourism. Purposeful promotion of these areas to both local and global travellers presents a unique chance to generate revenue while fostering a sense of conservation. By effectively balancing preservation with responsible tourism through comprehensive planning and community engagement, Nigeria stands poised to establish a flourishing industry that safeguards its natural heritage and contributes to economic well-being. Boosted by its rich blend of natural marvels, cultural treasures, strategic location, and welcoming populace, Nigeria emerges as a captivating destination. Despite challenges, the nation's tourism sector holds substantial promise. Embracing a holistic strategy that addresses infrastructural gaps, places cultural preservation at the forefront, and involves communities will chart the course for a sustainable tourism industry. Leveraging its cultural legacy and natural splendour, Nigeria possesses the potential to rise as a dynamic global tourism hub.

At this critical juncture for the sector, a confluence of stable policies, enhanced infrastructure, heightened security measures, sustainability initiatives, and increased investments becomes imperative to overcome obstacles like security apprehensions, unfavourable perceptions, and infrastructural limitations. To unlock Nigeria's tourism potential, a focused approach to awareness, education, and community participation becomes indispensable. By fostering collaborative efforts among governmental bodies, private enterprises, local communities, and international collaborators, Nigeria's tourism sector can embark on a transformative journey, catalysing economic progress and sustainable development, while spotlighting its incredible diversity and beauty on the global arena. A

good foundation has been established under the guidance of the country's tourism governance structures, but a lot more remains to be done.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

"A History of the Nigerian Federal Government's National Tourism Governance System 1962 – 2006" traced Nigeria's tourism landscape across different periods, dissecting the political context, regulatory evolution, and tourism planning journey. The second chapter entitled "Political History of Nigeria" highlighted the interplay between Nigeria's political history and its tourism landscape during the period covered. The chapter traced the historical context and the political factors that directly affected Nigeria's tourism sector from 1962 to 2006. This is essential for a comprehensive understanding of how and why Nigeria's tourism sector evolved the way it did over the years. The chapter has demonstrated that there was a close relationship between political stability and tourism growth. Nigeria's political history

during this period was marked by several significant events, including the end of colonial rule, struggles for independence, military coups, and transitions towards democracy. Each of these events had a profound impact on the nation's political landscape, which, in turn, influenced the fortunes and challenges of its tourism sector.

With its exploitative practices, the colonial era laid the foundation for Nigeria's post-independence challenges. The struggle for independence, while politically significant in its own right, had implications for tourism as well, as it affected the country's image and international standing. The chapter sheds light on how the tourism sector was used as a tool for nation-building and identity formation during this time. The military coups and the periods of military rule brought their own set of challenges for the tourism sector. Political instability, lack of clear policies, and the impact of global events such as oil crises all influenced the tourism landscape. The role of the government in promoting or stifling tourism development was a central theme explored in the chapter. The chapter also explored the phases of democratic transition and how political stability, and policy changes influenced the growth of the tourism sector. It is evident that periods of political stability allowed for more focused and sustained efforts in developing the tourism industry, while turbulent times hindered progress.

The second chapter underlined the importance of understanding Nigeria's political history in the context of its tourism sector. The chapter's findings make it clear that the fortunes of the tourism industry are closely intertwined with the political trajectory of the country. It serves as a vital backdrop for the subsequent chapters that looked into the specific policies, strategies, and challenges faced by Nigeria's tourism governance system during this

period, ultimately contributing to a more comprehensive understanding of the development of Nigeria's tourism industry from 1962 to 2006.

The third chapter, "The Origins and Effects of Tourist Regulatory Organizations in Tourism Development in Nigeria," unfolded the evolution of tourism regulatory bodies. Starting with the Nigerian Tourism Association in 1962, it traced the formation of regulatory bodies to manage the burgeoning tourism industry. The chapter showcased the significance of these bodies in shaping the industry's growth and their transition to adapt to changing dynamics.

The chapter began with the establishment of the Nigerian Tourism Association in 1962, a landmark event in Nigeria's tourism history. This marked the inception of organized efforts to promote and regulate the increasing tourism sector. It then traced the formation and development of subsequent regulatory bodies, established to oversee and enhance the tourism industry's growth. It argues that these regulatory organizations played a fundamental role in shaping the growth of the Nigerian tourism industry. They were not mere bureaucratic entities but rather dynamic, and resilient institutions that adapted to the changing underlying forces of the industry and the broader socio-economic landscape of Nigeria.

These regulatory bodies played a crucial role in standardizing and regulating the industry, thereby ensuring a level playing field for all stakeholders. Secondly, they facilitated the development of the infrastructure and resources necessary for tourism, such as the creation of tourist destinations, conservation efforts, and the establishment of tourism-related educational institutions. Their efforts not only attracted visitors but also contributed to the preservation of Nigeria's natural and cultural heritage. However, the real strength of these regulatory bodies was in their ability to adapt to changing circumstances. The chapter showed

that they consistently adjusted their strategies and policies to respond to shifts in the tourism landscape, both domestically and globally. This adaptability is a vital trait, as tourism is a highly dynamic industry that can be affected by various factors, including economic trends, political changes, and evolving consumer preferences.

The third chapter examined these bodies' role in fostering the tourism sector's growth and management from the establishment of the Nigerian Tourism Association in 1962 to their evolution into adaptable bodies capable of navigating changing industry dynamics.

The fourth chapter, "The Impact of Cultural and Tourism Promotion by the Tourist Regulatory Bodies on Nigeria's Global Image and Reputation," focused on the influence of the Nigerian regulatory organizations on the nation's tourism industry, culture, and international standing through providing the necessary economic support and enhancing the country's Nigerian cultural profile in the international arena. The installation of "The Oba of Benin with Attendants" sculpture at San Diego's International Airport in the United States drew global interest to Nigerian culture. This was one of several steps taken by the Nigerian regulatory organization to showcase Nigeria's cultural diversity and heritage on the international stage.

Another important milestone, the Festac '77 festival, exemplified the Nigerian regulatory organizations' commitment to celebrating African cultural achievements and promoting Pan-African unity. This grand event spotlighted diverse artistic expressions and traditions, further solidifying Nigeria's position as a cultural hub on the globe. Festac '77 left a lasting impression on the global community, enhancing Nigeria's reputation as a centre of cultural richness. The regulatory organizations continued efforts in shaping Nigeria's tourism

landscape, these are evident through its initiatives, including the 2000 Ecotourism conference held in Abuja. This event underscored Nigeria's dedication to sustainable tourism practices and heritage preservation, emphasizing the importance of responsible and eco-friendly tourism.

The NTDC's robust international engagement and media outreach have played a role in raising awareness of Nigeria's tourism potential. This heightened visibility has translated into billions of dollars in annual revenue, stimulating economic growth and development. However, the chapter also highlighted that challenges remain. Sensitizing rural communities about the importance of heritage preservation and leveraging local media channels require further attention. Increased financial support and resources are essential to build upon the NTDC's success and to further enhance Nigeria's reputation as a premier tourist destination. The impact of the NTDC on the Nigerian tourism industry goes far beyond culture and tourism promotion. It has substantially elevated Nigeria's global image and reputation. The nation's diverse culture and tourism offerings continue to captivate the world, ensuring sustained growth and active engagement in the global tourism landscape. The NTDC's work has not only enriched the economic landscape but also added depth and richness to Nigeria's identity on the global stage, promising a brighter future in tourism and international recognition.

The fifth chapter, "Development of Tourism Sites in Nigeria: Bridging Cultural Heritage, Natural Wonders, Economic Prospects, and Infrastructure Growth," underscored the importance of regulatory bodies in fostering tourism's positive impact on development. It focused on Nigeria's tourism infrastructure, diverse attractions, festivals, and the challenges hindering sector growth, such as economic crises and security concerns. One of the primary

themes of this chapter revolved around Nigeria's tourism infrastructure. This infrastructure is a cornerstone of any successful tourism industry, and the chapter highlights the importance of investment in this area. The development of physical infrastructure, such as transportation networks, accommodations, and recreational facilities, is essential for creating a seamless and enjoyable experience for tourists. These elements not only enhance the visitors' experience but also create job opportunities and stimulate economic growth in the regions where these tourism sites are established. Moreover, the chapter explores the diverse array of attractions that Nigeria has to offer.

These attractions encompass a rich array of cultural heritage and natural wonders. From historical sites that tell the story of Nigeria's past to the breath-taking landscapes of its national parks, these attractions are integral to drawing domestic and international tourists. The ability to effectively showcase and preserve these assets is crucial in the development of tourism in the country. Festivals also play a significant role in Nigeria's tourism landscape, and the chapter sheds light on their importance. Festivals offer a unique window into the country's culture and traditions, attracting tourists seeking authentic experiences. They are not only cultural celebrations but also economic opportunities for the communities that host them. However, the chapter also acknowledged the challenges that hinder the growth of the tourism sector in Nigeria. Economic crises, such as fluctuations in currency values and inflation, which affect the affordability of travel for both domestic and international tourists. Additionally, concerns about security have, at times, discouraged potential visitors, highlighting the importance of ensuring safety and security within tourism destinations. Chapter 5 also highlighted the intricacies of tourism planning and management, highlighting the critical role of regulatory bodies in realizing the positive impact of tourism on development. It emphasized the importance of tourism infrastructure, the diverse array of

attractions, and the significance of festivals in attracting tourists and fostering economic growth. At the same time, the chapter recognized the challenges that must be addressed, such as economic crises and security concerns, to ensure the continued growth and prosperity of Nigeria's tourism sector.

This, study, thus, endeavoured to present a comprehensive narrative of Nigeria's tourism development, intertwining political history, regulatory transformations, and the planning journey. The interplay between political stability, regulatory bodies, and effective administration emerges as critical factors in realizing Nigeria's tourism potential. The historical context and regulatory framework provide a lens to understand Nigeria's position in the global tourism landscape, highlighting both its opportunities and challenges.

In summary, the governance of tourism in Nigeria grapples with substantial challenges stemming from its heavy reliance on oil revenue, which impedes the pursuit of economic diversification. The shift of Nigeria's economic focus towards oil following its discovery in the 1950s created a dependence that surged during the 1970s. While membership in OPEC bolstered oil earnings, it concurrently introduced economic instability. The aftermath of political turmoil, conflicts such as the Biafra War, and military coups tarnished Nigeria's global image, consequently affecting its standing in tourism. The amalgamation of North and South Nigeria in 1914 fanned religious tensions, a manifestation exemplified by the rise of Boko Haram, a jihadist militant organization based in north-eastern Nigeria, is a multifaceted phenomenon deeply rooted in Nigeria's intricate socio-economic, political, and religious dynamics.

Despite these hurdles, Nigeria boasts an array of tourist attractions; however, persistent negative perceptions remain a challenge. Administrative frameworks have been instituted post-independence to regulate and foster tourism. This study has examined the roles of these structures and drawn parallels with other nations navigating similar challenges, with the aim of identifying effective measures to overcome obstacles and attract more tourism and investment.

The historical trajectory of Nigeria's political landscape from 1960 to 2006 was scrutinized, casting light on its reverberations across the nation's tourism sector. This narrative unearthed Nigeria's journey from colonial rule to independence, traversing the spheres of military and democratic governance. The intricate interplay of social, cultural, economic, political, and environmental factors was emphasized, highlighting how the prevailing political regimes sculpted Nigeria's image and subsequently shaped perceptions of its tourism potential.

Nigeria's capacity for tourism development in the context of developing nations lies in its potential to generate employment, foster economic diversification, and nurture cultural empathy. The essence of successful tourism, underpinned by harnessing local strengths, refining services, and safeguarding the environment, was thus, underscored. In the study, Nigeria's challenges arising from political instability were juxtaposed with other prominent African tourist destinations. The historical backdrop, regulatory bodies governing tourism, and their roles in advancing this sector were discussed, with special attention to the establishment of the Nigerian Tourism Development Corporation (NTDC) as a pivot for international tourism focus.

Nigeria's historical landscape reveals the nuanced dynamics of its military governments from 1966 to 1979. These military regimes exhibited governance that often-mirrored civilian leadership, albeit without the electoral mandate. Their popularity often surpassed that of their civilian predecessors due to perceived stability and order. However, this era also bore witness to the continuity of a select group of elites in power, regardless of leadership changes. While the military governments claimed accomplishments, their legacy is marred by significant challenges. Prolonged civil conflict and disruptive territorial restructuring scarred the nation's unity. Economic policies aimed at sectors like agriculture and tourism yielded limited success, with economic decline, corruption, and infrastructure gaps prevailing. Nigeria's tourism potential was stifled by political tensions, overreliance on oil, and conflicts, missing opportunities for growth.

The trajectory of Nigeria's tourism sector reflects its aspirations and struggles. Regulatory bodies emerged to harness the country's tourism potential, yet obstacles like instability and security concerns persist. Collaborative efforts between government, private sectors, and communities are essential to unlock the sector's promise. Addressing challenges and fostering sustainable tourism can position Nigeria as a global destination. Nigeria's wilderness and reserves provide a pathway to economic growth through sustainable tourism. A balanced approach, integrating conservation and responsible tourism, can bolster both income and ecological preservation. Capitalizing on Nigeria's natural and cultural richness, with improved infrastructure and community involvement, holds the key to nurturing a thriving tourism industry. At present, Nigeria's tourism stands at a crossroads. Challenges like infrastructure gaps and security issues hinder progress, but concerted efforts from various stakeholders can reshape its trajectory. Stable policies, investment, awareness, and community engagement are pivotal in transforming Nigeria's tourism sector into a catalyst for

sustainable development and global recognition. In essence, Nigeria's history reflects a complex interplay of governance, socio-economic ambitions, and challenges. Navigating these waters requires a holistic, collaborative approach to build a stable democracy, unlock tourism potential, and chart a course toward prosperous, united growth.

In conclusion, the research journey through the history of Nigeria's Federal Government's National Tourism Governance System from 1962 to 2006 unveils a multifaceted narrative. The intricate interplay of political history, regulatory evolution, and tourism planning paints a vivid picture of Nigeria's endeavours to harness its vast tourism potential. Throughout this journey, several key themes emerge, offering valuable insights into the country's challenges, opportunities, and the path forward.

Nigeria's political history, spanning from its early days of independence to the tumultuous years of political transitions, has significantly influenced the trajectory of its tourism sector. Political stability and effective governance have proven to be pivotal drivers in fostering a conducive environment for tourism growth. Conversely, political upheavals, economic crises, and security concerns have posed obstacles to realizing the country's tourism potential. The historical development and transition of tourist regulatory organizations in Nigeria underscore the importance of adaptability in a dynamic industry. The evolution from rudimentary bodies to comprehensive regulatory organizations reflects Nigeria's commitment to managing and promoting its tourism assets. These regulatory bodies have not only acted as guardians of industry standards but have also played proactive roles in strategic planning, sustainable development, and promotional activities.

The exploration of tourism planning, and management highlights the richness of Nigeria's cultural heritage, natural wonders, and historical treasures. However, challenges such as economic downturns and security issues have impeded the sector's growth. The work also emphasizes the need for holistic strategies that focus on community engagement, cultural preservation, and sustainable infrastructure development to pave the way for a thriving tourism industry.

Overall, the research underscores that Nigeria's journey in harnessing its tourism potential is a dynamic and complex one, shaped by political, regulatory, and economic forces. While challenges exist, the country's rich blend of natural marvels, cultural heritage, and vibrant communities provide a strong foundation for growth. The lessons drawn from its history and the evolution of its regulatory bodies illuminate a clear path forward. To fully unlock its tourism potential, Nigeria must prioritize political stability, foster collaborative efforts between government bodies and stakeholders, and invest in sustainable infrastructure. Heightened awareness, education, and community participation are essential for creating a positive perception of Nigeria as a desirable tourism destination. By embracing these strategies, Nigeria's tourism sector can embark on a transformative journey that not only contributes to economic progress but also showcases the nation's incredible diversity and beauty to the world. Ultimately, the research signifies that Nigeria's tourism journey is one of resilience, adaptation, and the pursuit of realizing its true potential on the global stage.

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Appendix I

Industrial Training Fund (Amendment) decree 1976, Nigerian Tourist Board

INDUSTRIAL TRAINING FUND (AMENDMENT) DECREE 1976

Decree No. 53

[1st *August* 1976]   Commencement.

THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT hereby decrees as follows—

1. The Schedule to the Industrial Training Fund Decree 1971 is hereby amended as follows—   Amendment of Schedule to 1971 No. 47.

(a) for paragraph 2 there shall be substituted the following new paragraph—

"2.—(1) The Federal Executive Council shall on the advice of the Commissioner appoint the Chairman of the Council.

(2) The Commissioner shall convene the first meeting of the Council."; and

(b) for paragraph 3 there shall be substituted the following new paragraph—

"3. The Council shall appoint a Vice-Chairman from among its members not being a member representing the same interest as the Chairman."

2. This Decree may be cited as the Industrial Training Fund (Amendment) Decree 1976 and shall be deemed to have come into force on 1st August 1976.   Citation and commencement.

MADE at Lagos this 8th day of November 1976.

LT.-GENERAL O. OBASANJO,
Head of the Federal Military Government,
Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces,
Federal Republic of Nigeria

NIGERIAN TOURIST BOARD DECREE 1976

Decree No. 54

[*See section* 17]   Commencement.

THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT hereby decrees as follows:—

Establishment and Membership of the Board

1.—(1) There is hereby established a body to be known as the Nigerian Tourist Board (hereafter in this Decree referred to as "the Board").   Establishment of the Nigerian Tourist Board.

(2) The Board shall be a body corporate with perpetual succession and a common seal, and may sue and be sued in its corporate name.

(3) The supplementary provisions contained in Schedule 1 to this Decree shall, where applicable, have effect with respect to the proceedings of the Board and the other matters mentioned therein.

Member-
ship.

2.—(1) The Board shall consist of the following members, that is—

(*a*) a representative of the Federal Ministry of Trade ;

(*b*) a representative of the Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development ;

(*c*) a representative of the Ministry of External Affairs ;

(*d*) a representative of the Federal Ministry of Information ;

(*e*) a representative of the Federal Ministry of Civil Aviation ;

(*f*) a representative of the Department of Antiquities ;

(*g*) the Director-General of the Board ;

(*h*) two members of the hotel and catering industry ;

(*i*) a representative of the travel industry ;

(*j*) a representative of the Nigerian Chamber of Commerce, Industry, Mines and Agriculture ; and

(*k*) four other members, not being persons in the public service of the Federation or of a State, having experience and qualifications in the tourist industry who shall be appointed by the Commissioner.

(2) The Chairman, who shall not be a public officer, shall be appointed from amongst the members by the Commissioner with the approval of the Federal Executive Council.

Tenure of
office.

3.—(1) Subject to the provisions of this Decree, a person appointed to be a member of the Board, not being a public officer, shall hold office for a period of three years from the date of his appointment and may be reappointed for a further term of three years.

(2) Any member, not being a public officer, may resign his appointment by a letter addressed to the Commissioner.

(3) Members of the Board, not being public officers, shall be paid such remuneration and allowances as the Federal Executive Council may determine.

Functions of the Board

General
functions of
the Board.

4.—(1) The functions of the Board shall be—

(*a*) to encourage people living in Nigeria to take their holidays therein and people from abroad to visit Nigeria ; and

(*b*) to encourage the provision and improvement of tourist amenities and facilities in Nigeria including the development of hotels and ancillary facilities.

(2) In addition to the specific powers conferred on it by or under the subsequent provisions of this Decree, the Board shall have power—

(*a*) to provide advisory and information services ;

(*b*) to promote and undertake research in the field of tourism ;

(*c*) to grade or classify hotels in such manner as may be prescribed ;

(*d*) to render financial assistance to the States in the field of tourism ; and

(e) to contribute to or reimburse expenditure incurred by any other person or organisation carrying on any activity which the Board has power to carry on under this section.

(3) The Board shall in particular have power to—

(a) carry on any undertaking which appears to the Board to be necessary for the promotion and development of a tourist industry ;

(b) assist in the development of—

    (i) museums and historic sites,

    (ii) parks,

    (iii) game reserves,

    (iv) beaches,

    (v) natural beauty spots,

    (vi) holiday resorts, and

    (vii) souvenir industries ;

(c) advise appropriate authorities on ways of improving tourist facilities ;

(d) publicise tourism ; and

(e) do all such things incidental to the foregoing functions which, in its opinion, are calculated to facilitate the carrying on of the duties of the Board under this Decree.

5.—(1) The Board may set up a tour operating company to be known as the National Travel Bureau (hereinafter referred to as "the Bureau") to operate tour services within and outside Nigeria.

National Travel Bureau.

(2) The Board shall operate the Bureau on a commercial basis, that is to say, it shall ensure that the revenue accruing to the Bureau from services provided by the Bureau are not less than sufficient to meet the total cost of providing those services, taking one year with another.

6. Subject to this Decree, the Commissioner may give to the Board directions of a general character or relating generally to particular matters (but not to any particular individual or case) with regard to the exercise by the Board of its functions, and it shall be the duty of the Board to comply with the directions.

Powers of Commissioner to give directions.

State Tourism Committees

7.—(1) There is hereby established for each State a Tourism Committee (hereinafter referred to as "the Tourism Committee").

Establishment and functions of State Tourism Committees, etc.

(2) The Tourism Committee for each State shall consist of—

(a) a representative of the Ministry of Trade, Industries and Co-operatives ;

(b) a representative of the Ministry responsible for tourism in the State ;

(c) a representative of the Ministry of Agriculture ;

(d) a representative of the Ministry of Transport and Works ;

(e) a member of the hotel and catering industry ;

(f) a representative of the State Chamber of Commerce, Industry, Mines and Agriculture ; and

(g) three members, not being persons in public service of the State, having qualification and experience in tourism who shall be appointed by the State Commissioner.

(3) The Chairman of the Tourism Committee shall be appointed from amongst the members by the State Commissioner with the approval of the State's Executive Council.

(4) Subject to the provisions of this Decree, a person appointed a member of the Tourism Committee, not being a public officer, shall hold office for a period of three years from the date of his appointment and may be re-appointed for a further term of three years.

(5) Members of the Tourism Committee who are not public officers shall be paid such remuneration and allowances as the State's Executive Council may determine.

(6) The Tourism Committee shall have power to co-opt any person to attend its meetings but such person shall have no power to vote and shall not count towards a quorum.

(7) The Secretary of the Tourism Committee, who shall not be a member of the Tourism Committee, shall be appointed by the State Commissioner with the approval of the State's Executive Council.

(8) The Secretary of the State Tourism Committee shall—

(a) keep the records and conduct the correspondence of the Tourism Committee ; and

(b) perform such other duties of a secretarial nature as the Tourism Committee or, as the case may be, the Chairman of the Tourism Committee may from time to time direct.

(9) The functions of the Tourism Committee shall be—

(a) to assist and advise the Board on the implementation of this Decree ;

(b) to recommend to the Board such other measures as may be necessary in the opinion of the Committee to enable full effect to be given to the provisions of this Decree ;

(c) in consultation with the Board, to devise and carry out schemes aimed at encouraging Nigerians to visit the State ;

(d) in consultation with the Board, to carry on any undertaking necessary for the promotion and development of a tourist industry in the State ; and

(e) to perform such other functions as may be assigned to it by the Board.

(10) The supplementary provisions contained in Schedule 1 to this Decree shall, where applicable, have effect with respect to the proceedings of the Tourism Committee and other matters mentioned therein.

Director-General and other staff of the Board

8.—(1) There shall be a Director-General of the Board who shall be appointed by the Commissioner with the prior approval of the Federal Executive Council and shall be the chief executive officer of the Board and, subject to the directions of the Board, shall be responsible for the execution of the Board's policies and the administration of its day to day business.

(2) The Board may appoint a Secretary who shall not be a member of the Board and who shall—

(*a*) keep the records and conduct the correspondence of the Board ;

(*b*) perform such other duties as the Board or, as the case may be, the Director-General may from time to time direct.

9. The Board shall, subject to the provisions of this Decree, have power—

(*a*) to appoint such other employees of the Board as it may determine ;

(*b*) to pay its employees such remuneration and allowances as are payable to persons of equivalent grades in the public service of the Federation or of a State ;

(*c*) to set up a superannuation scheme (whether contributory or not) in respect of such of its employees as it may determine ; and

(*d*) to determine the conditions of service of such employees.

Miscellaneous and Supplementary

10.—(1) The Board shall maintain a fund which shall consist of—

(*a*) such moneys as may from time to time be provided by the Federal Military Government by way of loan or grant or otherwise howsoever ;

(*b*) such moneys as may be received by the Board in the course of its operations or in relation to the exercise of its powers ;

and from such fund there shall be defrayed all expenses incurred by the Board.

(2) Subject to any general or special direction that may be given in that behalf by the Commissioner pursuant to this Decree, the Board may invest its funds and maintain general financial reserves.

(3) The Board shall keep proper accounts and proper records in relation thereto, and shall prepare in respect of each financial year a statement of accounts in such form as the Commissioner may direct.

(4) The Board shall as soon as may be after the end of the financial year to which the accounts relate cause the accounts to be audited by auditors appointed by the Board with the prior approval of the Federal Executive Council.

11. The Board shall submit to the Federal Executive Council not later than 30th June in each year a report of its activities during the preceding year, which shall include a copy of the audited accounts of the Board for that year and a copy of the auditors' report thereon.

Margin notes:
- Appointment of Director-General and Secretary.
- Staff.
- Financial provisions.
- Annual report.

Compulsory acquisition of land.

12.—(1) Whenever there is any hindrance to the acquisition by the Board of any land required for any purpose of the Board under this Decree (including any failure by the Board to reach agreement as to the amount to be paid in respect of the acquisition), the Commissioner, on the application of the Board and after such enquiry as he may think fit, may declare that the land is required for the service of the Board.

(2) Where a declaration is made under subsection (1) above, the land to which the declaration relates shall be deemed to be land required for a public purpose of the Federation within the meaning of the Public Lands Acquisition Act, and the Head of the Federal Military Government—

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(a) may cause action to be taken under that Act for acquiring the land for the Federal Military Government, or

(b) if the land is native land, may issue a requisition under the appropriate law for the revocation of any rights relating to the land.

(3) Where a declaration has been made under subsection (1) above in respect of any land other than native land and—

(a) the land has been acquired pursuant to subsection (2) (a) above, or

(b) the Head of the Federal Military Government is satisfied that there are no rights subsisting in respect of the land,

the Head of the Federal Military Government may vest the land in the Board by means of a certificate under the hand and seal of the Chief Federal Lands Officer.

(4) Where a declaration has been made under subsection (1) above in respect of any native land and—

(a) the rights relating thereto have been revoked pursuant to subsection (2) (b) above, or

(b) the Military Governor of the State in which the land is situated is satisfied that there are no rights subsisting in respect of the land,

the Military Governor in question may grant to the Board a right of occupancy of the land on such terms and conditions as he thinks fit.

(5) The compensation, if any, payable under the Public Lands Acquisition Act for the acquisition of any land under this section or payable under the appropriate law for the revocation of any rights relating to the land, as the case may be, shall in the first instance be paid by the Federal Military Government, but the Board shall refund to that Government any compensation so paid and all incidental expenses incurred by that Government.

(6) A plan of any land referred to in subsection (1) above—

(a) containing measurements of the boundaries of the land,

(b) showing the relationship of the land to any sufficient identifying mark, and

(c) signed by the Director-General of the Board,

shall be a sufficient description of the land for the purposes of an application under that subsection.

13. Land vested in the Board shall not be liable to be acquired compulsorily under any enactment; and notwithstanding anything in any other enactment, no mining operations shall be carried on in or under any land vested in the Board or any land over which the Board is entitled to rights of support for the benefit of lands so vested except with the prior consent in writing of the Commissioner or the Board.

Protection of Board's land.

14. The Commissioner may, with the approval of the Federal Executive Council, make regulations generally for the purpose of giving effect to the provisions of this Decree, and may in particular, without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing provisions, make regulations—

Regulations.

(*a*) providing for the registration by the Board of, or of any class of, hotels and other similar establishments in Nigeria at which sleeping accommodation is provided by way of trade or business;

(*b*) requiring the classification or grading of hotels, restaurants and night clubs and prescribing standards for their upkeep;

(*c*) requiring hotels and other similar establishments to display information with respect to prices charged;

(*d*) providing for camping, fishing and hunting within holiday resorts;

(*e*) prescribing standards to be observed by travel agencies and tourist guides.

15. The transitional provisions in Schedule 2 to this Decree shall have effect notwithstanding any other provisions of this Decree or any provisions of the law relating to companies.

Transitional provisions.

16. In this Decree, unless the context otherwise requires—

Interpretation.

"the Board" means the Nigerian Tourist Board established by section 1 of this Decree;

"the Commissioner" means the Federal Commissioner charged with responsibility for matters relating to tourism;

"the Director-General" means the person appointed by virtue of section 8 (1) of this Decree;

"public officer" means a person employed in the public service of the Federation or of a State;

"State Commissioner" means the Commissioner in the Government of a State charged with responsibility for matters relating to tourism;

"Tourism Committee" means any of the State Tourism Committees established by section 7 of this Decree.

17. This Decree may be cited as the Nigerian Tourist Board Decree 1976 and shall come into force on such date as the Commissioner may by order published in the *Gazette* appoint.

Citation and commencement.

Appendix II

Centre For Black and African Arts and Civilisation Decree

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CENTRE FOR BLACK AND AFRICAN ARTS AND CIVILISATION DECREE 1979

ARRANGEMENT OF SECTIONS

Section

1. Establishment of the Centre for Black and African Arts and Civilisation.
2. Membership of the Board.
3. Tenure and other matters relating to members.
4. Functions of the Centre.
5. Director of the Centre.
6. Secretary and other staff of the Centre.
7. Appointments and Establishments Committee.
8. Power of the Commissioner to give directions.
9. Financial provisions.
10. Annual reports.
11. Dissolution of the International Festival Committee and repeals.
12. Regulations.
13. Power to make rules.
14. Interpretation.
15. Citation.

SCHEDULE

Supplementary Provisions relating to the Board.

Decree No. 69

[*24th September* 1979] Commencement.

THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT hereby decrees as follows :—

1.—(1) There is hereby established a body to be known as the Centre for Black and African Arts and Civilisation (in this Decree hereafter referred to as the "Centre") which shall be a body corporate with perpetual succession and a common seal. Establishment of the Centre for Black and African Arts and Civilisation.

(2) The affairs of the Centre shall be managed by a body to be known as the Centre for Black and African Arts and Civilisation Management Board.

Membership
of the
Board.

2. The Board shall consist of a Chairman and the following other members, that is to say—

(a) the Director of the Centre ;

(b) an eminent librarian ;

(c) an eminent archivist ;

(d) a university scholar in African studies ;

(e) a representative of the Federal Department of Antiquities ;

(f) a representative of the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria ;

(g) a representative of the Nigerian Television Authority ;

(h) a representative of the Federal Ministry of Information ;

(i) the chairman of the National Committee of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation ; and

(j) three persons appointed for their significant contributions to or interest in cultural matters.

Tenure and
other matters
relating to
members.

3.—(1) A member of the Board who is not a public officer shall be appointed by the Federal Executive Council on the recommendation of the Commissioner and shall hold office on first appointment for a period of three years and shall be eligible for re-appointment for one further term of three years.

(2) A member of the Board who is not a public officer may resign his appointment by a letter addressed to the Commissioner and that member's resignation shall take effect as from the date of the receipt of the letter by the Commissioner.

(3) Any member of the Board may be removed by the Federal Executive Council on the recommendation of the Commissioner for inability to discharge the functions of his office or for misconduct.

(4) Members of the Board who are public officers shall cease to be members of the Board upon ceasing to hold the office entitling them to appointment to the Board.

(5) The provisions of the Schedule to this Decree shall have effect with respect to the proceedings of the Board and the other matters therein stated.

Functions of
the Centre.

4.—(1) The Centre shall be a multi-disciplinary institution and shall, subject to this Decree, have responsibility for the promotion of public interest in Black and African arts and civilisation and for the preservation of such creative work of value—

(a) of each participating country during the Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture 1977 (hereinafter in this Decree referred to as "the 1977 Festival") or similar cultural manifestations ; or

(b) of any other country or individual where such creative work has emanated from or pertains to the 1977 Festival or similar cultural manifestations,

donated to the Centre either directly or through the International Festival Committee of the 1977 Festival or hereafter donated to the Centre by any person or organisation.

2. In pursuance of subsection (1) of this section, it shall be the duty of the Centre—

(*a*) to locate, identify and assemble for better preservation all recorded matter, published materials and museum artefacts relating to the 1977 Festival and to prepare an inventory of these works ;

(*b*) to promote understanding and appreciation of Black and African arts and culture by involving the general public in its activities through lectures, discussions, symposia, exhibitions, performances and demonstrations of arts and crafts ;

(*c*) to acquire from zonal secretariats of the 1977 Festival and any other source, creative records relating to past and future world, regional or national festivals of arts and culture of relevance to Black and African arts and civilisation ;

(*d*) to produce guides, catalogues, bibliographies, abstracts and indices to facilitate the use of the materials preserved at the Centre ;

(*e*) to make the facilities of the Centre available to members of the public on such terms as the Board may, with the approval of the Commissioner, determine ;

(*f*) to organise exhibitions, displays and such other manifestations as are calculated to achieve the objects of the Centre ;

(*g*) to make appropriate arrangements for the exchange either by way of lending or gift of materials held at the Centre ;

(*h*) to supplement the materials held at the centre by acquiring copies of materials relating to past and future, world, regional or national festivals of arts and culture of relevance to Black and African arts and civilisation ;

(*i*) to safeguard the property of the Centre ; and

(*j*) to provide such services (other than research) as are usually provided by cultural resources centres.

5.—(1) There shall be a director of the Centre (in this Decree referred to as "the Director") who shall be appointed by the Federal Executive Council on the recommendation of the Commissioner. | The Director of the Centre.

(2) The Director shall be the chief executive officer of the Centre and shall be charged with the general responsibility for matters affecting the day to day management and operations of the Centre.

6.—(1) The Board may appoint a Secretary to the Board who shall— | Secretary and other staff of the Board.

(*a*) keep the records and conduct the correspondence of the Board ;

(*b*) perform such other duties of a secretarial nature as the Board or, as the case may be, the Director may from time to time direct.

(2) The Board shall, subject to the provisions of this Decree, have power—

(*a*) to appoint such other employees as it may determine ;

(*b*) to pay its employees such remuneration and allowances as are payable to persons of equivalent grades in the public service of the Federation ;

(*c*) to determine the conditions of service (including pensions and other retirement benefits) of such employees.

Appointments and Establishments Committee.

7. The Board shall set up an Appointments and Establishments Committe consisting of not more than six members of the Board whose functions shall be to advise the Board in matters relating to the appointment, (including appointments on promotion and transfer and confirmation of appointments), conditions of service, advancement, determination of appointment of, and other disciplinary measures against, employees holding or acting in any offices in the Centre.

Power of Commissioner to give directions.

8. Subject to this Decree, the Commissioner may give to the Board directions of a general nature or relating generally to particular matters, but not to any particular individual or case with regard to the exercise by the Board of its functions under this Decree and it shall be the duty of the Board to comply with the directions.

Financial provisions.

9.—(1) The Board shall establish and maintain a fund from which shall be defrayed all expenditure incurred by the Centre.

(2) There shall be paid and credited to the fund established in pursuance of subsection (1) above—

(*a*) such moneys as may from time to time be lent or granted to the Centre by the Government of the Federation or of a State ;

(*b*) all moneys raised for the purposes of the Centre by way of gift, loan, grant-in-aid, testamentary disposition or otherwise ;

(*c*) all subscriptions, fees or charges for services rendered by the Centre ;

(*d*) all other assets that may from time to time accrue to the Centre.

(3) Subject to any general or special direction that may be given in that behalf by the Commissioner pursuant to this Decree, the Board may invest the funds of the Centre and maintain general financial reserves.

(4) The Board shall cause to be kept proper accounts of the Centre and proper records in relation thereto and shall, not later than 30th June in each financial year, prepare and submit to the Commissioner an estimate of the income and expenditure of the Centre during the next succeeding financial year.

(5) The Board shall, as soon as may be after the end of the financial year to which the accounts relate, cause the accounts of the Centre to be audited by auditors appointed by the Board with the prior approval of the Federal Executive Council.

Annual reports.

10. The Board shall submit to the Federal Executive Council not later than 30th June in each year a report of the activities of the Centre during the preceding financial year and shall include in the report a copy of the audited accounts of the Centre for that year and of the auditors' report thereon.

Dissolution of the International Festival Committee and repeals. 1976 No. 39. L.N. 16 of 1975.

11. The body known as the International Festival Committee of the Second World Black and African Arts and Culture is hereby dissolved and, accordingly, the International Festival Committee of the Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture Decree 1976 is hereby repealed and the Diplomatic Immunities and Privileges (International Festival Committee of the Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture) Order 1975 (which is spent) is hereby revoked.

Regulations.

12. The Commissioner may, with the approval of the Federal Executive Council, make regulations generally for the purpose of giving effect to the provisions of this Decree.

13. The Board may, with the approval of the Commissioner, make rules in respect of any of its functions under this Decree ; and without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing, the Board may make rules—   *Power to make rules.*

(*a*) for securing the safety of the cultural property at the Centre ; and

(*b*) for preserving order within the Centre and preventing damage to property therein.

14. In this Decree, unless the context otherwise requires—.   *Interpretation.*

"the Board" means the Management Board of the Centre for Black and African Arts and Civilisation established under section 1 (2) of this Decree ;

"the Centre" means the Centre for Black and African Arts and Civilisation established under section 1 (1) of this Decree ;

"the Commissioner" means the Federal Commissioner charged with responsibility for cultural matters;

"the Director" means the Director of the Centre appointed pursuant to section 5 (1) of this Decree ;

"the 1977 Festival" means the Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture held in Nigeria in 1977.

15. This Decree may be cited as the Centre for Black and African Arts and Civilisation Decree 1979.   *Citation.*

SCHEDULE   *Section* 3 (5)

SUPPLEMENTARY PROVISIONS RELATING TO THE BOARD

Proceedings of the Board

1.—(1) There shall be paid to every member of the Board who is not a public officer such remuneration, fees and other allowances in respect of any period spent on the business of the Board as the Federal Executive Council may from time to time approve for payment to members of the boards of statutory corporations.

(2) The travelling, subsistence and other allowances shall be paid out of the funds of the Centre.

2. The chairman of the Board shall preside at meetings of the Board and if he is absent from a meeting the members present shall elect one of their number to preside at that meeting.

3. At a meeting of the Board—

(*a*) seven members shall form a quorum ;

(*b*) questions shall be decided by a majority of those present and voting ; and

(*c*) in the case of an equality of votes, the chairman or other person presiding shall have a second or casting vote.

4. Subject to this Decree, the Board may make standing orders regulating the proceedings of the Board or of any committee thereof ; and subject to such standing orders, the Board may function notwithstanding any vacancy in its membership or the absence of any member.

Committees

5. Subject to its standing orders, the Board may appoint such committees as it thinks fit to consider any matter referred to it by the Board but the decision of any committee appointed under this paragraph shall be of no effect until confirmed by the Board.

6. Where the Board desires to obtain the advice of any person on a particular matter, the Board may co-opt him as a member for such period as it thinks fit, but a person who is a member of the Board by virtue of this paragraph shall not be entitled to vote at any meeting of the Board and shall not count towards a quorum.

7. The quorum of any committee of the Board shall be determined by the Board.

Miscellaneous

8. The fixing of the seal of the Centre shall be authenticated by the signature of the Chairman of the Board or the Director or any other person authorised either generally or specially in that behalf by the Board.

9. Any document purporting to be a contract, instrument or other document duly signed or sealed on behalf of the Centre shall be received in evidence and unless the contrary is proved, be presumed without further proof to have been so signed or sealed.

10. Any member of the Board or a committee thereof who has a personal interest in any contract or arrangement entered into or proposed to be considered by the Board or committee shall disclose such interest and shall not vote on any question relating to the contract or arrangement.

Made at Lagos this 24th day of September 1979.

GENERAL O. OBASANJO,
Head of the Federal Military Government,
Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces,
Federal Republic of Nigeria

EXPLANATORY NOTE

(This note does not form part of the above Decree
but is intended to explain its purpose)

The Decree establishes the Centre for Black and African Arts and Civilisation and a Board for the management of the affairs of the Centre. The Centre is charged with the general duty of preserving for public use creative work of value emanating from the 1977 Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture and similar cultural manifestations, past or future.