



JOURNAL OF POLITICAL INQUIRY

Volume 4 Number 1 December 2019

A Publication of the Department of Political Science,
Nigeria Police Academy, Wudil, Kano State, Nigeria.

JOURNAL OF POLITICAL INQUIRY

Volume 4 Number 1 December, 2019

ISSN: 2449-1039

**A Publication of the Department of Political Science, Nigeria
Police Academy, Wudil, Kano State, Nigeria.**

EDITORIAL BOARD

Dr Julius Kayode Oni Editor in Chief

Dr RaufTundeSakariyau Editor

AyoguChialogum Co- Editor

AlabiYinusa Member

Igbudu Edmund Member

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD**Prof Shola Omotola**

Department of Political Science,
Federal University Oye-Ekiti,
Ekiti State.

Professor Makodi Bieruenu-Nnabugwu

Department of Political Science,
Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka,
Anambra State.

Professor Madu Magnus

Department of Political Science
Nigeria Police Academy, Wudil,
Kano State.

Professor Member Genyi-George

Department of Political Science,
Benue State University, Makurdi.

Professor Ntim Gyakari Esegwu

Department of Political Science,
Kaduna State University,
Kaduna.

Dr Onapajo Hakeem

Department of Political Science and International Relations
Nile University of Nigeria,
Abuja

ABOUT THE JOURNAL

JOURNAL OF POLITICAL INQUIRY is a publication of the Department of Political Science, Nigeria Police Academy, Wudil, Kano State, Nigeria. The journal considers papers on contemporary issues in Social Sciences and Humanities. Scholars and Practitioners are invited to submit original manuscripts for consideration into the forthcoming edition of the Journal.

Manuscripts should be written in English, typed double space with front 12 size in Times New Roman. All manuscripts must be original and not under consideration in any other journal outlet. Manuscripts must not exceed 15 pages (References inclusive). Authors are advised to adopt 6th edition of APA referencing style

All papers should be sent to sakariyaurtunde@gmail.com or daurabra@gmail.com

Note: Prospective manuscripts for consideration should be accompanied with non-refundable assessment fee of 5000 naira. Accepted papers for publication would cost 20000 naira publication fee payable to:

Account Name: Journal of Political Inquiry

Account Number 1013971923

Bank: Zenith Bank

For more inquiries contact:

RaufTundeSakariyau, Ph.D
Managing Editor
+2347038163405

AlabiYinusa
Secretary, Journal Committee,
+2348033944917

NIGERIA: STILL A "CLAY FEETED" AFRICAN CHAMPION?

Ibrahim O. Salawu, Ph.D

Department of Politics and Governance,
Kwara State University, Malete, Nigeria.
Email: ibrahimsalus@gmail.com
Tel: +2348054148183

and

Edun, Abdulkareem Jimoh Ph.D

Department of Political Science,
University of Ilorin, Nigeria
Tel: +2348030675617

Abstract

The discourse about the African continent would not be complete without a look at Africa's most populous and unarguably, most diverse nation-state. This diversity is eloquently manifested in the socio-economic and political parlance. It has provided the impetus for the endearing task of shaping the destiny of the African continent and the world at large. This paper attempted a chronicle and examination of how well it has fared in galvanising these diversities to enhance her capacity to influence the bearing and fate of the African continent and more importantly, global politics. Using a qualitative narrative and secondary data sources, the paper assumed that; foreign policy objectives of a state remains a barometer for measuring its international character and footing. The paper opined that; in deepening her leadership role in Africa, Nigeria would require an increased verve in its commitment to maintaining the various strata of the concentric circle of her foreign relations, in addition to continued promotion of the use of the functional approach. The paper further identified various domestic challenges that are capable of demeaning the modest achievement recorded by the country. It asserts that; if these challenges are not pragmatically addressed, Nigeria might experience a whittle down of its much touted influence in the comity of nations and at best remain a potential giant with "clay feet". The paper aligned with the theoretical and intellectual leaning that recognizes preponderant effect of domestic socio-economic and political dysfunctionalities on the international stature of a nation. It therefore recommends an emplacement of more pragmatic frameworks towards aggressively addressing both covert and palpable domestic centrifugal forces currently threatening the existence and foundations of the country. It also suggests an increased fervor of existing concerted effort with her immediate neighbours on one hand, in consolidating the gains recorded in counter insurgency and terrorism, as well as continuous civic engagement with various domestic irredentist groups on the other hand. This is expected to result in a further simmering of the various claims and counter claims of marginalization, and further enhance Nigeria's allure as major stakeholder whose national interest cannot be effortlessly discounted in African and global affairs.

Introduction

Nigeria is a sovereign state that attained independence from Britain on 1st October, 1960 and since then, it has engaged in external relations with other states in Africa and worldwide. It is a country that is strategically located in West Africa. According to Wendy (2000), Nigeria lies between latitude 4° and 14° North, Longitude 2° and 15° East and it covers a total area of 923,768 km² - making it the world's 32nd - largest country in the world. With over 250 ethnic groups spread across Hausa-Fulani, Yoruba, Igbo and several other minority ethnic groups. Appreciating Nigeria's role in Africa cannot be in-depth without a perfunctory analysis of the importance it attaches to her relations with other entities as reflected in the objectives it pursues in relations with other nations of the world. These foreign policy objectives are fundamental and to a large extent form the basis for her action and sometimes in-action in response to occurrences in Africa and global affairs. Therefore, policy thrusts of the Nigerian state are said to be patently shaped by aspirations it seeks to realize as crafted by successive governments and has been a recurring feature in the various constitutions of the country from independence in 1960 to the present day. Put differently, the pursuit of national interest often serves as device for analyzing fundamental objectives of foreign policy of any nation-state (Amitav, 2006). In this sense, it is denoted as those purposes which a nation, in this case Nigeria, through its leadership seeks to achieve persistently over time.

Loosely defined, a nation's interest (s) can also be regarded as some ideal set of purposes which she seeks to realise in the conduct of her affairs in relations to others. Ordinarily, Nigeria's national interest as encapsulated in her foreign policy should be predicated or be a function of its national interest, a negation and/or a mismatch might be harmonized for disenchantment among the populace (Gambari, 2015). In the same vein, Jablonsky (2010) opines that national interest as the major driver of nation's international policy can be delineated into three outstanding compartments; national security; protection and preservation of the welfare of the state, and national prestige. According to him, National Security should relate to the defense of the territorial integrity and political independence. Foreign policy on the other hand, becomes a tool for galvanizing that aspect of national policy relating to the external environment which involves enunciation of principles and also indicates a country's position on major international issues. It is on this premise that Jablonsky (2010: 14) submits that "foreign policy is concerned with the substance and conduct of external relations".

Closely related to the above is the need to put into perspective elements of Nigeria's national power. This is conceived as the sum of all resources available to a nation in the pursuit of its national objectives. National power according to Jablonsky (2010) stems from the various elements which can be categorized into "Natural" and "social". The "natural" quotient here includes geography, resources and population, while the "social" front includes economic, political, military, psychological and informational resources. It is within the above context that this paper situates the discourse about Nigeria's role in Africa.

Furthermore, the paper assumes that; apart from the various periods of military interregnums in her politics where decrees were promulgated, Nigeria's conduct in the international arena have to a large extent been shaped by the objectives enshrined in the constitution. It is against this background that Nigeria's role in African affairs can be measured.

Foreign Policy as a Barometer

Nigeria's international stature and character have been shaped by the nature of foreign policy she seeks to pursue. Since independence on the 1st of October 1960, her size, strategic location and other elements of national power, have contributed in no small measure to the behavioural tendencies exhibited by it at the international level. Specifically, it could be gleaned that; the varying nature of the personality traits in the various leaders that have been the driving force in her interactions at the international level. Nigeria is noted to have opted for diplomatic solution in the management of regional, continental and global conflicts. On occasions where it has picked up arms, they were for peace keeping or peace monitoring. Since independence, her army has not been drawn to fight any inter-state war despite her commendable credentials in the Second World War which it participated under the British colonial flag (Folarin, 2013). Her participation in peace keeping operations has earned her accolades in the comity of nations by the United Nations and the international community.

The thrust of Nigeria's foreign policy objectives are anchored on the promotion of national interest and of its citizen in its interaction within and outside of the African continent. This is in tandem with the aspirations of most sovereign nations. National interest fundamentally has guided Nigeria's "actions" and "inactions" in the comity of nation. Gambari (1989), opines that; Nigeria's foreign policy operates within three major concentric circles that is, West Africa, Africa and the International/ world system. At the level of Africa, the West African sub region and the immediate neighbours have been prioritized in the display of its sense of magnanimity. Her good neighbourliness policy further extends to other parts of the continent. This is further complemented with the deployment of the "functional vehicle" in the form of membership of international organizations like the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and other continent-wide bodies like the African Union (Gambari, 1989).

Albert (2012) argues that Nigeria's sense of magnanimity towards her neighbour termed "preventive diplomacy" remains a potent tool in a bid to asserting her leadership position in Africa. He argues further that; as long as Nigeria does not abandon her belief in peace building and peaceful resolution of disputes, as well as operate a foreign policy that is not perceived to be antagonistic to the big powers around her boundaries, Nigeria would enjoy relative peace. This position is expected to also attract a regime of reciprocity from these neighbouring political entities. However, this thesis seems to have been punctured by a review of the current lingering Boko Haram security challenge. This contradiction becomes more apparent when the same immediate neighbours become complicit as a result of their seeming helplessness in nipping the crises in the bud and not making their territories bordering Nigeria incubation centers from where terrorist machinations are launched. This amongst other factors have been responsible for the intractable nature of the security challenges.

Despite this unsavoury experience, Nigeria has characteristically championed the tooling and rejuvenation of the Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF) comprising of neighboring countries-Cameroon, Chad, Benin Republic and Niger, to frontally and jointly tackle the security menace. Notwithstanding the initial skepticism in the international community about the ability of the rejuvenated force to deliver results (Dorrie, 2015), considerable successes are recorded by the force as attested by the African Union (2017) and the apparent simmering scales of the attacks by the terrorist group.

Complementing the above is the "creation of the necessary political and economic condition in Africa and the rest of the world; to facilitate the defense of her independence and territorial integrity" (Nweke, 2010: 10). It is in the realization of this objective that informs Nigeria's leading role in the African Union, promotion of the economic aspirations of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), establishment and continuous financing of the African Development Bank, promotion of the Africa's Goal and Opportunity Act (AGOA) amongst other several interventions. At the core of this is also the promotion of democracy and democratic ethos across the continent, capped with the quest for transparency in electoral process in Africa. The latter is championed by Nigeria's membership and leadership of Association of African Election Authorities. On the democratic plinth, Nigeria has effectively deployed the "functional vehicle" of the ECOWAS to restore the sanctity of elections in the Gambia and Cote d'Ivoire amongst other interventions across the continent. This is without prejudice to the "sit tight" tendencies Presidents Yahya Jammeh and Laurent Gbagbo respectively.

Instances also abound on the economic front. The Nigerian Trust Fund which is one of the three entities that metamorphosed into African Development Bank in 1964 has been a veritable platform created to foster a continent-wide economic renaissance. As a functional vehicle in this direction, the African Development Bank have as its core mandate; fighting poverty and improving the living conditions on the African continent through "investment of public and private capital in projects and programs that are likely to contribute to the economic and social development of the region" (Wathne & Hedger, 2010: 67). The AFDB serves as a financial provider for African governments and private companies investing in regional member countries. Lending priorities of the African Development Bank lately have been in the area of infrastructural development, regional integration and the fight against the much dreaded HIV/AIDS disease. These are concrete instances supporting the Nigeria's continued incubation of ideas and initiatives geared towards socio-political and economic development of the African continent. Inadvertently, by the same token, other economic objectives are simultaneously achieved especially as regards her aspiration to "foster self-reliance, rapid economic development and equality.

Corollaries to the above are foreign policy objectives that seek to enhance the "dignity of the black man and the promotion of world peace and security. These are thematic areas that have showcased Nigeria as a leader in Africa and indeed, a force to reckon with in global affairs. This is essentially attributed to its modest contribution in response to the realities posed by the population and by extension, the black race. It becomes incumbent on Nigeria to prioritise the "blackman" in the pursuit of its agenda within and outside of the African continent. Nduka-Eze (2012) notes that "Nigeria contains the largest concentration of black people in the world". To him, one out of every four black men is a Nigerian! This amongst other factors endears Nigeria to promoting the protection of fundamental human rights of the black man. This also informs the support and struggle against the dehumanizing experiences of the black race in Apartheid-South Africa. Nigeria was at the fore front of ceaseless campaigns against apartheid. In 1977, Nigeria, in alignment with other nations convened a world conference targeted at giving impetus to the countless number of United Nations resolutions against the obnoxious Apartheid system right from 1948. Although, yielding limited results, Nigeria did not rest on its oars in forging ahead through other means. This manifested in the human and material resources it provided for the Peoples Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) during the Angolan war. This line of action according to Eliagwu (1977) was pursued in order to deter the west from further gaining

importance of the principles guiding these leaders. These include; sovereign equality of states, respect for territorial integrity and independence of other states, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, commitment to self-determination, non-alignment to any geo-political power bloc and commitment to Africa as the cornerstone and nerve centre of Nigerian foreign policy(source).

Scaling the Pointers to Failure

Nigeria's consistent feature as one of potentially fragile states rankings for almost a decade now calls for serious concern (blogs.lse.ac.uk). Before the review of the modus operandi of the Failed State Index (FSI) in 2014 to capture more countries that were hitherto considered to be too stable to be assessed", Nigeria was consecutively ranked the 13th least stable country in the world in 2016 and 2017 by the Fragile States Index, FSI, released by the Washington DC-based think-tank, Fund for Peace, FFP. The Index measures levels of stability in 178 countries and ranks them according to their vulnerability to threats from social, political, economic and demographic pressures.

The Fulcrum of analysis of the FFP revolves around four main thematic concerns and indicators namely; Cohesion Indicators which takes a look at countries security apparatus, factionalised elite and group grievance. Economic indicators consider economic decline, uneven development and challenges of Human flight and Brain Drain. For political indicators, the FFP index dwell on issues of state legitimacy, public service and human rights. Under the social and cross-cutting

indicators, demographic pressures, Refugee and Internally Displaced People and External Intervention forms the metrics on which conclusions were drawn.

Nigeria has been measured on the Index since it was first published in 2005 when the country ranked 54th - its highest position yet. In the 2017 rankings, Nigeria outranked seven African countries like South Sudan, Somalia, Central African Republic, Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo, Chad and Guinea, who are all considered less stable than Nigeria. Zimbabwe is co-ranked 13th with Nigeria and Ethiopia follows both countries as the 14th least stable country in the world. (Foreign Policy.com/failed states.com). When compared with the United States' National Intelligence Council reports around these period, Nigeria was placed in the midst of other countries like Niger, Chad, Somalia, Burundi, Pakistan, Malawi, Haiti, Yemen, Mali, Ethiopia, DR Congo, Bangladesh, Afghanistan, Kenya amongst the list of countries exhibiting traits of failure (elombah.com/ Index/ failed states.com). Despite the barrage of criticisms and reservation expressed by countries so listed, issues raised and indicators upon which analysis were based were not patently different from the FFP indicators and as such might not be completely discountenanced.

Commentaries about state failure are an on-going undertaking. According to Sargent (2009: 42) "a state is said to have failed where, the process of nation building have not worked and/or states that cannot maintain law and order within their boundaries". His submission fits into contemporary development in Nigeria where National Security has been a major challenge. The height of which was experienced prelude to the 2015 general elections in Nigeria, when the Boko Haram terrorist group successfully hoisted its flag and laid claim to about fourteen local governments in North Eastern Nigeria. Consequent upon this unwholesome development, the Independent Electoral Commission (INEC) working in concert with the National Security Adviser, Col. Sambo Dasuki (Rtd), postponed the general election for six weeks (Vanguard February, 2015).

Surprisingly, the kudos for the successful conduct of the 2015 general elections in Nigeria and the resultant peaceful transition of power from President Goodluck Jonathan to Muhammadu Buhari have barely simmered when the FSI (now Fragile State Index) released in May 2017, ranked Nigeria amongst the least stable country in the world. It secured a score of 101.6 out of a possible 120 (Premiumtimes, May 2017). Individual FSI score is usually a number from zero to ten depicting the intensity of the pressure exerted by each of twelve socio-economic and political indicators cutting across demographic pressures, human capital flight, delegitimization, factionalized elites, human rights, security apparatus, economic decline, uneven development etc. The higher a country's total score, the more fragile it is. The FSI is an early warning system for measuring internal threats that could potentially escalate to major national conflicts with international ripple effect.

The inability of the governing elite to respond to the plethora of queries in the early warning signals emanating from the FSI ranking in a manner that indicates a desire to continuously put Nigeria at the forefront of providing leadership in Africa and global affairs, calls for concern. As noted earlier, most of the variables assessed in the FSI ratings are largely domestic issues which are equally capable of undermining a nation's international stature. Put differently, Nigeria's illustrious credentials and influence in Africa and global politics would have been programmed for a decline, if fundamental positive changes are not recorded in the variables measured by the FSI. Unfortunately, the laissez-faire posture of the governing elite across all

strata of government in the country gives an impression that all is well. Unfortunately, the reverse is the case when the rudiments of governance and national security on these fronts are considered. This is amplified by the biting reality of unbridled lust for human lives by terrorists and other irredentist groups in the country.

Concerns about the Nigeria's stability as expressed by Nwabueze (2013) might not be misplaced when viewed from the inherent potential of the Nigerian state in the comity of nations. He argues that the purpose of a state is to provide for the security of the people as enshrined in section 14 of the Nigerian constitution. According to him, security of the people is the purpose of government and any state that is not performing that function effectively or maximally is on the way to becoming a failed state. Closely related to this according to him, is Economic Security. The inability to address the scourge of poverty has been adduced to be responsible for the intractable nature of security challenges in Nigeria. Despite having one of the highest economic growth rates (7.4%) in the world as at 2014, poverty still remains significant at 33.1% (source). This is a contradiction when viewed from the real effect of these boisterous figures on the life of an average Nigerian. Income inequality also depicts the worsening condition of the rural poor who have been rendered vulnerable. Related to this, is the differential access to infrastructure in an economy that is largely crude-oil dependent. According to the Nigerian Bureau of Statistics (2016), unemployment figure is put at 13.9%. The concomitant effect of which is a further aggravation of the dysfunctionality in the system. A burgeoning local economy puts the country at a vantage position to mobilize and harness human and material resources towards achieving the lofty objectives it has set for herself at the international level.

Another factor that has exerted a debilitating effect on the image of Nigeria is the scourge of corruption, a menace that is notionally attributed to greed and ostentatious lifestyles that must be nurtured. Loosely described as the duplicitous conduct of those wielding political power and authority. Omotola (2006) viewed it as an act of using one's power conferred upon him dishonestly or illegally to obtain a personal advantage at the expense of the public interest. Its various forms of manifestation include; nepotism, bribery, embezzlement, fraud and might be policy induced. Ezekwesili (2012) asserted that "Nigeria has lost over \$400 billion to oil thieves" to the menace of corruption since independence. Buhari (2016) posits that "corruption is the greatest form of human right violation". Its varied contextual usage notwithstanding, scholars agree that it is an anathema which is capable of undermining the very existence of a nation. That Nigeria remains a handy example of a corrupt nation is a major challenge in its quest for relevance in an elastic global space. Transparency International (2016) notes that corruption perception index ranks Nigeria as the 136th most corrupt nation out of 176 countries with a weak score of 28 out of 100. This obviously would impact positively on the image of the country in the comity of nations in Africa and beyond.

Conclusion: Issues for Policy Consideration

A painstaking effort at addressing factors militating against Nigeria's achievement of its aspirations of protecting her independence, sovereignty and wellbeing of its citizenry cannot be discountenanced. It is also credited with lofty aspirations and perceptible steps at improving the lots of nations within the same sub region, continentally and globally. Notwithstanding, horrid postulates about the Nigerian state can be adduced to the dysfunctionality emanating essentially from domestic incongruence in governance at sub national and national levels. A reversal of these negative domestic tendencies is believed might positively buoy her international image and

stature. Also, Nigeria's geo-political circumstance, in addition to other factors like her huge population, large hydro-carbon deposit, peace keeping role in ECOWAS and the United Nations, seat in the United Nations Security Council and the strength of her financial market, put together, make her the most important country within the west African sub-region whose instability could negatively resonate across the entire continent and the world at large. It makes for an exploration of all possible routes to ensuring the security of the country and the nurturing of governance architecture in tune with democratic ethos.

In policy formulation and implementation, this paper recommends urgent redoubling of effort by Nigeria efforts to completely degrading the dreaded Boko Haram terrorist group, rekindle national unity through continuous engagement of irredentist groups in the Niger Delta and the SouthEast region of the country through dialogue and civic engagements. Explore and deepen institutional mechanisms to abate the rapacious scourge of corruption.

To reverse this anomaly, Nigeria and other countries in sub-Saharan Africa, whose scores are below the 50% on the anticorruption index, especially those whose leaders emerged on the ticket of anti-corruption should strive to deliver corruption free policies. This is in addition to further commitments to promotion of good governance, democracy and human rights. This is a major poser for the current administration in Nigeria under the leadership of President Muhammadu Buhari, whose second ascension to power was largely based on his anti-corruption posture. Finally, economic measures through appropriate governance machineries, should prioritize socio-economic wellbeing of the citizenry, balance development across the federation, increase per capita income, guarantee human rights and provide equal access to grievance management and speedy dispensation of justice.

References

- Albert, I. O. et al., (2012). *Peace, Security and Development in Nigeria*. Ibadan: John Archers(Publishers) Limited.
- Amitav, A. (2006). Constructing Security and Identity in South East Asia. *Brown Journal of World Affairs*. 2(2), 155-164.
- Bohlen, C.E (1973). *Witness to History, 1929-1969*. New York, NY: W.W Norton & Company
- Buhari, M. (2015). Corruption is the worst of Human Rights Violation: Speech by President Muhammadu Buhari At the 55TH Annual Nigerian Bar Association Conference, 23rd August, 2015. Abuja. Retrieved from <http://www.google.com.ng/amp/venturesafrica.com>
- Coulon, J. (1998). *Soldiers of Diplomacy: The United Nations, Peacekeeping, and the New World Order*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Dorrie, P. (2015). The African Union Readies an Army to Fight Boko Haram: Don't count on success. War is Boring". Retrieved from <http://medium.com/war-is-boring.694150ebb>
- Eliagwu, J. I. (1977). The Nigerian Civil War and the Angolan Civil War. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 12(1-4) 9-24
- Ezekwesili O. (2012,). Nigeria Losses Over 400 Billion Dollars to Oil Thieves. *Vanguard Newspaper*. Retrieved from <http://www.vanguardngr.com>

- Gambari, I. (2015). Contemporary Security Challenges in Nigeria: Issues for Policy Consideration. Occasional Papers Series 7 *National Institute for Studies*, Abuja. PP 1-10
- Gambari, I. (1989). Theory and Reality in Policy Making in Nigeria after the First Republic. *New Jersey Humanity Press*
- Folarin, S. F. (2013). Nigeria and the Dilemma of Global Relevance, Foreign Policy under Military Dictatorship (1993 - 1997), *Journal of Politics and International Affairs*. Covenant University, Ota
- Jablonsky, D. (2010). National Power". In Bartholomew J. (ED), *The US Army War College Guide to National Security Issues* (4TH Edition)
- Sargent L. S. (2009). *Contemporary Political Ideologies: A comparative Analysis*. CENGAGE Learning Publishers, Belmont, USA
- The African Union (2017). Press statement of the 702 PSC Meeting on the operation of the MNJTF against Boko Haram Terrorist Group, Published July 26th 2017. <http://www.au.int/>
- Nduka-Eze, F. (2012). *Joe Garba's Legacies: Thirty Two Selected Speeches and Lectures on National Governance, Confronting Apartheid and Foreign Policy*. Xlibris Corporation
- Nweke, R. C. (2010). The Role of Nigeria in Restoration of Peace in West Africa. A Dissertation submitted to the faculty of Arts, University of Malta. Accessed on <https://www.diplomacy.edu.com> on 30th July, 2017
- Omotola, J.S (2006). Through a Glass Darkly: Assessing the "New" War against Corruption in Nigeria. *African Insight*, (3)3&4, September – December. pp 214-228
- Wathne, C. and Hedger, E. (2010). What Does an Effective Multilateral Donor Look Like? *Project Briefing*. Overseas Development Institute (ODI), London
- Wendy, G. (2000). *Bearing Witness: Readers, Writers, and the Novel in Nigeria*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press. p. XV. ISBN 0-691-05829-6.

Other online Sources

[elombah.com/ Index/ failed states.com](http://elombah.com/Index/failed_states.com)

[Foreign Policy.com/failed states.com](http://ForeignPolicy.com/failed_states.com)

Premium Times, May 2017. Retrieved from premiumtimesng.com

The Guardian, 20th January, 2017. Retrieved from <http://m.guardian.ng>

Transparency International (2016) Corruption Perception Index. www.transparency.org/news/feature/corruption_perceptions_index_2016

Vanguard February 9, 2015. Retrieved from <http://www.vanguardngr.com>

Wikipedia (2017) <https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nigeria>

<https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/africaatlse/2018/06/13/nigeria-is-a-fragile-state-international-studies-prove-it/>