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Review Article

Food Trade and Challenges of National Integration in Nigeria

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Abstract:

The study observed the looming hitches in the integration posture of the country and interrogated the capacity of food trade in correcting the anomaly. The study adopted the 'social production and reproduction of material value' as the theoretical framework. The theory maintained, among other things, that production of anything of material value is not done in isolation; rather, it involves two or more persons who are interested in satisfying their individual needs. The study is guided by the following research questions 1) did food trade improve national integration in Nigeria? 2) What factors are militating against food trade in Nigeria? Our data were generated through Documentary method and equally analyzed same through Content Analysis. However, we found from the study that food trade in Nigeria ought to foster national integration as well as serve as a symbiosis that is not parasitic but mutually beneficial to the parties but there are some observed impediments to free flow of food trade. These include taxes imposed by various bodies, language barriers and security threats. This fact, often taken for granted by beneficiaries of food trade ought to be orchestrated by government in furtherance of national integration. More so, recommended, among others, that government should develop and introduce a national integration orientation programme that will be anchored on food and food trade within the country.

Keyword: Economy, Exchange, Food, Food Trade, National Integration, and Production

1. Introduction

In a modern society, statehood is ascribed to a nation (nation state) or nations (multination state) whose peoples have agreed to stay together and attract international recognition and acceptance through the instrumentality of sovereignty. The State may be instituted or constituted depending on the determining factors of its formation. While the instituted variant is formed when the rank of statehood is imposed by external authority on people from different nations or varied cultural backgrounds, the constituted type arises when different nations of similar culture, language, geographical proximity etc, agree to place themselves under a body known as a State with sovereignty and international recognition. In the Nigerian context, the statehood was imposed on the component nations (Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba etc.) who became charged by the constitution to remain indissoluble and inseparable (Obikeze & Obi, 2004). The need to foster a genuine feeling of oneness lay engrained in the very conception, and thus arose from the inception of the entity. Since independence till the present day, Nigerian governments and citizens alike have been faced with all manner of centrifugal forces that tend to mar the unification agenda. Essentially, and in a bid to tackle and or quell such negative feelings by ameliorating, and if possible transforming, the contending negative forces, the concept of national integration was invoked in Nigerian political diction.

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The desire to entrench the feeling of oneness in national life can be pursued through various channels including socio-cultural, political, economic and other means. The social strategy, for example, encompasses social events such as national sports competitions organized periodically for the primary purpose of deepening positive interactions between the peoples and thus promoting the unity of the nation while developing the abilities of youths (Okonkwo & Okeke, 2020). Political action involves the institution of good governance as well as governmental programmes to facilitate the enthronement of ideals such as fairness, equality, justice, which in turn promote a sense of unity and oneness. In the economic sense, trade in goods and services presents a veritable channel for interaction and cooperation. Trade could be regional or national and can span all sectors of the economy in so far as items concerned are tradable. In particular, trade in food appears to readily touch peoples' stomachs and hearts and from thence penetrate their cultural and religious ways. As such, food trade touches the existential question that food represents; linking peoples in such ways as make them more sensitive, indeed readily open to food-chain threats. Such threats thus become shared, mutually affecting all parties, further linking the economic as well as political futures of peoples. This is so much so that food trade has transformed into an important tool for pursuing regional well being and development agenda, and as such, when put to proper use, can provide a handle for positive politics and national integration. This study focuses on food trade, by interrogating its contributions to the national integration challenges in Nigeria. The paper also progresses by examining food trade, national integration and their theoretical nexus, and concludes with policy recommendations.

2. Food and Food Trade

For living beings, food is an existential need. Its effect on the human mind and body is well established. The time never arrives in the life of any man or nation when food is no longer relevant. Prosperity, abundance and competent macro management may take its pursuit off the front burner. But even in the back burner it remains as relevant, if not crucial, as ever, forming the platform for all future activities, thus affecting the economy, the people and their polity in a myriad of ways.

It is food trade that places food on the table, all the way from wherever it is grown or produced to wherever its consumers may be located. Trade thus bridges remote production areas and habitation clusters, forging links between them. With growing population requiring to be fed, and increasing economic power which drives the diversity and quality of food demanded, the magnitude of food trade expands. Between 1995 and 2019, for example, agric-food sector contributed over 6% of Nigeria's merchandise trade (Abdullahi et al. 2021).

Food trade spans a wide spectrum of activities and touches everyone. It commences with food production which generates not only intra-border but also cross border skills trade (if by border here we refer to states, local government areas and communities' boundaries); trade progresses to storage, processing, distribution and consumption of food. If we refer to

food trade connected with production and storage of food as upstream agricultural food trade then trading activities in the distribution and especially consumption of food can be thought of as downstream agricultural food trade. More entrepreneurial opportunities are found in the downstream sector, as well as more participants, with minimal if not total absence of government participation and regulation; these guarantee freer entry and exit; and as such, more cross-border interaction offered by the downstream sector, which actually 'places' the food on the table, while systematically stimulating increasing upstream interaction. For example, many sellers of food items who buy from other states often stimulate increased upstream interaction by first sending trucks to haul produce, then sending representatives to source items and, if at all possible, making further forays in different ways such as making advance payments to traders or farmers, participating in actual production via rented or leased locations, and ultimately, if locals do not forbid it, owning production facilities and/or land. This is evident in rice trade between eastern and northern states in Nigeria. Where developed, food trade helps to even out inflationary and thus adverse economic trends. This is because food prices often feature as a principal contributor to headline inflation in Nigeria. When trade is hampered in one way or the other inflation can spiral, driven by food prices. On a month-on-month basis and in harvest and lean periods, differences in food prices can be effectively ameliorated by developed and unhampered food trade. It is clear therefore that when trade is hampered an important tool for national economic unification is hampered. And this is always so because the food items frequently implicated are the basic occupants of the Nigerian's food basket, the very items facing threats that are shared by all. Frequently these are rice, beans, yam, oils etc. Food production possibility is basically anchored on the ecological base, along with the accompanying climatic condition. However, dynamism is clearly at work with changing possibilities brought about by changing climatic conditions as well as economic realities and in particular technological advancements, such that certain agricultural products which could not be competitively grown in some zones can now be at least profitably grown. In this regard, Nigeria is blessed to be sitting on five ecological zones such as, Sudan savannah, guinea savannah, forest savannah, rain forest, and mangrove swamp. This wide range of ecological zones bellies the even wider range of agricultural products, especially food types, producible, such that there hardly is any notable natural food item in the world that cannot be grown somewhere in Nigeria. The reality that the physical and atmospheric conditions are not cast in stone following the dynamism referred to earlier, makes it clear that with the huge arable land available in the country, Nigeria should indeed be an agricultural power. Furthermore, with a fully developed food trade, every part of the country should have access to, and enjoy whatever is grown in other parts, and the criss-crossing of itself a large enterprise on account of the size of the country, will bring positive contributions to the nation's economic prosperity and the peaceful welding together of the peoples. Here are the crop possibilities across some States:

Table 1: Crop Possibilities of States in the Ecological Zones

S/N	Ecological Zones	States in the Zones	Ecological Crop Specialization
1	Sudan Savannah	Bauchi, Borno, Katsina, Sokoto	Cereals, grains, legumes, livestock, vegetables, seeds, nuts, fisheries
2	Guinea Savannah	Niger, Kaduna, Benue, Plateau, Adamawa, Oyo, Kwara	Cereals, grains, legumes, livestock, nuts, root-crops, seeds,
3	Forest Savannah	Kwara, Edo, Delta, Enugu, Benue, Bayelsa	cereals, fisheries, fruits, grains, legumes, livestock, nuts, Root-crops, seeds, tubers, vegetables,
4	Rain Forest	Oyo, Ogun, Ondo, Edo, Anambra, Delta, Enugu, Rivers, Cross River, Imo	cereals, fisheries, fruits, grains, legumes, nuts, piggery, poultry, root-crops, seeds, Tree-crops, tubers, vegetable,
5	Mangrove Swamp	Cross River, Delta, Lagos, Ogun, Ondo, Rivers,	fisheries, Fruits, grains, legumes, maize, poultry Root-crop, swamp-rice, vegetables,

Source: Mordi et al (2010)

What manner of food production has evolved over decades of living, trading and eating together in Nigeria? The Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development have mapped

out the following foods in line with the geo-political regions and agro-ecology of the nation:

Table 2: food possibilities in the Geographical Zone

S/N	Geographical Zones	States	Foods
1	North Central	Benue, Kogi, Kwara, Nasarawa, Niger, Plateau, and Abuja FCT	Rice, maize, cocoa, millet, sorghum, millet, yam, cashew, cassava, cowpea, palm oil, tomato, Shea butter, sesame seeds, sweet potatoes, Irish potato, soybeans, sugarcane, Bush mango (ogbono), cattle, small ruminants, citrus, mangoes, pulses, ginger, avocado Pear, other fruits and vegetables.
2	North East	Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba and Yobe	Wheat, rice, maize, millet, sorghum, cattle, sheep and goats; cashew, sugarcane, cassava, cowpea (beans), tomato, cotton, tea and coffee; soybeans, garlic and fruits and vegetables.
3	North West	Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Sokoto and Zamfara	wheat, rice maize, sorghum, sesame seeds, Irish potato, garlic onions, ginger, date palm, sugar cane, cassava, cowpea (beans), tomato, groundnuts, soybeans, cocoyam, cattle, goat and sheep; citrus mangoes, and vegetables
4	South East	Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu, and Imo	Rice, yam, Cocoyam, Ginger, Cassava, Cocoa, palm oil, Sweet potatoes, cashew, Avocado Pear, Bush mango (ogbono), Banana, Coconut, plantain, Fish, sheep and goat; pork, pineapple and vegetables
5	South south	Akwaibom Cross River, Bayelsa, Rivers, Delta and Edo	Rice, yam, cassava, cocoa, coffee, banana, plantain, palm oil, fish, coconut, snails, cattle, sheep and goats; piggery, fish, and grass cutter.
6	South West	Ondo, Ogun, Oyo, Ekiti, Osun and Lagos	rice, maize, yam, cassava, cowpea soybeans, cocoa, coffee, palm oil, banana, plantain, coconut, cashew cocoa yam, cattle, piggery, sheep and goats, fish, poultry, snails, fruits and vegetables.

Source: adapted from Adesiyun (2017)

From the fore going, it can be seen where the food is produced. This needs to be balanced with an outline of where the food is consumed. For commercial level production, the bulk of the consumers are to be found outside the production localities, within our sprawling urban areas, since those that produce very negligible food, where they produce at all. They also have the resources to pay for the food. This entails movement across States such that while a given item, for example, kola nut, is moving from south up north, another item, for example, beans, is heading down south from up north. It is also clear that no State is, and can even be, self sufficient in the production of all of its food needs. An exchange and a mutually beneficial symbiosis have developed and need to be appreciated as such and should grow far stronger for everyone's welfare. It is important to bear in mind that the exchange does not need to be by barter or item for item. It is usually cash for one's item. Payment for one's products, especially payment of a just price, not only rewards the producer but encourages and facilitates further production, and for an enterprise, it not only keeps it in business but pushes the production possibility frontier outward. Food trade ensures that the one who produces is paid, while successfully moving the food to where the consumers are. In addition, trade investigates the economic capacity of the prospective consumers, and distributes accordingly.

3. National Integration

The clear definition of national integration was offered by Weiner (1967) who refers to national integration a process of creating a sense of territorial nationality, which eliminates parochial and subordinate loyalties. More so, Montgomery et al (1969) held that national integration involves primarily the cohesion of different social, economic, religious, ethnic and geographic elements into a single nation state. In the view of Chime (1971), national integration is a process of amalgamation of two or more social groups, whereby these groups come together to form a political whole, the growth of obedience and loyalty to its parts and the emergence of shared national values. According to Duverger in Ojo (2009) it is the process of unifying a society, which tends to make it a harmonious entity, based upon an order its members regard as equitably harmonious. In other words, national integration entails building up solidarity and breaking down antagonism among the people in a political system. Thus, this conceptualization implies social equality of citizens. From the foregoing, it follows that Nigeria stands in deep need of national integration where obedience and loyalties to the Nigerian State, go beyond loyalties to its parts. It is also clear that thus far allegiance has yet to go beyond primordial classifications such as tribe or religion. A veritable starting point would be some effort to build up solidarity and breakdown the antagonism which latter is unfortunately in full swing in the country already. A ready plank for such effort is the symbiosis in food which has already developed over decades of interaction and living together, and sharing each other's best foods. If conscious awareness and deep appreciation of this mutual dependence and working together is fostered and given

prominence, a way forward would have been paved for national integration.

4. Theoretical Nexus

The study is conducted under the social relations of production and reproduction of material value as a framework of analysis. It involves the co-operations, antagonisms and contradictions between individuals and/or parties in the production process. Axiomatically, no product of material value can be produced without the involvement of two or more parties. For instance, a producer of shoes can get the raw material from a tanner or a person who bought the animal skin from the tanner. In other words, a producer of rice must get the implement and material inputs from another party and/or he may hire a labourer during the production process (Okonkwo, 2016). Therefore, social relations of production or relations of production are the relationships between individuals in the production process. A famous example of social relation of production is the relation between the ruling classes and the subordinate class (Ake, 1981). The theory studies the basis of the development of human society from the perspective of the specific relation of people in the production process. Also the approach recognizes the unequal relations between the social classes in the process of production of material values in the society. Marxian approach is adapted to the analysis of different social systems in terms of historical development of various structures of state and their interrelationships (Gilpin, 1987). Ogban-Iyam, (2005) noted among other things that social production and reproduction of material value involves the following propositions:

- The fundamental concern of human beings and perhaps of other living things is survival and security.
- For the human beings to survive and have security, he/she must produce and reproduce human needs including production and reproduction of human kind.
- Each human being endeavours/struggles to attain and remain in a favourable position in the social production process so that his needs can be met.
- It is in this struggle for survival and security that human beings find and/or define allies and opponents, be it within or outside their family, clan, tribe, nation, class or profession etc. It is in the course of the struggle for personal interest that clashes or conflict of interest occur in a social relationship.
- This struggles to change, improve, or retain/preserve ones position in the scheme of things is the direct and indirect basis of virtually all social behaviour such as cooperation, conflicts, violence, allies, and alliance, friendships, enmities, within, between and across classes, families, clans, tribes, nation, ethnic groups, race, religious, and occupational groups in fact, in all social groups.
- People rarely knowingly make choices against themselves or against their own interests. The more collective the discussions and decisions on what to produce, how, where, and when, by who, for who within an entity, the more the needs of those involved in the collective discussion and decisions in the entity

are produced and met by that entity and the less the conflict and violence within that entity.

Okolie (2011) summarized this basic proposition of social production and reproduction of material value as follows:

- The fundamental interest of man (all living thing) is security and survival.
- In order to survive or be secured, man must produce and reproduce himself; this social production and reproduction give character to other human values; the social activities are in part or full related to pains, pleasure, security, violence, development, underdevelopment, poverty, riches etc.
- In every social production process there must be someone that makes binding decision; those who make decisions also use it to their favour;
- Every man struggles to remain in a favourable position in social production and reproduction processes; those who are satisfied with the production system struggle to retain the system while those that are not satisfied struggle to alter the system.

By way of application, food is the most decisive need of man and as a result, man cannot live without food. Considering the importance of food in our terrestrial existence, one must either produce or buy it from the producers. Production of food and or buying of same cannot be handled by one person because they are social in nature and as a social phenomenon, it needs mass engagement. The end product of this mass production is surplus product that will be diffused through commercial base. In the trade circle, the players are interested in satisfying their individual want thereby portraying themselves as being rational, perhaps 'selfish'. Indeed, the 'selfish' instinct of man needs to be contained while engaging in some social activities which trade serves as example. Essentially, trade plays more of integrative role than divisive one because it involves complex interdependency for the purpose of satisfying human wants.

By extension, since it has been established that no man lives without food and that no product of material value can be produced in isolation, it is unequivocally clear that man must engage in social production. Therefore, the more people engage meaningfully in the production process, the more food is produced abundantly and the more they interact through trade. With the goodies emanating from the interdependency in trade relations, the parties will aspire for continuity of healthy exchange of goods, thereby fostering national integration through food trade.

5. Food Trade and National Integration in Nigeria

Here we shall interrogate the national integration phenomenon on the area of food trade. To get to the nitty-gritty of this endeavour, we are needed to illustrate the components of food trade. In other words, the factors that facilitate food trade in the country. To begin with, the most decisive factor that facilitates food trade is the particular food itself. It is absolutely the food concerned that determines food trade. When we say the food concerned, we mean the need of the particular food by the tribes that made up Nigeria. For instance, the people in the South can

buy tomatoes, maize, onions, cows etc from the North to supplement their products since they need them for their consumption. If, however, the people in the North produce mainly 'fura da nunu' which is not common to the South, the inter-regional food trade will not prosper. It will of course still take place in a bid to cater for northerners living in the South. The same argument applies, mutatis mutandis, to products of the South. For the fact that the traded foods are needed by other people and the producers need buyers to patronize their products, they tend to aspire for good relations with their clients as well as hitch-free trade thereby promoting national integration.

Another factor facilitating food trade is language. Nothing unites and brings people together like common language. That is why it is considered in the formation of nationhood. The South Eastern people learn and speak northern and western languages to facilitate their food trade. Ordinarily, anybody that speaks same language with another is able easily to breakdown some barriers. Therefore, the languages which people learn in order to communicate favourably in food trade transactions go a long way in fostering national integration. With the vested interests of the food traders who have acquired the language of the other parties, minor issues that may degenerate into disharmony and disintegration can be settled with the common language so as to maintain an uninterrupted food trade.

Transportation to and from the sources and markets of the food is an important factor that facilitates food trade. On a daily basis, trucks crisscross the country delivering different types of food including live animals. By so doing, the parties in the food trade experience the lives and attitudes of the other parties through interaction. Those who benefit from such interaction will always aspire for the national integration because they will not ordinarily afford to lose their sources of livelihood.

Common currency also facilitates food trade in Nigeria. Naira as the legal tender in the country makes it easy for food trade to thrive. With the acceptability of naira in the country, one can travel from North to South or vice versa to buy or sell food items at ease, unlike a situation where there is existence of different currency. In a condition of different currencies the participants must undertake risky foreign exchange, which not only consumes time but can also increase the cost of the foods to be traded. Indeed, if the country should be disintegrated by a way of creating different nations, the above ugly scenario will be inevitable because there must be different currencies for the different nations. This will also necessitate stiff border protection laws guiding the different nations. To eschew the possible consequences of disintegration, the food traders make efforts to sustain cordial relations and national integration in the country.

The above factors have the potentials for deepening and sustaining national integration in the country but some limitations stem from the fact that the number of participants in the food trade is comparatively low. In terms of the food produced, many consumers are not aware of their sources; they

simply go to the market and buy them from the middle men engaged in the business. Even when the produce is known by the name of its source, for example, Benue yam, it evokes little or no feelings about the origin. The same challenge with the low number of people participating applies to the issue of language barrier. It is only a few that are seriously engaged in the food trade that utilize the language advantage to transact business. Furthermore, dedicated trucks for food haulage are relatively few, contributing to the scaling up of prices. The reasons for the relatively low number of trucks are connected with the state of the roads, the activities of many government organs and the net worth of the produce in season.

Food trade, as a cherished livewire of the country, faces some challenges which militate against national integration. The challenges include taxes, languages, unionism and security.

- **Taxes:** In food markets in Nigeria, there are different taxes paid by traders from another area. This involves payment for land and market. In many of the local markets in Nigeria, the taxes are maintained which go a long way in discouraging people from patronizing products from certain localities. On the issue of payment for land, some people organize themselves and extract money from traders in the name of land payment. This, apart from government approved taxes. Also, some people claim ownership of some markets and tax traders for transacting in the market. It hikes the price of the food thereby discouraging the traders from patronizing the products of the people. In other words, the taxes affect national integration because they make the parties (the buyers and the sellers) to see themselves as different peoples thereby sowing the seed of disunity in the country.
- **Language:** The importance of language in food trade cannot be overemphasized because a successful food transaction can be undertaken with hitch-free communication channel through a common language. This is so because food is produced in local areas by indigenous people who basically speak their local languages. Invariably, language proves to be militating factor against food trade in Nigeria because many people find it difficult to speak the languages of other tribes. Sometimes sellers take advantage of one who cannot speak their language. At other times the exploitation is intentional based on the presumption that the foreign buyer must be rich or perhaps will cart away the produce only to make huge profit from it. As a result, it is left for few individuals who can speak and understand the 'pidgin' language to trade effectively in food markets. Indeed, the language barrier in food trade hinders national integration because the gap created by the variation in language serves as impediment to meaningful interaction and possible mutual understanding. Worthy to note at this point is that common language is one of the defining characteristics of nationhood, hence, people that have common language have high propensity to stay together whereas the different languages portray different cultures.
- **Unionism:** Unequivocally, the contemporary Nigerian markets are inundated with avalanche of unions and this is applicable to food markets. These unions claim to perform different functions in the markets which involve restriction of traders and protection of the markets. However, the bottom line of their endeavour is to subvert competition and introduce manipulation, all aimed at undeserved profit. On the restriction of traders function, the union will limit the numbers of traders that can join their line of business. They normally do this by imposing huge registration fees. This is an artificial barrier to entry whose essence is to reduce competition that is capable of bringing down the prices of food in the market. On the other hand, the unions claim they protect the market by regulating the prices of food and days of trade. For instance, they may group the traders according to the days they will bring food to the market; maybe, group A will come to market this week while group B will come next week. There are known cases where whole communities have been involved in this arrangement, allowing some parts to farm some products in one season while the others do so the next season. The union uses this strategy to create artificial scarcity in the food market so as to sell their products very profitably. As a direct affront on competition which can improve welfare holistically and accordingly expand the market and the opportunities it offers, the above antics pose enormous threats to national integration in Nigeria.
- **Security:** Security which is the protection of life and property of people has been a big problem in the society. This security matter cuts across all the facets of human life but the aspect we dwell on here is security of life and food. Travelling to other states to source for food, especially the deep interiors where the food is grown, poses whole lots of security threats to traders. Considering the tribal war that always erupts with the slightest provocation, it becomes a highly risky adventure to freely embark on the inter-tribal food trade. With this development, the food trade is hampered and through this hindrance, affects national integration. It is even further hampered by threats that make the farms inaccessible. This not only wrecks harvests but severely limits the supply of food, leading to a scramble for whatever food is left by banditry, flood and other security threats. To this must be added the risk to food items posed by the incompetently maintained roads which bring about various mishaps to the food laden trucks. In a number of cases the loss is simply mind blowing. A conspicuous aspect of national integration challenges relating to security is the emergent centripetal and centrifugal forces to nationhood. Some tribes appear to be pushing for 'one Nigeria' while some others are longing for secession. Both parties deploy their different arsenals to actualize what they believe in. In this circumstance, plenty room is created for lawlessness and insecurity reigns supreme; the aspiration for national integration appears to be a mirage.

6. Conclusion and Prognoses

Since Nigeria was made a multinational state by the colonial overlords, the successive governments have devised different national integration programmes which are largely bereft of the capacity to land the country into a unified entity because of ethnic and religious cleavages. Therefore, this study interrogated the national integration mantra in the country through the food trade channel. Without mincing words, the importance of food in our terrestrial existence cannot be overestimated, with its golden propensity to broker peaceful coexistence in the country. This great potential has not been realised, and is indeed marred by some challenges. In the first place, there is a lack of awareness of emerging symbiosis between different peoples, brought about by food and food trade. This should be given an all out push by the governments and brought home to the people in the national integration agenda. Interestingly, the Fulani image of today smacks of banditry while each day the cattle they supply features prominently on meal tables all over the country. Other challenges uncovered include taxes imposed on foods by the local producers, food trade unions whose activities subvert competition, and security threats faced by traders and their foods as well as those posed by the centripetal and centrifugal forces. As a result, we recommend that:

A national orientation programme on the symbiosis already existing in food and food trade in Nigeria should be developed, kicked off and sustained. This programme will sensitise people to, and heighten the awareness of, shared threats, and pave a way for fellow feeling leading to national integration. For example, once it is heard that flood is about to overtake parts of the north, anxieties about rice, beans and other foods, their availability and prices will reverberate in the rest of the country. In this way, the threat to life and livelihood of one part of the country is shared by others on account of food and food trade. All that remains is to show that these people threatened by floods are human beings too. Data on tariffs on food, whether official (by government) or unofficial (by the people and their other oppressors), should be identified and appropriately removed to ease free flow of foods. Security and lack of it is an over flogged issue in Nigeria yet one whose calamitous effects can never be underestimated. It is perhaps necessary for government to reinvent itself because it is clear that here we are dealing with government failure.

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