# The Role of History to Nation Building in Nigeria

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#### **Abstract**

The role of history in intergroup relations, nation building and national development has been greatly undermined in the Nigerian state. This is evidenced by the various administrations and some scholars' views on the 'archaic' feature of history as an academic discipline. It has almost been forgotten the relevance of history as a major ammunition for the battle against colonial rule; how history gave the national pride, establish nationalism and a strong sense of patriotism to the Nigerian people. Today, history is almost misconcepted as a useless discipline with much emphasis on science and technology for national development. However, in understanding the divergent devastating political and socio-religious crises including the Jos/Plateau crisis, the Ogoni and Niger Delta militant issues, Boko haram, Fulani/farmers clash, banditry among others, there is need for a fundamental necessity to understand the histories of the past. It is indeed a major disservice for any nation to deny the citizens knowledge of their past especially in the attempt in understanding the present challenges. To understand the importants of history in nation building in Nigeria, the Federal Government has directed all primary and secondary schools across the country to immediately implement the teaching of history as a standalone subject from next academic calendar 2019/2020, because lesson learned from experience could aid in avoidance of mistakes, pitfall and catastrophes in future. This study therefore examines the concept of history as a discipline and a process of change, the term, 'nation-building, the position of history and its tremendous contributions to nation building project. It concludes that there is indeed an urgent need for history to be used as a tool for the reconstruction of the present Nigerian society.

### Introduction

Every nation of the world is the product of history. It is history that gives a people, ethnic group, a nation its identity. For people and society to comprehend their situation in time and place, cope with present challenges and preside over the future, they need to have a sound idea of where they are coming from, where they are presently and where they hope to be in the future. For people and society seeking answers to questions germane to their present circumstances and future aspirations, the honest path is to befriend their past, which resides in history. It can then be understood that the nexus between history and nation building remains inseparable seeing that man's past activities are what led to the current state of the modern nation.<sup>1</sup>

Taking nation building from historical past, it could be traced to the primordial times when men started living sedentary lives and as its population increased; collective life necessitated political mechanism of rules, regulations, and leadership. With this, families developed into communities and communities eventually grew into nation. It is in this way the historical antecedent of a collective people create its identity. It is quite pathetic that for several decades with focus on the Nigerian nation, the value of history as an academic discipline and as a process of nation building has been challenged with a persistent question of its value to the nation.<sup>2</sup> It is against this background that this study seeks to examine the unbreakable nexus between history and nation building; discuss Nigeria's nation building process from the pre-colonial times up to the era of independence; establish the relevance of history, particularly in the era of globalization, analyze what could be gained from an 'unattractive' and non-materialistic' discipline such as history and suggest that the Nigerian nation could be imbued with an enduring and proper sense of history

## The Concept of History and Nation Building

Many definitions have been put forward at explaining the term "history" as an academic discourse. While some scholars depict history as a branch of knowledge that deals with the past, another group of scholars define history as a transformation of society in time and space. Few definitions by some scholars will be reviewed. E.H Carr has surmised history as a dialogue between the events of the past and progressively emerging future ends.<sup>3</sup> Rogers asserts that "like the poor, the past is always with us; not because we choose to tolerate it (as we do poverty) but because we cannot escape it." 4Jenneth Keightely observes that "when the past is forgotten, its power over the present is hidden from us, and our capacity to influence the future is severely restricted". 5 Adiele Afigbo in defining Nigerian history depict it as a "strategic device or method which can be placed at bringing Nigeria and the Nigerians together, as well as developing and sustaining them."6The definition of history can be well summarized in R.V Daniel words as: "the memory of human group experience... Without history, we have no knowledge of who we are or how we came to be, like victims of collective amnesia groping in the dark for our identity. It is the events recorded in history that have generated all the emotions, the values, the ideals that make life meaningful, that has given men something to live

for, struggle over, die for. Thus, historical events have created all the basic human groupings- countries, religion, classes- and all the loyalties attached to these.<sup>7</sup> Nations on the other hand, are generally considered as culturally homogenous groups of people, larger than a community sharing common language, institutions, religion and historical experience. Nigeria before 1914 has been defined as a nation where various distinct cultural or ethnic groups inhabit a territory and have formed a sovereign state. With this in mind nation building can be defined as a process whereby a society of people with diverse origins, histories, languages, religions and cultures come together to structure a national identity using the authority of the state with the goal of affiliating the people within the state<sup>8</sup> The term 'nation building' has been interchangeably used with the state building. However, many scholars would maintain that both terms are two distinct processes, while the former is seen as the task of building functioning states capable of fulfilling essential attributes of modern statehood. Nation-building on the other hand, to Maduagwu refers to the more abstract process of developing shared sense of identity or community among the various groups making up the population of a particular state. While state-building has a focus on capacity-building programs directed at strengthening key institutions, nation-building is more concerned with the character of relations between the citizens and the state.9

## History and Pre-colonial Nation Growing in Nigeria

In the pre-colonial time, History was the principal medium of transmission of culture (e.g. for social control) including the cosmology of the people in a nation. Africans transmit their culture through educational institutions indigenous to them, which are largely associated with puberty rites, secret societies, and initiation of age grades, training and initiation of priests and priestesses, diviners as well as those ceremonies taking place before the coronation of a new chief or king. Besides, another means of transmitting culture in Africa, is through the court historians and chroniclers. In many parts of Africa, there were carefully trained historians in the palace of kings and courts of highly placed chieftaincies. Such palace or court historians included the Arokin of old Oyo Empire and the Griots among the Mende people of Western Sudan (like the Mende of Senegal, Guinea and Mali). This depicts the importance of history in each African society.<sup>10</sup>

Nation growing efforts in Nigeria dates back to pre-colonial period, different communities and national existed and were spread around the river Niger and environs. These multiple nationalist before the amalgamation by Sir Fredrick Lord Lugard in 1914 existed independently of one another. Some of these various and numerous ethnic nationals include: the Yoruba, Igbo, Hausa, Fulani, Binin, Ijaw, , Itshekiri, Nupe, kanuri, Igala, and many others. These people were at one time or the other in their various places had historical accounts and efforts in place at nation building as against the erroneous view about Africa and Nigeria in particular as a dark Continent and nation. The ability to return Africa back to its position as people who had history and in one way or the other, some of these nation growing efforts is as a result of historians who decided to shoulder the responsibility of correcting erroneous Eurocentric view about Africa and Nigeria in p-particular,

thus historians and history as a discipline is a force to reckon with in nation building attempt in Nigeria.<sup>11</sup>

## History and the Contemporary Nation Building Process in Nigeria

The modern Nigeria society faces the challenge of development. Most often than not, as Walter Rodney once asserted, development is used in an exclusive economic sense with the rationale being that the type of economy is itself an index of other social features. Thus, this explains the current trends adopted by the various Nigerian governments to promote the pursuit of science and technology considering its relevance to economic advancement.<sup>12</sup> There is indeed no doubt that the much emphasis on science and technology in realizing Nigeria's development objectives is appropriately desirable, however it should be duly noted that development is a multi-faceted process that begins with the individual and any aspect of personal development is strongly tied to the state or society as a whole.<sup>13</sup>

With a look at advanced technological nations of the world, true nationhood was primarily accomplished before achieving rapid technological advancement. History was a relevant tool used in the task of uniting the different cultures, peoples and values positively without being tied to the damaging vanity of the past. <sup>14</sup> Even up to the present time, History as a course of study is made compulsory for every student in American schools. The Japanese under strong leadership has indeed inherited from her past certain political, economic and socio-cultural institutions readily adopted in sustaining the nation. In effect, Japan entered the modern times as a great power with a heritage of political ideologies as well as an emotional disposition well fitted to supply driving force and unifying power in the task of nation building. <sup>15</sup>

Nigeria as a state has realized the important of history, by re-introducing the teaching of history as a standalone subject in primary and secondary schools in Nigeria. This is as a result of the state of the nation, who at a time enjoyed the diverse nature of its people but now in disarray, the best way to retrace our steps is to look back into those things that kept us together as one and that can only come to reality through history.<sup>16</sup>

There is a strong realization by these nations that a state with a strong sense of identity creates a major phase of economic development. This reinforces the statement of J.H Plumb who observed that the purpose of history is to extend discernment concerning men and society "in the hope that a profound awareness will help to curb human attitudes and human actions". Indeed, there would be no nation to build science and technology if the nation is besieged by ethno-religious and political crises with the great instance of the present Nigerian state. <sup>17</sup>However, Africa had experienced a lot of misconceptions about its past, for instance, Ropper once said "perhaps in the future, there will be some African History to teach. But at present there is none, or a very little: there is only the history of the Europeans in Africa. The rest is darkness and darkness is not a subject for history, despite significant achievements in Africa before the European intervention like the artistic breakthrough of ancient Ife, Nok, Igbo-Ukwu. <sup>18</sup> The above rhetoric's were the

propelling factors that necessitated the exigent needs for Africans to review and reinterpret the erroneous historical account drafted by the Europeans and to accomplish this great task, historians both nonprofessionals and professionals largely used history to reshape and regain the lost glory of Africans, particularly historians from Nigeria. One cogent contribution of non-professional historians was the successful restoration of the balance in African history by rehabilitating African history and Nigerian history. However, the Nationalist School (1950-1960), who are professional historians, anchored by well-bred individuals in the field, emerged at a time when colonized peoples throughout the world were struggling for independence and national identity. Hence, Ibadan School of History emerged to fill vacuums in teaching, technology, approaches, and techniques in the study and writing of African history, particularly in Nigeria and creating some unique historiographical method, which were and is still making waves in the study of African past. 19 As Caroline Neale (1986) notes, the success of these movements resulted in the writing of "independent history". The most profile of these scholars came from the University of Ibadan, against the backdrop of myth and prejudice that concealed the true history of Africa and Nigeria from the World, Ibadan School of History emerged as the first and for many years the dominant School in the study of the history of Nigeria

The works of these 1st generation historians in Nigeria-Kenneth. Dike's,"Trade and Politics in Niger Delta", published in (1956) Jacob Egbarevha's History of Benin 1934, Rev, Samuel Johnson, who wrote the History of the Yoruba's published in 1921, Sai Akiga, Story of Tiv life published 1939, William Moore's History of Itsekiri and Kanu Umoli's History of Aro settlements, Saburi Biobaku, Afigbo, Otunba Payne, Tamuno. J.C, R.A Adeleye, J.B Losis's History of Lagos, Akinjogbin, Philip Igbafeamong others – can be readily acknowledged in their contributions to nationalism and patriotism.<sup>20</sup> The decolonizing of colonial historiography and the affirmation of Nigeria's rich culture and irrefutable history performed an important role in the preparations of the Nigerian people for independence. Their work drew general recognition to Nigerian heroes and geniuses such as King Jaja of Opobo, Nana of Itsekiri, Uthman Dan Fodio, Madam Efunroye Tinubu, Ajayi Crowder amongst others. These historians were great intellectuals and philosophers who provided the politicians and leaders the tool of legitimacy to attain independence. It is quite clear that the unity of any nation is invariably a product of history. Unity thus requires deliberate cultivating and delicately nurturing. Among its several challenges, Nigeria has a problem of proper identity or as C. Ifemesia has posited, "blatant misconception and alienating stereotypes". 21 This is very much evidenced in the various ethnic conflicts distorting the nation's development process. However, history has shown that different Nigerian peoples learnt to co-exist under some measures of common direction for varying periods especially before the colonial era. Looking at the history of the few Nigerian peoples before the arrival of the British, it is indeed true there was no singular political entity but there was a great degree of inter-group relations among the ethnic groups. The Bayagida legend of the Hausa kingdom has been often argued by the historians as a tool to legitimize the unification of various people in different areas and this fusion brought the emergence of the Hausa people. Again, the history of origins among several groups depicts affinity between neighboring states, kingdoms and empires.<sup>22</sup> An instance is the history between Ife and Benin, (despite some strong contentions concerning Oranmiyan) depicts a great level of congeniality and diplomatic relationship between the Ife and the Benin. It has also been well proven that the pre-colonial Nigerian peoples traded among themselves: Oyo and the Nupe; the Efik, the Ibibio and the Igbo; Bornu and its neighbouring states among several others. <sup>23</sup>

Furthermore, the Egungun festival was borrowed by Oyo from the Nupe as the outcome of the geographical adjacency and their intense trade relations. In the Niger-Benue region, which comprises various ethnic groups, it is evident that there are adoptions of Hausa cultural traits including the mode of dressing as well the approbation of the Hausa language as the lingua franca in this region.<sup>24</sup> These common peculiarities are firmly functions of centuries of commercial relations and other social contacts among these people. Again, kingdoms and empires played important role in widening the scope of activities and operations of the pre-colonial Nigerian peoples. This role was political, social, economic and ritual. A major example was the Igala kingdom. Its emergence involved relations among different people including the Ebira, Benin, the Igbo, the Jukun, the Yoruba, Idoma and other ethnic groups. These relations were formed by factors of migrations and settlements, military conquests and expansions, commercial relations, war and geographical proximity.<sup>25</sup> Obayemi has observed that the Ajaokuta and Geregu on the Niger West Bank are Igala speaking people, suggesting the geographical affinity between the Yoruba and the Igala at some period in their history. These vivid examples can also be found in other kingdoms and empires including the Benin, Oyo and Sokoto Caliphate. The Igbo of the West Niger, the Yoruba of Owo, Akure and some of the Ekiti people have adopted the Benin pattern of political institutions and title systems.<sup>26</sup> Also the Aro-Chukwu cult provided powerful ritual centre to which people from various ethnic groups came. These cultural similitude and legacy of collective affiliation can be equipped for the evolvement of national unity.<sup>27</sup> C. Ifemesia surmised that inter-group relations would be progressive "if culture groups knew enough about the backgrounds and antecedents of their neighbours; for that would enable the one to know the merits and defects of the other and so they can tolerate one another and interact with the minimum of friction and conflict."28 A good understanding of the culture of the Nigerian peoples with a specific grasp of the people's antecedents will greatly avert myriads of ethnic based conflicts. All the above analysis is a product of history and anyone who is not conversant with history cannot argue or discuss

# History a Tool to Address Crises in Nigeria:

Since political independence, Nigeria has undergone tumultuous dissensions as the nation has been confronted with the realities of national development problems. As Kayode Adeogun observed, "There is the need to learn lessons from history to correct the imbalances inherent in the system, we must be able to ascertain our genesis, our present circumstances and a possible anticipation or projection

into the future for cultural renaissance and national development". 29 History is not only the study of the past. It is an exploration of change and the socio-political dynamics of human society. An example is in understanding the Niger Delta crisis on resource control. In comprehending this peculiar crisis, it is essential to understand the changing fortunes of the Niger Delta region. Before the era of colonialism, the Niger Delta people were one of the most enterprising merchants who dominated the economic scene in the Nigeria geographical area throughout the periods of the slave trade and the palm oil trade. It is no wonder the precolonial state system of the region has been referred to as 'trading states'.30 However, by the 3<sup>rd</sup> decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Niger Deltans lost their political and economic dominance with the establishment of colonial rule.<sup>31</sup> In the postindependent Nigeria, the Niger Delta region, formerly an entity of trading corporations became minorities despite the oil wealth located in the area. Even as Nigeria seeks to intercept the problems that confront the nation in the present time, there is a strong need to collectively comprehend how things have come to be as they are and the best solution to this is to be riend history.<sup>32</sup>

On the issue of religious dichotomy, a major crisis in the Nigerian state is itself a product of history. The factor of the Uthman dan Fodio's Jihad in the spread of Islam to several Northern regions as well as Southwestern states alongside the factor of the Amalgamation in 1914 in creating religious intolerance between the Muslim North and the Christian South, are all grounded in Nigeria's historical activities.<sup>33</sup> It will keep proving difficult to stem the tide of religious intolerance without a strong comprehension of the why's and how's of our present situation. There again goes the importance of history in the provision of a groundwork to understand the inherent problems of the nation; religious, political, among several others. It can then be favourably argued that learning the histories that has produced these problems should become a 'national necessity'.<sup>34</sup>

# History and the Creation of National Consciousness

It is no surprise that Nigerians identify themselves with their nationality only when they are in a foreign country. The citizens identify themselves locally by their ethnic identity as Igbo, Yoruba, Fulani and so on. Ikime gives reasons for this, 'We have never really sat down to fashion out an Act of Union. The British brought us together as a colony; we attained independence as one nation. We fought a civil war to keep that nation together. But we have not deliberately forged an Act of Union.' This union agreement can only be formed when there is a utilization of history for national consciousness. History has helped correct distorted account about the African past and it can also help create national consciousness and provide the intellectual support for patriotism. It can be inarguably affirmed that any nation rely to a large extent on the people's love and respect for social order. Indeed, the key to the kind of knowledge that the Nigerian citizenry must seek lies in the history of our different peoples.<sup>35</sup>

To Oyeyemi, History Education plays a major role of promoting citizenship for it helps foster a greater sense of social cohesion, enriching multiculturalism since it is through the knowledge of history, citizens come to understand and appreciate the background, culture, beliefs, values and traditions of others. Thus, history becomes an effective tool for nation building, for there is no nation that would acquire true peace if it is characterized by ignorance of history and ethnic arrogance.<sup>36</sup>

### History and the Creation of a Political Culture:

One major explanation for the present political instability in Nigeria is the lack of political culture. History can give answer to this. Ikime observed that, the Nigerian history establishes that there was equivalence between power and authority on one hand and responsibility and accountability on the other hand: "Even the most seemingly powerful ruler, the divine kings, knew that their divinity had to be proved through service- plentiful harvests, high fertility, and absence of epidemics. When the harvests were bad, fertility low or epidemics endemic, the ruler was in trouble." <sup>37</sup>

Nigeria is a democratic society facing endemic corruption and indiscipline among its political elite. Ethnic nationalism has eaten deep into the fabric of its political system with the case in point of electoral rigging in Nigeria politics which is undoubtedly unrestricted by the 'we-want-our-man syndrome'. Nigeria as a nation-state does not have a firm grasp of her people's collective loyalty. Hence, it is no surprise that the British colonial experience has been used by the political elite to, not only vindicate their failings but substantiate it. However, with examples of Germany, Italy including the United Kingdom, Nigeria is not unique in its multicultural feature. The instances of the adoption of bilingualism in Canada with regard to its French minority as well as the different ministries established by Britain to cater for the different nations that form the United Kingdom are distinct efforts to promote a sense of belonging.<sup>38</sup>

In 1805 Napoleon wrote, "there cannot be a firmly established political state unless there is a teaching body with defining recognized principles.<sup>39</sup> If the child is not taught from infancy that he ought to be a republican or a monarchist, or a free thinker, the state will not constitute a nation. It will rest on uncertain and shifting foundations: and it will constantly be exposed to disorder and change."40. A leading body with defining recognized principle' can find a significant symbol in the teaching and subject of history as a process of nation building. It is admittedly observed that the Nigerian political elite have been guilty in utilizing facts of history for their selfish gains. Morally, history serves as a reference point for most Nigerian politicians as they often make reference to history. The former Military Head of State (General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida) in 1986 during one of his public engagements was quoted as saying that 'history will forgive us for taking a bad decision, but history will never forgive you for not taking a decision at all'.41 Suffice it to say that most Nigerian politicians often refer to history whenever they are being accused either rightly or wrongly. Many of Nigeria's public office holders when criticized whether fairly or otherwise often reply that history will vindicate the righteous. This moralizing role of history tends to infuse in the public office holders a deep sense of awareness that posterity will definitely put their actions on trial. However, it should also be noted that history can also be used as a tool for peace building. A cultural policy of responsibility can be well nurtured and groomed to the present and future generations with an enduring sense of history. 42

The Department of History in the University of California has a mission statement on history education which states; "In a democratic society, knowledge of history is the precondition of political intelligence. Without history, a society shares no common memory of where it has been, what its values are or what decision of the past account for present circumstances. Without history, we cannot undertake any sensible inquiry into the political, social and moral issues in society. And without historical knowledge and inquiry, we cannot achieve the informal, non-discriminating citizenship essential to effective participation in the democratic processes of governance and the fulfillment for all citizens of the nation's democratic ideals. It is then a duty for any nation that is desirous of development in all its ramifications to always delve into its past achievements and shortcomings as well as those of other nations. With this, the nation will be able to review past vices, derive insight from estimable past accomplishments and to strategize for future progression.<sup>43</sup>

#### Conclusion

The symbol of the Sankofa bird (derived from Ghana, meaning go back and get it)44 refers to the importance of knowing the past to help understand and shape the present and the future. It is indeed true that some aspects of history have been merely used in glorifying the past and are insignificant to the contemporary Nigerian society but where the past can serve us well, we will do well to use it. History can serve the nation well in such circumstances. The present Nigerian government keeps failing to collectively hold the loyalty of its citizenry or as Professor Adebayo Adedeji asserts, "Nigeria remains largely a cohabitation without marriage". However, history does provide the key to this problem. With certain elements of unification, history stipulates some answers to the national problems as can be observed in the above mentioned paragraphs. In the making of modern Nigeria, history was the intellectual armour with which the nationalist equipped themselves in the contest against the colonial administration and their ideologies. In the Nigerian contemporary society, if lauded by the current generation of government, history can help create the right ideological and cultural climate that will be very contributive to the nation growing process and national development.<sup>45</sup> This has been affirmed in the words of A. Ajayi, "...the country's bitter experience of a thirty-month civil war; the more than thirty years of military dictatorship, which bruised millions of Nigerians in the midst of plenty for a few; the recurrent ethnic and religious conflicts and antagonisms, should convince us all that this country needs to maintain a purposeful consciousness of our past travails as a nation, to device far-reaching policies, programmes and institutions for moving this supposed giant of Africa and its people forward in all ramifications in all our individual and collective endeavours".46

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