INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT STUDIES (IJPADS)

Volume: [2] **| Issue:** [1] **|** Pages: 67-84 **| | Date:** [March, 2025]

Open Access Journal. Accessible online via https://ijpads.com

NATIONAL AND NIGERIA QUESTION

OBIKEZE, O.S.A

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

INTRODUCTION

Nigeria, according to Lai (1995:8) "lies on the west coast of Africa and covers a geographical area of 923,768 square kilometres...from Badagry in the west to Calabar in the east, and includes the Bights of Benin and Bonny", Her "borders are contiguous with the Republic of Benin to the west, Niger Republic and Chad to the north, and the Republic of Cameroon to the east" (Lai, 1995:8). The political entity was not born until 1914 when the northern and southern protectorates were amalgamated.

Prior to the visits of the Europeans, the present day Nigeria was made of different kingdoms and states. They included among others, the Yoruba kingdoms, the Hausa cities, the Nupe kingdom, as well as other numerous small states. Unlike the non-centralized Igbo society, these kingdoms operated with traditional political heads. However, following the provisions of the Berlin Conference of 1884/1885-a conference summoned by Otto Von Bismarck (1815-1898) "...to discuss in a peaceful manner European claims of African territories and to agree on modalities for the partitioning of African continent" (Eluwa, Ukagwu, Nwachukwu, and Nwaubani, 1996:179)-Nigerian territories were allocated to Britain.

The British penetration into the different territories that make up the present day Nigeria after the Berlin Conference was resisted by the native occupants of these territories. Scholars consider this incidence as the early phase of nationalist struggle in the country. By the twentieth century, however, especially after the amalgamation of 1914, the phase of Nigerian nationalism changed as nationalist struggle began cutting across ethnic affinities. Nationalists during this period were now struggling for the

actualization of the Nigeria of their dream and they however belived that One of the major reasons why developed nations invest huge financial resources in human capital development, especially among the youthful age is based on the fact that the youth have sufficient energy, creative drives, and desire to change their world (Okonkwo, E. R., Nwokike, C. E., & Nwafor, E. A. 2021). This study, therefore, examines the impacts of nationalist struggle on political development in Nigeria and consequent actualization of Nigeria's independence. The study started by conceptualizing nationalism. It further looked into the nature of nationalist movements in Nigeria prior to the amalgamation of the northern and southern protectorates. Furthermore, the study underscored some salient issues on nationalist movement in Nigeria from 1914 to 1960 revealing the various impacts of the movement on the Nigerian Society. These impacts have remained in the political terrain of the country in her post-independence era. The paper further looked at post-independence Nigeria and the impact of ethnic nationalism on political development.

The Concept of Nationalism

Nationalism is a term generally used to describe two phenomena: first, the attitude which members of a nation have when they care about their national identity, and second, the actions that the members of a nation take when seeking to sustain self-determination. The term has therefore been defined as:

loyalty and devotion to a nation, especially a sense of national consciousness exalting one nation above all others and placing primary emphasis on the promotion of its culture and interests as opposed to those of other nations or supranational groups (http://www.merriamwebster.com...)

Chukwu (2000:114), on the other hand sees the term as a patriotic feeling which brings an oppressed, but related people together to demand for their independence. It is often found rooted and promoted by the presence of another superior power"

In the words of Nwabughuogu (2004:4), nationalism is defined as "strong devotion to one's own country, patriotic feelings, efforts, principles a consciousness on the part of individuals or groups of membership in a nation, or a desire to forward the strength, liberty or prosperity of a nation". Chikendu (2004:48) sees the term as "...a sentiment and activity directed towards the creation of a nation and the attainment of independent statehood", while in Omolewa (1986:182), it is defined as "the love and pride in a country shown by its people". In the Nigeria's context, however, nationalism connotes the devotion of some elite groups (the nationalists) in advocating for the political emancipation of Nigerlans from colonial yoke. It created in Nigerians a national feeling or consciousness which disposes them to think as a distinct group and fight a common cause

There are different types of nationalism. Some of them include Civic Nationalism, Ethnic Nationalism, Left-wing Nationalism (occasionally known as socialist nationalism), Protonationalism, Ultra-nationalism, Diaspora

Nationalism, and Anti-colonial Nationalism, etc.

Civic nationalism is the form of nationalism in which the state derives political legitimacy from the active participation of its citizenry from the degree to which it represents the will of the people. It is a kind of non-xenophobic nationalism compatible with liberal values of freedom, tolerance, equality, and individual rights (Nash, 2001).

Ethnic nationalism on the other hand, is the type of nationalism that defines the nation in terms of ethnicity, which always includes some elements of descent from previous generations. It also includes ideas of a culture shared between members of a group with common ancestors and language Membership of the nation is hereditary in this type of nationalism, and also the state derives political legitimacy from its status as homeland of the ethnic group, and from its duty to protect the national group and facilitate its family and social life, as a group.

Left-wing nationalism refers to any political movement that combines left-wing politics with nationalism Fidel Castro's 26th of July movement which launched the Cuban Revolution that ousted the American backed Fulgencio Batista in 1959 is an example of this type of nationalism. Proto-nationalism, on the other hand, refers to the nationalism that existed prior to the foundation of a nation-state.

Ultra-nationalism is a zealous nationalism that expresses extremist support for one's nationalist ideals, It is often characterized by authoritarianism, efforts towards support or stoppage of immigration, expulsion and/or oppression of non-native populations within the nation or its territory, predicating the existence of threats to the survival of the native, militarism, populism, and propaganda. This type of nationalism is usually characterized as a call to war against enemies of the nation/state, secession or in the case of genocide. Diaspora nationalism refers to nationalist feeling among a people in Diaspora such as the Jews around the world after their expulsion from Jerusalem. This sort of nationalism acts as phantom bedrock for people who want to experience a national connection, but wouldn't actually want to leave their Diaspora community. This type of nationalism involves members of a Diaspora who are no longer resident in their national or ethnic homeland.

Anti-colonial nationalism is a form of nationalism experienced during the decolonization of the post war period. It was a reaction mainly of Africans and Asians against being subdued by foreign powers. It took many appearances. This form of nationalism is grounded in the experience of literate and bilingual Indigenous intellectuals fluent in the language of imperial powers, schooled in its national history, and staffing the colonial administrative cadres up to but not including its highest levels (Anderson, 1983). It was witnessed in Nigeria, India, Ghana, Democratic Republic of Congo, Malawi (formerly Nyasaland), and Ceylon (now SriLanka), etc, during the colonial era.

Nationalist Movement in Nigeria before 1914

What became known as nationalist movement in Nigeria or Nigerian nationalism after the amalgamation of 1914 had its roots prior to the amalgamation. Olusanya (1980:545) concurs to this when he wrote that,

> *The emergence of Nigerian nationalism predated the establishment of effective British rule over the whole country now known as Nigeria. This is because, the various areas which now constitute modern Nigeria were acquired at different times and certain forces and conditions favouring the emergence of the nationalist idea were already at work before 1914 when Nigeria became an administrative unit.*

The resistance mounted against the British by the indigenes and traditional rulers of the territories that were later merged together to become Nigeria constitute the early phase of nationalist movement in Nigeria. On knowing that the British rule would deprive them of their powers, these people resisted the penetration of the British. This resistance took many forms. There was non-cooperation with the British in trade, and wars fought against the British. Examples of such wars include the Aro-Anglo war of 1901-1902 which took place following the resistance the Aro and their allies mounted against the increasing penetration of the British that challenged their powers which had extended across Eastern Nigeria and beyond; the Benin expedition of 1897 which occurred following the refusal of King Ovonranmen to sign a British treaty which tended to make Benin a British Colony, and his subsequent placement of trade embargo on the Benin River which affected the trading activities of the British traders; the ljebu war of 1892 which broke out following the refusal of the Awujah- Chief of Ijebu Ode (the capital of ljebu Kingdom) to lift the blockade of the trade route from the interior into Lagos (a crown colony by this period); and the Anlocha war fought as part of Ekumeku movement of 1883-1914 which was directed towards the rising power of the Royal Niger Company of the British Empire. There were equally some roles played by King Jaja of Opobo in opposing the desire of the British traders to have a direct access into his hinterland knowing fully that the basis for his power rested on his control over the hinterland palm oil markets. This brought about a quarrel between Jaja and the British leading to his banning of all trade with the British.

Resistance struggle during this period was equally gathered from the activities of individuals (repatriates) who stood against the very western culture that had nourished them having been denied respectable place within their ancestors' culture. This made them to ravenously turn towards their ancestors' culture for pride restitution, as well as for the strength to face the new situation. These Individuals were products of mission schools. By educating them and subsequently denying them equality with the visitors (Europeans), the Christian missions helped to contribute their own quota to the emergence of nationalist movement in Nigeria. This group of Nigerians were led by men such as Edward Wilmot Blyden (1832-1912)- a foremost Pan-

Africanist and an advocate of West African culture, Bishop James Johnson (1871-1938)- an author and diplomat whose writings and activities demonstrated his deep concern of black life and subsequently became the first black man to assume the position of the field secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP); Mojola Agbebi (1860-1917)- a Nigerian Yoruba Baptist Minister, John Payne Jackson- the editor of Lagos Weekly Record (a newspaper founded in 1890) who was equally an immigrant from Liberia; William Bright Davies; and Tejumade Osholake Johnson. These people did not only strongly oppose the attempts of European Christian Missions to deprive Africans of their rights, but also they were never weary of advocating a consciousness of those aspects of European or Western culture which to them seemed to be of no value to Africans. Additionally, they were equally advocates and founders of the indigenous African churches, which were the first manifestations of cultural nationalism. An example of these churches was the United Native African Church founded in 1891. This church emerged when a group seceded from the Anglican Church as a result of the domination of the whites (the Europeans).

Furthermore, some of these advocates pragmatically rebuffed western culture by giving up their western names and dresses. For instance, David Brown Vincent (1860-1917) who was named at Baptism following his Saro father's Christian religious identity as Catechist of the Anglican Church in Nigeria, did not only change his name to Mojola Agbebi in the late 1880s, he also gave up the wearing of English dresses even when in Europe. In a similar vein, Reverend Jacob Henryson Samuel (1860-c.1925) of the Methodist Church, who was named at birth, also assumed the ancestral name of Adegboyega Edun in 1904 following his appointment as the first Secretary of the Egba United Government (E.U.G) in 1902. There were no effective organizations by this period to channel the various grievances of these people. The People's Union formed by Dr. Obasa and Dr. Randle in 1908 to agitate against the water rate, and the Lagos Ancillary of the Aborigines Rights ProRandien Sodiety (LAARPS) formed in 1910 which on coming into existence took up the agitation over land question were ineffective in championing the cause of the people would effective organizationland, quos timerge until after 1914 when it became apparent that there would not be an effective opposition if an opposition movement was not properly managed and organized. It equally dawned on theas topple that it is with this feature that nationalist movement will be able to challenge colonial administration more effectively.

Factors Responsible for the Growth of Nationalist Movement in Nigeria after the Amalgamation of 1914

The amalgamation of the northern and southern protectorates in 1914 saw the emergence of Nigeria-a political entity which Oblakor (2009:79) had referred to as "an artificial creation...". This development changed the face of nationalist struggle as the

educated elites and the traditional rulers started sharing a common historical consciousness. They began to share a vision of one Nigeria of their dream. Nationalist struggle during this period started cutting across ethnic, linguistics, and cultural boundaries. It started by acquiring the feature for justice, equality, and participation in government, and subsequently, it was directed towards actualizing independence for the country.

Different factors were responsible for the growth of nationalist struggles during this period. They can be grouped as internal and external factors. Some of the internal factors therefore include the early resistance struggles, the activities of the press, the colonial policies and elite discontent, and the economic depression during this period.

The early resistance struggles consist of the various oppositions put up by the indigenous peoples against the British penetration. There were equally various thoughts on nationalism expressed during this period. An example of these thoughts was captured from the expression of Edward Wilmot Blyden where "he emphasized that Africans should pay attention to the original contributions of the continent and should not emulate other races" (Falola, Uhuomoibhi, Mahadi, and Anyanwu, 1991:56). Other acts of resistance experienced during this period were the secessionist movements within the church when Africans were urged (by Pan-Africanists like Edward Wilmot Blyden) to establish their own churches. These early activities inspired the nationalists.

The activities of the press during this period assisted in stimulating national consciousness. These activities brought about increase in the number of newspapers. The press during this period was guarding the rights and liberties of the people, and at the same time tried to interpret the people's ideals and aspirations. It was interested on policies and national issues. John Payne was a great influence during this period. Through his paper- The Lagos Weekly Record-known for its anti-imperialist stands he advised Africans to unite and fight their common heritage. He did not only champion the cause of Africa, but also popularized and encouraged the activities of protest movements. Other newspapers whose activities contributed to the awakening The Nigerian Times, and The Nigerian Chronicles R of political consciousness in Nigeria by this period include

Colonial policies equally contributed in stimulating national consciousness as traditional rulers and educated elites were dissatisfied with these police na There was racial discrimination in the colonial system, as Africans were not considered elpolicies, Therecivil service positions. They were equally "excluded from the well-kept quarters of townfo known as European Reservations" (Omolewa. 1986:184), as well as treated as second-rate citizens in their own land" (Omolewa, 1986:184). In most cases, most qualified Africans were denied good jobs, and even if they were appointed, they did not have equal status and salary with their European colleagues. These colonial activities contributed in spurring nationalist feelings among the educated elites

Economic depression experienced during this period equally encouraged the growth of nationalist struggle. The depression brought about retrenchment, unemployment, and economic hardship. There was a drastic fall of wages. Consequently, the nationalists for poor financial management criticized the government. They therefore began to make demands for reforms.

Other internal factors which induced nationalist struggle during this period include: the imposition of capitation taxes; land expropriation for government purposes which became a source of grievance for a people passionately attached to their lands especially when such lands were used for purposes not originally stated by the administration, and when inadequate compensation was paid to their owners; intensification of economic exploitation which was detrimental to the economy of the country; and high prices which were charged for imported goods and low prices paid for primary products.

On the other hand, the activities of Nigerian students abroad were one of the external factors that contributed to the growth of nationalist struggle in Nigeria. These students contributed their own quota to nationalism during this period having organized themselves into organizations. One of these organizations was the West African Students Union (W.A.S.U) founded in 1925 by Ladipo Solanke-an indigene of Abeokuta, Ogun State. The organization served as a pivotal point for young Nigerians who were politically aggressive to agitate for the freedom of their countries from foreign domination. Fostering a spirit of unity, cooperation, national consciousness and racial pride among members; acting as information and research centre on African history and culture; presenting to the world a true picture of African life and philosophy; and promoting good will and understanding between Africans and other races, constitute the objectives of the organization. Additionally, the organization called for many reforms in West Africa. Through its various activities, however, the West African Students Union provided these students, who subsequently emerged as political leaders in their countries, with political experience.

Another external factor was the Garvey movement. This movement was carried out by the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), founded by Marcus Garvey, a Jamaican, in 1914. Commenting on its impact on Nigeria, Falola, et al (1991:62) wrote:

> *The Garvey movement had notable impact on nationalist activity in Nigeria. His message on racial solidarity and cultural nationalism spread to Nigeria. in Lagos, a branch of the movement was formed in 1920 under the leadership of Patriarch J G Campbell (the head of African Church), the Rev. S M Abiodun and the Rev. W B Euba*

Garvey wanted political independence for Africa. He believed that the Negro could only experience salvation via a free and independent Africa. He founded a newspaper-

Negro World- which was widely circulated. His views were equally aired through this newspaper. His ideal, which was expressed via his newspaper, influenced nationalists like Enerst ikol and Nnamdi Azikiwe. Writing on the influence of Garvey's ideal on Azikiwe, Olusanya (1980.554) posited that "the motto of Garveyism- One God, One Aim, One Destiny, appealed to him and he therefore resolved to formulate his philosophy of life, as far as practicable, towards the evangelization of universal fatherhood, universal brotherhood, and universal happiness". He further maintained that Azikiwe's ambitions for Africa were encouraged by the epigram of Marcus Garvey (Olusanya, 1969).

The influence of World War II also constitutes another external factor that contributed to the growth of nationalism in Nigeria during this period. Nationalist feelings and activities were strengthened by the influence of the soldiers who had fought in the war. Most of them returned with new skills but there were no means for practicing them. This embittered the returned soldiers. Additionally, these soldiers had witnessed that the whites were not superior to the Africans following the defeats of the British by the Japanese in the Far East. Furthermore, in india, these soldiers came in contact with Indian strong nationalistic feeling. They saw people who were not better of about to be granted their independence. There was equally Ceylon's (Sri Lankan) nationalist progress to inspire them. These factors prepared the minds of the returning soldiers for a movement of reform (Eluwa, Ukagwu, Nwachukwu, and Nwaubani, 1988).

In addition to the above was the war propaganda of the allied forces which claimed to champion freedom and equality of all people while the axis powers practiced racial discrimination and oppression. Also, to encourage African support for the allied interest, the allied powers promised the subject peoples the right to choose the form of government under which they would want to live. This was incorporated in the Atlantic Charter of 14 August, 1941, signed by Sir Winston Churchill- former Prime Minister of Britain, and Franklin D. Roosevelt-former President of the United States of America. These stimulated the nationalists to fight energetically for the freedom of their people from colonial yoke.

Impact of Nationalist Movement in Nigeria, 1914-1960

Nationalist movement in Nigeria, after the 1914 amalgamation, brought about the emergence of political organizations whose various activities contributed tremendously to the actualization of Nigerian independence. The emergence of these political organizations validates the views of Hodgkin (1961), which holds that African political parties arose from colonial situation- the subservient group trying to modify its relationship with the dominant group. They continuously served as vehicles that alred the grievances, expressions, and the aspirations of Nigerians. They contributed in creating political consciousness among Nigerians. Some of them had newspapers, which served them. These newspapers played significant roles in sensitizing the general public on the situation of the country. They also made

public the views of the members of their organizations.

An example of these organizations was a branch of the National Congress for British West Africa (NCBWA) created in Nigeria following the formation of the organization in contributed to making the nationalists' movement by sending a petition to the secretary following demands: the establishment council 1920. The organization of State for colonies African Territorid woobs half of its members bent of a leg Africans, African veto over taxation; that in each of the British West appointment and deposition of chiefs be left in theg, elect of the people; separation of the judiciary from the legislative brenner the government; abolite hands of the crimination in civil service, development of municipal government, repeal of certain obnove us ordinances; regulation of the immigration of Syrians and other non Africans, and the establbnoxious ordinivesity in west Africa (Crowder, 1966) The result of this ore Nigen was the incorporation onto active principle in the new constitution that was developed for Nigerians in 1922. This gave the cinct the opportunity to be elected into the legislative council.

Another political organization that emerged during this period was the Nigerian National Democratic Party whose formation on 24 June 1923 by Herbert Macaulay- a noble Nigerian elite who as a result of his nationalist activities, was addressed in 1932 by the Royal House of Buguma as "the Moses of our age" (Letter from the Royal House of Buguma, 1932)- was induced by the introduction of the elective principle. The organization had been formed to contest in the elections of that year. It was served by its newspaper known as Lagos Dally News.

The organization championed national cause by criticizing the colonial government over income tax of 1927, the appointment and deposition of chief's ordinances, the reform of provincial courts, and the extension of indirect rule system to Lagos. In addition, the organization demanded from the colonialists for the development of Nigeria's resources and equal economic opportunities for Nigerians. It also demanded for compulsory education and the development of higher education institutions in Nigeria. This contributed to the establishment of Yaba High College in 1932 thereby marking the emergence of higher education institutions in Nigeria.

The Nigerian Youth Movement- an organization described by Coleman (1986:218) as "the nucleus of Nigeria's first genuine nationalist organization", is another political organization that equally emerged during this period. Turned into a national organization in 1938, the Nigerian Youth Movement was formerly the Lagos Youth Movement which was an organization formed in 1934 to organize opposition against the Yaba High College. Its aim was to develop a united nation out of the diverse elements, which were found in the country.

Served by its own newspaper- Lagos Daily Service, the Nigerian Youths Movement contributed to the nationalists struggles by advocating for free education, the separation of the judiciary from the executive, universal

adult suffrage, protection of Nigerians against unequal economic competition better conditions of service, and higher executive appointments for Africans in the administrative branch of the civil service." (Olusanya, 1980.558-559), it condemned all unpopular policies throughout the country, agitated against the ban on the exportation of palm kernels from the western province, and demanded for the representation of all provinces in the legislative council. The organization, as noted by Nwabuaku (2013), also fought against the cocoa pool act of 1938 which was a strategy adopted by the foreign firms with the principal aim of keeping down the prices of Cocoa, It also encouraged the formation of trade unions.

In a similar vein,the Nationa Council of Nigeria and Cameroon also emerged. Upon its emergence, the polinking internal self-govbuted to nationalista and Cameroon also in 1944, with the aim of achieving internals the presidement for Negerianoverment Fortiond was led by Herbert Macaulay, and Ninamdi Azikiwe as the president, and the secreta the organival. Its newspapers West African Pilot, and The Comets serveciation Cameroon was includary respectively, its newed following the desire of the Cameroonian Association in Lagos to affiliate with the new movement. However, by 1959, the party's name was changed to National Council of Nigerian Citizens

The contributions of the organization to nationalist movement were mostly felt after World War II. During this period, it called for self-government, its stemspapers particularly, West African Pilot, played a significant role in creating political awareness among Nigerians. It carried out hostile campaigns against colonial administration. This could account for the reason why an English journalist wrote after a visit to Nigeria in 1945 of a revolutionary native press whose sohvities pose threat to the stability of the British Empire of Nigeria (Winchester, 1945).

The NCNC during its period devoted itself to the constitutional proposals presented by Sir Arthur Richards to the legislative council. These proposals were received with hostility by the organization. The reasons behind this hostile reception include non-consultation of Nigerian citizens prior to the setting up of the new constitution, encouragement of the retention of the principle of nomination by the new constitution, non-accordance to Nigerians by the constitution of a greater participation in the whole process of government and administration, and Nigerians' perception of the constitution as an Instrument for fostering the policy of divide and rule. (http://workmall.com/wfb2001...). With these reasons therefore, it was concluded that the proposals had not met the post-war reforms anticipated by Nigerians (Proposals for the revision of the constitution of Nigeria, 1945), which ranges from immediate self-government to ample accommodation of the educated elites in government. Consequently, several organizations and groups began to protest against the constitution.

Leading the protest, the organization toured the length and breadth of Nigeria stimulating the people. It equally sent some delegates to London to demand for reforms. This goal

however was not achieved-a development which made the organization to enter into a dormant phase. It resurfaced on the Nigerian political environment in 1951 with the emergence of the Northern Peoples Congress, and the Action Group.

Apart from political organizations and newspapers, there equally emerged professional unions during this period. Some of them therefore include the Railway Workers Union formed in 1932, the Post and Telegram Workers Union, the Marine Workers Union, the Public Works Department Workers Union, the Fishermen's Association formed in Lagos in 1937, the Taxi Drivers Union formed in 1938, the Wholesalers Builders Union formed in 1939, the Women Sellers Union formed in 1940, the Nigerian Students Union formed in 1939, the Night Soil Removers Union formed in 1942, and the Canoe Transport Union formed in 1938, etc (Falola, et al, 1991). These unions in one way or the other contributed to the nationalist movement in Nigeria. The Railway Workers Union, for instance, provided the nationalist movement with moral, financial, and physical support. Its workers constituted the bulk of the literate population and it was through them that the illiterate masses got the Ideas about freedom.

There also emerged during this period, a radical and militant association- the Zikist movement- that equally impacted on the actualization of the Nigeria's independence. This association constituted a part of the NCNC (NCNC Secretariat, 1948), It consists of young admirers of Nnamdi Azikiwe who "..sought not only to defend him against his critics but also to delfy him as a leader and immortalize him for posterity" (Coleman, 1986:297). Its emergence was partly induced by the inactivity of the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon.

Having emerged in February 1946, the Zikist movement demanded for reforms. The movement intended to achieve this through a more positive and radical action against colonial administration. According to Eluwa, et al (1988:241), "it sought to undermine and destroy the administration through strike organizations, boycotts, and sheer violence". Seditious pamphlets were secretly published and disseminated by the movement among its members. There were riots caused by the movement. A typical example was the riot that broke out in different parts of the country such as Aba, presently in Abia State, Port Harcourt, presently in Rivers State; Onitsha, presently in Anambra State; and Calabar, presently in Cross Rivers State, following the incident in Enugu in November-1949 where the police shot down peaceful and unarmed striking miners.

Additionally, the movement encouraged workers to refuse to pay taxes (Agwuna, 1949). It did not only preach and fight against discrimination in the salary and working conditions of white and black workers, but equally fought against discrimination in social intercourse. In fact, the consequences associated with the activities of the Zikists made it possible for Nigeria to escape from apartheid syndrome or racial discrimination. However, following the unpleasant experiences gathered from its radical activities, the colonial government consented to reforms. This development brought about the subsequent constitutional reforms

experienced during this period. These reforms equally constitute the impacts of the nationalist movement.

The constitutional reforms began with the revision of the Richards constitution. The revision had been enabled by the unpleasant experiences acquired from the radical activities in connection with the constitution. Consequently, proposals were put forward by the new governor- Sir John McPherson-before the legislative council where he had promised the council that in the revision process, the past errors would be averted and that the opinion of the public would be completely sought for. The promise was fulfilled and resulted in the 1951 McPherson Constitution.

The constitution was a milestone in the struggle for Nigeria's independence. It recognized the rights of the people to actively participate in what concerns them. Nigerians participated in drafting the constitution, and this was for the first time since colonial administration was instituted. The constitution new council of ministers (made up of measures of responsione colonial administrat centre, there was a part in making police ministers nominated the government. At the regional assemblies who took active Constitution eguales for the country's admm each of that replaced the old executive council. The equally encouraged the enlargement of franchise.

More so the Mcpherson Constitution laid emphasis on regionalism. It also brought about the rise of more political organizations to compete for mphasis on relies offered by the responsible government Accordingly, two political organizations- the Act opportun, and the Northern Peoples Congress whose regional andre North, and one People, regardless of religion, rank, or tribe (Dudley, 1968)- which were constitutiand not national organizations emerged of religion formation as well as the emphasis of the constitution on regionalism, the forces of ethnic nationalism, and regional division and disunity came into active play in Nigerian politics. This development was evident in the 1951/1952 elections where NCNC won a majority of seats in the East, while NPC and AG made similar achievements in the North and the West respectively. It was also evident in the incidence that laid foundation for the Kano ruckus of 1953.

Following the 1951 constitution was the 1954 constitution a resultant of the 1953 constitutional conference held in London. The conference was held following the decision of the British to provide a new constitution that would make Nigeria a governable political entity irrespective of her diverse nature. This development was induced by the development of ethnicism in the country's political environment which was associated with the 1951 McPherson Constitution. The new constitution (1954 constitution) saw the establishment of a federal structure of government for the whole country with each of the three main ethnic groups (the Igbo, Hausa/Fulani, and Yoruba) given dominance over their various regions. The constitution provided that internal self-government would be granted to those regions desiring it in 1957. It also provided that members of the legislative council are to be elected directly. In addition, ministers were provided with full ministerial responsibilities, and provisions on

revenue allocation and status of Lagos as a federal territory were made by the constitution.

The constitution however had its shortcomings. One of the major shortcomings was the regionalization of the Nigerian civil service. Hence, the constitution couldn't serve as a unifying link for the federation.

Another constitutional conference came up in 1957 where the various nationalists, especially those of AG and NCNC achieved self-government of their regions. The north on the other hand requested that self-government be granted to the region in 1959. In addition, an agreement was reached in the conference to have a prime minister who would head a national government, and also preside over a cabinet drawn from members of an enlarged House of Representatives. There was equally an agreement for the senate to be created as another legislative chamber.

Also, the conference agreed that there would be in each of the self-governing regions a premier who would preside over the cabinet made entirely of Africans chosen by him. There was an agreement on the formation of a national coalition government when necessary. The prime minister as provided by the constitution would form a government with ministers from all the three main political parties- AG. NCNC, and NPC. This was to foster national unity.

The conference equally looked into the problems of the minorities. These people had feared that with the three major parties dominating the politics of the regions, self-government would therefore mean that power would pass from the British to the hands of Nigerians who were able to command a majority in the existing sub-divisions. As these parties were believed to be effectively controlled by the leaders of the dominant cultural groups, self-government therefore would mean permanent Hausa Fulani, Yoruba, and the Igbo domination of the minority groups in their respective regions. As a result of these fears, the minorities called for the creation of additional political sub-divisions or states for them.

in other to solve these problems, a commission was appointed by the conference. This charged with the responsibility of working out possible ways of resolving these problems. It was headed by a British judge- Sir Henry Willink. The commission opposed the creation of states, and recommended for the creation of special watchdog councils and special development boards for the minority areas. Its report was received during the constitutional conference of 1958 where the fundamental human rights commission was were written and embedded into the Nigerian constitution. The fundamental human rights were written to tackle the minorities' problems.

Having been satisfied on the measures adopted in tackling the minorities issue, the British Coltives in Decented fodral elections (which we adopted in tackling the minto the House of Representatives i Jegistarber, 1959. In addition, there wertought on party line of the members of the neprising of Legislative chamber, the senate. Furtherme the appointments ed a coalition government comprising of both the NCNC and NPC due to the inamore, there also emerge absolute majority which could noy, the have given it

control of the house, but alsy of any party town its own government. Consequently, the NPC, due to the fact that it got the highes enabled it to fores, produced the prime minister (thereb emerging as the senior partner of the coalition), while the NCNC produced the president of the senate. The AG was in opposition.

In a motion passed by the Federal House of Representatives, in January 1960, an appeal was made to the British crown to grant independence to Nigeria from October 1, 1960. Consequently, an independence act was subsequently passed by the United Kingdom's parliament, which received Royal Assent. In September 1960, the constitution of Nigeria (otherwise known as the Nigerian Order in Council), which set up the Independent Federation of Nigeria consisting of the three existing regions (eastern, western, and the northern regions), was approved. The constitution also recognized Lagos as the Federal Capital Territory of the Independent Federation of Nigeria. However, on October 1, 1960, Nigeria became a sovereign nation within the Commonwealth. The last British Governor-General of the country, Sir James Robertson, was later succeeded by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe. Consequently, Azikiwe, also known as "Zik of Africa", became the first and only indigenous Governor General of the federation of Nigeria.

Ethnic Nationalism and its Implication on the Nation's Political Development

Ethnic nationalism embedded in Politics has made it difficult for Nigeria to have the right leaders in its political sojourn over 61 years of independence, except for a very few of her leaders who have demonstrated total commitment to the nation's development. Ethnic politics has been a clog in the wheel of political advancement of the nation such that, there has never been a leader with national outlook that has emerged in Nigeria. The election of candidates so far, has been based on "where the candidates came from rather than on the right candidates for the election' (Umezinwa, 2012).

The consequence of which 'political dealers' instead 'leaders' have been emerging in the nation's political activities. These so-called leaders are without the interest of the nation at heart. They emerge to political limelight through ethnic sentiments, but end up in disappointing their so call ethnic group; this is evident in almost all parts of the nation where none of the ethnic nation is developed. One would have expected that owing to the way many of these politicians came to power via ethnic sympathy, they would satisfy the ethnic group that supported them to power, but as soon as they emerge, they neglect their people. Many of them who are at Abuja the Federal Capital Territory refused to go back to see their people at home again.

The issue of the federal character is another political arrangement that is troubling the political advancement of the nation. Although the motive behind the enshrinement of the principle is to enhance equality and fairness among the component ethnic groups in Nigeria, with a view to bringing sense of belonging into different citizens of Nigeria as

well as to prevent or resist fears of domination of one region or ethnic group over the others. The plausibility of the principle notwithstanding, it brings about the reigning of mediocrity into the governmental activities in the name of equity and fairness among the component states. Given the fact that merit has been overruled as a criterion for serving the nation, it is not surprising that all manners of people have been appointed to hold public offices in which they neither had the training nor the experience. Thus, in a situation like this, there is no way any progress could be achieved in the nation building and advancement (Umezinwa, 2012). Umezinwa further states that ethnic politics and rivalry also leads to the emergence of incompetent president. For instance, Nigeria adopted the rotational presidency among the six geopolitical zones order to defuse ethnic tension, the consequent of which the president is not elected based on merit but rather on the basis of where the aspirant comes from.

Similarly, ethnic politics has also created an avenue whereby corrupt leaders are being supported by their ethnic groups. Instead of the citizens to vehemently reject corrupt leaders and condemn their activities, they do support them due to ethnicity and ethnic politics, thereby, make these leaders continue in the corruptive manner with Impunity, Corruption without mincing words has beenm undermining Nigeria's political development. It has permeated all levels of government in Nigeria while ethnic group of the corrupt politician are always defending them.

The consequence of corruption on Nigeriandating For Instance, despite the anomous oil and gas deposit in Nigeris, the nation remains our over 50 million Nigering inject powerty Since the discovery of all in large quantity in Herra, the nation has earned over $300 Bonf exports (Ribadu, 2004, cited in Arowosaiyed, 2000) but there was nothing comsiderably t show for it Corruption has cost Nigerians her ng sum of E 20 Billion Pounds about 5500 which has been stolen since independence to dare by past leaders of the country. The money stolen could have made Nigeria six times better than Western Europe where many Nigerians are now running to (Ribadu 2006 cited in Arowosalye and Kulliyan, 2009).

Ethnic politics no doubt has had a lot of negative consequences for the nation's movement towards democratic advancement. The resultant effect of ethnic politics as pointed out by Sabangids (2002) cited in Salawu and Hassan (2011), are

> *wastage of enormous human and material resources in ethnically Inspired violence. encounters, clashes and even battles, heightening of fragility of the economy and political process, threat to security of life and property and disinvestments of local and foreign components with continuous capital flight and loss of confidence in the economy, and Increasing gaps in social relations among ethnic nationalities including structural suspicions and hate*

for one another. Ethnic nationalism is equally responsible for upspring of ethnic militias across the country, the Oodua Peoples Congress of the southwest, Arewa Peoples Congress in the north and Egbesu in the east among others (Babangida, 2002 cited in Salawu and Hassan, 2011:32).

CONCLUSION

This paper has attempted to examine the impacts of the nationalist movement on political development In Nigeria. These impacts were revealed from the contributions of the Nigerian nationalists is their struggle to liberate their country from the nefarious claws of colonialism. As divulged in this paper. however, the struggle had its first phase in the early resistance mounted against the British penetration Into the various territories that were later brought together to form a single political entity, by the native inhabitants. These inhabitants never believed that they required British protection to continue living. They equally wanted to be free to live their lives as they chose. After the Imposition of effective British rule, however, the resistance struggle continued against foreign rule. This struggle sometimes was passive, sometimes diplomatic and constitutional, and sometimes violent, it was first directed towards equality, justice, and participation in government, and subsequently assumed the dimension of campaigns for Nigeria's independence.

Nationalist movement in Nigeria brought about the emergence of newspapers which laid the foundation for journalism in the country, the emergence of higher education institutions which provided Nigerians with the opportunity to acquire higher education; the emergence of political organizations and associations which provided Nigerians with the opportunity to participate in the political affairs of their country; the emergence of professional unions, the establishment of a federal structure of government and constitutional reforms which laid the foundation for the subsequent constitutional reforms experienced after independence. Additionally, nationalist movement introduced ethnic politics and regional disunity in Nigeria's political environment. This development has continued to adversely affect the political development of the country after independence.

REFERENCES

Anderson, B. (1983), Imagined Communities Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, New York: Verso.

Arowosaiye, Y. L., & Kulliyyah, A. 1. (2005). The devastating impact of money laundering and other economic and financial crimes on the economy of developing countries: Nigeria as a case study A publication of the University of Ilonin, Horn, Kwara State, Nigeria,

Retrieved from http://www.unilorin.edu.ng/public

Chikendu, P.N. (2004), Imperialism and Nationaliam, Enugu: Academic Publishing Company.

Chukwu, D.D. (2000), An Introduction to Nigerian Political History, Enugu: His Glory Publications.

Coleman, J.5. (1986), Nigeria: Background to Nationalism, Benin City: Broburg and Wistrom.

Crowder, M. (1966), The Story of Nigeria, London: Faber and Faber.

Dudley, B.J. (1968), Parties and Politics in Northern Nigeria, London: Frank Cass.

Eluwa, G.I.C, Ukagwu, M.O., Nwachukwu, J.U.N., & Nwaubani, A.C.N. (1988), A History of Nigeria for Schools and Colleges, Onitsha: Africana-First Publishers Limited.

Eluwa, G.I.C., Ukagwu, M.O., Nwachukwu, JU.N., & Nwaubani, A.C.N. (1996), Africa and the Wider World since 1800 A.D, Onitsha: Africana-First Publishers Limited.

Falola, T., Uhomoibhi, M., Mahadi, A., & Anyanwu, U. (1991), History of Nigeria 3. Nigeria in the Twentieth Century, Ikeja: Longman Nigeria pic.

Hodgkin, T., (1961), African Political Parties, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

http://workmall.com/wfb2001/nigeria/nigeria_history_emergence_of_nigerian_nationalism.html Accessed on 04/07/2012.

Lal, J. (1995), Nigeria: Shadow of a Great Nation, Lagos: Dubeo Press Limited.

Letter from the Royal House of Buguma, New Calabar, to Herbert Macaulay, on 25/10/1932, Macauliny Papers, University of Ibadan.

Nash, K. (2001), The Blackwell Companion to Political Sociology, New York: WileyBlackwell.

NCNC Secretariat (29 October, 1948), West African Pilot.

Nwabuaku, C. (2013), 93, Retired Principal, Interviewed in Awo-Omamma, Imo State, Nigeria

Nwabuogu, A.I. (2004), Problems of Nation Building in Africa, Okigwe: FASMEN Communications.

Obiakor, N. (2009), Nation Building in Post Weeria, UZU: Journal of History and international Studies (UJHIS) Vol. II No. 1, 79-

Okonkwo, E. R., Nwokike, C. E., & Nwafor, E. A. (2021). The challenges of youth empowerment programmes in Nigeria: An appraisal of N-Power scheme. *International Journal of Academic Management Science Research (IJAMSR), 5*(7), 8-13. Retrieved from www.ijeais.org/ijamsr

Olusanya, G.O. (1969), Notes on the Lagos Branch of Universal Negro Improvement Association, Juma of Business and Social Studies, 1.2 Dea

G.O. (1980), The Nationalist Movement in Nigers, in Ikime, O. (Ed.), Groundwork of Nigerian History, (pp.545-569), Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books

Omolewa, M. (1986), Certificate History of Nigena, Harlow: Longman Group. Proposals for the Revision of the Constitution of Nigeria (1945), Cmd 5599, London: H.M.S.O

Salawu, B., & Hassan, A. O. (2011), Ethnic politics and its implications for the survival of democracy in Nigeria. Journal of Public Administration and Policy Research, 3(2), 28-33.

The speech of Osita C. Agwuna in 1949 delivered in a public lecture titled "A Call for Revolution"

Umezinwa, C. (2012). Ethnicity and Nigeria's underdevelopment. A New Journal of African Studies, 9. 215-229. http://dx.doi.org/10.4314/og/v9/111

Webster, M., Retrieved from http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/nationalism

Winchester, C. (1945), Report to Lord Kemsley on the British West African Press, Typescript Document, National Library, Owerri, Imo State.