

**FEDERALISM AND NATIONAL INTERGRATION IN NIGERIA:
ISSUES AND CHALLENGES**

BY

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**A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED TO THE
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Dedication

I dedicate this work to the almighty God, my parents and to my wonderful brothers and sisters.

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I acknowledge the help of my parents Mr and Mrs, Andrew Isiwele, my brothers, Mr Emmanuel Samuel, and Joshua, my sisters, Mrs Monica and Mrs Ruth for their moral and financial assistance during the research of this work and also for their support throughout my year in school.

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May God bless and provide for you all.

Abstract

The problem of federalism and the associated crises of national integration in Nigeria raise serious alarm. The situation attracts growing interest and concern. The crises are very severing such that they culminate in a strong force being mounted on the federation with tendency to disintegrate the country. The works addresses this phenomenon by investigating and analysing the problem. Documentary research method is used in gathering and analysing data. So textbooks, journals, periodical publications by related government agencies formed necessary source of our data while we employed system theory for pour analytical framework. The work identifies the method of revenue allocations as the major factor responsible for the crises of national integration in the Nigerian federalism. It concludes that in face in this problem, harmonious unification or integration cannot take place, political system cannot successfully adapt to both internal and external environment such that the survival of the system is difficult. The work recommends among others that federalism is the ultimate solution to the problems of national integration, so federal character and other related approaches should be effectively enforced. Again the current unjustifiable method of revenue allocation should be reformed to reflect justice, equity and fairness.

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Chapter One

Introduction

The crises of national integration in Nigeria are very severing such that the Nigerian federation is at its collapsing point. The heterogeneous nature of the country combines with the improper mode of the country's formation gave rise to antagonistic and integrative processes.

Nigeria as a country came into corporate existence in 1914, as a result of the fusion between the northern and southern protectorates by the British. National integration is the ultimate goal to be achieved in a multi ethnic country like Nigeria for there to be any reasonable development,.

According to Chime, [1971.50], national integration is a process of cohesion between two or more social units, whereby these units come together to constitute a political whole which include among other things the joining of various parts of society into a functioning whole, the growth of obedience and loyalty to its parts and the emergence of shared national values. It follows, that Nigeria would have received national unity where

obedience and loyalties to the Nigerian state, transcend loyalties to its parts. Thus conceptualization implies social equality of citizens.

Federation is a system of government adopted to enhance national integration in Nigeria; it is also a form of government that defines the relationship between component parts assumed to have the potential for integrating diverse cultural societies. The religions rather engage in ethnicity, political struggle by social classes, religious conflict etc, which culminate in the crises of national integration that reached climax during the period of the attempted succession and civil war.

1.1 Statement of Problem

Nigeria is essentially a plural society, its component groups are separated apart from each other by significant differences of language, ethnicity, and cultures of Nigeria created differences in attitude, outlook and character.

Faced with these problems, Nigeria adopted federalism as a means of achieving its much needed goal of national integration. In essence the federalism so adopted is expected to reduce the immensely aggressive inter ethnic competition and tension, allay the usually alleged fear of domination, bringing government nearer to the people and give the different groups more opportunities, thereby integrating the country.

Federation requires decentralization of power among the component units. It also requires that no component unit should be as large in size as to eliminate others. The case of Nigeria shows that power is concentrated in the central government. On the other parts, there exist structural imbalance between the northern, the east and west of Nigeria. This situation therefore by majority, political power is proportionately in favour of the north above other religions. The issue of revenue allocation in Nigeria is not without its own problems. As if all these problems are not enough for Nigeria federalism, the issue of on shore offshore dichotomy and equally the alarm raised about the marginalization from all religion in Nigeria are by setting the unity of the country.

We can summarily state the under following as our research questions.

1. Is the method of revenue allocation the major factor responsible for the crises of national integration in the Nigerian federalism?
2. Could the practice of true federalism in Nigeria alleviate the problem of national integration?
3. Could religion and ethnic loyalties be a major challenge in national integration in Nigeria?

1.2 Objectives of the Study

The research is set out to among other things

1. To find out the relationship between revenue allocation and national integration in Nigeria.
2. To discover if the operation of true federalism in Nigeria could help in tackling the problems.

3. To inquire into the impact of religions and ethnic loyalties and national integration in Nigeria.

1.3 Significance of the Study

It has become obvious that Nigeria cannot make any meaningful progress in the absence of unity. Some founding fathers of Nigeria adopted federalism as a pragmatic instrument for the achievement of the goal of national unity. The rationale was to see if there could be unity in diversity which means that there could be ways of bringing diverse ethnic groups into a modern nation. However, amidst all the efforts, the goals of national integration are not yet possible owing to the numerous problems inherent in Nigeria federalism.

It is therefore the task of this work to contribute in no little measure to the solution of the problem of national integration. Apart from thus, the work will equally add to the volumes of research materials available for further work on federalism and national integration in Nigeria.

1.4 Literature review

Much work has been done on the subject matter federalism and its relation to national integration. Most of the scholarly works were unable to give a comprehensive analysis of Nigerian federalism and how it affects national integration. Though some of them made very relevant scholarly contributions to knowledge from which a number of conclusions can be drawn.

Federalism as has been adopted in Nigeria found its way into our political arena during the colonial era. The concept is closely related to the various social based on coordinative, rather than sub coordinative relationship. It emphasises partnership among parties of equal claims to legitimacy who seek a common social order.

Jinadu says that it is usually built as a form of government and constitutional structure deliberately designed by political architects to cope with the different task of maintaining unity, while preserving diversity, Jinadu, [1979:15].

Speaking about Nigeria federalism two schools of thought emerged on its evaluation. The first school comprising of the nationalist believed that British imposed federalism on Nigeria in order to maintain the neo colonial control of the country after the lowering of the mantle. Chief Obafemi Awolowo, a convinced federalist described the British imposed federal structure as an abominable destructive and divisive British heritage, Awolowo, [1968:69]. They also believed that the colonial power made sure that there was enough structured imperfection left behind to bedevil inter ethnic relations after independence. However, this view of imposition held by this school is not exactly objective as Nigerians involved gave consent for her to become a federal state.

The second school of thought is of the opinion that historical and geographical factors determine the political evolution of Nigerian federalism. Nigeria being a large and culturally variegated country could not have been governed for a long time from one centre Akinyemi, [1979:91]. This view is not quite correct, as it is time that factors of history and

geography more than anything else determines the constitutional evolution of Nigeria.

Ethnicity is one concept that cannot be over looked in the discussion of the structure of Nigerian federalism and national integration as a whole. It has been defined as the social phenomenon associated with interaction among members of different ethnic groups refer to social formation distinguished by the communal character of the boundaries of which their common factors may be language, culture or both, Nnoli, (1973:58). Nigeria is one country that comprised various ethnic groups with physical or different backgrounds, ancestry and tradition. Nnoli goes further to mention some characteristics that distinguish one from ethnocentrism which simply connotes pride in ones group, a hampering that makes the members of the group inward looking.

According to him, ethnicity exists in a political society consisting of diverse ethnic groups. It is also characterized by a common consciousness of being one in relation to the other groups. Impulsiveness can be sighted as an

attribute of ethnicity which says, is normally accompanied by nepotism and corruption. Conflict is also seen as important aspect of ethnicity.

As he says, it is inevitable under conditions of inter ethnic competitions for scarce valuable resources particularly in a society where inequality is accepted as natural and wealth is greatly exchanged.

Several efforts have been made to adjust these social abnormalities and as Ibrahim Babangida said from anthropological and sociological viewpoint, Nigeria is a complex country, therefore nation building in Nigeria context must be of necessity because it is a complex and expensive enterprise.

Eleigwa, (1995:5), Nnoli 1978, also believed that the recovery of Nigeria will not be an easy task. He says adequate solution to the ethnic problems of Nigeria must stem logically from rigorous scientific analyses of the causes of the emergence and persistence and growth of ethnicity in the country. Ojukwu in his lecture, towards a greater Nigeria, said that national integration cannot be achieved by giving setaceous speeches; rather

appropriate steps will include de emphasising tribe and ethnic origin in all official documents that no Nigeria should offer instability whatsoever.

However Ema Awa, [1976] has noted that federalism involves corporation between the two levels of government and such cooperation increased in scope and quantity as the federation matures. Bargaining also assumes more important as the federation becomes more highly developed. As he further explained, there are always some conflicts in the relation between the regions and federal government and among the regions and themselves.

After going through the available literatures on federalism it was observed that the writers made relevant contributions, they did not give a comprehensive analysis of the problem of Nigeria federalism as they affect national integration. Sequel to this, in exploring the meaning of federalism, the issue of national integration must inevitably arise. In line with this, it became germane to review the contributions made by some scholars on national integration.

Duuelger defines national integration as building up solidarity and breaking down antagonism among the people in a political system. It refers specifically to the creation of a sense of territorial rationality which overshadows parochial loyalties.

Chime sees national integration as a process of cohesion between two or more social units whereby those units come together to constitute a political whole, which can in some cases be described as community.

Ali Mazrui in his book *Cultural Engineering and Nation Building in East Africa 1902*, sees national integration as the process of merging sub going entities into a shared sense of national consciousness.

In the same vein De Uree also defines integration as the combination and autonomous social and political problems arising among its members, for controlling their behaviour and the processes occurring among them, for keeping peace among them and or mobilizing their power or resources for making collective decision and as a result of all things, acting as a new unit with respect to its social or physical environment. Prior to these definitions,

integration will be conceived as the process of increasing a social or political system capacity based on decision making process.

National integration is relation to national development. It usually constitutes a platform for national development. Development can only be achieved in an atmosphere of cooperation and unity.

Where everybody feel a sense of belonging and wants to contribute his own quota to the development of national goal.

According to O. Aboyade in his book, issues in the development of tropical Africa (1976:16), he observed that development is essentially a continuous process of generating and more efficiently allocating resources for achieving greater social satisfying ends. While political development relates to the overall capacity of a people to govern them efficiently, this ability to govern relates to the capacity to extract resources, make and regulate behaviours. It also means the ability to resolve societal problems and manage conflicts.

If the society is able to do all these things mentioned, it will certainly lead to economic development for that nation.

Conclusively, after going through the available literatures on federalism and national integration, it was observed that some of them were able to explain to an extent the feasibility of achieving national integration. However in this study, we shall attempt to explore the suitability and adaptability of federalism to the excruciating task of building a coherent nation out of desperate and antagonistic people in Nigeria.

1.5 Theoretical Frameworks

Theoretical framework is indeed very useful in a research work in the sense that it enhances its internal activity. With this in mind, there are lot of theories used in the field of political science for research analysis; however, we will adopt the system theory by David Easton.

This theory is seen by scholars among who is Ifesinachi as a set of related elements and interrelations among them, which are disintegrated

from those elements not in the system by ambiguous analytic boundaries. The theory explains the component of the system made up of groups, persons or areas where the frequency of a particular pattern of interaction falls to an observable degree. Interdependence is the uniting force in the system; this is because stability and subsequently growth can only be achieved when all the components of a system work together.

As a way of using the system theory by David Easton to analyse this work, Easton, [2002], defines a political system as that system of interacting in any society through which binding or authoritative allocations are made and implemented.'[Easton in Okere 2002:98] this implies that an organization interacting with an environment, influencing it and being influenced by it and there also many interacting internal parts which constitutes parts of the arranging that the society employs in formulating and pursuing its collective goods [Almond and Powell 1980:4].

The three vital components of Easton definitions of political system constitute authoritative allocation, values and society.

At this point, it becomes necessary to make a brief application of this theory to the Nigerian political scene, before and after independence. The theory would be employed in this study because in Nigeria, like any other third world federative system, the power to allocate the resources available in the country is essentially concentrated at the central government, [federal level] that is the hierarchy of authority [federal level, state and local government], with the central government sitting on top of other levels in the allocation of revenues. This is basically due to the prolonged military rule in the country, and this has been one of the banes. For the country to experience genuine unity and subsequently development, all the groups and cleavages have to come together since no part of the system can function effectively and maximally without depending on the other components.

1.6 Hypotheses

It is necessary to formulate some guiding hypotheses. The hypotheses thus raised are.

1. The method of revenue allocation tends to constitute the major factor responsible for the crisis of national integration in the Nigerian federalism.
2. Federalism in Nigeria could help in tackling the problem of national integration.
3. Religious and ethnic loyalties are major threats to national disintegration.

1.7 Methods of Data Collection/ Analysis

In this study we adopted the use of secondary source of data as the main method. This is justified due to its intrinsic values. For any research to be meaningful, reliable and scientific fact and ideas must be supplemented with empiricism.

Secondary materials like textbooks, research papers, government publications, newspapers, magazines etc will be seriously put into use.

1.8 Limitation of the Study

The basic problems which were encountered during this study were the scarcity and inaccessibility of materials. However the study was successfully done because of the extra efforts made to get more resources and procure the materials for analyses.

1.9 Conceptual Definitions

In this study, some key concept will be used. Some of these concepts include national integration and federalism.

I. National integration

National integration involves the existence of national consciousness, which is the feeling of individual or group identity within the nation state as the only political unit through which their collective interest can be realized.

National integration therefore involves patriotism which a call for supreme scarifies on the part of the entire citizenry for the whole country if the need arises.

II. Federalism

Federalism means an arrangement whereby powers within a multinational country are shared between a federal or central authority and a number of regionalized governments in such a way that each unit, including this central authority exist as a government separately and independently from the others.

Division of power among the levels of government by the constitution is explicit. The centre and the component unit [regions, states] have defined spheres of authority, powers and shared among the levels of government which are coordinates. Powers shared among the various levels could be categorized as exclusive list, concurrent list and residual list.

A. Exclusive list

Subjects on this list are reserved for the centre [federal government] examples here are, defence, internal affairs, national currency, immigration, maritime activities, aviation, etc.

B. The Concurrent List

Subjects here are to be exercised both by the federal and the state. Example includes agriculture, health, commerce, education, works etc.

C. Residual List

This comprises functions to be exercised by the state/ unit government alone, example includes chieftaincy title etc.

Chapter Two

Revenue Allocation and the crises of National integration in Nigeria Federalism

2.1 Resource Allocation

Resources are wealth, they may be supplies of goods or raw materials or maybe minerals. The control of funds or a reasonable part of it, due to a federation is a big source of conflict among levels of government in federation especially in Obasanjo's administration. The need for resource control, in a federation is due to the need to perform effectively the government assigned constitutional functions.

Furthermore, the agitation for resource control was prompted by enduring years of exploitation, deprivation and marginalization of communities for tapping their resources and subjecting them to health and environmental hazards, agricultural dilapidation and deprivation etc. Social amenities through the use of state power are concentrated in non oil producing areas. This fact laid confidence to Nnolis assertion [1980] that

African politics is characterised by the belief that having one's own people in government means getting much of the resources under government control.

Against this backdrop, according to Aworowo [2000] the agitation of Niger delta communities for resource control often resulted in the destruction of oil installations and government properties as well as the kidnapping of the workers [expatriates] of oil companies from who they sometimes demand ransom as their own share of the national cake. Because of this government has deployed soldiers to such places, as was the case of Odi, Bayelsa state in late 1990s. This has not however stopped the unrest. In fact in October 1998 to June 1999, there was scarcely a time when there was no protest of some sort in the Niger delta from trying to frustrate the of shore of the export of liquefied natural gas from Bonny. Thus, the numerous cases of violent conflict within Nigeria have their root in deprivation and mass poverty.

On the other hand, the issue of resource allocation has been a reoccurring theme in Nigeria's fiscal federalism. There is the problem of

how to allocate resources to the different tiers of government in relation to the constitutionally assigned functions. The discordance between fiscal capacity of the various levels of government and their expenditure responsibilities, the non correspondence problem, is a striking feature of the Nigeria federal finance. Since the late 1940s, several criteria have been made to allocate revenues among the regions/ states. The principle adapted to date includes derivation, balance development, social development, national interest, equality, population and absorptive capacity. Each of these principles has attracted a number of criticisms from fiscal scientists among others.

However, the debate about what principles used and the weight has been intense, giving rise to different theoretical and political positions. The principle of derivation unequivocally attracted the most significant attacks as protestation, however, but my argument here is in favour of derivation principle in horizontal revenue allocation in Nigeria. It is acknowledged that the proposed weight of 13 percent attached to the derivation principle at the 1995 constitutional conference is a welcome development. Thus figure

should be increased since oil production that contributes to the bulk of the nation's revenue generates negative externalities with intergenerational adverse consequences.

In addition, according to the principle of derivation, each region should receive revenue from the central government in its contribution to the centrally collected revenue. In Philipsons, the recommendation of this principle was informed by the need to promote fiscal discipline in the region. On the basis of derivation therefore, it was envisaged that each region must necessarily release its expenditure to available revenue. This principle was also proposed in anticipation that the region should have some degrees of fiscal autonomy with time. On these scores, derivation as a principle for revenue allocation among the regions is desirable and in particular, it should be favoured on equality considerations. More so, the principle of derivation was used to share revenue collected from import and exercise taxes in tobacco, import duties and mining rent and royalties in accordance with regional consumption of the product on tax revenue were obtained.

Finally, although the principle of derivation was unjustifiably de-emphasised because of the shift in revenue generation from the majority group that are politically powerful to the minority areas that are politically powerless. Because of the principle of derivation meets equity considerations, its use with a substantial weight should be considered in order to enhance the benefits derivable from oil production by mineral producing areas. The truth is revenue allocation in Nigeria has thus remained a project of the ruling oligarchy devoid of the promise of democratic evaluation.

2.2 Northern Domination and the Bogey of Power sharing

The northern domination of the political leadership of Nigeria has been seen as not only providential but also divinely inspired. Scion of the conservative northern political oligarchy, Maitama Sule, ones drew attraction to this providential and divinely inspired logic in this way,

The northern are endowed with leadership qualities.

The Yoruba man knows how to earn a living and

Has a diplomatic quality. The Igbo's are gifted in

Commerce, trade..... God so created us individually

For a purpose. Others are created as kings, servants

....we all need each other if there are no followers, a

King will not exist. [Newswatches Feb, 25, 1998].

Osifo Whiskeys' article of the trouble with the north expands on this theme in this way.

Under the table scheming of the north caliphate, power attempts between the civilians and military minimum in an unabashed rapid power play that reduces the entire south the glorified second class people [insider weekly, No 50, Dec. 2004].

The real or imaginary fears of northern domination and homogeny have created the bogey of power sharing as the solution to northern and

other forms of ethno regional domination/ power tends to accentuate the oligarchic theory and practise. It is largely holding operation with the socio economic quo, land government immobilize with consequent growth of cynics' towards the political process.

Again the notion of power sharing in Nigeria federalism as Adigun Agbaje argued that federalism has the partials of doing more than harm than good to the polity by further complicating the search for good government, national integration and democracy. The failure of power sharing to facilitate and support democratic governance in Nigeria makes it redundant as a principle of political leadership. Power sharing at least a rationalizing creed engendering illusory consciousness and the bogey of power dispersal in the face of continued power concentration. It creates the feeling of symmetry even as the formation and perpetuation as asymmetrical power relation between people and institutions to grow and fossilize.

Finally, closely related to the notion of power sharing as the concept of rotational presidency, perceived as an arrow head for ensuring real access and balancing in institutional representation, especially the presidency of

Nigeria. Undemocratic as is the idea of rotational presidency has been construed as a major, if not the last pragmatic plant to ensure unity and stability in Nigeria. The idea was nurtured by deep seated ethno regional scheme and the hegemonic disposition of geo political equation.

In conclusion, the principle of rotational presidency is presently being played out as a convention but its retunes are worrisome. All the fears of Nigerians tumultuous past still live in the polity. The clear indication is that since colonialism, the Nigerian nation has remained an authoritarian project driven on wheels of primitive capital rest. The bogey of any enduring nascent democracy is quickly receding into a lottery of unperceived entered bureaucracy proportion unmindful of the plight of its citizens.

2.3 Inequality Created by Ethnicity

Two of Nigeria's soldiers' writers, General Madiebo and Major Ademoyeya hold our colonial masters responsible, arguing that they made no serious efforts to hold together the various ethnic groups they brought

together into a united nation. Years have elapsed since Nigeria attained political independence from Britain, during which we fought bitter civil war, yet national integration still elided us.

Ethnicity is not something that can simply be unshed away or eradicated over night. It is essentially for policy makers to accept that ethnic groups is a speech community sharing a common language and culture, with behaviour pattern distinguishable from those other groups is much longer than Nigeria as a nation. The maintenance of traditional institution, including traditional rulers, reinforces these ethnic ties and loyalties. Also the fact that most Nigerians live in rural communities where the challenges of integrating with one another or rather ethnic groups are negligible and has not been conclusive to rapid national integration and enforcement of true federalism in Nigeria.

Notwithstanding the foregoing, it is important that loyalty and national integration are not necessarily mutually exclusive. National integration would not be possible with the kind of ethnic loyalty and sentiments Nigeria has.

Another reason why national integration has become an uphill task in Nigeria is due to the Nigerian intellectuals and their attitude. This is evident in their exploitative parochial and clannish sentiment... this view, expressed by a Nigerian university vice chancellor, was echoed by Van Drenth conflict is first and foremost, elite rather than a mass phenomenon. It is the educated people who as the aspirants for the economic and social plumps at national level, have turned out to be the worst tribalism, unabashedly eliciting the support of the gullible masses if and when this becomes necessary for the achievement of their selfish ends. It is doubtful whether the destructive event which have been characterized since history attained political sovereignty in 1960 would have assumed such tragic dimension without the leadership provided by Nigerians who have benefited from university or professional education.

Unlike many other African countries [such as present democratic republic of Congo], Nigerians biggest headache upon attainment of political high level indigenous manpower. Nigeria has a comparatively respectable number of doctors, engineers, lawyers, administrator's etc for an effective

take off. The problem was that the education these Nigerians received did not seem to have equipped them to contribute constructively to the solution of the most serious problem facing their young nation, national integration.

2.4 Structural Imbalances and the Issue of Restructuring

This structural imbalance seriously contracted John Stuart Mills's thesis that the federation should be more powerful than the other.

According to him,

*There should not be any state so much more powerful
Than the rest as to be capable in strength with many of
They combined, if there be such a one and only one,
It will insist on being master of the joint deliberation if
There be two, they will be irresistible when they agree
And whatever they differ, everything will be decided
Between the rules. [J.S Mills, 1946:240].*

this is because in the former regions, the north alone was a great, as if not greater than [both the population and land mass] the rest of the three other

regions put together, for example, out of 312 seats in the then house of representative, 167 were allocated to the north, 70 to the east, 57 to the west, 14 to the mid west and 4 to Lagos on the basis of population. The data above shows that the north has more seats.

Furthermore, professor Nwanbueze has also observed the dangerous structural imbalance that characterized Nigerian federalism, according to him,

Perhaps the most astonishing peculiarity of Nigeria

Federalism was the imbalance in size and population

Between the north and the other regions put together

Encompassing 75 percent of the population.

No wonder the Magery Perham described the Nigerian federalism of federal structure as neither a tripod, which is neither physically nor politically a very stable basis, and when on hand and then another weakness, collapse is inevitable. This imbalance in the Nigerian tripod was of the heat acrimony which accompanied Nigeria politics up till 2004, the fear of dominion

whether real or imaginary by the northern region was therefore latent. This is because, it cannot be denied that population and land mass are sources of power dealing with matters concerning franchise and allocation of revenues of the country.

To this end, restructuring in a federal polity is intended to achieve certain specifics which serve as a steering mechanism to properly give focus and locus to attempt at collective identity and distributive politics. The aim is to correct perceived structural defects and institutional foundation and for a more just and a more equitable sharing of cohabiting in a federal territory.

Finally, part of the *raison d'être* of political restructuring is better appreciation of the need for tolerance and respect for civil right to both aggrieved ethnic minorities. In poor federal polity like Nigeria, the federal structure is perceived as device for the state largeness [W.D Graf, 1988]/ this civic rationality comes into sharp focus.

Chapter Three

Federalism and the Problem of National Integration in Nigeria

Today's Nigerian state encompasses various ethnic groups with diverse cultural backgrounds, and religious differences. These various groups are often antagonistic to each other, since the country attained her independence in 1960. This being the case, past civilian and military governments had fashioned out one policy measure or the other to unite and integrate the people into one nation state, (J.S Coleman, 1958).

This chapter therefore seeks to examine some of the integrative measures put in place by previous and present administrations in the country to unite the nation. This research shall, however, examine only few of these policies or programmes. These are: the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC), the federal character scheme, the creation of states, Unity schools and the national Rebirth programme. The utility success and failures of these programmes or policies shall be the focus of this chapter, (Eme Awa, 1976).

3.1 National Youth Service Corps [NYSC]

In May 1973 General Yakubu Gowon established the national youth service corps [NYSC]. He had it at the back of his mind the intension of integrating the youths of the country among other things. There is no doubt that he and other initiators of the scheme had patriotic and noble intensions. But Nigeria was just recovering from the national drift brought in the thirty month civil war, which almost saw the end of the existence of the Nigerian state, [Billy Dudley, 1986].

It is in a bid to unite and reintegrate the people that Gowon established the scheme to enable them forge friendly ties among themselves and also to enhance their understanding of the different cultures district from others. In fact, decree 24 of 1973, as amended by decree 21 of the 1985 gives the *raison d' tre* for the NYSC establishment with a view to encouraging and developing a common ties among the youth of Nigeria and the promotion of national unity. [S.O Olugbemi, 1987].

One of the aims of the scheme is to inculcate discipline in Nigerian youths by installing in them a tradition of industry at work and patriotic loyal services to the nation in any situation they may find themselves. [A.C Isaac, 1985]

Indeed Nigeria's multi cultural development was to be helped by the mandatory participation of graduates of institutions of higher learning. The vision was to broaden their social and intellectual horizon, then corps members, as leaders of tomorrow, would put this knowledge to the service of the nation, and in order to achieve this purpose, the corps members are urged in their pledge which they usually swore to, at all times and places to think and speak like Nigerians before anything else. In addition they are expected to regard fellow Nigerians as their brothers and sisters. [Ali Mazrui, 1992]

But as noble as this idea which stresses patriotic service and selflessness to the nation in all ramifications of the societal life prevailing situations like sharia for instance has turned the NYSC scheme into a very frightful and dangerous scheme. No thanks to the new found love of the

sharia by some Muslims governors of the north that has greatly polarised the Nigerian nation along religious divides. These sharia laws that are being implemented in some northern state pose as a real threat to national integration and unity. [A.O Sanda, 1976].

For instance, Zamfara state has been very notorious and violent since the inception of sharia law in the state; several cases of human right violation have been reported in Zamfara State. This situation gives cause for parents to be apprehensive about the safety of their wards, [Obayuwana and Eno Abasi, 2000]. This situation prompted call outside the state to give a second about their safety in such states while indigenes of various southern states urge their people not to honour their call up letters to service, if posted to any of the northern states. It is obvious that this matter has assumed a more complex dimension; the orchestration of the protest gave rise to questions about the NYSC and its future.

There used to be a time youths upon graduating received their call up letters with broad smiles and joy. There is no doubt that this protracted string issue has the potential of truncating this laudable programme aimed at

fostering unity, understanding and tolerance among the divergent ethnic nationalities in the country

3.2 The Federal Character Principle

Federal character principle was introduced by General Murtala Mohammed, due to the frustration of the bitter ethnic experience and the attendant human tragedies of the societies. He observed that the only way to balance the various ethnic groups in the state is by ensuring the principle of the federal character into the Nigerian constitution. He did not live to see the implementation of this constitution as he was a victim to an aborted coup staged by some military officers.

The concept of federal character principle is very ambiguous. It was introduced to make every section of the country feel a sense of belonging in the country and also to foster national unity among different ethnic groups living in the nation, notwithstanding the diversities of the ethnic origin, culture, language or religion. It reflects the representation of the nations composition in matters of appointments and promotion, observation of

quotas in admission into federal institutions, appointment into political offices such as ministers, ambassadors, commissioners etc, [O. Gibson, 1960].

But dominant or advantageous ethnic groups, who have no consideration for other groups in the society, took advantage of the scheme to monopolize public offices. They turned it into an opportunity for enriching themselves and their families.

The programme has been hijacked by certain ethnic groups who used it to exclude other ethnic groups from the resources of the nation. In fact, the programme has been regarded as an ideology of the members of the privileged groups aimed at protecting their selfish interest. The negative aspect of federal character principle is that it undermines national unity.

The system is gradually shifting from meritocracy in favour of mediocrity, most qualified Nigerians have been denied appointment or promotion as a result of quota system, and depriving those people who are not indigenes of a particular state the opportunity to work or hold political

offices in that state. Such a situation will lead to a feeling of alienation and unpatriotic towards national goal.

The unpatriotic feeling towards the nation has expressed the heightened conflict between the various ethnic groups in the different parts of the state in recent times, is no doubt the handwork of the federal character principle. The citizens in whatever they do, end up being divided along ethnic line, this leads to concentration of loyalty of citizens to their own group, instead of the centre. The principle has contributed to disintegration of the local people since its adoption.

3.3 The Creation of States

It has been observed that the creation of state as well as local government has made Nigeria unique in Africa and indeed the world. Under normal circumstances, federation are derived from the coming together of formerly independent units or states to form a federal state. This was how the united states of America, for example was formed. But the Nigeria

federation is a direct opposite of such pattern the country was united into one indivisible entity by the British through series of amalgamations, but it became clear to the British that Nigeria cannot really live together as one indivisible entity, but still it was not enough as the people agitated for more regions to be created for them. The colonizers stylishly avoided this responsibility, shifting it to indigenous government on their departure. [Akinyemi Bolaji, 1979].

The agitation for the creation of more states became intensively high after independence in 1960. All agitations led to the creation of the mid western region in 1963 bringing the total regions to four. In May 1967, Gowon increased the existing regions into twelve states, in February 1976; Murtala Mohammed increased them to nineteen states/ in 1987 and 1991 General Babangida made them twenty one and thirty states link up.

Abacha came in 1996 to increase them to the current thirty six states structures and a federal capital territory in Abuja, [Ogunna, 1982].

The multiplicity of states in the federation over the years is the response to a long standing and well articulated ethnic groups in the country which have been subjected to different and unequal treatment in the allocation of state resources. They have also suffered from discrimination, oppression, marginalization and social deprivation in the hands of the three major ethnic groups in Nigeria, which are, Hausa Fulani, Yoruba and Igbo who then controlled the northern, western and eastern regional government as well as dominating the politics of political parties that existed at that time. To curb these problems, minority ethnic groups agitated for more states.

The significant factors necessitating the creation of states in Nigeria include the following.

1. The removal of structural imbalance and allaying the minorities.
2. Ethnic, linguistic and cultural affinity.
3. Historical association.
4. Geographical contiguity.
5. Comparability of size of component units and

6. Absolute and relative violability of state and desire to pave way for Nigeria's unity, stability and harmony.

One major benefit that was derived from the creation of states at the initial stage of existence is that it helped to prevent succession of the Igbo's and save the country from disintegration. It also established a solid foundation for a strong united and indivisible nation among the various ethnic and linguistic groups that existed within the country. It also broke the monolithic character of the north, on paper. It should be noted that through the structural imbalance of the federation was reduced through the creation of states, but created more problems than good because miscreants quickly seized the opportunity to hijack political power in the newly created states and started oppressing other smaller ethnic groups in their state. In essence state creation has generated new problem to replace the one it tried to eradicate.

Moreover, most of these new states are not economically viable to sustain it hence leading to conflict between states in the federation. There are arguments and counter arguments as to a former state now broken into two is

to be shared between two state, it has led to the problem of statism, that is the loyalty of the people is now transferred to their state of origin at the expense of the central government.

Finally, the creation of states has further strengthened existence between people, in the sense that people who are originally in the same state automatically become non indigenes after a state has been created, and can be discriminated against in terms of employment, admission into schools, payment of school fees, denial of political rights etc. All the aforementioned problems have led to a feeling of not belonging among the people, and such thinking hinders national unity.

3.4 The Mass Mobilization for Social Justice. Self Reliance and Economic Recovery [MAMSER]

The need for MAMSER arose out of the report of a political bureau which was recommended as a condition for a new social, political economic

order, MAMSER was set up by General Babagida on July 25th 1987. The objectives of MAMSER were to.

1. Awaken the consciousness of all Nigerians to their rights and obligation as citizens of Nigeria.
2. Preparing the framework for creating the basic institution and norms of democracy at all levels of our society.
3. Propagating the virtues of hand work, honesty, self reliance, commitment to, and promotion of national integration, [Udoekong. 1989].

MAMSER was expected to create a new [political culture of oneness and unity among others. It was set up to raise political awareness and consciousness among some Nigerians, in other words, it was expected to promote integration.

MAMSER under the leadership of Professor Jerry Gana set out to achieve its objectives through media advertisement, electronic, seminars, conferences, public lectures and other means of public enlightenment.

MAMSER did contribute a lot in the area of publicity and enlightenment as a way of sensitizing the general public on what they stand to gain from the programme unfortunately, negative vices such as ethnic segregation and discrimination did not allow the programme to impact positively on the behaviour of Nigerians.

Chapter Four

Religious and Ethnic Loyalties and National integration

4.1 Inter Ethnic Rivalries and National integration in Nigeria

Nigeria is constituted by over 250 ethnic groups and among these groups are the three major ethnic groups, Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba, who dominated the rest in terms of politics. Each of these groups dominates the government of their regions and up to national level. For instance, the Hausa Fulani has dominated politics in the country right from independence up to the time democracy was restored back in Nigeria. [Okwudiba and Nnoli, 1978]

The struggle for dominance is at two levels, first is the struggle between the three major ethnic groups for dominance of politics in the country, this has pitched the Hausa, Igbo's and Yoruba's against one another. The fall out of this struggle brought about treasonable felony, that made a state of emergency to be declared in the western region in 1963, the census crises, the 1964 federal election crises and coup d' etat of 1966 and

later that year a counter coup that followed. And also the thirty month civil war which almost saw to the end of the country, no doubt all these conflicts and crises are the fallout from politics in Nigeria. [Dudley, 1973]

The second type of struggle is between minority and majority ethnic groups, the minority feel neglected, marginalized and excluded from the fruits and benefits of the Nigerian state. All these led to agitation for more states. Since then the creation for more state has become imperative in Nigeria.

Minority ethnic groups believe that they are capable of pioneering their own affairs and development, so they should be left alone to control their resources found in their hand. This view held by the minority groups has generated a lot of national questions and this has become a very sensitive issue.

There is no doubt that politics in Nigeria has actually been of that of struggle for domination and control of state wealth. The fallout has been that some groups dominated the country's politics, and others are just mere

subordinates. The fact underline the reason for conflict in Nigeria, and national integration as been devastating instead of being complementary and embarrassing, [Barongo, 1978].

4.2 Religious Loyalties and National integration

Nigeria has been pervaded by religious fanaticism and volatile religious clashes have been so re occurring that it constitutes threat to nationhood.

The devastation occasioned by religious clashes has been enormous, there has been considerable lose of live and properties in Nigeria. And also houses of worship of the dominant religious faith in Nigeria also burnt down and thousands of persons have been killed, sophisticated weapons have been used i some of these clashes, all in the name of being loyal to ones religion. An example is the Kaduna riot in the College of Education Kafanchan, Kaduna state. By the end of the riot 25 persons were killed, 61 persons injured, 52 churches, 3 mosques, 46 private homes, 30 hotels, 9 shops, 1

petrol station and 19 vehicles were burnt and destroyed. [Olusanya Gabriel, 1976].

Also religious clashes occurred in higher institutions in Nigeria. Prominent among them are the Amedu Bello University in June 1988, university of Ibadan may 6, 1986. The most devastating of these clashes has been the Maitasine clashes in 1988, in Kano 1982 and Jimeta 1984.

All these clashes indicated religious intolerance, religious fanaticism, loyalty to ones religion and lack of respect for each other's religion.

But so far, the most serious stress of religious harmony and peace in Nigeria has been the sharia issue. Serious riots broke out in many parts of the north due to the implementation of sharia on non Muslims living in that state, and this led to serious clash between Christians and Muslims in that state. This fight claimed thousands of Christians and very many Christians had to flee from the north as a result of the riot.

The report in religious rioting and conflicts indicate that there is no religious harmony in Nigeria.

Chapter Five

Summary/ Recommendation and Conclusion

5.1 Summary

The crises of national integration in Nigeria raise serious alarm. It attracts growing interest and concern. There is lack of effective unification of various units or component of the federation rather disintegrate forces such as suspicion, tribal loyalty, class struggle, ethnicity etc constitute sever problem being mounted on the political system to separate the country. In view of this, it is obvious that the system cannot effectively adapt to is environment such that its survival is difficult.

In our attempt to investigate the foregoing problems we employed documentary research method for gathering and analysing data. So textbooks, journals, periodical publications by related government agencies formed necessary source of our date. Again we used systems theory for the analytical framework.

Consequently we made the under following as our major findings.

1. The method of revenue allocation is very unjustifiable since we discovered that some areas known as the major source of revenue suffer neglect, deprivation etc the crises of national integration are more severe in those neglected and deprived areas.
2. There is principle of federal character and other various policies but not implemented accordingly.
3. There is concentration of power excessively on the federal government.
4. In view of the heterogeneous nature of the country, federalism suitably provides accommodation for the distinct units.
5. The forces dividing were discovered to be greater than the forces uniting the distinct units together.
6. The dominant units and the states have intention of separating from the federation.

5.2 Conclusion

The problem, which motivated this study, has been successfully solved since the findings of the study sufficiently and logically guides us to uphold our hypotheses.

We conclude that unjustifiable method of revenue allocation is the major factor responsible for the crises of national integration in Nigeria. We also established that federalism is the ultimate solution to the problem of national integration in Nigeria since it is only the system or type that can provide accommodation for the diverse units of the country but the system has failed because of ineffective application of federal principles.

In view of the forgoing conclusively stated facts, it is obvious according to our findings that the Nigerian political system cannot effectively perform the input and out functions. Again the system cannot successfully adapt to both internal and external environments, a system of this type in this situation faces a problem of survival, according to David Easton, the proponent of our analytical framework.

5.3 Recommendations

From the onset, we have seen that the practice of federation and national integration in Nigeria has been more in theory than in practice. Nigeria since becoming a federal republic has rather practiced unitary, than federal system of government.

Based on the analysis carried out in this study we make the following recommendations.

1. There should be constitutional provisions to ensure that Nigerians have full citizenship rights whenever they reside within the country. What this call for are the laws governing citizenship especially as they relate to state indignity. Both the state and federal government should recognise the importance of uniform political culture and unbiased agent of socialization and device an effective socialization orientation and mobilization process into an acceptable and defined political culture.

2. It is necessary to evolve a national policy which ensure that no group, no matter small, is denied it's just rights and entitlements, as such denials leads to frustration and inability to identify with the national state.
3. There is need for a democratically drawn up constitution through a sovereign national conference [SNC]. Since the military imposed 1999 constitution is fundamentally defective and is incapable of satisfying the aspiration of the people. This new constitution will also be subjected to the people's referendum, thereby making it a mass participatory product, the people's constitution and not that of particular class. This is because the masses of the people have always been treated as aliens in the constitutional processes from 1914 to 1999 as all constitutional frameworks have always been imposed on them whether or not the like them.
4. Acquisition of a common political culture will checkmate any threat to national integration and unity since it will instil into people love

and respect for the defined patterns of attitudes, beliefs, values and orientation to national politics.

5. The federal principles should be reviewed in the areas of socio economic activity covered by limiting its application to only the public sector of the country.

We conclude by saying that, although the practice of federalism in Nigeria is far from what true federalism entails, if these recommendations are followed strictly, the practice of true federalism and national integration in Nigeria will be a reality. This is the basis for this research.

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