

**A Historiography of Nigerian Government Image
and Image Repair Efforts since Independence: A
Public Relations Approach**

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ABSTRACT

This study examined the historical sources of damage to Nigeria's image over a 52-year period from independence in 1960 to 2012. While doing so, emphasis was placed on tracing the origins of the country's image problems on the one hand, and efforts that Nigerian government may have made over the years to address them, on the other. The twin tasks were conducted within the public relations theoretical framework of image repair and restoration model propounded by Benoit and Pang (2008). Using a triangulation of historical and critical research methods, the study established that Nigeria has suffered a myriad image-related problems, originating mostly from - or compounded by - prolonged periods of military regimes, serious internal conflicts and dissent, poor governance, human rights abuses, and onslaught of armed militia – all of which have combined to dent the image of the country both locally and internationally.

The study groups Nigerian government responses to image-related problems into three categories: a) International Communication Campaigns spearheaded by the Federal Ministry of Information and Communication to promote and repair the country's image abroad; b) Establishment of various Commissions internally to deal with many of the domestic sources of negative image, and c) Transition to civilian/democratic rule in a bid to run away from the unpleasant image associated with military dictatorships that ruled the country for a total 29 years during the study period.

The efforts of the Nigerian government fit three image repair categories: solving the problem and (trying to) prevent its recurrence in the future – through the establishment of agencies like Economic and Financial Crimes Commission, and Amnesty for Niger Delta region Militants to solve the problem of crime and militancy in the country; Reducing the offensiveness of the action (bolstering) through the use of positive comments like “Nigeria: Good People Great Nation” as a slogan in one of the image repair campaigns to strengthen the public perception about Nigeria, and paying compensation in order to show concern for the affected victims.

The study concludes that in spite of the intentions and efforts of the Nigerian government to repair the country’s image there remain some serious obstacles which if left unaddressed would undermine and possibly compromise much of the desired results of the image repair efforts. These challenges include, without being limited to, youth unemployment, insecurity, bad governance, runaway corruption and general lawlessness which in combination continue to give the country a negative image. It’s recommended that credible attempts at image repair begin with or be preceded by embracing good governance, provision of social infrastructure and creation of employment for the youth. These can be possible steps that would help bring about more lasting favorable image for Nigeria both at home and abroad, perhaps with only little need for formal image repair campaigns.

Keyword: Nigeria, image repair, public relations, nation branding, Boko Haram, corruption in Nigeria.

ÖZ

Bu araştırma bağımsılıktan bu yana 1960'tan 2012'ye kadar 52 yıllık bir süreçte Nijeryanın imajına zarar vermiş kaynakları ele alıyor. Bunu yaparken, ülkenin imaj probleminde yatan kökeni araştırırken aynı zamanda hükümetin de bunun için nasıl bir politika izlediğini araştırıyor. Araştırma Benoit ve Peng tarafından kurulan halkla ilişkiler teorisi çerçevesinde imaj düzeltme ve yenileme modeli üzerinde durmuştur. Araştırma Nijeryanın sayısız imaj sorunuyla karşı karşıya kaldığını, uzun süreli askeri rejimler, ciddi içsel çatışmalar ve anlaşmazlıklar, zayıf yönetim, insan hakları suistimali, silahlı asker saldırıları gibi sebepler ülke imajının lokal ve uluslararası arenada çökmesine sebep olduğunu anlatır.

Çalışma grupları Nijeryanın imaj problem üç kategoride topluyor; a) ülkenin yurtdışındaki imajını tanıtmak ve onarmak için Bilgi ve İletişim Federal Bakanlığı'nın öncülüğünde gerçekleştirilen Uluslararası İletişim Kampanyaları b) ulkenin imaj sorununun içsel çözümüyle ilgili çeşitli Komisyonları kurulması c) 29 yıldır ülkeyi yöneten askeri diktatörlüklerle bağdastırılan kotu görüntü siyirilmek amacıyla sivil / demokratik sisteme geçiş.

Nijerya hükümetinin çabaları üç kategoride yer alır: problem çözme ve gelecekte tekrarlanmasını önlemek amacıyla ülkede kurulan Ekonomik ve Mali Suçlar Komisyonu, ve Nijer Deltası bölgesinde Militanlar Af Örgütü gibi kurumların kurulması yoluyla ülkede suç ve militanlık sorunu çözmek; "Nijerya: Good People Great Nation" sloganini bir imaj onarma kampanyasında kullanarak Nijerya

hakkında kamuoyu algısını güçlendirmek ve mağdurları için endişe duyulduğunu göstermek için tazminat ödenmesi.

Araştırma ülkenin imajını onarmaya Nijerya hükümetinin çabalarına hala bazı engellerini bulduğunu ve eğer köküne inilmezse istenilen sonuca ulaşmanın zor olduğu sonucuna varmıştır. Bu sorunlar gençler arasında işsizlik, güvensizlik, kötü yönetim, kaçak yolsuzluk ve genel kanunsuzluk olup ülke imajını negatif yönde etkilemektedir. Bu imaj onarım çalışmasının iyi yönetim ve gençler için sosyal altyapı ve istihdam yaratılmasının sağlanmasından başlanarak çözüme gidilmesi önerilir. Butun bunlar ve belki de Nijerya hakkında yurtiçinde ve yurtdışında olumlu bir imaj kampanyalar için yalnızca az ihtiyacı olan gelmesine yardımcı olacağını olası adımlar olabilir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Nijerya, imaj yenileme, halkla ilişkiler, ulus markalaşma, Boko Haram, Nijerya'da yolsuzluk.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Crises in Nigeria date back to October 1960 when the country gained her independence from Britain. Shortly before the country became a republic in 1963, marginalization of the Igbos and Yorubas by the Hausas in the military as well as appointment in the civil service coupled with corruption started to be visible cracks on the country's social wall.

There is a political tension between elites from the North and the South. The underlying issue behind the political tension is widely believed to be the fears in the Northern part that the more educated Southern elite would dominate state institutions. In other hand, Southern part is concerned that the populous Northerners would have upper hand in government (Orji, 2008, p. 125-139).

These suspicions and tensions eventually led to the secessionist Biafra civil war in the South East that lasted for 3years (1967-1970). From then on, the image of Nigeria has always been in the bad light both locally and internationally. Till today, Nigeria is not a country her citizens are proud of because of this image stigma. The country's image is associated with negative factors like military dictatorship (1967-1979, 1983- 1999), Niger Delta crisis, ethno- religious conflicts, human rights abuse, falling standards of education as a result of incessant teacher and lecturers strikes and regular closure of Universities, regular fuel scarcity (even though Nigeria is one of

the major producers of crude petroleum in the world), kidnapping, ritual killing and unemployment.

Religion-ethnic crises have always been delicate issues in Nigeria, given that the country is so large and consists of 480 ethnic groups (Dada and Oluwadare 2012 p.100-104). More so, Nigeria also has three main religious beliefs, even though the dominant ones are Christianity and Islam. The third one is the indigenous traditional beliefs in the local deities.

Ordinarily, it is expected that these two dominant religions should co-exist peacefully. However, there is no mutual understanding between the two religious groups. Some Muslims in the Northern part of the country have demonstrated intolerance which has always jeopardized the lives of Christians who live in the Northern region. This has always led to conflicts characterized by arson, bloodshed and national unrest. An instance of this is the recent multiple bomb blasts that took place on 29th April 2012 at St Stephen Chaplaincy in Bayero University Kano in Northern Nigeria. Two professors were among the fifteen worshipers that lost their lives (Mohammad 2012).

The impromptu nature of the fuel subsidy removal on the 1st of January 2012 showed how Nigerian government carries out decision without considering the poor masses (Punch Newspaper 2012 January 3). The President of Nigeria Goodluck Ebele Jonathan promised to remove fuel subsidy gradually which is similar to what past leaders said. All of a sudden at the end of December 2011, President Jonathan announced the removal of the fuel subsidy when the people were enjoying their Christmas and New Year festivities (Abimboye 2012). Nigerians were shocked. This

led to “Nigeria Occupy” national protest anchored by Save Nigeria Group headed by Pastor Tunde Bakare. The whole nation was at a standstill. The government eventually reversed the total removal by fixing a litre of petrol at 97 naira (\$2) making it one of the most expensive in the world.

Niger Delta violence demonstrated another democratic failure of Nigeria as a country. The bombing at Eagle square Abuja on 1st October 2010, when Nigeria was celebrating her 50 years anniversary was linked to Niger Delta militant led by Mujaheed Asari Dokubo. Niger Delta region comprises Edo, River, Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross River and Delta states. This region is another war zone in Nigeria; they struggle for their rights and that of their people. These states produce oil and they are the second richest region but the wealth goes down to the pocket of the few elites like that of Mr. Dokubo Asari and other “high price militants”. These ex-militants gets more than nine million dollars from the government every year in order to maintain peace in the region when the money could be used to develop the region instead of going to personal pocket (Saharareporters 2012, August 22).

A map showing wealth distribution by regions in Nigeria shows that the Northern region which accounts for 53% of the country’s population get 40.4% of the revenue while the South which contributes 15% of the population gets 35.7% revenue, Eastern region with 12% of the population gets 9.2% and West with 20% of the population gets 14.6% of the revenue (Pro Share 2012).

The perception of Nigeria image is not a favorable one by the world. A nation’s image is very important when it comes to international affairs. A favorable image of Nigeria can play a crucial role in creating positive reputation among the international

community. A good perception of any country's image is important instrument for determining her prestige in international community (Egwemi 2010b, p. 131-135). When a country is challenged with negative image, it shows that the country lacks respect and recognition from international community. A Country in such a condition should try to restore its image and respect.

Despite the fact that Nigeria has natural resources, she is faced with poverty. The average GDP is put at \$2,600 per year (Indexmundi 2012). The wealth of the nation is looted by the politicians and leaders. Giving example of late General Sani Abacha's regime, it was estimated that over two billion pounds was recovered from Singapore, Hong Kong, Dubai, the US, UK, Liechtenstein, Switzerland and Luxembourg after his death (The Guardian 2000, May 10). The level of corruption among political leaders is seen in the case of past Governor of Delta state Chief James Onanefe Ibori who is now serving 13 years prison term in United Kingdom because of money laundering and fraud (Walker 2012a).

Emergence of Islamist group called Boko Haram in the year 2000 in the Northern state of Borno has brought another conflict and militancy in Nigeria. The official mission is to ensure enthronement of Sharia law and complete denunciation of Western education and way of life by all residents in the state and Nigeria is another challenge (Damjuma 2010).

Since 2009, Boko Haram activities can be seen in bombing of churches, police stations, local government headquarters and they also have bomb factories in some Northern states like Kano, Kaduna, Adamawa, Kogi and Niger. The bomb blast on 25th December 2011 at St Theresa Catholic church Madala in Niger state Near Abuja,

drew attention of the international media. It was on Sunday morning around 8:00 am, when a suicide bomber drove into church premises as the service was closing. Many were on their way going back to their respective houses when the bomb blast and more than fifty people died while many were injured. The international dimension was added when the sect decided to bomb United Nations building at Abuja in August 2011. This further affected the global image of the country.

In addition, several lives and properties were lost in the April 2011 after the presidential election. Post-election crisis erupted in Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Niger, Sokoto, Yobe, and Zamfara States in the Northern part of Nigeria (Human Right Watch 2012). The crisis was as a result of the defeat of Mohammed Buhari, a Northern by a Southern Goodluck Ebele Jonathan, in Presidential election. Northerners felt cheated at a Southern candidate assuming office as president soon after eight years of President Olusegun Obasanjo. When the Northerners realized that People Democratic Party is not giving their ticket to a Northern candidate, they voted in mass to General Muhammadu Buhari, of the CPC, unfortunately he did not win the election. This initially started as a political protestation, finally acquired ethnic implications as the youths started killing and burning of houses.

1.1 National images

Governments worldwide have realised the relevance of creating conducive image for the country. Thus the administration of every government seeks to elevate the image of the country and the masses he/she is representing. Dike and Okoroafor (2010) suggested that national image is a prime concern to any nation and the national image is described as an encounter one has with the nation. The national image has a

strong influence on the success of the country's developmental agenda. In order to maintain their position of strength and influence in international politics, advanced nations demonstrated the ability in management of their national image.

A negative national image has a serious consequence for government and its people in the international settings. Ding (2011, p. 293-306) ascertains that national image is like an essential component for a nation. Therefore we understand that a national image can be an important national asset that a nation should manage with care.

1.2 Objectives of the study

Nigeria as a nation is a country that is confronted with several socio-political and religious problems in its history. The problems are thought to emanate from the lines of complicated crises such as the ongoing political-religious crises in the country which have ensured that the country is always on the news regularly for the wrong reasons.

Regular eruption of killing, destruction of property and corruption of government officials in Nigeria has done great damage to the country's image both regionally and internationally. The former ministers of information tried to rebuild Nigeria image by launching projects such as "Nigeria Image Project" which was introduced by Chief Chukwuemeka Chikelue in the year 2004. Later in 2005 the Nigeria Image Project was renamed "Heart of Africa Project" by Mr. Frank Nweke Jnr. in 2005 and finally Dr. Mrs Dora Akunyili who launched another campaign called "Rebranding Nigeria" from 2009 to 2010. The slogan of this campaign is "Nigeria: Good People Great Nation". She stated that her campaign is a tool to win the image battle (Edun 2011).

Undoubtedly the predicaments that befall Nigeria all the time have a strong impact in defining Nigeria's image. Many graduates are in the labour market looking for jobs; and this may be contributing a lot to their engagement in evil acts like bombing, robbery and kidnapping.

The Nigeria government bears the responsibility of handling this image. Lack of confidence in the government from Nigerians can arouse desperation among the masses. In a state of desolation, citizens may decide to take law into their own hands. The result of this might be undesirable and may aggravate the case of bad national image. It is said that one's image precedes him/her; so at any time, Nigeria image plays a dominant role in international relations. The perception of a country's image determines whether the nation will be capable of attracting foreign interest and investments. Most importantly, a well-developed image-building strategy would help limit the chances of recurrent crises.

This traces and examines the various crises that have befallen Nigeria between independence and 2012. While doing so, it questioning the efficacy of the Nigeria government's role in managing the crises. The strategies employed by the Nigeria government in image building, repair and restoration will be examined and analyzed. Also, the outcome of the government's efforts in managing the national image will be explained. Emphasizing on how to eliminate social and political crises in future and how the existing strategy can be improved. The following research questions (RQ) will guide the inquiry:

RQ1 What image-related issues exist in or about Nigeria?

RQ2 How did Nigeria acquired it image-related problem?

RQ2 What are the factors that contributed to the image problems?

RQ3 What reaction or steps have the Nigeria government taken with regard to image –related problems?

RQ4 How effective have the approaches used in restoring Nigeria’s image been

1.3 Layout of the thesis

Chapter one of this research consists of the background of the study which introduces the topic, and poses the research questions that guided the work. Chapter two reviews relevant literatures and explains major debates and arguments made by other scholars and writers about image restoration. Chapter three presents Nigeria country profile highlighting changes that have taken place in the country between independence in 1960 and 2012, paying attention, too, to administration structures of the country and different presidential regimes since independence. Chapter four focuses on and explains methodology used, while Chapter five presents findings and discussions. Finally chapter six contains summary, recommendations and conclusions.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter presents comprehensive literature review of image repair in order to shed light on how image repair strategy is applied during crisis by organizations or countries that have encountered comparable challenges in the past

An image of organization is described by Benoit and Pang (2008, p. 241-265) as past experience or encounter one has with an organization. This image is formed from the organizational or country's performances and it differs from one person to another. People that have used image corrective measure are politicians, corporate entities, famous individuals and few countries. Benoit and Pang (2008, p. 241-265) stressed that a dent to an image is ever-present. Image making is a steady and important step any nation that surge towards greatness will attain. The image of a person, country or an organization is evaluated based on what people see and observe about them. The ambition of states seeking international relations is to acquire prestige and integrity (Wang 2011). Exertion to achieve a positive image of a nation does not lie on the shoulder of the government alone but also on the media and citizens. Thus, the citizenry and the media have a lot to do in portraying a positive image of country to the outside world. This can be achieved when the nationals of a nation shun crimes and are law abiding both within and outside the country.

Ding (2011, p. 293-306) ascertains that national image is like an essential component for a nation. Therefore we understand that a national image can be an important national asset that a nation should manage with great regard.

For instance, a country is seriously perturbed when the citizens of other nations are found to violate their immigration laws and commit other crimes. This always leads to deportation and diplomatic rows. The concern of the government should be based on country's reputation since other countries depend on it to forecast their imminent activities (Wang 2011) and it takes more effort to repair a damaged than to maintain it. History still remembers the holocaust caused by Nazi Germans. So the Germans today are always remembered for that inglorious period of their history.

As image involves teamwork so does restoration require the collective effort from the government, the media and citizens. Albritton & Manheim (1983, p. 622-628) perceived that once a country is faced with undesirable coverage; attempt to show the good side might be discarded by public and media. As a result the nation will encounter deterioration in its international relations, which might shake its growth. Undoubtedly public opinion usually believes untrue news in the media because they believe such news is more reliable than the affirmative story (Anholt 2010, pp. 3). This is because people seem to believe whatever media broadcast as true and authentic. He also stressed that it is necessary to remember that destructive hype in universal media contribute to indignity in the society. National images are sometimes contaminated by the crisis in the nation or by the wrong perception of the media to the public. In cases like this, there is the great need for image restoration. When media presents a good picture of a nation to the people, the impact will make them to see only the positive sides and this will help the country in safeguarding her image

(Anholt 2010, pp.3). Logically it implies that a nation's image can serve as a shield to a wrong media assessment of the nation.

According to Nuttavuthisit (2007, p.21-30), in order to measure an effective image restoration for a nation, the optimistic basics and features of the nation must be communicated to both tourists and local citizens as the image is formed by perceived values provided to clients. Providing firsthand information to tourists will foster international relations while the communication to the local residents will give them hope in making more efforts. Nuttavuthisit (2007, p. 21-30) also stated that one must be careful when choosing a word or picture that represents a country's image. The terms ought to be useful without any unpleasant meaning. A tacit suggestion by Kotler et al (2002) on how to deal with unfavorable image is by offering the audience what they are not expecting to see or hear which will be favorable. They might not be pleased because they already have an insight of what to expect but seeing another new good thing altogether.

Images are never restored if they were not damaged. Therefore the existence of image restoration solely depends on image making. Anholt (2010, p.3) said that some countries who realize the benefits of reputation spend a huge amount of money to enhance and retain it. On the other hand, restoration of an image involves the appropriation of the attributes used in the image making. A nation might want to restore its image using the restoration strategies. "A strategy is a method" (Benoit and Brinson 1994, p. 75-88). Nevertheless apologies are not enough but tools which public relations and media diplomacy can apply to improve a nation's image (Giffard and Rivenburgh 2000 p.8-21).

2.1 The Nigeria case

Restoring Nigeria image indicates that there is a need to mend, improve, reintroduce, rebuild, recover and restore (Ekeke 2006). Nigeria like any other country in the world has to be concern with its national image. The quest to gain both regional and global recognition has subjected the country to perpetual challenges. Insecurity, corruption and constant killing have dented the national image of the country.

Izagbo (2012) stated that the country Nigeria is in terrible condition and need revitalization. He further stressed that lack of social amenities, weakness in educational sector, corruption in politics and governance, the emergence of Boko Haram insurgency in the north and resurgent militancy in the Niger-Delta generate negative image of Nigeria in the world. The issues mentioned by Izagbo (2012) are only but a few. The high rate of money laundering by politicians, bank executives as well as multi-national oil magnates is also worrisome. The embezzlement and mismanagement of public funds like that of recent scam of fuel subsidy has also had its share of negative consequences on Nigeria's image. From the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) public forum in Lagos Nigeria 2004; it was assumed that Nigeria's poor image has contributed to the delay of foreign investor investing in Nigeria (Nworah 2006).

Albritton and Manheim (1983 p. 622-628) stated that press release as a method of disseminating information has progressively become a useful means of image laundering in international relations. It is a progressive means of restoring Nigerian image which the government has effectively explored; using the media to showcase its nature in order to attract foreign investors to the country. According to

Nuttavuthisit (2007, p.21-30) from the Public relations aspects, it is crucial that a country in search of national restoration should create a slogan that will be genuinely communicated to the world. Peijuan et al (2009, p.213-218) specified that public relations and diplomacy should employ approach of communication device to improve a country's image. The government of Nigeria did agree with Nuttavuthisit's assertion, leading to the slogan titled "NIGERIA: Good People, Great Nation" and was communicated to the public through local media, newspapers and internet in 2009. The importance of increasing the image and reputation of places should be on generating affluences rather than communication (Anholt 2010). Though the Nigeria government has continually publicized Nigeria as good, Anholt's assertion shows that in national image restoration process, the main objective is not just sending out great and good tidings to the outside world through media but it has to produce results in order to support what is being communicated.

Therefore the media should not only be engrossed in the task of communicating good images to the other nations. Some media in Nigeria during the launching of Rebranding Nigeria have devised a method of giving health, security and mind developing tips to the public before casting its news. This is targeted at enhancing the minds of the Nigerians to always believe in their country and to exhibit true patriotism. Repetition been the key to deep and lasting impression made the Nigeria media to be focused on this goal and steadily repeat it on daily basis with the hope of renewing the minds of Nigerians.

2.2 China Case

Analysis of the two articles “Branding a Rising China: An Analysis of Beijing's National Image Management in the Age of China's Rise and Managing nations image during crisis” Ding (2011, p.293-306) and “Managing a nation's image during crisis: A study of the Chinese government's image repair efforts in the “Made in China controversy” Peijaun et al (2009, p.213-218), shows that China’s greatest threat until now was its national image. In the past years, China was simultaneously faced with different crisis like that of AIDS epidemic in 2001 and SARS in 2003.

Chinese past leaders have tried so much in preserving a favorable image for their country (Wang 2011). Showcasing a widely acceptable image has been crucial to China from the onset. The Chinese believed in their national image as very unique and therefore should reflect in their relation with other nations.

Giving an instance of her crisis, in 2007 the production and manufacturing industry in China was confronted with suspicion of how trustworthy and safe is the product. The crisis “Made in China” happened when a pet food produced in China was recalled in the United States 2006. Later the product was also recalled from Europe and South Africa due to resultant renal failure in pets that the product was administered on. Other product like toothpaste, toys, candies and pyjamas were also recalled.

Ding (2011) illustrated that China national image derived its strength from commitment to cultural diplomacy, strong dedication to information and communication technologies in international broadcasting and maintaining a strong bond with the Chinese in diaspora.

The Chinese government has enormously been implementing strategies and taking steps in the image restoration of China. According to Cameron and Zhang (2003, p.13-28), the Chinese government believes that a virtuous affiliation with prominent members of the US media is essential to Sino-American relations. In September 2008, Chinese President Jiang Zemin travelled to America to foster Chinese relationship with American media (Cameron and Zhang 2003, p.13-28).

Studies showed that Chinese government has spent billions of dollars on overseas publicity since she started having crises (Zhang 2008, p.303-316). The 2008 Beijing Olympic Games which was hosted in China made China a home to people around the world showcasing Chinese rich culture and tourist sites. The Shanghai world Expo also served as a way of inviting people to China so as to influence their views concerning the country.

In order to strengthen its international relation, China launched a promotional campaign with Times Square in New York City. This campaign was approximately broadcast for 300 times a day. The strategies employed by Chinese government always help them to restore her image

2.3 Saudi Arabia Case

The image of Saudi Arabia was dented after Osama Bin Laden's twin attack on World Trade Centre and Pentagon on September 11, 2001 (Benoit and Zhang 2003, p.160-167). It was later discovered that fifteen out of the nineteen terrorist's hijackers were from Saudi Arabia. United States of America promptly associated the country with terrorism. They were alleged of helping the Palestinian suicide bomber and did not cooperate with US to attack Iraq (Benoit and Zhang 2003, p.160-167).

In a swift reaction, Saudi Arabian government spent more than 5 million dollars to hire a professional public relation firm that can handle the emerging public image smear, media buying and consultant (Benoit and Zhang 2003, p.161-167). They also organized radio and television slot in America. These helped Saudi Arabia achieve her aim in image restoration.

Some of the strategies applied were more effective than others. The main strategies for Saudi Arabia image restoration were denial, attacking the accuser and bolstering (Benoit and Zhang 2003, p. 161-167). Saudi Arabia canceled Bin Laden citizenship as part of the country's denial. The country finally was able to restore her image.

2.4 Image Restoration and Repair in the corporate context

The Corporate organization image is very essential for her acceptance and growth. Though the benefits might vary, yet the basic option is the same for a nation and a corporate organization. The existence and functionality of a corporation depends solely on its image. It is most concerned with the public's patronage of the services rendered by the corporation.

According to Benoit (1997, p. 251-267), the basic of image repair strategy is to ponder on the nature of the crisis before acting because a quick response can cause damage to the organizational image. He proposed that an attack has two components:

- The accused is held responsible for an action
- The act is considered offensive

In any situation, it is not a good idea to create negative image for the company except if the organization is guilty of the offence (Benoit 1997, p. 251-267). In Benoit's first attack component, a corporation is held liable for an act it either sponsored or

performed. If the act is considered offensive then the image of the corporation is at risk. While his second component is more concerned about what a relevant audience thinks about the corporation. Even when wrong, a particular perceived impression about a corporations can taints a corporation image depending on its response. Benoit further deduced five image restoration strategies which a corporation can use towards restoring its image which could either be denial, evasion of responsibility; reduce offensiveness, corrective action and mortification.

The table below defines the image restoration model/strategy with instances a company or country can employ during image repair process.

Table 2.1: Image restoration strategies and instances

Strategy	Key characteristic	Illustration
1 Denial Simple denial Shifting the blame	did not perform the act act performed by another	Coke does not charge McDonald's less Exxon: Alaska and caused delay
2 Evasion of Responsibility Provocation Defeasibility Accident Good Intentions	Responded to Act of Another Lack of Information or Ability Act Was a Mishap Meant Well in Act	Firm moved because of new state laws Executive not told meeting changed Sears' unneeded repairs inadvertent Sears: no willful over-charges
3.Reducing Offensiveness of Event Bolstering Minimization Differentiation	stress good traits act not serious act is less offensive	Exxon's swift and competent action Exxon: few animals killed Sears: preventative

Transcendence Attack accuser Compensation	more important considerations reduce credibility of accuser reimburse victims and affected persons	maintenance Helping humans justifies tests Pepsi: Coke charges McDonald's Less Disabled movie-goers given free passes
4. Corrective Action	plan place to solve and prevent problem	AT&T promised to improve service
5. Mortification	apologize for act	AT&T apologized

Source: Benoit, 1997, p.179

2.5 Texaco Case

In 1996, Texaco Company was accused of racial discrimination by the employer. The secret tape revealed that a discriminatory language was used by the top officials of the company. They planned to destroy the tape that might be used as evidence in court should the case becomes a law suit. This obviously would bring a bad name to the organization. Media was publishing and broadcasting Texaco Company in an unfavorable manner and this affected the company's stock price. The crisis was followed up by the chief executive Bijuo. First he sent an email to the employees and followed it up with a live speech on TV. The strategies employed here are bolstering, corrective action, shifting the blame and mortification. Benoit and Brinson (1999, 483-510) agreed that Texaco image was restored because of the strategy of image restoration the company used.

It is imperative that a crisis is properly analyzed before a response is given. In an earlier study, Coombs (1998, p. 177-191) suggested that crisis analysis is a very important step before a response approach is utilized since a complete understanding of a crisis situation influences communication strategies to be adopted.

Since the image repair model/ theory focuses on repairing damage to the image, concentrating on the account of the organizational or country's action that caused the crisis and the type of communication strategy to employ during crisis should be a significant thing to do. It is very vital to know the nature of crisis before responding and also is important to identify the key audience during crisis communication (Benoit 1997a, p. 177)

Benoit (1997b, p. 251-267) stressed that when image is threatened, we feel obliged to offer explanation, reasons, apologies or excuses for our act. However, care should be taken in making excuses because while a good excuse can ameliorate grim situations, a bad excuse may aggravate a crisis. Dunn and Cody (2000, p. 372-391) were of the opinion that excuse makes who accepted responsibility to be seen as more credible compared to those who evaded responsibility. On the other hand, a combination of confession and apology (mortification) may convey a feeling of remorse which can lead to restoration if accepted by the public. Benoit (1997b, p. 251-267) showed that mortification, denial and bolstering could be used to restore the reputation of an individual. This assertion was further supported by Len-Ríos and Benoit (2004, p.95-106) when they affirmed that acknowledgement of wrong doing and apology are a necessity during crisis management.

Despite the efforts to perform crisis analysis and come up with an effective image repair strategy, it is a well-known fact that some crises situations are quite complicated and dynamic. Hence, Sellnow and Ulmer (2000 p. 143-155) suggested that uncertainties associated with some crises situations, may make ambiguity in communication unavoidable. Nonetheless, the complexity and unpredictability of some crisis situations should not be exploited as an avenue for deception and

propaganda. It is important that practitioners understand that honest and factual information has higher potential of achieving set objective.

The financial growth of a corporation depends on its image, verifying the importance of the image which is usually managed by organization with outmost seriousness and sensitivity. It is important for a corporation or country to respond quickly to a crisis and avoid tarnishing its image. The image restoration model is to employ the strategies of campaign message and reinstating or defending ones is the prime objective after disaster (Benoit 1997a, p. 177).

Becker (2004, p.195-207) encapsulated the basics of image repair strategy when he stated that timely and effective flow of information between agencies and the public are vital for facilitating and encouraging appropriate protective actions, reducing rumors and fear, maintaining public trust and confidence.

In the subsequent pages, this work seeks to examine the extent to which Nigeria may have used the principles highlighted by Becker and with what effort.

Chapter 3

NIGERIA: SOCIO-POLITICAL PROFILE

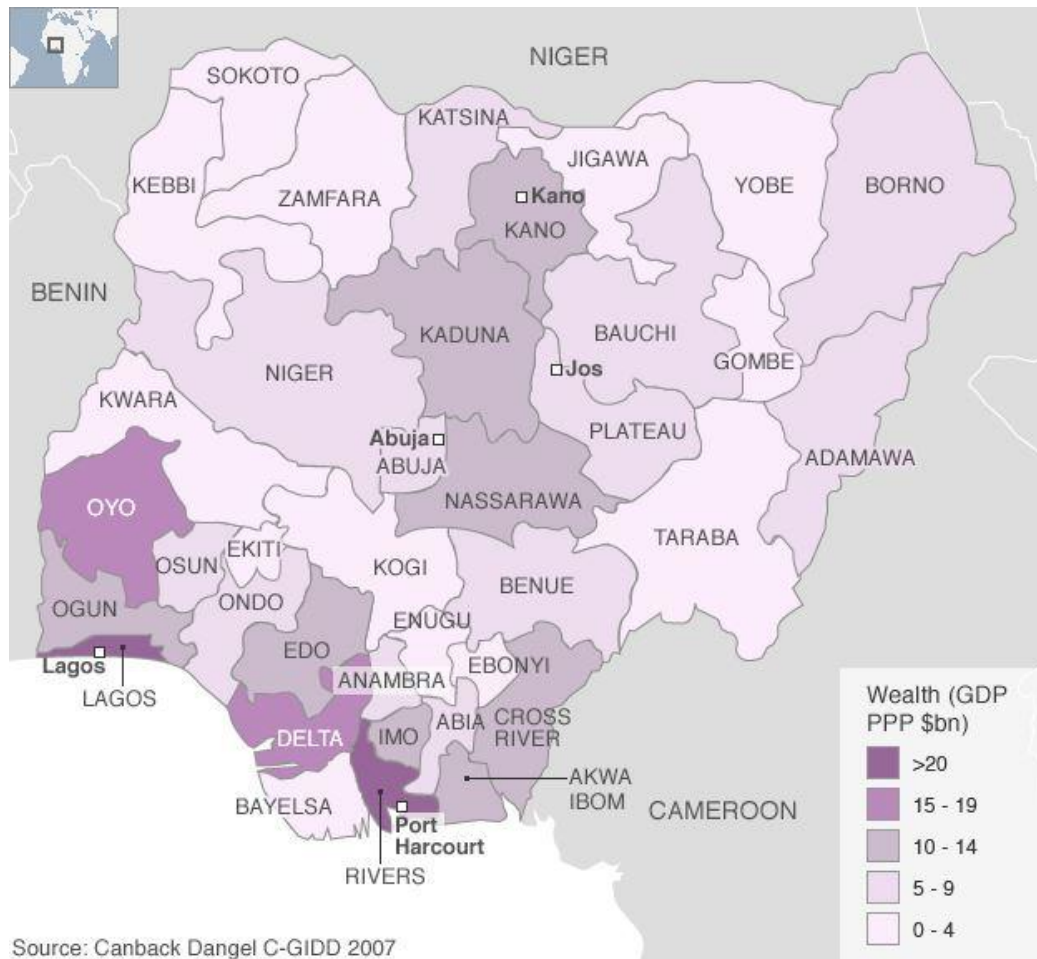


Figure 3.1: Map of Nigeria, Source: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-12893448>

The Federal Republic of Nigeria is the most populous African nation in the world. Currently, the population stands at over 160 million people (Bood 2011). Its neighboring countries are Republic of Benin in the West, Chad in the Northeast,

Cameroon in the East, Niger in the North, and it has Gulf of Guinea and Atlantic Ocean as its coast boarder (King and Nze 2010).

The country was amalgamated in 1914 by Lord Lugard and the name Nigeria was coined by Lady Flora Shaw to suggest a country around the River Niger (Nicolson 2007). Nigeria is a Federation with three tiers of government; Federal, State and Local Government Council. The country consists of 36 States, the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) Abuja and 774 Local Government Councils. The 36 states are divided into six geopolitical zones (King and Nze 2010) they are: North-central which includes Benue, Federal Capital Territory (FCT), Kogi, Kwara, Nasarawa, Niger and Plateau. The North-east is Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba and Yobe. South-west comprises of Ekiti, Lagos, Osun, Ondo, Ogun and Oyo. South-east region are; Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu and Imo .South-south includes; Akwa-Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross-River, Delta, Edo and Rivers. Finally, North-west comprises Kaduna, Katsina, Kano, Kebbi, Sokoto, Jigawa and Zamfara (Realsincere 2012)

Nigeria runs a presidential system of government with the President as the Head of State and Commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces. While at the State and local council levels, the Governors and Chairpersons are in charge of government affairs (The Commonwealth Observer Group 2007). At each tier of government, the heads are the custodian of Executive power, while Legislative power is managed by members of the legislature. The federal government of Nigeria has other ministries and agencies which are legally empowered to perform some specific functions (Essien 2010).

The official language is English while the dominant three languages are Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba. Apart from these languages mentioned above, there are other 528 languages used by the natives. In addition, Pidgin English or “Broken English” is another form of English generally used in Nigeria (Country Profile 2008).

Nigeria encompasses a total area of 923,768 square kilometers. The three religions Nigerians practice are Christianity, Islam and Traditional religion. The country got her independence from her colonial master on 1st October 1960 with Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe as the first President (King and Nze 2010).

In Nigeria, the President and the other leaders are elected democratically and the nation runs a presidential system of government. The President and governors are elected by voting to rule for four years tenure as provided by the constitution of the country. The constitution also makes provision for re-election whereby an elected public office holder can serve two terms of four years each. The country also practices multi party systems: where more than two political parties contest in an election (Country Profile 2008).

The national assembly is consists of the Senate (upper house) and House of Representatives (lower house). These two legislative bodies are peopled by representatives from the thirty six states. There are 109 seats for Senators, three for each state and one from the Capital Territory. The House of Representatives has 360 members; these members represent 360 constituencies in Nigeria. The activities and decision of the president is checked by the Senate and House of Representatives (Office of the speaker 2012).

3.2 Nigerian Governance from 1960 to 2012

The table below shows the name and the date of all Nigerian presidents both military and civilian as well as geo-political zone they came from.

Table 3.2: The name and date of all Nigerian Presidents

President	Year	States
Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe	1 Oct 1960 - 16 Jan 1963	Anambra : South-East
Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa (Prime Minister)	30 th Aug 1960- 15 th Jan 1966	Bauchi: North-Central
General Aguiyi Ironsi,	16 th Jan -29 th July 29 1966	Abia: South-East
General Yakubu Gowon	1st Aug 1966 – 29th Jul 1975	Plateau: North-Central
General Murtala Mohammed	29th Jul 1975 – 13 th Feb 1976	Kano: North-West
General Olusegun Obasanjo	14 th Feb 1976 – 1 st Oct 1979	Ogun: South-West

Alhaji Shehu Shagari	1 st Oct 1979 – 31 st Dec 1983	Sokoto: North-West
General Mohammad Buhari	31 st Dec 1983 – 27 th Aug 1985	Katsina: North-West
General Ibrahim Babangida	27 th Aug 1985 – 4 th Jan 1993	Niger: North-Central
Chief Ernest Shonekan (Head of Interim government) after General Babangida stepped aside in the wake of the annulment of Jun12, 1993 elections.	26 th Aug – 17 th Nov 1993	Lagos: South-West
General Sani Abacha	17 th Nov 1993 – 8 th Jun 1998	Kano: North-West
General Abdulsalami Abubakar	9 th Jun 1998 – 29 th May 1999	Niger: North-Central
Chief Olusegun Obasanjo	29 th may 1999-29 th may 2007	Ogun: South-West

Alhaji Umaru Musa Yar'Adua	29 th May 2007- 5 th May 2010	Katsina: North-West
Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan	5 th May 2010 till date	Bayelsa: South-South

Note: this table helps us to understand how Nigeria government has been going on since independent. It tries to highlight the period of military regime and civilian government.

3.2 Resources of the country

Nigeria is ranked 2nd among the crude oil producing nations of the world; a position she currently shares with Iran (The Street, 2012) and a strong member of Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). Nigeria's annual GDP stands at 288.822 billion dollars (2012 Economy Statistics). States in Nigeria can boast of resources like limestone, tin, iron ore, coal, salt, gold, niobium, lead, zinc, and niobium. In agricultural sector, Nigeria produces cocoa, ground nut, palm oil, kola nut, leather, textile, citrus, coconut, maize and others. Some of these products constitute Nigeria's export earnings.

3.3 Nigeria Education System

The existing National Policy Education (NPE) by Nigeria government was modified in 1981. The system of education in Nigeria is 6-3-3-4. Six years in primary school, three years in junior secondary school, three years in senior secondary school and four years in higher institution (Nwagwu 1997). Educational system in Nigeria has beheld a continuous downturn in recent years. Odiya & Omofonmwam (2007)

attributed this declining educational standard to lack of facilities, examination misconducts, unmerited promotion and irregular school calendar.

3.4 Notable Incidents since Independence

Shortly after her independence, Nigeria has witnessed a number of challenges. Most of these crises are caused by unchecked lust for power. Some of the challenges are listed below:

- Nigeria-Biafra war
- Coups and counter coups
- Military dictatorship
- Niger Delta militancy
- The protracted crisis following the June 12 1993 Annulment of election
- Persistent Religious-ethnic crisis
- Political crisis
- Regular fuel scarcity
- Removal of oil subsidy

3.5 Military coup

Military coup d'état is the taking over of the government by soldiers which could either be bloody or bloodless most often result in bloodshed. Nigeria has witness seven military coups there coup took place in the year 1966, 1967, 1975, 1976, 1983, 1985 and 1990.

3.5.1 The First Republic

In 1966 (Prior to 1967 Biafra war), Lieutenant colonel Kaduna Nzeogwu planned a coup d'état against Nigerian government with some Igbo's in the military killing

Tafawa Balewa who was the Prime Minister as well as Ahmadu Bello and Ladoke Akintola premiers of Eastern and Western regions under General Aguiyi Ironsi. The coup failed and it was seen as Igbo onslaught against the nation. The same year, soldiers of Northern origin staged a counter coup led by General Yakubu Gowon. General Aguiyi Ironsi and many Igbos were wiped out as a retaliatory move which later triggered the Lieutenant colonel Chukwuemeka Odimegwu Ojukwu- led Biafra civil war. The Igbo people promptly gave their new leader the maximum support as a result of their wish for self-government as Republic of Biafra under Lt. colonel Emeka Ojukwu (Ikpe 2000, p. 146-162).

General Yakubu Gowon became the president from 1966 to 1975. There was another coup in the country without violence. The bloodless coup which after the one that brought General Gowon to power eventually led to the exit of General Gowon. In the re-arrangement that followed in the Nigerian army saw General Murtala Muhammed becoming the head of state. General Gowon left to England where he later obtained his Master degree at University of Warwick (Ogunlade 2006). The regime of General Muhammed lasted for six months (29th July 1976- 13th Feb., 1976). He was later murdered by a young officer: Major General Buka Suka Dimka in a coup d'etat led by General Murtala's Chief of Defense Staff; Major General Illiya D.Bisalla (Omogui 2007). The other members of this foiled putsch include Major General C.D Dabang, Colonel Isa Bukar, Lieutenant E.L.K. Shelleng and others. They were later rounded up and executed, by then Brigadier Olusegun Obasanjo became the President after General Murtala. It should be noted here that power was handed Brigadier Obasanjo because he was the most senior military officer in the army after the late General Murtala. Brigadier Obasanjo, who later got promoted to the rank of

full General, conducted the 1979 election that brought Alhaji Shehu Usman Shagari as the first executive President of Nigeria.

3.5.2 Second Republic

The era marked the administration of the civilian government when President Alhaji Shehu Shagari succeeded General Olusegun Obasanjo with Dr. Alex Ifeanyichukwu Ekwueme; an Easterner (from Anambra state) as the Vice President. The expectation of this era was high by the citizens. However, this administration was cut short due to corruption, abuse of power and rule of law, excessive executive profligacy. Joseph Wayas led Senate and Ume-Ezeoke failed to perform their legislative role of checks and balances to the executives due to uninhibited corruption of the ruling National Party of Nigeria (NPN). Leaders of other parties like Chief Obafemi Awolo of Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN), Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigerian Peoples Party (NPP) and Mallam Aminu Kano of the Peoples Redemption Party (PRP), Alhaji Ibrahim Waziri of Great Nigerian Peoples Party (GNPP) soon became frustrated with the Shagari led second republic (The Second Republic 2012).

3.6 Return of the Military

Even though the role of the military is the defense of the territorial region of the country against external invasion and aggression, the incaution of the Nigeria military into the Nation's politics continues unabated. Again on 31st December 1983, a band of soldiers led Brigadier. Tunde Idiagbon and Muhammadu Buhari showed aside the government of Alhaji Shehu Usman Shagari thus plunging the nation in to another long year on military dictatorship (Omogui 2006). Massive rigging of the 1983 elections, poor state of the Nation's economy, high indiscipline in public places and high level of corruption were some of the reasons giving for the overthrow of the civilian government (The Second Republic 2012). The new government promised to

find solution to the listed problems and they promptly introduced War Against Indiscipline (WAI) which serves as a way of reducing high rate of corruption in the country at large (Bamidele 1998) .

Nevertheless, in 1985 the regime of General Buhari came to an end due to complaints of high handedness and abuse of human rights by his administration. The press suffered under Idiagbon and Buhari's regime. Two journalists – Nduka Irabor and Tunde Thompson of the Guardian Newspapers were jailed under the Decree 4 of 1984: “ Protection Against False Accusation Decree made it a criminal offence to publish any article that brought the Government or any public official into disrepute” (Siollun 2007). As focused and transparent as this regime might be, the promulgation of the decree became its albatross as both the civil society and the military saw the regime as too draconian, this paved the way for General Ibrahim Babangida to overthrow them in 1985 in a bloodless palace coup (Onyemaechi 2011).

It is widely believed by many in Nigeria that it was during Gen. Babangida's eight year rule between 1985 and 1993, Nigeria's downhill journey toward instability and economic inequality begun. Nigeria became a major trans-shipment point for heroin and cocaine going South Asia and Latin America and the case of oil bunkering was not left out (Garuba 2010). His government survived a bloody military coup in April 1990 (Mernyi 2009), and spearheaded Nigeria's controversial membership into Organization of Islamic Conference (IOC) group of Nations – a move interpreted by many in the largely Christian Southern Nigeria as possible initial steps to getting the country into eventual Islamic State. It was also during Gen. Babangida's tenure that Nigeria took substantial loans from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and started participation in structural adjustment programs (SAPS) under IMF's

supervision (Amuwo 2012) .SAPS became widely unpopular with the people because of the mandatory austerity measures that accompanied them which in turn made life much harder for many ordinary people in the country.

In 1993, after the annulment of the June 12, 1993 presidential election in which Chief M.K.O Abiola emerged as the acclaimed winner beating Alhaji Bashir Tofa, the nation was thrown into a crisis which threatened to disintegrate the country. Rather than reversing the annulment, General Babangida instituted an Interim National Government (ING) with Chief Ernest Shonekan as the head and “stepped aside” leaving behind General Sani Abacha as the Chief of Defence Staff to the ING (Onyemaechi 2011). The ING was burdened with the responsibility of conducting another presidential election. But the protests, local and international condemnation of Gen. Babangida’s misgovernment continued with Chief M.K.O Abiola’s persistent call for restoration of his June 12 mandate. As a result of this Chief Shonekan was not able to select Ministers during his administration.

Exactly three months into this anarchy, General Sani Abacha overthrew the government of Chief Earnest Shonekan in November 1993. He chose General Oladipo Diya, a Yoruba man from Chief Abiola’s state (Ogun) as Chief of the General Staff and the de facto Vice President. General Abacha’s emergence was greeted with enthusiasm from Nigerians especially when he promised to right all the wrong steps of the “stepped aside” General Babangida. Even Chief M.K.O Abiola went to congratulate him with the hope that he would soon hand over power to him; alas this was not so. Chief Abiola was later arrested and detained by General Sani Abacha after declaring himself the Executive President and Command in Chief of the Armed Forces in Epetedo, a suburb of Lagos state (Jega 2000). He died in his

detention in 1998 after General Abacha himself had died in a mysterious circumstance (Osahon 2010).

General Abacha was a dictator until his death in 1998. He cared for no man and trampled on the Nigerian constitution replacing it with draconian decrees. During his rule, General Sani Abacha suppressed his opposition especially National Democratic Coalition (NADECO) under the leadership of Chief Anthony Enahoro. As a result of various human rights violations, the European Union imposed sanctions on the country (Nwachukwu & Uzoigwe 2004, p.257). Nigeria was also banned from the Commonwealth. Corruption cases in General Abacha regime were high and he operated several personal bank accounts in Switzerland, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, U.K and US (Zagaris 2002).

After General Abacha's death, his Chief of Defence Staff, General Abdulsalami Abubakar was installed as the new Head of State. He immediately set a motion program of activities to return the nation to civilian rule. This he did by handing over power to President Olusegun Obasanjo who defeated another Yoruba man, Chief Olu Falae in the 27th February 1999. He was inaugurated as the second elected President of Nigeria on May 29th 1999.

3.7¹ Nigerian-Biafran War

The ethnic conflict in the army triggered the Biafran war. It started on 6th July 1967 to January 15th 1970. Given that under Alhaji Tafawa Balewa government, the Igbos were subjugated as this led to the emergence of General Aguiyi Ironsi as the new

¹ Biafra civil war was the outcome of a political conflict caused by the attempted secession of the Eastern part of Nigeria as a self-proclaim Republic of Biafra.

president (Afofarati 1992). Northerners went on rampage, confronting and killing more than 30,000 Igbos in the north (Nwadike 2010). Lieutenant Colonel Odimegwu Ojukwu the Biafran warlord seeing failure of government in protecting the lives of Igbos in Northern part declared “The Republic of Biafra” (Nwadike 2010). The causes of Biafra war can also be linked to the discovery of oil in the South-East region of the country. This also brought tensions among Igbo people since they are aware that government might decide to take control of the oil without them (Igbo) gaining from it (Nkwocha 2010).

Biafra war ended in January 1970 when Colonel. Ojukwu’s Deputy Philip Effiong surrendered to General Gowon after Colonel. Ojukwu had gone on self-exile in Ivory Coast (Balogun 2012). About 3 million Igbos died in the war as a result of hunger and sicknesses. The government of the Eastern region was able to restore 70% of its economy after some years (Rustad 2008).

3.8 Political Crises

The pursuit of power has been vicious in Nigeria since independence. This paved way for the regular military incursion into the political affairs of the country terminating democratic governments often. The fifty two years of the Nation’s history after independence, democratic governance has only survived for seventeen years. Nigeria politics is seen as “Do or Die” and the quickest means of amassing wealth. This is why all politicians want to win election by all means either by rigging the elections, killing and destroying the lives of the opposition. Candidates who are prone to win election are at the risk of being assassinated Omotala (2008).

These actions are frightening considered inhumane and mostly affect the lives of the citizens and security at large. Northern part of Nigeria encountered this type of crisis in the recent election that took place in April 2010.

Politics in the country has deviated from its objectives of finding solutions to the problems of the poor masses to gruesome killing, stealing of ballot papers and boxes. The definition of political violence given (Adedayo 2012) as “the choice weapon of persuasion for political leaders who either cannot tolerate dissent do not have the facts to persuade the electorate to support their side of the political divide”. The case of using money to influence the thoughts of the minorities has also fueled corruption in the political system. Young people are always vulnerable to this situation; they made themselves available for politicians as political thugs for parties during the period of election. Adebayo (2012) also emphasized on the democracy in Nigeria where influential people in the society are justified in whatever they do neglecting the due process of law.

Going back to what Ciroma and Atiku Abubakar (former Vice President to President Obasanjo) and other prominent people in the north said during election in 2011, they assured Nigerians that they will make the nation “ungovernable” if Dr. Goodluck becomes president (Alaba 2012). The 2011 presidential election was won by President Goodluck. E. Jonathan making many Nigerians happy concerning the peaceful conduct of the presidential election. However, the atmosphere of calmness and serenity diffusing throughout the country was shattered by the outbreak of violence in some states in the Northern part of the country. The rioters went on rampage killing and burning people’s property while protesting the defeat of their

presidential candidate, Mohammed Buhari of the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC).

During this period of protest, Nigerian Police Force was expected to play a key role in safe guarding lives and property as well. However, the Police Force was found inadequate during the period. Nonetheless, a more detailed report on the crisis released by the Inspector General of the police on June 2, 2011 threw more light on what transpired during the crisis by stating that “520 persons were killed, in the post-election violence in Kaduna and Niger states.” “157 churches, 46 mosques and 1,435 houses were burnt. “Four hundred and thirty-seven vehicles, 219 motor-cycles were also burnt (Vanguard 2011, June 1).

On the 1st of January 2012, the government declared the removal of the petroleum subsidy. Although the intention might be right because it will strengthen the economy of the country but the decision met mass protest led by the Nigerian Labor Congress (NLC) and the Trade Union Congress (TUC). The NLC and TUC embarked on one week national strike during this period. After series of meetings, government and the union leaders reach an agreement to reduce the fuel price. They came up with this solution in order to help the poor masses to afford the price of fuel and transportation without difficulties.

3.9 Religious crisis

The first major religious mayhem in the country was the Kano State crisis in 1980, when about four thousand Christians were killed by the Maitatsine Group for refusing to embrace the teachings of Prophet Mohammed (Gofwen 2004, p. 126-135). In 1982, thousands of Christians in Borno State were also killed by the

rampaging Maitatsine Sect. The 1991 demonstration by Muslim youths in Kano State protesting the invitation of renowned German preacher, Reinhard Bonnke to evangelize in the state led to violence that culminated in the death of hundreds of people (Salawu 2010, p.345-353). In December, 1996, the beheading of Mr. Gideon Akaluka, a Christian from the South Eastern part of the country by Muslim youths on the accusation that he desecrated the Koran, plunged Kano State into another orgy of violence (Abimbola 2010, p. 95-108).

Jos the Plateau State capital is always at the peak of ethnic induced religious catastrophe in the North. Here, the indigenous tribes of Jos are in continuous battle with the Hausas who are settlers in the area for political control (Salawu 2010, p. 345-353). In November 2008, there was a disagreement between the Muslims and Christians concerning the local government election. This led to a violence that left hundreds of people dead (Higazi 2011). Efforts to put a stop to the disturbances in Jos have not yielded any meaningful outcome since killings and counter killings of Christians and Moslems have continued till date.

3.9.1 Boko Haram

The leader of the Boko Haram in Nigeria Mohammed Yusuf established a group under his name as Yusufiyya (Pothuraju 2012). The members of this group were more than 20,000 people across northern Nigeria, Chad and Niger Republic at the beginning (Pothuraju 2012). The literal meaning of Boko Haram is “western education is forbidden” (Onuoha 2012). Boko Haram mission statement is to ensure enthronement of Sharia law and complete denunciation of Western education and way of life by residents in the Northern part (Onuoha 2012). They believe that the evil happening in society is caused by western life style, considering that embracing Islam will help to end the immoral life styles in the society (Dajuma 2010). As a

result of this, Boko Haram directs their attacks on police, government, media, churches and schools.

Since the killing of Yusuf on 31st July 2009, Boko Haram sect has vowed to unleash terror on the nation as retaliation for the unjust extra judicial killing of their leader by the Nigerian Police. According to Danjuma (2010), who insinuated that religious matters in Nigeria have always been handled with little or no effort by the government. Federal government neglected the threat of Boko Haram at the early stage. Although security notified government about the activities of the sect but nothing was done. The investigation of the Police Force in 2005 disclosed the connection between Boko Haram and Al-Qaeda (Onura and Sampson 2011, p.33-48). Sometime in the year 2009, the Boko Haram attacks government organizations. The government responded to this by killing Boko Haram leader and 700 other people.

After the killing of the leader, Abubakar Shekau took over the leadership of the sect. Abubakar denounced the first meaning of Boko Haram by professing that Boko Haram means “Western Civilization is forbidden” (Danjuma 2011). Cook (2011) estimated the activities of the sect, he found out that in 45 attacks by Boko Haram, more than 10 is carried directed at the police and military, 19 at markets, schools and social arena, 9 against churches and more than seven on specified mission. The estimated number of attacks by Boko Haram from Minister of Police Affairs said that 118 attacks in six northern states have been recorded so far (Vanguard, 2012, May 16). Thousands of people have lost their lives in different attacks by the sect. Millions of dollars worth of properties has been damaged and huge numbers of people were injured. Ali et al (2012, p.33-41) insinuated that when the name Boko Haram is

mentioned, people are gripped with fear. This means that the name elicits fear. Boko Haram preaches that members who died in fights or suicide bombings in the process of destroying modern establishment will get a reward of Aljanna-paradise (Ali et al 2012, p.33-41).

Since 2009 till date, Walker (2012b) stated that Boko Haram has carried out these high profile attacks that led to the death of many Nigerians; such as;

- October 2010 Independence Day celebration bomb attack on Eagles Square Abuja;
- Abuja Police headquarters bomb explosion;
- 26th August 2011 United Nation's headquarters bombing in Abuja;
- Christmas Day bombing of St Theresa's Catholic Church in Madala, Abuja;
- Bombing of Thisday and Sun newspaper media houses on 26th April 2012;
- Bombing of Bayero University on 29th April 2012. Killing over twenty people including two renowned Professors ;

Boko Haram Sect is still sending threat messages, killing and destroying properties in Northern Nigeria. Many believe that this Sect is no longer pursuing a wholly religious agenda rather; it is now a tool in the hands of some disgruntled politicians (Adisa 2012).

A number of people believe that the activities of the boko haram are supported by Northern elites (Alabrah 2011). This is one of the reasons why Northern elite keep mute concerning the issue because people that are associated with the group are former head of state and Senate. One question that remains in the lips of Nigerians

unanswered is where this group got money to carry out their attacks because most of the suicide missions by Boko Haram normally use Honda car (Nwakaudu 2012).

3.10 Niger Delta

Niger Delta region is made up of 6 states namely Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross River, Delta, Edo, and Rivers States. The population of this region is about 30 million people with more than 25 ethnic groups that speak different languages. The main occupation of Niger Delta people are fishing and farming. It was in 1937 when crude oil was found at Oloibiri in Bayelsa State.

Idemudia & Uwem (2006, p.391-409) ascribed the violence in the Niger Delta to a number of factors such as marginalization, negligence of the local people, demand for more oil revenue, environmental pollution and degradation and lack of good life. The activities of Oil Companies such as Mobil, Chevron, Shell, Elf and Agip have drawn the attention of human right activists and trade advocate. Alawode & Ogunleye (2011, p. 565-573) stressed that oil spillage is caused by lack of maintenance of pipelines and tankers, oil bunkering, and pipeline vandalization.

The oil spillage and gas flaring has caused unfriendly environment for the region. Farmland, forest, aquatic lives and water have been destroyed as a result of oil spillage. The regular oil spillage in the region has contributed in ruining their livelihood and left them in abject poverty (Mech 2011).

Poverty, joblessness of the youths as well as economic hardship made the people of Niger Delta to devise a means of getting a portion from the oil money (Ikelegbe 2001, 437-469). This led to formation of militant groups such as The Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force

(NDPVF), Niger Delta Vigilantes (NDV) and People's Liberation Force (PLF) that cause violence, interruption of oil production, kidnapping of the company staffs and confrontation of workers at their working place and the hijacking and killings of foreign and local oil workers were.

Most of the oil companies operating in the area shut down their operations especially in the zones that were considered flash points (Asuni 2009). Moreover, militant activities in the Niger-Delta area also affected adversely the nation's democratic dispensation. The upsurge of militia groups in the Niger-Delta region of Nigeria is a product of years of bad leadership (Imbua and Inokoba 2010, p. 101-120) This measures utilized by Niger Delta to express injustice of the oil company on the community has worsened the ongoing violence and also affected the budget of the region (Idemudia and Uwem 2006).

The people of Niger Delta are not benefiting or gaining anything from the oil company (Allen 2012). The companies are expected to contribute in developing the region with good roads, electricity, hospitals, and compensation for the environmental harm (Allen 2012). The activities and violation of human rights by Oil companies in Niger Delta is describe as "environmental racism" for the reason that the companies cannot do such things and go away with it in a continent like Europe (Ofehe 2010).

Idemudia and Uwem (2006) indicated that some of the youths who are jobless become the instrument of influential people to carry out the illegal acts. The activity of the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) is one of the crises in Niger Delta. These militants are linked with the kidnapping of the workers,

disrupting of oil production. The aim of this group is to reveal the plight of the Niger delta and put an end to suffering of the community. The request made by the militant to the Nigerian government and Oil Companies is to provide social amenities, infrastructural, employment, maintaining mutual relationship, fairness, freedom and justice.

3.11 Repercussion of Nigeria image problem

Nigeria's bad image became prominently pronounced from 1993-1998 during the military regime of Late Gen. Sani Abacha. During this period, Nigeria experienced sanction from the international community especially the Commonwealth. The annulment of 1993 election by General Babangida was the first incident that happened and abuse of human right especially the execution of Ken Saro-Wiwa and the "Ogoni 9" in 1995².

3.11.1 Difficulties in obtaining travel visa by individuals and government officials:

Most Nigeria citizens willing to travel abroad cannot easily obtain visa to other countries as a result of the negative perception they have about Nigeria. For instance, after the incident of Umar Faruk Abdul Mutallab who nearly blew up a Detroit bound American Airline on 25th December 2009, US embassy denied Borno State Governor and his aides American visa (Terror watch 2010). America also subjected other Nigerians to inhuman treatments at their embassies and airports. It is known that all the Commonwealth countries do not need visa to travel within commonwealth countries, but Nigeria's case is different, as Zambia required

² Ogoni 9 stands for the nine activists from Ogoni that was executed by the Military Head of State General Abacha including Ken Saro-Wiwa.

Nigerians to obtain visa at the point of entry before they can enter the country. (Mwansa 2012) Again, some of Nigerian athletes were denied visa in June 2012 by Spanish Embassy in Lagos state, Nigeria (Efe 2010).

3.11.2 Humiliation of Nigeria immigrant in oversea countries

Deportation and manhandling of Nigerian abroad: The inhuman treatment of Nigerians who are been deported from other countries can be classified as unjust treatment. Many people have died through this means as a result of the Nigeria image problem. Some people who met their untimely death as a result of manhandling by host countries' securities but at the end they were said to be drug dealers or fraudsters (Fekete 2003). The case of Semera Adamu in 1998, she died as result of the Belgian security covering her head with cushion for some minutes. The death of Marcus Omofuma in 1999 at Austria, Samson Chukwu who died in May 2001 at Switzerland was labeled a drug dealer and so many other Nigerians who have lost their lives in one way or the other relating to this unfair treatment against human rights. Nobody has been prosecuted for the incidents mentioned above (Fekete 2003).

3.11.3 Limitation in funding from overseas Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)

Some foreign NGOs cannot render help to Nigerians as a result of what they heard about Nigerians concerning scam and fraud. They believe that most Nigerians are fraudsters while they are not. Again people in Nigeria are banned from transferring money through Western Union money transfer but they can receive money. This is because Nigerians are believed to be scammers and advance fee fraud.

Chapter 4

METHODOLOGY

This chapter outlines the research method used in the study in order to facilitate comprehension of the subject matter so as to draw conclusions, upon which suggestions and recommendations are made at the end of the study. The main purpose of the methodological part of this research is to describe and analyze the process, indicate the method of data collection and show how these data were used in the findings and subsequent chapters.

Historical method was used in the research to inform and educate readers about the challenges Nigeria has encountered since independence. This approach is also pertinent for the purpose of highlighting the personalities who are considered to be the architects of the nation. As a line in the National Anthem elucidates “the labor of our hero past shall never be in vain”, thus constant reminder and internalization of their heroic deeds would no doubt elicit patriotism in the citizens and the generations to come.

In addition, critical approach is also employed to enable the researcher to interpret and evaluate the outcome of the successive government’s effort so far to resolve the multi-faceted challenges confronting the nation. In order to gather information used for this study, various sources were utilized such as journals, books, newspapers, articles and the internet sources, and the works of scholars like Ekeke (2007), Izagbo

(2012) and Nworah (2006) as discussed in chapter two, were analyzed throughout this study. This has helped the researcher to draw specific and insightful conclusions on the subject matter being discussed in this work.

Using key words like: Nigerian crises since 1960 to date, military regime in Nigeria, solution to Nigerian conflicts, things that contributed to Nigeria's bad image, history of Nigeria, efforts of the Nigeria government in combating corruption, image re-building project, how the Nigerian government tackles corruption. Journals and newspapers were collected to aid this research, but the researcher chose the significant and relevant ones among them.

4.1. Definition of Historical Approach

For the analysis of the information gathered, the historical approach will be applied using the timeline between 1960 and 2012 in Nigeria.

Historical method according to Yamaguchi (1991) involves the arrangement of events that took place in the past, thus the main aim of this approach is to find out the truth about the past and events that occurred at a particular point in time within the scope of the timeline given above. Again, historical approach helps to narrow the study in order to make meaning of past events (Berger 2011). It helps to describe what the writer did and the result of the finding. Grigg (1991, p.228-239) suggested that historical approach involves choosing your source, gathering of information and giving meaning to them. Applying historical method is very useful to a study because it provides one with meaningful understanding of the past in order to draw conclusions.

4.2. Uses of Historical Research

Panchy (2005) demonstrated that historical research is made up of details and explanation of the past. He also stated that the reason for using historical approach is to scrutinize the evidence of past of the subject of the study, comprehend and draw a conclusion. Since the history is about the events that occur in the lives of human beings and it always relies on proof. This was supported by Busha and Harter (1980); they outlined the method of organizing historical research as:

- Detecting historical challenges or the essentiality of applying historical approach;
- Confirming the credibility of the sources;
- Evaluating the relevant information;
- Writing a report;

Historical method has two ways of obtaining information; they are primary and secondary sources. Primary sources include newspapers, diaries, agency data, speeches, interviews, autobiographies and journals while secondary sources are articles by researchers, biographies and commentaries (Berger 2011). Historical method of research is used in both qualitative and quantitative research.

More so, historical research method permits the researcher to discuss previous and present events in the context of the present condition, and it also helps in delivering of possible answers to current issues and problems. Similarly, it is equally used in analyzing what had happened in the past, how it happened and possible reasons why it happened (Bennett and Shafer 1980). Historical approach helps to review circumstances that led to the research topic.

The fields of history and philosophy typically utilize historical approach in conducting research, but this does not prevent other fields of study from using the historical approach when necessary. It can also be employed in different researches because it involves the background, growth, theories and crises of the study. Moreover, Torou et al (2009) indicated that historical method helps to investigate the event of the past that requires explanation and understanding in order to come up with conclusion.

4.3 Reason for Applying Historical Method

The reason for using historical method is because it says more about the background of the study which is Nigeria's image problem. The historical approach will seek to provide answers to questions such as how and when did Nigeria's image become noticeably negative? How has it deteriorated since then to attain the current status and what has been done to redeem the country's image?

The period of 1960-2012 was selected because of the topic of the study that deals with Nigeria's image. The period was selected to serve as a good yardstick for capturing Nigeria's image after her independence in 1960 from British colonial rule. The reason for using historical approach is because it outlines the incidents that happened after independence in 1960 (post-colonial period). After breaking free from the shackles of colonialism, Nigeria began to have an unfavorable image starting with the coups and counter coups of 1966. This study will focus more on the military regimes (which serves as the root of the country's negative image) and democratic government (when the rebuilding of Nigeria image started) starting from 1999 till date.

The historical approach will be useful in chronologically listing and analyzing the main period and events that took place in Nigerian history, which will enable us to understand the genesis of the country's image problem. The military era can be described as a period when Nigeria was faced with different challenges like

- Biafra civil war
- Alienation from international community
- Repression of press freedom
- Despotic regimes
- Corruption
- Lack of a functional and peoples constitution (military made use of martial laws and decrees)
- Appointment of the state governors by the military president.
- Ethno-religious crises

This study does not engage in an analysis of the history of Nigeria generally as this will make the study larger in context as was intended and drive it away from the current subject matter, the research is based on the era that is of significance to the subject of the study which has already been stated above. It should also be noted that this is not a historical study and only focuses on the parts that contribute to Nigeria's negative image status.

4.4 Critical Approach

In addition to the historical method, the study employs the critical approach to analyze and interpret what the Nigerian government has done in order to repair the image of the country. Critical analysis is used when evaluating someone's work, it allows the researcher to query and probe some previous works done on the subject.

According to Wroblewski (2007), critical analysis is a well ordered logic of examining information obtained from communication or happenings which direct the researcher to argue and act. Critical approach supports arguments that deconstruct and construct meaning. It usually seeks to disconnect the common truth and confront the limitations of human choices (Alvesson and Deetz 2000). In other words, critical ideology queries the dominant ideology and discourse (Alvesson and Deetz 2000). The aim of critical approach employed in this research is to analyze and interpret efforts of the Nigerian government in a critical way. This approach paves way to explain whether the government's efforts to tackle the crises in the country have been successful or not.

Using historical and critical approaches in this research helps one to get a better understanding of Nigeria's image problem and how the government has responded to the crises. Furthermore, since history deals with past events, it also helps to answer questions such as what happened, why did it happen? When did it happen? How did it happen? and who was responsible for the actions? Critical approach tries to interpret and evaluate by using facts to assess the effort of government. It enables the objective and critical assessment of the government's responses to ascertain levels of success. Critical approach will also examine the shortcomings on the efforts made by the government of Nigeria from the government's responses.

Some of the factors that contributed to the image problem are not related to each other but they could have worked together towards displaying a negative image of the country. Thus, the Nigerian government has achieved some of her aims of restoring the image of the country.

The table below illustrates some the factors that could have led Nigeria to its negative image perception. It is arranged according to the date of incident, what instigated them and how the government responded to the crises. The factors discussed are from the years 1960 - 2012.

Table 4.1 Nigeria's Challenges and Responses.

Date³	Incident	Government response with date
1966	<p>Coup and countercoup: The first Coup was carried out by Igbo military junior officers as a result of sectional dissatisfaction and fear of marginalization. General Aguiyi Ironsi became the president. This led to another counter coup by Northern military officers and many Igbo officers were killed. Col. Yakubu Gowon took over power and became the military president.</p>	<p>In 1967, the then Ghanaian leader Lt-General Joe Ankrah called members of the Nigeria's Supreme Military Council (SMC) to a conference in Aburi, Ghana. The decision was to adopt a con-federal system of government in Nigeria. This was referred to as the Aburi Accord.</p>
1967 – 1970	<p>Lt. col. Ojukwu, the Eastern governor warned</p>	<p>On the 13th of January 1970, "No victor no</p>

³ Aburi Accord is a place in Ghana where the conference was held. The outcome of the conference was decided to adopt a con-federal system of government in Nigeria. This was referred as the Aburi Accord.

	<p>the government concerning the implementation of the Aburi accord, and eventually this led to the Biafran civil war.</p>	<p>vanquished” was declared by Col. Yakubu Gowon as Biafra’s Philip Effiong surrendered to the Nigeria government.</p>
1983	<p>The first democratic governance derailed and enormously rigged the 1983 elections. This climaxed the high corruption of the first republic under Alhaji Shehu Shagari.</p>	<p>On 31st December 1983, there was a bloodless coup d’état which led to the emergence of Gen. Muhammadu Buhari as president due to controversy in the elections and tension in the country.</p>
12 June 1993	<p>The election in 1993 was internationally found to be free and fair. Yet General Ibrahim Babangida unfortunately annulled the 1993 election that saw Chief M.K.O Abiola as the winner. The violence and crisis following this was unimaginable.</p>	<p>After heated debates and condemnation by labor unions, nationalists and the international community, General Babangida was forced to hand over to Chief Earnest Shonekan (interim president) on August 26th 1993. General Sani Abacha later shoved him aside and became the president on 17th November 1993.</p>
1995	<p>United States of America and Commonwealth impose sanctions on Nigeria due to the annulment and Gen. Abacha’s refusal hand over to democratic rule.</p>	<p>There was no effort by General Sani Abacha who was the president to repair Nigeria’s image. It was at this period that Nigeria reached the peak of unfavorable image both locally and internationally. The reason was that the military regime used martial law. The regime</p>

<p>1997</p>	<p>The imprisonment of Gen. Obasanjo, General Shehu Musa Yar ‘Adua, Dr. Beko Ransome-Kuti and others for the reason that they were plotting another coup. But the truth was that they were only criticizing Gen. Abacha’s regime.</p> <p>The execution of the “Ogoni 9” including Ken Saro Wiwa the environmentalist and human rights activist in River state</p> <p>Note: there was systematic abuse of human rights in Nigeria at this time, there was no freedom of speech, press, and travel and corruption was at its peak in the country during Gen. Abacha’s regime</p>	<p>was completely cut off from the international community and there was no freedom of press. General Sani Abacha later died on June 8th 1998</p>
<p>1998</p>	<p>General Abdulsalami Abubakar became the president after the death of General Sani Abacha.</p> <p>During his administration,</p>	<p>The enactment of civil service pay raise and other reform was employed in order to improve Nigerian government</p> <p>In August 1998, the inauguration of Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) to organize election</p>

	<p>he tried his best to draft a functional constitution for the country and establish a commission, in preparation for the democratic system of government in Nigeria.</p>	<p>for local, state, senate and presidential election</p> <p>In June 8th 1998, Gen. Obasanjo and his colleagues were released from the prison</p> <p>Endorsement of new constitution base on 1979 constitution which include, bicameral legislature, National assembly that is made up of 360 members of House of Representative and 109 members of Senate</p> <p>In May 1999, the taking over of civilian president by the person of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo occurred.</p>
<p>May 1999</p>	<p>The return of democracy in Nigeria marked the end of 16 years uninterrupted military regime in Nigeria</p>	<p>7th June 1999, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo retired top military officers for fear that they might plot another coup.</p> <p>In 1999, Human rights Violation Investigation commission (HRVIC) a.k.a Oputa Panel was established to examine the human rights abuses by those who were in the authority during the military era.</p> <p>Note: There was freedom of speech which gave room for people to express themselves under the democratic system of</p>

		government.
November 1999	The murder of 12 policemen by mobs at Odi in Balyesa state and reprisal attack carried out by the army which led to the destruction of the town and the loss of many civilian lives.	
2000	Over a thousand Southerners died in violent protest as a result of implementation of Sharia law in Zamfara under governor Ahmed Yerima.	In 2001, National security commission was instituted. It was created in a bid to end ethno-religious conflict in Nigeria.
2001	The retaliation killing of Hausas in in Shagamu, Ogun state (South-West). Thousands of people lost their lives in ethno-religious conflict in Jos, Taraba, Nasarawa and Benue	
2000 and 2003	Nigeria came first and second respectively in a survey conducted on the most corrupt nations of the world by Transparency International (2001 and 2002) Again the circulation of sham mails from Nigerians who pose as government officials asking for assistance to transfer money out of	On 29 th September 2001 the government established Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Offences Commission (ICPC). In 2003, Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) was also inaugurated. These are the two anti-corruption commission that have been established to combat crime of all kinds in Nigeria

	Nigeria.	
2004	The first image campaign was launched by the Federal Government to wipe away unfavorable image shortfall associated with debt, looting of national treasury and abuse of human rights.	In 2004, “Nigeria image project” was launched. It was the first image repair program introduced.
2005	The same image building campaign was renamed	Heart of Africa was launched on July 2005
2009	The conflicts that have been going on for some time in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria escalated.	In June 25 th 2009, Alhaji Umaru Yar’Adua-led government created amnesty Program in order to rehabilitate and reintegrate the Niger Delta militants Granting scholarship to Niger Delta militants to study outside Nigeria such as UAE, Ghana and South Africa
2009	The negative perception of Nigerians outside Nigeria and in foreign news media. Following the activities of some Nigerians that engaged in fraud, drug smuggling, illegal bunkering and kidnapping.	In February 2009, Federal Government launched “Rebranding of Nigeria Project” by the Ministry of Information using the slogan “Nigeria: Good people, Great Nation”.

2009	The emerging of Islamic sect named Boko Haram (western education is forbidden). Their aim is to ensure enthronement of Sharia law and complete denunciation of Western education and way of life by residents in the northern part and Nigeria as a whole	Sending troops to troubled areas to protect the innocent citizens in the troubled area and to stop the activities of the group. In February 2011, the introduction of anti-terrorism bill was passed. The bill stipulated that any person convicted will be sentenced to 20 years imprisonment.
2009	The killing of Mohammed Yusuf, the founder of the Boko Haram sect in 2009 alongside other Islamic clerics.	On 10 th January 2012, the government of Borno state in the north-eastern Nigeria compensated Yusuf's family with N100 million (\$635,125.00) to forestall further attacks by the sect.

Note: there are some incidents that Nigeria government did not respond to until later years. Adopted from: Amadi, S. (2007), Amundsen (2010), Asuni (2009), Davidheiser, M. & Nyiayaana, K. (2011) and Edun, T. (2011) and The Biafra War in Nigeria from <http://politics.knoji.com/the-biafra-war-in-nigeria/>.

Chapter five will analyze and discuss the ways in which the government has tried to tackle the image problems. It will also highlight the achievements made, as well as weaknesses and constraints faced by the government in their bid to resolve these image issues. Out of twenty one incidents and government responses, some of the ones highlighted in the table above will be the basis of the study.

Chapter 5

FINDINGS

This chapter presents findings of the study and engages in critical analyses of the findings on the efforts undertaken by the Nigeria government in response to image-related issues that have arisen from 1960 to the year 2012. The analyses focus on the successes as well as shortcomings of these efforts, and suggest what more could be done and what should be done differently based on insights from studies on image repair.

5.1 Findings and Discussion

Findings showed that Nigerian government responded to the image problem with the establishment of commissions and launching of image building campaigns. The country in the bid to repair the damaged image has primarily carried out three image building campaigns namely: “Nigeria Image Project” (2004), “Heart of Nigeria project” (2005) and “Rebranding of Nigeria” (2009). As secondary response, two anti-corruption agencies the ICPC (2001) and EFCC (2003) were introduced. Other government efforts were: transition to democratic system of government in 1999, granting Amnesty to Niger Delta militants in 2009, sending peacekeeping troops to troubled areas and establishment of Almajiris nomadic schools in 2012.

5.2. Image Repair Efforts of the Nigerian government

5.2.1. Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) and Economic and Financial Crimes commission (EFCC)

Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Offences Commission (ICPC), Economic and financial crimes commission (EFCC) was launched to give corruption a fierce fight. These are the anti-corrupt commissions that are presently functioning in Nigeria. The ICPC was established in 2000 and EFCC in 2003.

The operation of Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Offences Commission and Economic and Financial Crimes Commission is one of the best measures Nigeria has taken in fighting financial crime, advance fee fraud money laundering, counterfeiting, illegal charge transfer, credit card fraud, and other financial related crimes. These commissions have the authority to freeze, detect and seize the property or money from anyone who commits the above mentioned crimes. These two commissions work with the government both within and outside Nigeria. The braveness and credibility of the commissions were seen in some of the arrests and prosecution of high ranking political office holders since they were established.

It is certain that Nigerian government has tried to tackle the issue of corruption by introducing an anti-corruption commission. Since the establishment of EFCC, the chairman revealed on April 2012 that the commission has imprisoned more than 288 people that are linked with crime and corruption. The chairman of EFCC revealed also that \$ 24,213,208, £858,937 and €1, 195, 218214 were recovered from corrupt Nigerians (Uwujaren 2012).

The first Chairman of EFCC Mr. Nuhu Rabadu, gained support of Nigerians both home and abroad to fight corruption. The mission statement of the commission states that

“It will curb the menace of the corruption that constitutes the cog in the wheel of progress; protect national and foreign investments in the country; imbue the spirit of hard work in the citizenry and discourage ill-gotten wealth; identify illegally acquired wealth and confiscate it; build an upright workforce in both public and private sectors of the economy and; contribute to the global war against economic and financial crimes.” Its massive mandate also includes investigating illegal bunkering, advanced fee fraud, terrorism, capital market, cyber-crime and economic governance” (Economic and Financial Crime Commission 2012).

5.2.2. Nigeria Image Project and Heart of Africa project

Nigeria Image project was established in July 2004. According to Nworah (2006), the project was launched when Nigeria was placed at the second position as the most corrupt country in the world in 2002 and 2003 respectively. The project was established in President Olusegun Obasanjo’s Administration 1999 to 2007. The Minister of Information and Communication Chief Chukwuemeka Chikelue launched the project on behalf of the Nigerian government. This project adopted informative and re-orientation approaches for its enforcement. The overall aim of a project was meant to project Nigeria in a positive light in the international community for a better socio-economic development and mutual benefit in international transactions (World Report 2006)

An estimate of N6 million (approximately \$3 million) was mapped out by the Federal government to pursue the agenda. Also, services of Alder Media Company, a UK based media consultancy firm and local media houses such as NTA and other local newspapers were employed during the campaign. For more attention to drawn

to the project, in 2005, Nigeria Image Project was renamed Heart of Africa Project by Frank Nweke Jr. (the then new Minister of Information and Communication).

Heart of Africa Project was launched in London, Atlanta, New York and others. The project involves holding seminar and engaging foreign media to highlight the government effort in the image rebuilding processes. The agenda for the project was to promote the brand national asset, promotion of Nigeria's pivotal role in Africa development, to tackle national brand, investment attraction, internal reoriented program and business promotion (Imnakoya 2006).

Alder consultancy employed strategies like advertisement, press and media relations, documentaries, business diplomacy, publications, event and symposia and road show to pass information to the public. Prominent Nigerians like Akeem Olajuwon (ex-NBA star), Sade Adu (Grammy award-winning artist), Oluchi Onweagba (super model), Philip Emeagwali (world renowned computer scientist), JayJay Okocha (football player) and Emeka Anyaoku (former Commonwealth secretary-general) featured in the advertisement during the campaign. The "Welcome to Nigeria" advert was run in CNN featuring the Nigeria President Olusegun Obasanjo in a testimonial role (Nworah 2006).

National Conference on the Nigeria Brand and Economic Development named "Mind the Gap 2006" was also organized by Alder Consultancy. Within the period of Heart of Africa Project, President Obasanjo invited Dr. Ngozi Okonji-Iweala the former World Bank vice president to come back home and she was recruited to as Finance Minister.

Again, President Obasanjo also established an International Investment Advisory Council. He employed Baroness Lynda Chalker, the former United Kingdom Minister for Overseas Development in order to attract foreign investor. President Obasanjo also engaged himself in a shuttle diplomacy. His government laid foundations for political, social, and economic transformations, and also tried to gain more international friends and allies through his shuttle diplomacy strategy (Omotere 2011)

5.2.3. Rebranding of Nigeria

Rebranding of Nigeria Project was an initiative of the Federal Ministry of Information and Communication aimed to improve the image of Nigeria. It was launched in the administration of former late President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua on 9th February 2009 at Shehu Musa Yar'Adua center Abuja. Rebranding project was an attempt to re-examining the values and character and rededicate Nigerians to the ideas of the founding fathers (Egwemi, 2010b p. 131-135). The project seeks to portray the country in a good light in the international community. Rebranding of Nigeria Project urge Nigerians to appreciate themselves and to join hands together in building a favorable image of the country. The money spent on Rebranding Nigeria project was one hundred and fifty million naira (approximately \$1 million) and the project lasted for a year (2009-2010).

The Rebranding Project paradigm was centered on four Ps (Private, Public, People and Partnership). This means that everybody is expected to participate during the campaign. There was a national competition for Nigerians both home and abroad to contest in the Rebranding logo and slogan. This led to the Rebranding of Nigeria slogan; Nigeria Good People, Great Nation. Muozoba (2009) stated that the slogan will help to inspire patriotism in Nigerians to tackle the challenges ahead

collectively. The project was communicated to the public through publications, video documentaries, television spot, newspaper advertisement and radio jingles (Egwemi 2010b, p. 131-135).

During the campaign Dr. Dora Akunyili stated that she prefers “a home-grown branding which will involve all Nigerians.” The Rebranding of Nigeria Project made use of local consultancy and free publicity from Nigerian private institution (Naijafeed 2010). The campaign gained acceptability in Nigeria, particularly in the media. During the campaign of rebranding of Nigeria, Dr. Dora Akunyili warned the Nigerian media against reporting Nigeria negatively. She advised the media to focus on the good stories and not the negative ones (Oluigbo 2010).

The Project was described as an avenue for the government and citizen to interact.

The features of Rebranding Project Includes;

- Organizing town hall meeting in local government councils and states nationwide in partnership with commissioners of information in all states. Ministers, Senators, and Honorable from each states was invited.
- Ministerial press briefing: there was a monthly press briefing as means of monitoring and reporting on the activities of the ministries.
- Opportunity for the general public to ask questions and get clarifications on different government activities during the campaign.
- Establishing A publication called Open Government, this publication focuses on the government plans and effort that had been made so far. This publication was made available to Nigerian Newspapers at the end of every month during the campaign.

- Free Newspaper (National Access) was established by the Federal Ministry of Information and communication. Its purpose was to promote and inform Nigerians about government ideas.
- The Federal Ministry of Information and Communication erected a big signpost with local Languages nationwide to disseminate information concerning the project.
- Creation of website for the ministry to promote culture, economy, politics, investment and tourism.
- The publication of the Nigeria Monthly magazine was reintroduced in May 2008

According to Imohiosen (2009), the notion of re-branding is both critical and fundamental to the national developmental process of Nigeria at this time of its history.

5.2.4 Coercive and Judicial strategy

The two strategies were mapped out by Federal Government in settling ethno-religious crises. Coercive strategy is the deployment of troops to the troubled areas with the aim of monitoring and putting an end to the crisis. Usually Police and Military personnel are deployed to the conflict zones in order to restore peace. There are many ways of dealing with ethno-religious crises but it all depends on the nature of the conflict. A serious conflict attracts the use of Joint Military Force (JFT) which comprises army, navy and air force officers (Salawu 2010). The Task Force has since been deployed to the states and areas considered breeding grounds for the militant sect. The states include; Bauchi, Borno, Kaduna, Plateau, Yobe and Kano. The duties of the Joint Task Force include surveillance, arrest and engaging members of the sect shoot out.

In places where the casualty level is high government usually imposes dusk to dawn curfew. For instance, the June 17, 2012 bomb attacks in Kaduna and Yobe attracted imposition of 24-hour curfew on the city, lasting for more than a week (Olugbode et al 2012).

The creation of judicial commission is another step taken by Nigeria Government to eradicate ethno-religious crisis in the country. Judicial commission involves different people to examine the cause of the problem and report their findings to the government. These groups carry out their duty by visiting and forming public hearing, the reason for visiting the area is to find out the magnitude of the crisis (Salawu 2010).

For instance, on August 5 2011 government inaugurated a 7-man Committee on Boko Haram challenges in the North East of Nigeria (Thewill 2011). The Committee headed by Usman Galtimeri was a fact-finding panel mandated to create a forum for a pool of suggestions that would guide government on the crisis created by Boko Haram. The committee members included; Senator Ali Ndume, Joe-Kyari Gadzama Col. Musa Shehu, Senator Bala Mohammed, Emeka Nwogu, A. B Shehu and Dry Bello Mohammed. The Committee linked the Boko Haram attacks to the extra-judicial killing of the sect's leader, Yusuf Mohammed and some of his followers in 2009 while in police custody (Thewill 2011)

The Committee which made ten short and three long recommendations revealed that some politicians were behind Boko Haram. The report from African spotlight (2012) reads that

“Boko Haram is an off-shoot of militia groups set up by politicians in the run-up to the 2003 General Elections. The militias were allegedly armed and used extensively as political thugs. After the elections and having achieved their primary purpose, the politicians left the militias to their fate since they could not continue funding and keeping them employed, with no visible means of sustenance. Some of the militias gravitated towards religious extremism the type offered by Yusuf Mohammed”.

5.2.5 Dealing with Boko Haram

Government effort in finding a lasting solution to the Boko Haram menace is commendable. Many believe that Boko Haram is disrupting and destabilizing the activities of the present government because President Goodluck Jonathan is not a Northerner. The Joint military Task Force (JTF) that comprises security forces in Nigeria has done enough and they are still trying their best to combat the deadly activities of Boko Haram. Since the notorious activities of the sect, JTF has successfully discovered bomb factories in some Northern states and some of the members have been arrested including their spokesperson.

Recently 439 soldiers got training on various anti-terrorism strategies. This training include how to discover improvised explosive devices and how to denote bombs, information and intelligence gathering process and rescue processes. This was done in order to boast their tactic on issue of Boko Haram (Ahkaine 2012).

Federal government has engaged in a dialogue with the sect. Dialoging with Boko Haram sect does not mean that federal government of Nigeria will sit face to face with the sect members to discuss instead the government will seek the solution of Boko Haram through “backroom channels”. Dr. Reuben Abati, the special adviser to President on media and publicity, stated that there have been an ongoing dialogue with the groups and the reason why federal government chose this means to tackle

Boko Haram is because they believe that Boko Haram has “many faces” (Taiwo-Obalonye 2012).

A seemingly overwhelmed government has taken a number of steps towards addressing Boko Haram’s insurgency. On June 21, 2012 government announced the sack of National Security Adviser, Gen Patrick Azazi and the Minister of Defence, Mr. Mohammed Bello over the June 17 Boko Haram attacks in Kaduna and the reprisals that claimed several lives (Thisday 2012, June 22). The president believes that the two security chiefs failed in their responsibility of averting the attacks and the reprisals. The House of Senate on June 19, 2012 passed a resolution to summon the President over the climate of insecurity in the land (Turaki 2012). It was this bid that partly informed the sack of the National Security Adviser and Minister of Defense.

Since assumption of office June 22, 2012, the new National Security Adviser Col. Sambo Dasuki, has gone to some of the troubled states in the North to assess the situation himself and to meet with the traditional, religious and political leaders to enlist their support in the new move to tame Boko Haram and to search for peace (Punch 2012 June 28).

5.2.6 Niger Delta Development Commission & Niger Delta Amnesty program

Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) is an agency established in year 2000 to rehabilitate Niger Delta militants. The commission was created to improve the living standard of the community by providing jobs; finding a means of creating an everlasting harmony in the region, eradicating poverty, illiteracy and diseases in the region. In addition, educational facilities will be supplied to the schools (Niger Delta Development Commission 2012).

The amnesty program of Niger Delta militant was established by former President Umaru Yar'Adua on 25th June 2009 to solve the problem of insecurity in Niger Delta area. The initiative of the program is for the militants to surrender their weapons willingly and to reject militancy. The objectives of establishing the program is to run a transformation training, financial empowerment of the ex-militant to eradicate crime, providing social amenities for the Niger Delta people, improvement of foreign investment and business activities in the area and to upsurge their income(Egwemi 2010a, P. 136-141). This program will enable the participant to get sufficient training with international certificate. The participants will have chances of learning and starting up their own business; this will help them in understanding and improve their potential.

At the beginning of amnesty program, two thousand seven hundred guns and 3000 round ammunition were submitted by fifteen militants (Davidheise &Nyiyaana 2001). They also stated that more than twenty thousand militants have been registered since the establishment. The submission of the arms was done based on the agreement they have with the federal government.

5.2.7 The passing of anti-terrorism bill

This bill was granted a legal context for the prevention, banning and fighting of act of terrorism in Nigeria as well as setting up punishment for violating any of its terms. This terrorism bill will make available legal ground for security agencies to improve their operations against terrorism, economic and financial crime and other criminal acts which are not in the constitution of Nigeria (Tribune 2012, February 22).

The bill says that anyone who partakes or causes attack on a person's life that result to serious damage or death, abduction, damaging of government or public facility

will face 20 years imprisonment or death penalty. The bill was passed in order to meet up with the international standard in fighting terrorism (Kaita 2011).

5.2.8 Building schools for Almajiri:

Federal government of Nigeria has built 400 schools in the Northern part of the country to foster the battle against ethno-religious crises. Almajiri in Hausa setting means beggars⁴. It is regarded as child abuse because it involves children that are supposed to be in school but they are used for begging in the streets by their parents. These children are believed to be aggressive and violent to the society. As a result of this, they make themselves available for violence that cause havoc to the society (Oyetunji 2012).

5.3 Image Repair Strategies Employed

Using image repair theory listed in chapter 2 to analyze the government effort. Nigeria government applied corrective, reducing offensiveness of the event and compensation strategy.

The rebranding of Nigeria projects (2009-2010) which is the last of the two image building projects can be categorized under reducing offensiveness of the event (bolstering). Benoit (1997) stated that bolstering help organization to distance itself from the negative view associated with the unpleasant act. Looking at the slogan of the project "Good people, Great nation" entail that Nigeria as a country are not what

⁴ Almajiri in Arabic means immigrants. In Nigeria, it is refers to kids who are deserted or are turned out from their parents' homes as early in life as age 5 or 6, to live with and memorize the Quran from teachers in localities. At the end they become beggars because of failed Islamic education system and impoverished.

people says they are. Anholt (2010) said that some countries who realize benefits of reputation spend huge amount of money to enhance and retain it. Nigeria spent 600 million naira (\$3 million) in the first project (Heart of Nigeria project) and 150 million naira (\$1 million) in Rebranding of Niger Project. This campaign helps to inform the world that Nigeria and her people are good and unique people. Nigeria was able to gain back some respect from international community after the project in 2009. Rebranding of Nigeria project was in the lips of all Nigerians both home and abroad and it was the only image building campaign that was successful.

The Heart of African Project also falls in reducing the event strategy. There was an improvement in the foreign investment sector during the period of this project. For instance, foreign investors like Chinese, Lebanese and Indians came to Nigeria to invest. The short come of the project was that some countries like South Africa and Malawi have launched similar project in the past. Secondly, the Heart of Africa Project was launched abroad this was another reason why the campaign was crippled. Average Nigeria was detached from the image building project.

Corrective action is employed by the federal government of Nigeria by establishing commissions like EFCC, ICPC, and creation of Amnesty project for the Nigeria Delta youth and building of schools for Almajiris. Benoit (1997) pointed that is a way of repairing the organizations image before the crisis and assuring to prevent it in future. The step embraced by the government of Nigeria to tackle the corruption challenges in Nigeria has significantly achieved its aim. Former EFCC chairman Mallam Nuhu Ribadu drew the attention of the international community on the fact that Nigerian government is seriously fighting corruption.

Similarly the creation of Amnesty program for the Niger Delta youths and lay down of weapon by the militants is another way government showed his readiness to end Niger Delta violence. With this program many of them were trained on different hand craft work, some were sent abroad for studying and some got employed by the government. Building schools for Almajiri helped in curtailing the number of children roaming round the street as beggars when they were supposed to be in school as their mates in other states. This also stops them from making themselves available for violence that destroys lives and properties.

The compensation is another strategy used by the government in solving the case of extra judicial killing of Boko Haram founder. Borno state government compensated the family of late Mohammed Yusuf to prevent further attack in the state so that peace will reign in all the northern states.

Finally, Nigeria government engaged in evasion of responsibility strategy (Good Intention). The use of Coercive method by government has caused the death of many innocent citizens in the hand of JTF.

5.4 Discussion

In a crisis situation, the important of communication between stakeholder (Nigerian government) and the audience (citizen) is very essential. Most of these efforts made by government could have yielded a positive result but they refuse to address the main issue that contributed to the image problem which is bad governance.

Nigeria image problem listed by Nworah (2006) as unemployment, dissatisfaction of citizen with government, organizational irresponsibility, decay in educational sector, poor quality products, ethnic and religious dispute, abuse of human right, poor

planning and insecurity. Nigerians are seen to have negative perspective in image of the country due to incompetence of the leaders to tackle the problem. Again the problem in Nigeria is inability of government to address issue that needs attention.

Kolawole (2011) asserted that the insight of any problem affect the choice of solution and hindrance behind the development in a country of such a cultural diversity. Like other scholars who pointed that corruption is a cankerworm in Nigeria system of government Kolawole (2011) is not left out. Corruption has paved the way for many fake billionaires that don't contribute to the economic improvement of the country but to make people poor.

Poverty and joblessness has been the back bone of religious and ethnic crisis, poor and unemployed youths always made themselves available to fight. The negligence of the leaders to create a platform of understanding among different ethnic groups contributed to the ethnic-religious conflict in the country. Equally, Salawu (2010) disclosed that some administration of government paved way for mistrust and discrimination between Northern and Southern Nigeria.

In the same way, the issue of ethnic politics and ethnic ideology started back in the years of colonial masters, this made them focus more on the interest of their group rather than public interest and it was been encourage by the colonial masters (Ibaba 2011, p.18-30).

Despite the fact that Borno state government paid hundred million naira compensation fees to the family of slain leader of Boko Haram in order to stop the group from surging ahead but the activities of the group has escalated and it can be

said to be out of control (Ehiabhi 2012). The families of people killed by Boko Haram have never received any compensation or visitation from the Federal or State government. This signifies that there is more in giving huge amount of money to Yusuf's family and it can be articulated as political reasons.

A lot could have been achieved by now if there is transparency in the government. For instance, there was a time when government promised to release the names of those funding the activities of Boko Haram to the public. According to Adetayo (2012), it discloses that federal government has the names of Boko haram sponsors. The list was gathered by the top security members of the country. Since the announcement of the aforementioned list, nobody has ever heard about the Boko Haram backers. Thus the people that support Boko Haram are "Untouchables".

Government response to the Niger Delta violence was not enough. Instead of taking steps towards addressing genuine concerns of the people through sincere dialogue, collective bargaining approach it opted at the initial stage, "carrot and stick" option was used and later it unleashed absolute force on the region. First, government bribed some of the paramount leaders in the region as a means of wooing them to the government side so as to use them to quell the mounting unrest in the region orchestrated by the youths (Gillies 2010). When this failed to achieve the desired result government went for brute force. It deployed combined forces of military, police to the region to deal with the restive youths. Mass arrests were made; brutality of people by security operatives became the norm in the region with cases of extra-judicial killings (Okonmah 2010).

Apart from its environment that is grossly devastated on account of decades of oil exploration and production in the region, successive governments failed to put in place concrete development framework to fast-track the region's development (Ejibunu 2007) . Successive governments from civilian to military and back to civilian continued to demonstrate marked insensitivity to the plights of the people of the region.

According to Garcia (2006), perceived indifference to victims in the wake of a crisis is a major contributor to harm. The management of the 2011 Hurricane Joplin disaster in the US by President Obama further illuminates the crisis management shortcomings of the Nigerian Government. President Obama not only responded promptly to the disaster, he took a tour of the affected areas empathizing with victims. Furthermore, the immediate response of the Norwegian government to the 22nd July 2011 deadly attack that left 69 people dead, emphasizes the need and importance of well-coordinated plan for emergencies. However, Nigerian President stated in one of his speeches that he has not visited the troubled area because of the airport condition in states and it is not safe for him to use helicopter (Saharareporter 2012). Coombs (1999, p.177-191) suggested that a quick response fills the information void created by a crisis with facts while silence or slow response fills the information gap with speculation and misinformation.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Having assessed the image repair strategies employed by the Nigerian government, it was discovered that they were based on corrections, reducing offensiveness and compensation. Reduce offensiveness of the action; bolstering implies using a positive comment to strengthen the public perception about the organization or country. Nigeria used the slogan “Nigeria, Good People, Great Nation and Welcome to Nigeria as bolstering. Compensation was used when the state governor of Borno paid some money to the slain family of Yusuf the founder of Boko Haram. Corrective action is an effort to repair an existing damage or to prevent it for future reoccurrence. It is seen as a primary means of repairing an image because it takes some concern for the damage and provides corrective measures. Benoit and Czerwinski (1997, p. 45) stated that corrective action seeks to correct and prevent.

Burns and Burner (2000) proposed that another name for image restoration is repair. This shows that an image can never be the same before the crisis. To maintain or regain acceptance during and after crisis, a country or organization has to communicate with the public in order to provide a satisfactory explanation for all their actions. Realizing that image restoration strategy is a form of persuasive discourse, the Nigerian government needs to address the targeted audience with a specific message and also recognize the importance of communication during the image repair process.

Coombs (1999) suggested that a compassionate response strategy is essential and beneficial to an organization's reputation during a crisis. This was buttressed by Seeger (2006) when he went further to list communication with compassion, concern, and empathy as one of the best practices of crisis communication. Improving the communication culture in the country will go a long way in making the availability of a crisis communication plan useful. Some progress was made by the government but there is still room for more. Looking back at the research questions, the study provided the following answers.

The domination of the government by the military (which in itself is an abnormality in the present day global system of government) after Nigeria's independence has endangered the country both economic and social insolvency. The quest to repair Nigeria image can be achieved if the people in government will be transparent and competent.

The irony of everything is that people who are trying to repair Nigeria's image by setting up commissions and projects are the ones behind the image problems. Despite the fact that Nigeria is one of the oil producing countries in the world, more than 70% of her citizen lives below \$1 per day (Hassan – Tom 2012).

Without doubt, this research has been able to give answers to the research question in chapter one. It is evident that Nigeria has image problems. The problem being faced by the Federal Government of Nigeria is that the nation has different ethnic groups with different languages and culture. Nigeria needs to invest more in conflict resolution strategy and tools. This will serve as a means of tackling and prevent

conflict in future. Lack of social development still remains the major issue in Nigeria.

The advent of the military has been shown by this research to be the origin of the Nigeria image problems. Since the military does not have any constitution to follow, they are uncontrollable; they engage and encourage corruption of various forms.

In terms of Nigerian government reaction to the image problems, there have been image repair projects being carried out through Federal Ministry of Information and Communication and other agencies established to repair Nigeria image. Nevertheless more efforts should be geared towards power supply which will boost the economy, water supply, security, good road, and youth's employment, reformation of our educational system, health care and transparency in governance.

6.1 Recommendations

Nigeria government may not need rebranding project that has to do with campaign but needs rebranding that will focus on the provision of modern infrastructures, competent leadership and free and fair election. Considering accountability, transparency and high degree of selflessness in governance will help in repairing the country's image. There is a need to generate a standby crisis management plan that will be revised occasionally for unforeseen circumstances.

Again, there is a need to reform the approach used by security officials to avoid abuse of human rights and implement a law to prosecute those that are found guilty of kidnapping and other crimes. It is important to allow the rule of law as entrenched in the constitution to guide governance; this will check carelessness and abuse of power

and for government may think about accepting help from other international community.

Moreover, there is a necessity to redouble the tactics employed to seek the problem befalling Nigeria as in the case of corruption and ethnic conflict. The civil society can effectively intervene by focusing attention on the social organization and structural patterns of interaction; the modes of violence employed, the values of the parties in conflict; the genesis of conflict, and the degree of incompatibility of goals.

Improving security service in Nigeria will have an impact in repairing the nation's image. Soldiers, Police Force and other security personnel should be properly trained and equipped and government should try and make it a point of duty to pay them a good salary at the appropriate time.

The appointment of any anti- corruption official should be by merit not on political assignment. There is a necessity for government to employ a person who knows how to manage the commission very well and prosecute the offender. Political offices appointment has to be based purely on merit irrespective of which part of the country the appointee comes from. No doubt Nigeria would be the better in terms of patriotism and development if rebranding is embraced. Thus, the efforts of the government would be appreciated.

Finally going back to regional government as it was 1960s whereby the three main regions (Igbo, Hausa and Yoruba) make decision without interference from the central might be preferable than federal state.

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