

**THE CHALLENGES OF FEDERALISM IN A MULTI-ETHNIC
SOCIETY IN AFRICA
(A CASE STUDY OF NIGERIA)**

BY

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this project work to almighty Allah my creator, my strong putter, my sources of inspiration, wisdom, and knowledge and understanding. He has been my source of strength. Throughout this program on his wings only have I soared.

Also I dedicate this program to the one who has given me privilege in infinity power, everlasting joy, mercy wisdom and knowledge who has been the source of everything needed for the successful completion of this program from the beginning to the end all the praise is due to him (ALLAH) for providing me with resources needed to turn my dream into Reality.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

The history of ethnicity and ethnic conflicts in Nigeria can be traced to the colonial transgressions that forced the ethnic groups of the northern and southern provinces to become an entity called Nigeria in 1914. Since the various ethnic groups living in these provinces were not consulted regarding the merger, this British colonial policy was autocratic and undemocratic, and this led to conflict. It denied the people's basic needs of participation, equality and social well-being (Irbil, 2005). Ethnic groups are defined as a community of people who share cultural and linguistic characteristics including history, tradition, myth, and origin. Scholars have been trying to develop a theoretical approach to ethnicity and ethnic conflict for a long time. Some like Donald Hurwitz, Ted Garr, and Edward Aztar, agree that the ethnic conflicts experienced today especially in Africa are deep rooted. These conflicts over race, religion, language and identity have become so complex that they are difficult to resolve or manage. Ethnicity has a strong influence on one's status in a community (Marshall and Garr, 2003). Ethnic conflicts are therefore often caused by an attempt to secure more power or access more resources etc. According to (Academe, 2005), Prof. K. C. Wheare, defined Federalism as a constitutional arrangement in which law-making powers and functions are divided between Central and State governments in such a way that each, within its respective sphere of jurisdiction and competence is equal, independent and coordinate, to the extent of the federating states voluntarily surrendering some functions exigent on perceived capacity and desire to a Central Government for their collective good. Nigeria's Federalism is an agglomeration of 36 States bounded by one Constitution with three tiers of governance namely the Federal government, State government and Local government in which the Central (Federal) government arrogates onto itself the powers of appropriating functions and powers (at least during non-democratic tenures) respectively.

Economic factors have been identified as one of the major causes of conflict in Nigeria. In multi-ethnic societies like Nigeria, ethnic communities violently compete for property, rights, jobs, education, language, social amenities and good health care facilities (Nnoli, 1980). According to Furnival (2005), "the working of economic forces makes for tension between groups with competing interests. "Benedict Anderson (1991) once said that ethnicity is "a construct" rather than a constant.

Conflict management and peaceful resolution of conflict is very important in Nigeria. Nigerian leaders should take a second look at their behavior and policy choices. Emphasis here should be on discouraging corruption, embracing transparency and good governance. The study will examine the effects of federalism on multi-ethnic African society.

1.1. STATEMENT OF RESEARCH PROBLEM

African societies prior to the advent of the European countries' domination had been ruled by their traditional values. The Mercelil treaty that divided the African countries to be shared by European Union changed the nature of the political system in Africa.

The British government and their allies imposed their political administration; their laws on most ethnic groups in Africa, adopted political systems by indigenes or nationalists had caused more pain and misery than advancement to the populace. Social commentators have argued that there is no perfect system anywhere in the world so they hinged the problem of failed African states on Leadership failure.

It is against this backdrop; the researcher intends to investigate checking of federalism in a multi-ethnic Africa society with a view to proffering solution to the research problem.

1.2 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The objectives of the study are:

1. To determine whether federalism is responsible for uprising of ethnic militia in a multi-Africa society.
2. To determine whether leadership failure is responsible for widespread political imbalance in a multi ethnic-Africa society.
3. To determine whether federalism is responsible for collapsing social amenities in a multi ethnic-Africa society.
4. To determine whether federalism is responsible for the spate of insecurity in a multi ethnic-Africa society.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTION

The study will attempt to find answers to the following questions:

1. Is federalism responsible for uprising of ethnic militias in a Multi Ethnic African Society?
2. Is federalism directly responsible for widespread political imbalance in a multi Ethnic Africa Society?
3. Is federalism responsible for collapsing social amenities in a multi-ethnic Africa society?
4. Is federalism directly responsible for the spate of insecurity in a multi-ethnic Africa society?

1.4 RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

The following provisional statements will be stated to guide the investigation of the study:

- Ho: There is no significant relationship between Federal System of government and uprising of ethnic militias across Nigeria.
- Ho: There is no significant relationship between Federal System of Government and widespread political imbalances in Nigeria
- Ho: There is no significant relationship between Federal System of Government and collapsing social amenities in Nigeria.
- Ho: There is no significant relationship between Federal System of Government and the spate of insecurity in Nigeria.

1.5 PURPOSE OF STUDY

The purpose of this study is to discover why the challenges of federalism and ethnic conflict have been on the increase for several years without solutions in Nigeria. Politicized ethnicity has been detrimental to the national unity and socio-economic well-being. It is important to note that most of these ethnic conflicts were caused by colonialism, which compounded inter-ethnic conflict by capitalizing on the isolation of ethnic groups. This research provides suggestion on improving formulation of social policies in the distribution of economic resources that was often skewed to favour a particular group, pushing marginalized groups to use their ethnicity to mobilize for equality.

1.6 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The study focus on the operations of the fiscal federal system in Nigeria between years 2023 to 2024 and the various dimensional social crises that took place under the period.

1.7 LIMITATION OF THE STUDY

Due to paucity of finance and other resources, the research was compelled to cover a period of one year. The various arm campaign by various ethnic militias stultifies the effort of the researcher in the course of the investigation. The high level of insecurity in the country also constituted hindrance in the distribution of the questionnaires.

1.8 DEFINITION OF TERMS

Federalism: - Federalism is a mode of government that combines a general government (the central or “federal” government) with regional government (provincial, state, territorial or other sub-unit government) in a single political system, dividing the power between the two.

Ethnic militia: - This is an armed group that is formed along ethnic lines, often to promote or protect the interest of the specific ethnic group.

Political imbalance: - This refers to a situation where there is an unequal distribution of political power, influence or representation among different groups or individuals within a political system.

Social amenities: - This refers to the facilities and services provided by a community or organization to enhance the quality of life and well-being of its members.

Insecurity: - This refers to the feeling of uncertainty, vulnerability or instability that can manifest in various aspects of life.

Federal government: - This is the central government of a country, responsible for overseeing and regulating matters that affects the entire nation.

State government: - This is the government of a state or province responsible for governing and administering the states internal affairs.

Local government: - This refers to the public administration of a local area, such as a city, town, county or municipality. It is the lowest tier of government, closest to the people, responsible for provision of services.

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CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter literature relevant to the research topic will be reviewed. First, we shall attempt to review the historical background of African multi-ethnic societies and the system of political organization. Other aspects of literature that will be reviewed include:

1. Federalism: Conceptualization and theoretical approaches
2. Challenges of federalism in multi-ethnic African societies
3. Causes of ethnic conflict in Africa societies

2.1 HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

We shall start with the review of Ronald Walters writing on events that led to Pan Africanism before earliest contacts with Europeans. The record of this earliest contacts is present in the early communications between the rulers of African states and the monarchs of Europe in the 17th Century as well as in the routine physical resistance of Africans to slavery from the beginning of the slave trade. Modern resistance of colonialism, however, began with the development of a formal Pan-Africa movement at the dawn of the 20th century.

In 1900 Henry Sylvester Williams, a lawyer from the Caribbean Island of Trinidad organized a Pan African conference in London to give Black people the opportunity to discuss issues facing Blacks around the world. The conference attracted a small but significant representation of Africans and people of African descent from the Caribbean and the United States, as well as White from Britain.

In the 1930s and 1940s global forecast such as the Great Depression (the worldwide economic slump of the 1930s) and the development and onset of World War II significantly hampered the efforts of the Pan-African movements in the early 1940 Kwame Nkrumah, native of the British-ruled Gold Coast (now Ghana) in west Africa, founded the African student organization in the United State in 1947.

In 1957 Ghana became the first sub-Saharan African state to gain independence and Nkrumah became its first prime minister. He served this position until 1960 when he became the President of Ghana after the country became a Republic.

In 1960, 17 African countries gained independence, by the end of 1963; approximately 80 percent of the African continent was independent. In May 1963 representatives from 32 African nations of both North and Sub-Saharan

Africa met in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, and founded the Organization of African Unity (OAU, now African Union) as a loose federation of independent African states committed to a continent-wide cooperation.

Osoba (1980: 208) argues that Nigeria policy was dependent on the Western capitalist countries because of the historical tie of colonialism. According to him, the predicament was not peculiar to Nigeria of the first republic, but commonly tormented all African and developing countries which had suffered the colonial experience, and were unable to end this client-patron relationship even after the attainment of independence.

2.1.1 Pre-Colonial Political System in Nigeria

In discussing the chronicles of the pre-colonial political system in Nigeria. The major Kingdom was covered in their book “Essentials of Nigeria Government and politics. A conceptual Approach includes the Yoruba Kingdom the decentralized Ibo system and the Fulani Emirates.

Eleazu (1997: 48) in his discussion of the pre-colonial African cultures identified the impact of the colonial presence on the nation building in post-colonial era. His work area based on scholarly researches by S.F. Nadel’s study of the Nupe, M.G. Smith’s study of Zazzau (Zaria). S. Ottenberg’s study of Afikpo, Johnson’s history of the Yorubas, Victor Uchendu’s study of Igbo culture, and Achebe’s novel “Things Fall Apart”.

Eleazu (1997: 48) relied on Forté and even Pritchard’s seminar work to classify African political systems. According to him, African political system has been classified into the state societies and ‘stateless’ societies. He explained further that state societies are those “which have centralized authority, administrative machinery, and judicial institutions in short, a government- in which cleavages of wealth, privilege and status correspond to the distribution of power and authority. This is referred to Group A as contrasted with societies of Group B which consist of those societies which lack centralized authority administrative machinery and constituted judicial institutions in start which lack government and in which there are no sharp division of rank status or wealth.

The Forté and Evans-Pritchard’s classification of African political system though limited, found heuristic application in Lambert and Aigusi’s history of pre-colonial political system in Nigeria. In which the Group A has similarities with the Yoruba kingdom and the Fulani Emirate as contrasted with the decentralized Igbo system.

Pre-colonial political systems in Nigeria according to Lambert Uyi Edigin and Aigonsihle (1994: 12-16). A look at the political systems in pre-colonial Nigeria would reveal that long before the advent of colonialism, various areas in what is today known as Nigeria had organized institutions e.g., Benin Kingdom;

2.1.2 The Yoruba Kingdom

The Yorubas who are found mainly in the western part of Nigeria constitute one of the largest tribes in the country. The Yorubas are linked together by their claim to a common descent from Oduduwa and common dispersion from Ile-Ife.

Yoruba Empire is divided into a number of kingdoms founded by descendants of Oduduwa and essentially with similar characteristics. The dominant kingdoms were Oyo, the Egba, the Ijebu, the Ekiti and the Ondo. Though their original place of settlement was Ile-Ife, their capital was later moved to Oyo by Oduduwa. Default of the political, social and economic setting of the Yoruba Empire.

The Political Administration

The political administrations of the Yoruba kingdoms were headed by the Oba. The political administration was structured in such a way to create room for ordered government. The Oba was assisted by a number of officials with diverse functions. These include the chiefs, elders, compound heads and even youth etc. Also important were the roles played by secret societies like Ogboni, Osugbo and Amo-opa in the performance of judicial and executive functions.

Social and Economic Organization

Like other ethnic groups in the rain forest West Africa, the Yoruba's are mainly farmers. Each Yoruba town was divided from the other by a protective wall and contained various compounds.

The fundamental social unit in Yoruba land is the extended family. The urban and rural land very much unlike contemporary situation were communally owned and shared for various purposes like housing and cultivation.

2.1.3 The Decentralized Ibo System

The Ibos represents the third largest ethnic group in Nigeria following closely the Hausas and the Yoruba's. Majority of the Ibos are found on the eastern side of the River Niger. The Ibo society is culturally and linguistically united. They speak the Igbo Language (Lambert et al 1994: 16-19). The Ibo society very much unlike the Benin and the Yoruba's is not a monarchical system. The society is therefore centerless when compared with the Bini or the Yoruba kingdom. The political system of the Ibos is organized along family, extended family, lineage, clan and village level and age-groups.

2.1.4 The Fulani Emirates

The holy war (Jihad) led by Uthman Dan Fodio that ravaged the old Hausa kingdom at the turn of the 19th century established the Fulani emirates. The emirate had seven autonomous states which were Biram, Kano, Daura, Kastina Gobir and Zaria and Rano. Dan Fodio became the commander or Serkin of the faithful Moslems and Sokoto and Gwandu became the headquarters of the Fulani Empire.

The King who was assisted by a good number of officials was the head of these states. The most important of these officials were the chief councilors consisting of the Madawaki, the Galadima, Inombai, and Dalletu. The Madawaki was the head of these councilors, commander-in-chief of the army and principal adviser to the king.

2.1.5 African Political Traditional Systems

According to Eleazu (1997: 49) African traditional systems were delineated into four types by Professor Coleman namely;

- (a) Large scale states
- (b) Centralized chiefdoms
- (c) Dispersed tribal societies and
- (d) Small autonomous local communities.

He noted that if a society is classified as stateless that should not be interpreted to mean that it has no government.

Eleazu's construction of African political systems based on Professor Coleman's four type classification would be surmised (1997: 50 – 67).

Within the village, one found many families and extended families. The adult members regulated their affairs in a very ad hoc fashion, but with increases in the membership of the village community with by natural increase or by arrival of new comers, patterns of organization and certain principles of ground rules emerged. Thus it may be decided that heads of each nuclear family meet to make certain kinds of decisions while for other kinds, e.g. sacrifices and other ritual functions, they should be left to those who 'cleared the forest', that is the first arrivals.

Political Culture on Pre-colonial Nigeria

The three political cultures in the pre-colonial era include the political culture of crescent authority, political culture of Ritual Authority and political culture of coercion authority (Eleazu, 1997: 52-66)

1. The Political Culture of Crescive Authority

Among the Nigerian political systems which are in this category we may count most Igbo areas, Ibibio, Ijaw, Ekoi, Idoma, Tiv and it would also appear that it was the underlying structure of much of Igala, Nupe and Yoruba before they were transformed into what I have called ritual or coercive forms of authority. The kind of political socialization that takes place in these societies tended to instill habits of co-operation among equals, respect for authority and a general disposition to participate in decision –making rather than have decisions arbitrarily imposed. Of the Igbo village councils it has been said that “at the assembly, the elders laid the issues before the people. Every man had a right to speak, the people applauding popular proposals and shouting down unpopular ones. Decisions had to be unanimous and it was here that young or wealthy men with records of services and dedication to the village could influence policy. If the elders tried to enforce an unpopular decision the young men could prevent any decision through the operation of the unanimity rule. The village assembly was considered the Ibo man’s birthright, the guarantee of his rights, his shield against oppression, the expression of his individualism and the means whereby the young and progressive impressed their view upon the old and conservative.

To avoid undue influence on the elders, certain categories of cases or issues were appealed directly to the ‘spirits’. On such occasions some elders were masked – each representing the spirit of the main lineages – who they sat as judges, heard the testimonies and delivered judgement which amounted to apportioning praise, blame and responsibility for the unity of the clan.

In the Ibibio area, these masked ‘spirits’ developed into the Ekpe (leopard) and Ekpo (Fairy or spirit) societies. The Ekpe was originally a status society which later absorbed in Efik-Ibibio area the council of elders, but they differed from the Ozo (Onitsha Igbo), Uche (River Igbo), Ekpe (Aro) by the fact that they claim to have secret powers conferred on members during initiation. By continually increasing the entrance fee, those who were already members reduced the village council of elders to an oligarchy, while using the Ekpo to terrorize the rest of the populace into submission. This was one way in which the coercive authority type was thus gradually transformed into that of ritual authority. This happened especially among the Efik, Oron and Aro (Igbo) people.

2. Political Culture of Ritual Authority 1

It is difficult to say at what stage and under what conditions the political culture of ritual emerged. But it would appear that in essence the social structure is not much different in its main outlines from that of crescive authority. On the other hand, a process of horizontal incorporation of different village groups has taken place which

necessitates further social elaborations to maintain the unity of the people. The impetus for such horizontal incorporation may stem from a desire to maintain unity of all those who have descended from a common ancestor buttressed by a desire to have better defence against potential intruders. Such would appear to be the process of the growth of the original nucleus of Yoruba, Benin, Igala and Jukun Kingdoms and of the Hausa states before the Fulani invasion of the nineteenth century. To maintain their internal unity, a myth of origin develops; a form of kingship is instituted in which the king does not merely serve as *primus inter pares* characteristics of the coercive authority type but an embodiment and soul of the people. The king's person is mystified and surrounded with elaborate rituals which in themselves symbolize the unity of the political community. In earlier anthropological studies, such kings have been referred to as 'divine' in the sense that the king was regarded as the representative of the gods. Recent systematic studies of the so-called 'divine kingship' suggest that there is a difference in the belief that the office of the king is sacred and a belief that the king is the incarnation of god. Thus J.S. Boston in his study of Igala maintains that "the root of this matter seems to be that the terms divine and divinity have no meaning in relation to kingship except as a loose but convenient way of referring to the complex spiritual qualities and principles that upholds systems of monarchy in Africa.

3. The Political Culture of Coercive Authority

Here we are dealing with societies in which, either by pressure of internal expansion - trade, urbanization and increase in population, or by conquest of one group by another, there is now a clear distinction between rulers and the ruled, between city and countryside and hence a dominant and subordinate political relationship. In Nigeria, all the emirates under the Sokoto Caliphate would fall under this category, as well as those Habe states which though not completely subjugated in the Fulani jihads of the nineteenth century, were yet under the influence of trade and Islam in the Central Sudan.

2.1.6 Effects of Colonial Infrastructure

The sojourn of the British in West Africa was primarily to Trade. Eleazu (1997: 38-48) write that the creation of Nigeria state was an unintended action. The British administrations were only interested in creating infrastructure for extractive resources to their home country. This action was premised on the economic theory of international division of Labour known as, comparative costs". This section details Eleazu accounts of the colonial rule between 1900 to 1960.

Colonial Infrastructure

Imperialism developed an economic theory of international division of labour known as 'Comparative Costs. According to this theory in its Ricardian formulation, "A country will concentrate its production on those things

in which it has the greatest relative advantage over other countries and will get from abroad those things in the production of which it has the least relative advantage." Later economists were to amend this by adding that a country would specialize in those goods the production of which would utilize the factors of production most easily available in the country. When applied to overseas colonies and protectorates, the Europeans simply decided that their colonies would specialize in extractive industries while the Europeans specialized in manufacturing. Thus the colonial economy became not merely an appendage, but a necessary complement of imperialist monopolies. Neither the British as a colonial power, nor Nigeria as an overseas colony escaped this rule. The Government therefore set out to develop their territory as a supply base for needed raw materials. The forest was there, the mountains were harbouring their minerals, and of course there was the native labour. According to Governor Sir Hugh Clifford, "Land policy should aim primarily, mainly and eventually at the development of the agricultural resources of these countries through the agency of their indigenous inhabitants,

Much of what became Nigeria was already in the orbit of cash-exchange system of the world, but the imposition of foreign rule and the demands for cash to pay taxes and other fees made it necessary for a large number of people to be drawn into this cash economy more than before. Coinage had started under the auspices of the Government which meant that money could be got only from the Europeans by producing what they wanted. Thus many 'natives' were encouraged to turn from subsistence farming to 'cash crops' for external exchange. Thus by the 1950s two main export crop regions "a northern zone, centring on Kano City and characterized by production of annual crops such as cotton and ground nuts and with an outlier in the beniseed and soya bean producing region of Benue Province, and a southern zone, extending across the high forest region and characterized by the production of perennial tree crops, such as cocoa, palm produce and rubber.¹³ For a long time, these, together with timber were the most important raw materials that the forests of Nigeria could yield. A section of the country was adjudged rich or poor, not according to what they produced to feed themselves, but according to the money value of cash crops generated per square mile of the territory. Besides, the value itself was dependent on prices the white man was willing to pay for the products. Thus Buchanan and Pugh (1955) tell us, "Within the northern, export crop region highest values are recorded in Katsina Province (£290 per square mile) and Kano Province (£175 per square mile) in the Western Region.... output per square mile is very much higher than in the Northern Region (£600 - £750 much of it from cocoa). To these, cash crops must be added such other materials as hides and skins from the north and lumber from the forests of the south. Although there were many trees that yielded latex for rubber, only the plantation rubber figured much in overseas trade.

Besides these agricultural and forest products, Nigeria also possessed some minerals and mineral deposits judged to be in enough commercial quantity to warrant investment in their extraction. Of these, the most important and also the earliest to be exploited were coal in Enugu, tin in Jos, columbite and tantalite both in the Bauchi Plateau

area. There was also some gold mining in Minna. Although there are large iron deposits as well as limestone, it was thought that Nigeria did not have a 'comparative advantage' in developing these. (Crude oil was a late development). As we shall see presently, in order to more efficiently extract and transport these commodities of trade, the Government had to develop railways, roads and other communication facilities which were to lead to other unintended developments.

Railways and Roads

Railway construction started in 1898 in Lagos. By 1912, the western line had reached Zungeru with a sub-line joining Baro to Minna. In the same year through passenger trains were established between Lagos and Kano. To tap the tin mines of Bauchi Plateau, a sub-line with a narrower gauge was built from Zaria to Jos. This line was completed in 1914. Coal was discovered at Udi about 1913 and by 1915 mining had started. To move this coal to the coast, a railway line was constructed from Enugu to Port Harcourt on the Bonny River. Here a deep-water harbour was also constructed to handle ocean going vessels that could haul the palm produce to England. This eastern line was eventually extended northward to meet the western line at Kaduna (1927). Later two further extensions were made both in the north, one running in a north-easterly direction from Zaria to Kano and then to Nguru and the other in a north-westerly direction to Kaura Namoda. Both extensions were necessary for the handling of the developing ground nut crops and the hides and skin for which Northern Nigeria was famous. By 1930 the railway system of Nigeria as it existed at independence had virtually been completed.

In addition to rail, road and rivers, one must add the air services provided first by the West African Airways and later by Nigerian Airways. When this was developed in 1947, it was meant to hold the British West African territories together to providing the administration of these areas a quick means of travel and communication with each other as well as with London. It was only as independence for each territory approached that this was dismantled into Nigeria, Ghana and Sierra Leone Airways. In Nigeria, there were two major airports, Lagos and Kano. Minor airfields were developed in Ibadan, Port Harcourt, Enugu, Benin, Calabar and Tiko (Cameroon) in the south and Jos, Kaduna, Zaria, Sokoto, and Yola in the north. Invariably, only government officials and rich people could use its services, but its importance to the country was the internal airmail services that came within reach of everybody. (Airmail letters in 1955 cost 1½ pennies per ounce).

Telecommunications and Postal Services

In addition to railway and road systems, the government also established a network of post offices in the major towns where they had administrative offices and/or mines. By 1954 there were 156 post offices and 736 postal agencies serving the country. The railway was the main means of carrying mail until the air services were established in the 1950s. Telephone and telegraph services developed alongside the railway system, to facilitate

scheduling and movement of trains. As a result of the piecemeal way these were installed, the southern portion developed in two bits the Western and Eastern Services while the Northern Services developed independently. It was only in the late forties that these were joined to form a Nigeria-wide system. Even then, it was (and still is) difficult to make a direct call to Lagos from Enugu or Kaduna

2.1.7 Other Aspects of the Colonial Infrastructure

Electricity consumption is one of the indices used nowadays to determine extent of modernization. But in the case of Nigeria, until the late 1950s, the undertaking in the tin mining areas of Jos Plateau was the largest reflecting where it was most needed. Besides, the development and use of electricity has followed the need of the Government and of the commercial establishments. First installed in Lagos in the 1890s, further extensions were not made until the 1923-27 period when services were provided for the towns of Enugu (coal), Port Harcourt (port), Calabar (port), Kaduna and Kano (administrative and commercial centres). As far as domestic use was concerned, in most cases only the European quarters (see below) and Government installations were served. As most Nigerians viewed it, the electricity was the white man's way of lighting his house and brightening his streets at night, those Nigerians who could afford it, made use of it by applying to the Government to extend services to them. Because of the way the electricity concerns developed, it cannot be considered as part of the infrastructure bringing people together except indirectly in so far as people left their areas to work in the generating stations.

Mention has already been made about coinage and currency. This developed originally for the whole of British West Africa. In so far as anybody operated within the economy, he/she had to be drawn into this cash economy, thus all the peoples of Nigeria gave up their pre-colonial currencies in favour of the one that had become legal tender.

2.2 FEDERATION: CONCEPTUALIZATION AND THEORETICAL APPROACH

Idahosa (1999: 151) write on the definition of federalism. He notes that there is no agreement among writers on a single definition of the term "Federalism". This section will review the works of writers on federalism such as Idahosa S.A etc, Eleazu U.O.

2.2.1 The Nature of Federalism

The idea that people can come together to solve their common problems in a more efficient manner is a phenomenon which exists both on inter-personal and the inter-group levels. Long before philosophers and political theorists started using the word 'federal' or its derivatives, human entities such as families, clans, villages, city-states and provinces had at various times and places in their history made agreements, alliances, leagues or federations in order to solve their common problems. Some of these arrangements were ad hoc in nature, for

example a union of villages to hunt a marauding lion; others were in the nature of a standing agreement, for example there could be an understanding that whenever one member of the group concerned was attacked, the others would readily come to its aid. In such cases there usually would be no organizational arrangements holding the different groups together. All that was needed was for the initial conditions to be satisfied and there would be immediate response from the allies. A still more permanent version of this kind of coming together is the type that has a formal arrangement or structure to look after the common affairs of the group while leaving the individual units to look after such matters as have not been placed on the level of common concern. The contracting parties, while thus maintaining their 'individuality', still the will of the people, that indefinable attitude of mind that in developing a new group-self which over-arches all of them. If the problem that called this new group-self into being is seen as perpetual, the group-self will tend to last indefinitely. Often the new group-self grows and looms larger than the sum of its parts. The phenomenon which we have tried to describe is not limited to 'political' organizations. Hence, we find other human groups and organizations coming together for some purposes while retaining their individuality for other purposes. Good examples of these are the American Federation of labour, the Nigerian Association of Chambers of Commerce, the British, Trades Union Congress and the World Council of Churches. In each of these cases, the individual City Chamber Commerce, trade union or church does not lose its identity by joining the larger entity. As it relates to political groupings federalism has served as a technique for aggregating large areas under one government short of imperial control.

However, since groups come together with specific objectives in mind, and since objectives differ with time and place, it is not unlikely that each case of the application of the Federal solution will be embedded in its own milieu of problems and conditions. This in turn gives rise to varying degrees of union which the federating units are prepared to accept. Hence the underlying principle of federalism is the fact of coming together of units for common purposes without thereby losing their individual being. As Professor C.J. Friedrich has put it:

"A Federation is a union of group selves, united by one or more common objectives but retaining their distinctive group-being for other purposes. Federation is, on the inter-group level, what association is on the inter-personal level. It unites without destroying the selves that are uniting, and is meant to strengthen them in their mutual relations." "

W.H. Riker, reasoning from 'political' conditions of the United States maintains that the condition of striking what he calls a 'federal bargain' is that all parties concerned are willing to make a deal. This preparedness to make a deal he says depends on some predisposing factors that will lead rulers of erstwhile political communities into striking a federal bargain – and these are:

1. Desire to expand their territorial control, usually either to meet an external military or diplomatic threat or to prepare for military or diplomatic aggression and aggrandizement. But at the same time, they do not want to embark on an expansion by war (the expansion factor).
2. The prospect of some external military and diplomatic threat or opportunity (the military factor).

These two conditions are, he says, always present and each is a necessary condition for the creation (as opposed to maintenance) of federalism. Applying this theory to the creation of Nigeria he stated that the presence of Ghana and Nkrumah's Pan-African propositions were such the "no Nigerian leader could fail to be aware of" suggesting that fear of being gobbled up by Nkrumah's Pan-African ambitions was that led Nigerian leaders to form a federation. I think that is preposterous to say the least. As we shall see later, the egg of Nigerian Federalism was laid while Nkrumah was still in the United States studying; many of the Nigerian leaders shared in varying degrees, the Pan Africa ideology; and finally, when the federation was firmly established in 1954, Ghana was also struggling to shake off a federal constitution in favour of a unitary one. Therefore, the attitude of Nigerian leaders toward Nkrumah a 1958-60 development could not be said to have been a condition for the federal bargain which started at the Ibadan Conference, 1950.

This then is not to say that what these theorists have to say on federalism has no application to Nigeria. I think that one generalization that can be made is this, that federalism is a specie in the genus of political communities; that federation building is therefore a special case, or approach to the integration of political communities; that at a point in the history of the prospective constituent units, a certain conjunction of factors predisposes the leaders (and we emphasize the leaders) to undertake the federal (solution) bargain to bring their several units together. What marks a federation from other types of political integration is the creation of two levels of government that act directly and Simultaneously on the populace the general or central government of everybody, and the government and the units on those living within their various jurisdictions.

2.2.2 What is Federalism?

There is no agreement among writers on a single definition of the term, "federalism". A federal state has been defined as one in which there is a central authority that represents the whole, and acts on behalf of the whole in external affairs and in such internal affairs that are of common interest. There are also provincial or state authorities with powers of legislation and administration within the sphere allotted to them by the constitution. It is in this context that we can situate the notion of duality of legal sovereignty. The definition is suggestive of the need not to encumber the central government with matters that are not of common interest to the federating units. In like manner, the units should enjoy a considerable measure or autonomy. From an associational point of view, Hamilton sees federalism as "an association of States that form a new one. This is, a voluntary decision taken by

the units to form a new association of which they are members. Our view on the autonomy of the units is reinforced by Dicey's opinion that federalism is a political contrivance intended to reconcile national unity with the maintenance of the state rights. The implication is that national unity and recognition of the rights of the units are desiderata in federalism. One should not be sacrificed at the altar of the other.

According to R.L. Watts, federalism is a political system characterized by two sub-systems, one of central governments and the other in the sense that neither is politically subordinate to the other, but which interact with each other at many points both cooperatively and competitively. The point to note here is that although it is desirable that each level of government should be relatively autonomous in its sphere of competence, there is the need for intergovernmental cooperation as well as the inevitability of competition. Besides the division of governmental powers between the two levels of government, the authority of each level must be clearly spelt out in the constitution which is supreme, it is usually the supreme court that resolve intergovernmental disputes over the boundaries of the legal authority of the levels of government is a sine qua non in a federation. Each constituent government must operate directly on the people, rather than indirectly through the other level of government. This is one of the major differences between a federation and a confederation. In the latter, the central government, for example, can only operate on the people through the units.

It is also essential for the survival of the federation that no unit must be powerful enough (economically and/or politically) to control the federal government alone, or dominate the other units put together. This "rule" against domination was obeyed in its breach rather than its observance in the era that preceded the opening of the floodgate of creation of states in Nigeria.

The Federal System

Federalism is a constitutional compromise between confederation and unitarism. "The federal principle means the method of dividing powers so that general and regional governments are each within a sphere, co-ordinate and independence" In a federation, several states, provinces, regions or cantons share power and authority with an inclusive federal or central government. Each level of government is constitutionally autonomous in the exercise of powers allocated to it. But the Nigeria federation is geo-graphically contiguous; there are similarities in the socio-cultural political and economic features of the various nationalities.

2.2.3 Evolution of the Nigeria Federation

In pre-colonial "Nigeria" there existed a number of kingdoms and empires with sophisticated political system. Each was rich in culture, socio-political system and economically viable. They included the Kanuri and Fulani empires in the north, Oyo and Benin Kingdoms in the South and a host of other units with segmentary political

systems but with homogenous cultures and social system. These included the Ibos, Tiv and the Niger delta tribe. These different kingdoms came under British imperialism through force of arm and cunning diplomacy towards the end of the 19th century. By 1900, three distinctive administrative units had emerged – the northern protectorate, the Southern protectorate and the Colony of Lagos. In 1914, these three units were amalgamated into one entity called Nigeria. Thus the union was achieved without due consultation with the people of Nigeria. Our founding father condemned this Union. For example, Obafemi Awolowo (now late) said “Nigeria is not a nation; it was a mere geographical expression. Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Nigeria’s first Prime Minister also expressed the same sentiment when he said, “since the amalgamation in 1914, Nigeria has existed as one country only on paper ... it is merely a British creation. The late Sir Amadu Bello, Sark of Sokoto also regrettably described 1914 as a mistake. Despite these condemnations, the colonial government in 1946 arbitrarily divided the country into three unequal regions; this began the journey towards federalism in Nigeria. The nationalists accepted the concepts of federalism but criticized the structural imbalance of the regions. The 1951, 1954, 1957 constitutional conferences condemned the structural imbalance of the regions and the resultant effect was the increase demand for the creation of more regions/ states. In 1958, the colonial government set up the Henry Willink commission to look into the problems of the minority tribes and the commission did not favour state creation.

Despite the expressed sentiments about Nigeria’s unity and disagreements over representation, Nigeria nationalists compromised on many issues so that independence would not be delayed. Soon after independence, certain events tended to call into question the continued existence of Nigeria as a federation. These events include the 1962 Action Group crises in Western Region which led to the declaration of a state of emergency in that part of the country; the accuracy or inaccuracy of the 1962/63 population census, the 1964 federal general elections which was boycotted by the Eastern Region and part of Mid-West region and the 1965 Western regional election which was bedeviled by a lot of irregularities and crisis. These events culminated in a military takeover of the government in January, 1966 and eventually led to civil war (1967 – 1970). During this crisis, the unity of Nigeria federation was also called into question by Lt. Col. Odumegwu Ojukwu, then Military Governor of Eastern region, when he said “the question of Nigeria unity.... Has there ever been unity in Nigeria..... The north has made it abundantly clear that no association which they are not controlling the central machinery is acceptable to them. The problem being highlighted here by Odumegwu Ojukwu is the issue of ethnic domination of the central government. The aborted June 12, 1993 Presidential Election is perhaps the greatest event second only to the civil war that had intensified a forceful demand for the re-organization of the Nigeria federation, so as to create a healthy balance among the ethno-regional groups and to assuage the fears and facts of undue domination of some groups over others at every level of governments.

2.2.4 Federalism in the Nigeria Constitution

We shall examine the notes of federalism in Nigeria before reviewing constitutional development starting from the British rule 1900 to the present.

How Nigeria was Governed into Federation

The roots of federalism in Nigeria must be sought partly in the process by which the country came into being, partly in the administrative structure of colonialism that was set up and partly in the varying responses of the Nigerians to both the process and the structure of colonialism. Earlier, it was pointed out that federalism results in a situation where political unification in a unitary system is unacceptable because of some social and political diversities worth preserving. In the case of Nigeria, we have seen that the political entities that were enclosed within its boundaries had not only different political cultures, but lived within a plethora of political systems. Without colonialism, it is doubtful if a state as large as and in the shape of Nigeria would have emerged in the area. On the other hand, it is conceivable that a Hausa-Fulani State coterminous with the former Sokoto Caliphate of the nineteenth century, a Yoruba State, a Benin State and a number of Igbo and Ibibio states could have materialized without colonialism. The reason why these did not or could not have formed one country is in part, a reason for federalism. On the other hand, common subjection under one colonial power, had colonial rule been uniformly applied, should have helped to weld them into one unitary state. On the contrary, British policy was never clear and constantly being adapted to suit conditions of each area while assuming that somehow British rule was being unified and systematized. In fact, it is this rather than anything else that made federalism imperative in Nigeria. To understand this interplay of colonial policy, administrative structure and indigenous political cultures, we have to go back to a study of how Nigeria was acquired and put together.

2.2.5 Federalism: The Imperial Roots

British expansion in the areas around Lagos and the River Niger was up to 1898 mainly pragmatic, there was no definite policy, but day to day decisions were made based on the exigencies of the moment and on the perceived threat to British trade and influence in the area. In 1898 all that Britain - had acquired was a Lagos colony and a protectorate over its immediate hinterland; a 'sphere of influence' was maintained in the yet precariously independent Yorubaland the Niger Coast Protectorate (formerly known as the Oil Rivers) extending from Benin to Calabar but with an indeterminate inland boundary between it and what was still the Royal Niger Company Territories with headquarters at Asaba and covering an area roughly 100 miles radius, from Lokoja. Beyond this, treaties between the Emirs of Sokoto and Gwandu on the one hand and the Royal Niger Company on the other, gave Britain further spheres of influence northwards whose boundary was later to be determined by the Anglo-French Treaty of 1898.

These chunks of territory were by no means a unified whole. Each of them had its own government; each of the governments had its own philosophy and style-of administration. Still a large section of what was to become Nigeria had not effectively been brought under any of the three administrations which occasionally got into each other's way and quarreled about jurisdictions. It was this condition that prompted the appointment of the Selbourne Committee to arrange and make plans- for the future administration of these territories. The report of this committee gives the impression that their overriding concern was economy and administration. Although they saw the need to unify the territories (for more effective exploitation), they thought that that should wait until communications were improved. What they recommended was the establishment of two protectorates to be known as Northern and Southern Protectorates of Nigeria; the latter to be an amalgamation of the Yoruba hinterland of Lagos.

2.2.6 Origin of Nigeria Federalism

The outline of the country was delineated by Britain, the erstwhile colonial master. Prior to their colonization by Britain, the ethnic groups that eventually metamorphosed into what is today known as the Federal republic of Nigeria were not only independent of one another, but were also at different stages of economic, political social and cultural development. The process of colonization culminated in the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Protectorates by Lord Lugard in 1914. With the introduction of the elective principle by the Hugh Clifford Constitution of 1922, the first political party, the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) was formed in 1923 under the leadership of Herbert Macaulay who is popularly referred to as the father of Nigerian Nationalism. The three seats allocated to Lagos in party in the election held in that year (1923). As at that point in time, the Northern and the Southern Parts of the country were ruled as separate entities in spite of the amalgamation of 1914. The North was not represented in the Legislative Council, and the legislation for that part of the country was by imperial proclamation.

This policy of divide and rule went beyond the division of the Southern part into the Eastern and Western units by Bernard Bourdillon in 1939, and ended with the promulgation of the Arthur Richards Constitution which introduced regionalism in 1946. It was in that year that the Northern and Southern section of the country were effectively brought under the same national government. The point has to be made that the introduction of regionalism in 1946 did not translate to the emergence of federalism. Nigeria was still a unitary state. The unitary system was still in existence as at the time the Macpherson Constitution came into being in 1951. It was the Lyttelton Constitution of 1954 that transformed Nigeria from unitarism to federalism. The introduction of federalism resulted in the regionalization of government institutions such as the civil service and the judiciary as well as the division of powers between the central and regional governments.

Two schools of thought appear to have emerged concerning the adoption of a federal system of government by Nigeria. One school, made up largely of Marxists, contends that the federal system was imposed on the country by Britain. To the proponents of this school, Nigerians did not make inputs to the decision in respect of the adoption of the system. But the argument of the other school is that federalism was freely chosen by Nigerians. To them, the 1950 and 1953/54 constitutional conferences preceded the adoption of a federal system of government in Nigeria. There are also the 1922, 1946 and 1951 constitutions that preceded the emergence of federalism in 1954. It is on record that Nigerians participated actively in the deliberations that preceded the promulgation of the MacPherson constitution in 1951. In synthesizing the arguments of the two schools, it is necessary to stress that much as Nigerians participated actively in the deliberations that led to the choice of a federal system of government, the colonial masters played an important role that can be discounted at the risk of distortion of historical facts. In fact, they were prepared to use persuasion and, if necessary, force, to realise the federal dream.

2.2.7 Federalism and the Party System

In countries that have the partisan approach to conducting political business, political parties provide the means of linking the populace to the decision centres of the political community; parties also serve as communication channels through which the demands emanating in the environment are effectively articulated to the decision centres and the concept and meaning of national policies are explained to the masses at the local level. But these are derived functions - derivative of the main function of political parties which is to organize and put people into offices to man the decision centres so that policies conducive to the interests or ideologies they represent will get enacted into laws. If a political party then is in close touch with its environment, if it 'aggregates' demands, if it organizes public opinion, if it communicates demands, it is only because it is seeking a broad base of support to enable it to put and maintain its leadership in power in the political arena.

Since demands people make arise out of their interests and expectations in terms of rewards of things valued in the system, one could by a little stretch of imagination expect to find as many parties as there are interests. This is why, probably, Madison referred to them as 'factions' and took such a dim view of their effect on national politics." Although a 'faction' represents some interests, it may be prepared- to join forces with other factions in order to advance or defend those interests. Some interests and differences in society may be compatible and complementary; others may be incompatible and oppositional. The former may lead to co-operation, among partisans of such complementary and compatible differences while the latter will lead to competition among partisans of the incompatible differences. When in a society, such alliances and agglomerations appear to defend and advance their interests in co-operation and competition with, or against other agglomerations in the public policy arena, we speak of the party system.

The party system in a country reflects the major cleavages that exist in its political community. In this sense, what is usually referred to as 'one party: system' is, either a contradiction in terms or an attempt to say that in the particular society, there are no cleavages or interests and therefore no partisan politics which amounts to a no-party system. Since there can be no one-faction dispute, there can really be no one-party system so to speak. However, to say this is not to deny the existence of the phenomenon usually referred to as one-party state. More often than not, both cleavages and partisans have been suppressed and silenced or one side is properly organized and firmly dominant in the system while the other factions are weak, poorly or unorganized. Likewise, the difference that some have tried to make between what is seen as 'parties of solidarity', 'parties of reconciliation' or 'parties of representation' seems only academic. Every party as defined above needs solidarity among its members, it has to reconcile the interests of the 'factions' (in the Madisonian sense) it embraces, and it has to 'represent' those interests on - the public platform against other parties.

Thus, our proposition stands, that the most salient feature of parties and partisan politics are the cleavages in society that give salience to their existence. Such cleavages may be based on religious differences as was the case between the Roundheads and Cavaliers In seventeenth century England; or- on socio-economic classes. as that between Labour and Conservative parties in present day England; the basis may be ideological (using this in the rather loose sense of differing opinions or ideas on some political issues) as those between the Federalists and the Jeffersonians in the early history of the United States; or it may reflect cleavages between town and country, agriculture and industry or of communal-ethnic conflict. Beyond these major cleavages there may exist lesser ones, criss-crossing rifts that are not important enough to create major parties. Thus among those who may differ on religious grounds, one may find corresponding socio-economic classes, which are not salient enough politically (at least for the time being). By the same token, one may find in a party system based on socio-economic classes, Catholics, Protestants and Muslims in both parties - which only suggests that religion is not salient politically. There may however be events or issues that will make a minor rift catapult into a major cleavage thus causing realignments between leaders and followers, or erstwhile competing factions become new partners and vice-versa. Thus in attempting to deal with the influence of the federal structure on party development, one has to examine (1) the cleavage structure, and (2) the historical-situational factors that rendered certain alignments politically expedient even though such alignments were to prove disintegrative to the nation- building effort. These two variables will then be examined in the light of the evolving constitutional structure to see to what extent the latter affected party development. We have already discussed (Chapters 1 and 2) the ethnic and cultural variables and the differential impact of Westernization on different parts of the country. These were to form basic cleavages which will be discussed here along with the historical situational factors to which we now turn.

2.2.8 Crisis of Legitimacy and the Rise of Partisan Politics

Many scholars have noted that crisis situations tend to be productive of political innovations, such innovations being-attempts by the governmental leadership to cope with such crises. Development is therefore viewed as a series of crises with which the political elite are or are not able to cope. LaPalombara and Weiner have noted that the crisis of legitimacy "is the issue around which some of the earliest parties both in Europe and in developing areas were first created." But how this is related to party development needs to be explicated

The legitimacy in question here were twofold. On the one hand, in spite of their pretensions, the British colonial rulers knew they had no legitimate basis to rule except force. So as nationalist demands for participation in government and later for self-government gathered momentum, they (the British) found themselves more and more in the anomalous position of practicing democracy at home and autocracy abroad and so were obliged gradually to concede power. But to whom was this concession to be made? On the one hand there were the traditional authorities who, as we have seen, were here and there still in some position of rule but overshadowed by their British colonialist. In other areas these 'natural' rulers; as they were sometimes referred to, still could command traditional authority sanctioned by custom and usage even though attenuated by the British presence. On the other hand, were the 'new elite' intelligentsias in the urban areas who had challenged the colonial rulers headlong but who could only claim, without any real basis, that they spoke 'for the people'.

Undoubtedly most of them had the highest regard for the people's future, and if and when opinions were tested could prove they had a following, but until such tests, via elections, were made, they could not in all honesty claim any legitimate basis to rule any more than the colonial imperialist could claim that they knew what was good for the people.

There was a situation in which British overrule had no defensible basis, and the challengers had only potential legitimacy. The British then, so to speak, challenged these new elite challengers of imperial authority to prove their right to speak for the people by instituting through a series of constitutional engineering, an electoral system and a number of political arenas in which the political game was to be played out. Thereupon the various dramatis personae were to choose their parts while the British stayed on the sidelines as stage managers and producers.

Although there had been social formations in the form of 'movements' and 'congresses', political parties as understood here did not really emerge until constitutional provisions allowed for elective offices. So we consider the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) formed by Herbert Macaulay as the first genuine political party in Nigeria. It had as its opposition the British Administration in Lagos. The immediate impetus for the formation of the NNDP was the creation of four electoral seats in the Legislative Council in 1922. Three of these seats were assigned to Lagos and the remaining one to Calabar. It is to be noted that at this time, 1922-23, the

government of Nigeria was still officially designated as that of the Colony (of Lagos) and the Protectorates (the rest of Nigeria). Although the leaders of the NNDP were nationalistic, there was nothing 'national' about the party they formed. It was centred in Lagos and operated in Lagos only. Its main concerns were the problems surrounding the disputes between the 'white cap' Chiefs and the British, elections into the Lagos Town Council and the three elective seats to the Legislative Council. It did not even bother about the lone seat in Calabar. Nor was there any incentive for it to organize on a countrywide basis. Their 'Nigeria' for all intents and purposes were co-extensive with the Lagos Colony. Because of suffrage restrictions (limited to adult males who paid tax in Lagos, earned £100 or more and had been resident in Lagos for at least 12 months) the party limited its membership to those who qualified to vote even though it received a lot of support from market women who expected their market interests to be protected when the party came to power in the Town Council (which it did in 1923).

But Lagos was fast becoming the commercial capital of Nigeria in addition to being the administrative headquarters. It therefore attracted many young men who were then emerging from the 'bush' mission schools, and seeking opportunities of employment outside their home areas. By the thirties, the Lagos population was already becoming more heterogeneous; the social structure was now being adulterated by the influx of the non-indigenous immigrant working class, both Yoruba and non-Yoruba. Henceforth Lagos politics was no longer going to be just an affair of the Lagos intelligentsia that dominated the NNDP. Lagos was Nigeria in miniature, there everything started and there most ended. During the thirties however a new political organization emerged - the Nigerian Youth Movement. Unlike the NNDP, the NYM included people from all over Nigeria but resident in Lagos. Not only was it more 'representative' of Nigeria, its declared goals as contained in the 'Nigerian Youth Charter' which it issued looked beyond Lagos, for it declared boldly as its principal aim:

... the development of a united nation out of the conglomeration of peoples who inhabit Nigeria. It shall be our endeavour to encourage the fullest play of all such forces as will serve to promote complete understanding and a sense of common nationalism among the different elements in the country...

But like the NNDP, it was soon bogged down in Lagos politics and internal squabbles. By 1938 it had replaced the NNDP as the leading political organization in Lagos having won the three Legislative Council seats and a majority in the Lagos Town Council. On its behalf, it can be said that by broadening its base, it became the nursery for Nigerian nationalists. Almost all the important names in Nigerian politics for the next two decades had been part of this NYM. The only section of Nigeria that was under-represented in it was the North - there being only one Northerner in its original executive Committee. Like the NNDP, its activities were determined by the constitutional limits within which it operated. Only Lagos and Calabar had elective seats into the Legco, so

in spite of its declared aim-of-reaching out to-the rest of Nigeria, in practice, without a political pay-off, there was no incentive to venture out of Lagos.

Actually, Lagos did prove too little for the energies of the men behind the NYM. Soon they were to clash over the limited political resources and economic opportunities in Lagos. What broke the NYM was the personality clash between Nnamdi Azikiwe whose meteoric rise in the Youth Movement was resented by the Yoruba -elite who had dominated the movement. On the other hand; it-was-charged by Azikiwe's opponents that he was a bad follower; that he would either lead something or sabotage it. Notwithstanding, the growing immigrant population of Lagos adored and followed him truculently. The upshot of it was that when he broke with the other leaders, he broke the movement too.

What was left of the movement hung on until after the war when political activities took a new turn in which the NYM became redundant. It was in this ferment of intense national consciousness and squabbling leaders that the National Council of Nigeria was born. Kings College, Lagos had been vacated to make room for military use in 1943. The students were then housed in bad living quarters, whereupon the students revolted. As a result of the revolt some of the students were summarily dismissed and some drafted into the army. The strike of the remaining students and their protests led to the calling of a mass meeting at Glover Memorial Hall, Lagos, which was to become the beginning of a new political organization. This organization was known as National Council of Nigeria and Cameroons (NCNC). The Council was to be a kind of 'holding company' for other organizations social, economic or cultural in nature. Like the NYM, it aimed at" the whole of Nigeria as the scope of its organization. Membership was indirect that is, through the member-unions. At its inception, there were said to be sixty "tribal unions representing Igbo, Yoruba, Edo, Efik and other Southern Nigerian Nationalities, but only the Tiv Progressive Union from the North." But what gave impetus to its growth and popularity was the impending 'new' constitution which Governor Arthur Richards was going to introduce without consultation with the people or their leaders, traditional or 'new elite'. To understand the developments which followed, it is necessary to review the Richards Constitution's proposals, since apart from being the major break with the 1922 constitutional reform; they laid the administrative foundation for what was to emerge as regions in a federation.

2.2.9 Constitution Making and Party Development

It was noted earlier that before Governor Kourailon left Nigeria in 1943, he had laid the ground work for constitutional advance in the country. His main preoccupation had been how to bring the North and the South together in some political-constitutional arrangement. He- therefore had proposed the system of Regional Councils which would comprise in the North of the leading Emirs and in the West and East, of representatives of the Native Authorities. That way a link would be forged between the indirect rule system and the Government

bureaucracy in Lagos. The Regional Councils would be advisory to the Chief Commissioners in their respective areas - a somewhat analogous position as the Legislative Council to the Governor in Lagos. We have seen how, when Sir A. Richards took over, he declared the regions (which were meant to be administrative convenience) to be so 'natural' that what was needed was to clothe them with a constitutional garb. That was exactly what the Richards Constitution did. It provided for (1) a Legislative Council in Lagos comprising sixteen British. colonial officials and 20 Nigerians, only four of whom were to be elected, the rest nominated or indirectly appointed. (2) Three Regional Councils comprised as follows:

- 1. North - Two Chambers:** a House of Chiefs and a House of Assembly,
 - a. The House of Chiefs would consist of the Chief Commissioner (British) and all high ranking emirs and first class chiefs, plus not more than 10 second class chiefs. Membership was to be by selection by the chiefs themselves.
 - b. The Northern House of Assembly: consisting of 19 British officials and 20-24 Nigerians, 14-18 of whom were to be selected by the Native Authorities from their own members and the rest appointed by the Governor "from inadequately represented interests and communities".
- 2. The Western House of Assembly:** 14 British officials; 15-19 Nigerians (Provincial members): of whom 3 must be 'Head Chiefs' appointed by the Governor; 7 -11 selected by Native Authorities and 5 nominated by the Governor "from inadequately but represented interests and communities"
- 3. The Eastern House of Assembly:** 14 British officials; 15-18 Provincial members, 10-13 of whom were to be selected by the Native Authorities and 5 nominated by the Governor "from inadequately represented interests and communities".

It is to be noted that apart from the four elective seats in the Central Legislative Council, this constitution made no provision for elections. Although it had linked the Government to the local administration (N.A.), the process of selection ruled out the participation of the 'new elite' whose activities were largely outside the Native Authority system. The provisions, therefore, as it stood did not envisage, nor did it take cognizance of any political parties or partisan politics. It was to be a no-party system. However, by daring to fly in the face of nationalist aspirations and demands for the democratization of the Nigerian Government, this constitution helped party development in two ways: (1) It tended to divide Nigerian nationalists into 'moderates' (those who would give it a try) and 'radicals' (those who would throw the baby out with the bath water). The rump of the NYM stood for the former while the newly formed NCNC took the 'radical' stand. But underneath this difference was the more fundamental fact that the NCNC drew its bulk of support from the non-Lagos intelligentsia in Lagos (provincial Yoruba and

non-Yorubas). It is to be remembered also that the rift between Azikiwe and the NYM was over the alleged discrimination against: one S. Akinsanya, an Ijebu-Yoruba in favour of Ernest Ikoli who, though Ijaw was regarded as a Lagosian. (2) The NCNC rode on the wave of objections to this constitution to ruralize' itself, not through an election but by touring the country to acquaint the people with the concept and meaning of constitutional developments in the country and their role in it. For the first time, a political organization was now carrying its activities to the countryside; for the first time people outside Lagos were being drawn into a political arena focusing on the territory - Nigeria. We will maintain that at this time, the NCNC could not be regarded as a political party in the strict sense but just a 'movement', even though it fielded candidates for the three elective seats in Lagos.

2.2.10 Evaluation of Nigerian Federalism

Legislative Power

We have pointed out that the division of legislative powers, between the central government on the one hand and the units on the other hand, is one of the imperatives of federalism. In Nigeria, the legislative powers are spelt out in the Second Schedule of the 1979 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. There are two legislative lists, namely, the exclusive legislative list and the concurrent legislative list. The former is made up of subjects on which the federal government alone can make and administer laws, while the latter deals with matters over which the federal and state governments have legislative powers. There are sixty-six (66) subjects on the exclusive legislative list, while the concurrent list has twenty-eight (28) subjects. The constitution is silent on a residual list. However, based on the tradition in most federations, it is assumed that residual powers are to be exercised by the States. Also spelt out in the Fourth Schedule of the constitution are the functions of Local Government Councils. The derivation of power from the constitution by the Local Government is a clear attestation to its assumption of the status of a third tier of government. But it is still hamstrung by the provision that its powers include "such other functions as may be conferred on a local government council by the House of Assembly of the State. Although autonomy is not an absolute concept, this provision is neither promotive nor supportive of the orchestrated independence of the Local Government.

The division of legislative powers between the federal government and the states by the 1979 constitution does not reflect the view that "a federal state is one in which there is central authority that represents the whole, and acts on behalf of the whole in external affairs and in such internal affairs that are of common interest." This means that the "sphere of competence" of the federal government is such that places it in a position to overawe the states. If the states cannot as a result defend or protect their autonomy, there cannot be in existence the basis for a meaningful federal union. The subjugation of the states and, by extension, the federating groups is likely to be

exacerbated by the provision in respect of the concurrent legislative list. Section 4(5) of the constitution under reference states that:

If any law enacted by the House of Assembly of a State is inconsistent with any law validly made by the National assembly, the law made by the National Assembly shall prevail, and that other law shall to the extent of the inconsistency be void.

2.3 THE CHALLENGES OF FEDERALISM

Federalism as a type of political organization was introduced by the former colonial British government in their various colonies. Countries that adopted this system basically because of the multi-ethnic nature of their societies include Switzerland, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Germany, India and several other African countries. The Arthur Richard constitution of 1946 established the first regional government in Nigeria. Federalism as prescribed in the 1999 constitution of Federal Republic of Nigeria gives much political and economic power to the federal government. The challenges of federalism in a multi-ethnic society would be grouped under four following sub-heads as follows:

1. Uprising of ethnic militias
2. Widespread Political Amenities
3. Collapsing Social Amenities
4. High Spare of Insecurity

(1) Uprising of Ethnic Militia

Africa societies here experienced ethnic violence since her independence from the colonialists Odebode (2011: 6) writes that various ethnic violence has occurred in Mano River countries which consist of Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea and Ivory Coast. He also writes that Somalia and Eritrea have been the bedrock of militancy.

The Punch Editional accused political elite and security agencies of complicity in the insurgence of arm groups. According to the Editional, in Borno State, the governor sponsors a group of armed youths known as Ecomog, in Gombe State, the governor has the Kalari, there was Tarafuka in Bauchi.

Iroegbu (2011: 24) writes on the emergence of the armed group popularly known as Boko Haram. According to him, Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awatu wal-jihad, which in Arabic means "people committed to the propagation of the prophet's teachings and Jihad" originate in Maiduguri. According to hi, the government set-up a 7-men committee to decode the real intentions and agitations of the hideous group" the group carried out the August 26

a leckon the United Nation building in Abuja in which 23 people died and about 116 others were injured. The group also successfully attacked the Nigeria police headquarter in Abuja killing a member of the sect and one policeman; about 70 others were substantially destroyed. There was concern over whether the federal government should negotiate with the Boko Haram group.

Another hot sport for ethnic violence took place in Jos, Plateau State. In 2011, 200 people were said to have died in ethnic clashes in the state. (Odebode 2011: 15). According to Odebode between 1994 and 2010, seven commissions of inquiry were set up on Jos crises, here are the seven commissions of inquiry into the Jos crisis in Nigeria ¹:

- *Justice Aribiton Fiberesima Commission (1994) *: The Fiberesima Commission was set up in response to the 1994 crisis in Jos. The commission was tasked with investigating the causes of the crisis, identifying those responsible, and making recommendations to prevent future violence.

- *Justice Niki Tobi Commission (2001) *: The Niki Tobi Commission was established by the Plateau State government in response to the 2001 crisis in Jos. The commission was mandated to investigate the causes of the crisis, identify those responsible, and make recommendations to prevent future violence.

- *Ajibola Commission of Inquiry (2008/2009) *: The Ajibola Commission of Inquiry was established by the Plateau State government in response to the 2008/2009 crisis in Jos. The commission was tasked with investigating the causes of the crisis, identifying those responsible, and making recommendations to prevent future violence.

- *Plateau State Peace Conference Report (2004) *: The Plateau State Peace Conference was convened in response to the 2004 crisis in Jos. The conference was mandated to investigate the causes of the crisis, identify those responsible, and make recommendations to prevent future violence.

- *Federal Government Commission of Inquiry (1994) *: The Federal Government Commission of Inquiry was established in response to the 1994 crisis in Jos. The commission was tasked with investigating the causes of the crisis, identifying those responsible, and making recommendations to prevent future violence.

- *Federal Government Commission of Inquiry (2001) *: The Federal Government Commission of Inquiry was established in response to the 2001 crisis in Jos. The commission was tasked with investigating the causes of the crisis, identifying those responsible, and making recommendations to prevent future violence.

- *Federal Government Commission of Inquiry (2008) *: The Federal Government Commission of Inquiry was established in response to the 2008 crisis in Jos. The commission was tasked with investigating the causes of the crisis, identifying those responsible, and making recommendations to prevent future violence.

. The reports of the committees have not seen the light of the day in spite of unabated killings in the state.

The solution to the challenges of ethnic violence according to Ademolekun, a deliberate policy of reducing poverty, introduction and implementation of socio-economic activities to help more Nigerians towards prosperity was urgently required (Alechenu 2011: 15). Atechenu quoted the American Ambassador to Nigeria, Ambassador Terence McCauley in conditions under which his compatriots would come and invest. He said, “if Nigeria can create an enabling environment for investment, including a frontal assault on corruption and lack of transparency, I am convinced you will find American businesses and investors eager to enter the largest market in Sub-Saharan Africa, creating jobs here in Nigeria while offering expertise, innovation and some of the world’s finest products”.

(2) Widespread Political Imbalance

Shittu (2012: 81) write that “the Nigerian federation is made up of 36 states, a federal capital territory and 774 local government areas”. “The country is governed in accordance with provisions of a written constitution”, “the most recent came into being in 1999, though these here be in some amendments to the supreme document.

Adetayo (2011: 18) in an article writes that “Nigeria currently operates a presidential system of government in which there is an executive arm, the legislature and of course the judiciary...”. “The executive arm of government at the federal level is headed by the president. The country runs a bicameral legislature that includes a 109-member senate and a 360-member House of Representatives. The judiciary also consists of the highest court, the supreme court and the other courts”.

According to Shittu, Nigeria’s chronic instability is solely and mainly a consequence of its failing experiment in federalism. Kolawole (2011: 19) traced the cause of ethnic crises to discrimination on the basis of indigeneship. He further writes that most of the ethnic conflicts in certain parts of the country can be traced to discrimination on grounds of place of origin.

Shittu (2012: 81) further writes that the successive military regime constantly gave more power to the Centre, while deliberately weakening the constituent units. By virtue of their various military decrees, most notably those of 1966 and 1975, they clothed themselves with enormous nay unrestricted and unchecked power to pursue their narrow and sectional structural reforms. Shittu further writes that the 1979 and 1999 constitutions, which are substantially the same, were enshrined to nail the final coffin of true federalism on Nigeria.

The lopsided federal structure which vested enormous power in the central government had led to agitation for state creation by various ethnic nationalities. Isiguzo (2011: 14) writes that Igbo were united on the need to address the age-long imbalance, in the system. The Igbo agitation, Isiguzo writes, was based on the need to have two more state to be created in the zone to enable it catch up with other zones especially the north-west which consists of seven states as against others with six states, the south-east has five states.

Adeyemo (2011: 22) writes that the Yoruba leaders of the south-west raised the issue of marginalization of the zone in the present political dispensation in Nigeria. According to Adeyemo, President Jonathan stated the administration resolve about adherence to the principle of federal character and the zoning formula in order to ensure that no section of the country was left out in the scheme of things by accommodating them.

Writing on the power vested in the federal government Shittu states that “A mere perusal of 2nd schedule to the 1979 document which embodied the exclusive legislature list gave the federal government enormous powers and even encroached on the areas that were supposed to be in the concurrent list for instance, the federal government has exclusive preserve over:

- (a) Aviation, including airports, safety of aircraft and carriage of passengers and goods by air
- (b) Commercial and industrial monopolies, combines and trusts
- (c) Copyright
- (d) Evidence
- (e) Fingerprints, identification and criminal records
- (f) Labour, including trade unions, industrial relations, conditions, safety and welfare wage for the federal government and states; and industrial arbitration
- (g) Mines and minerals, including oil fields, oil mining, geologreal surveys and natural gas
- (h) Police and so many other items.

The 1999 constitution on the other hand incorporated in its 2nd schedule part I, almost if not all these items enumerated above.

Shittu submitted that these military-fashioned constitutions are therefore the undisputed recursions of the present socio-economic and political moves in the country. Recall the various agitation by various and ubiquitous ethnic militias in the country. The various ethnic conflicts, according to Kolawole, include the TIV/Junkun crisis in the Plateau, the Zangonkataf conflict in Kaduna state; Ife/Modakeke conflict in Osun State; the Aguleri/Umuleri riots in Anambra State and many others offshoots of agitation between “indigenes” and the so-called “settlers.

Dr. Chris Ngige, senator re[presenting Anambra central in the upper chamber of the National Assembly in an interview, supported a single term of five years for president and governors in the state and rotation of office among the zones as a panacea for resolving widespread political imbalance. According to him if you don’t do this zonalization with rotation and a single tenure, it means that people of idoma in Benue can never taste governorship

because the Tivs are the majority and they have two senatorial zones if you don't do that in Delta State, Ibos Anioma called Delta North will never taste governorship because the Itsekiris and Urhobos and Ijaws are in majority and have two senatorial zones. If you go to Kwara, the Igbomina people will never be governor because they are also in minority in that state. If you go to Kogi state, it means that Okuns will never taste governorship in our life time because the Igalas are in majority and occupy two senatorial states. If you go to Kaduna, it also means that the Katafs can never be governor. Patrick Yakowa is governor today by stroke of luck, by default, but that is as far as it goes. If you go to Ondo state, Ilajes are really Ijaw people but they are in minority, so they can never be governor in a state that is populated by the Yorubas in the other senatorial zones. If you go to Borno, it is the same, the Ibachas and those other ones are in minority. But if you don't rotate among the senatorial zones, they can never have the opportunity to produce governors. If you also come to the national, if you don't rotate the presidency. There is also no way a south-south man can be president, forget that Jonathan also became president by stroke of luck and God's own blessing (Onyekamuo, 2011: 20-21).

3. Collapsing Social Amenities

Social commentators have pointed to high cost of governance as the bane of the current social upheaval being experienced the country. Iriekpen (2011: 21) writes that from the local, state and federal levels, cabinets are over-bloated. "There are reports that since May 2007 when the Olusegun Obasanjo administration handed over to the Umaru Musa Yar'Adua/Jonathan government, the states and local governments have equally helped to decimate the \$20 billion savings in the excess crude account. Iriekpen further writes that "when the emoluments, "constituency allowances" and other visible and invisible benefits paid to state legislators in each of the 36 states as well as the 7,888 councillors who make bye-laws in the 774 local government areas, the annual cost of sustaining the entire army of 17,500 individuals holding political offices in the executive and legislative arms of government in Nigeria would amount to ₦1.3 trillion".

Ajunwa (2011: 21) notes that "nothing works under the 1999 constitution, resulting in failed everything; education, health care, electric power, roads, food security, personal security and job security, all of which breed unemployed and restive youths.

4. High Spate of Insecurity

The greatest challenge facing the country is that of high level of insecurity. Nwosu (2011: 18) writes that "with the growing crises of security in the land, life is becoming cheap and almost miserable. "According to him, particularly worrisome is the mass slaughter on the plateau." "In the past years, lives of thousand of countless innocent citizens have been prematurely terminated by the warring groups on the different sides of the interminable conflicts.

The punch editorial traced the roots of sectarian violence in Kaduna State. Kaduna, Zaria, Kafanchan, Zango-Kataf and other towns lost their fame as melting pots where people from every part of Nigeria made their home and co-habited in serene harmony in 1986/7, when some elite hijacked the national debate provoked by the country's membership of the organization of Islamic conference to inflame divisions. At the same time, some extremist religious groups sprang up in Kaduna and Zaria, preaching an exclusive and intolerant ideology. The result was bloody riots in 1987 that started in Kafanchan and engulfed many parts of the state and beyond.

Ajunwa (2011: 22) write that the chairman of the presidential committee on the 2011 election violence and civil disturbances, Sheikh Ahmed Lemu blamed the high spate of insecurity on the failure on the part of the previous successive regimes since the military handed power to civilian in 1999 to implement the recommendations of various committees, commissions and panels that has been set up in Nigeria. He said further that the failures facilitated the widespread sense of impunity in the culprits and perpetrators of crimes and violence in the Nigerian society.

He listed past reports that were not implemented to include the Babalakin Judicial Commission of inquiry into Bauchi State Civil Disturbances; Karibi Whyte Judicial Commission of inquiry into Kafanchan Disturbances, Niki Tobi Judicial Commission of inquiry into plateau State Disturbances, Justice Sankey Judicial commission of inquiry into Wase and Langtang Disturbances, Justice Disu Judicial Commission of Inquiry into plateau State Disturbances; Prof. Tamuno Panel of inquiry on National Security, and the Justice Uwais Electoral Reform Committee.

Sheikh Lemu also said that the second major cause of the 2011 electoral violence was the existing widespread desire for change as a result of frustration and disappointment of many members of the general public regarding the inability of the successive regimes to solve the problems of electricity failure nation wide, deplorable state of federal road, bribery and corruption which he said have virtually been legitimized in the country.

According to Lemu, "the next major cause of violence and disturbances is the manner in which political office holders have lucratised their respective positions at the expense of the whole nation. "The panel discovered that the remunerations and allowances of the members of the legislative, in particular, are considered by stakeholders to be outrageous". In that respect, easy access to drugs serious general poverty at the grassroots level and youth unemployment, in particular are providing many foot soldiers ready for recruitment at cheap rate.

Ajuwa further writes that "the committee chairman also asserted that the basic cause of the violence in nearly all the communities concerned was political. According to him, Ethno-religious sentiments were brought into the issue through negative campaigns and rumor mongering by unscrupulous individuals to achieve their ulterior motives.

2.4 CAUSES OF ETHNIC PROBLEMS IN NIGERIA

Hussein (2006: 1) while reviewing the conceptual and theoretical perspectives of ethnic problems writes that “an analysis of the current conceptual and theoretical debates over ethnic conflict and the related issues reveals that there exist contending views and under gaps among the researcher in the field.

Hussein J. (2006: 1) writes that scholars of social sciences view the content and symbols of ethnic group in various ways. Some consider ethnic group as an objective entity that has its own boundary, while others view it as a subjective phenomenon that is condemned to change through inter-ethnic interaction. The two major perspectives of ethnic conflict are:

(1) Objective of Primordialist Perspective

An ethnic group is a category of human population that shares a number of attributes such as common origin, history, culture, language, territory and the like. Its members are biologically linked to each other than to others. Primordial approach perceives ethnic identity as something that is fixed and with distinct identities.

(2) Subjective of Situational Perspective

Theorists on this category see ethnic group as a flexible and changing phenomenon, which is doomed to alteration through the interaction of an ethnic group with other ethnic communities. The prevailing circumstance determines the content and symbols of an ethnic group i.e ethnic group is a socially constructed and fluid entity. According to this perspective, ethnicity concerns the feeling, behaviour, and psychological make up of an ethnic group.

Hussein further notes that some researchers consider religion as an attribute of ethnicity, while others do not. Ethnic conflict according to Hussein, takes different forms which range from peaceful expression of grievances to outright use of physical force or violence.

Hussein further writes that there is no agreement of sources of ethnic conflict among academics. The most recurring sources of ethnic conflict include discriminatory government policies (politics of exclusion and cultural domination or fear of assimilation).

The two major theories of ethnic conflicts are

1. Pluralist Society Theory

These theorists see no solution to ethnic conflict. According to them, because of an incompatibility of interests among ethnic groups, a multi-ethnic state is destined to disintegration. Only the intervention of external forces can rescue it.

2. Consociation List Perspective

Theorist in this category assume that it is possible to resolve ethnic conflict and promote inter solidarity under a democratic environment, Hussein observes that it appears that most researcher accept this approval.

Salawu B. & Hussein A.O. (2011: 30 – 31) traced the causes of ethnic problem in Nigeria.

Causes of Ethnic Problems in Nigeria

Nigeria at the age 49 is still searching for a new political order. The full realization of this objective has been made impossible because of the dominance of the factor of ethnicism, a factor which has affected the survival of democratic rule in Nigeria. One of the main causes of ethnic problem in Nigeria is the issue of ethnic nationalism. By definition, this means a tendency to see one's self, first and foremost as a member of an ethnic group rather than as a member of a nation. This tendency has been shown in some ways and particularly in the allegiance people pay to their ethnic group. In Nigerian society today, many prefer identification with their ethnic group rather than with the nation or even state. The above shows that Nigerians still exhibit a strong allegiance to ethnic group and which has consequently encouraged primordial sentiments among Nigerian people.

The origin of ethnicism in Nigeria is traceable to the nation's colonial experience, particularly the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorates of Nigeria in 1914. According to Osadolor (1998), the act of amalgamation was not a federal idea. Lugard did not conceive of a federal state for Nigeria. In the statement of the colonial office when Lugard submitted his proposals on 9th May, 1913, it was stated that 'Sir Lugard's proposals contemplate a state which is impossible to classify' (Osadolor, 1998). Lugard had neither a unitary nor a federal or confederal agenda for the country. Rather, the two regions were brought together for administrative convenience and reduction in administrative cost. This explains why the successive constitutions developed for governing the country between 1914 and 1951 can hardly be categorised either as unitary, federal or confederal. It was the turbulent political climate, which brought the 1951 Macpherson constitution to a premature end, which led to the production of the first federal-like constitution for Nigeria in 1954. The colonial Secretary, Oliver Lyttleton, convened a constitutional conference in London from July 30 to August 22 1953 to revise the 1951 constitution, which was originally expected to last for five years. At the conference, a federal constitution was accepted by the leaders of the main political parties. The solution was not reached easily, but it was the only feasible answer to the problem of national integration (Osadolor, 1998). The political restructuring produced the 1954 constitution that established a federal framework for Nigeria. The federal framework notwithstanding, the seed of mutual suspicion and fear of domination has germinated and was fast growing among the major ethnic groups in the country such that the workings of the new constitution became difficult. The point being made here is that federalism in Nigeria was not a deliberate design of the founding fathers but an accidental adoption; having found themselves in a tight situation with no better alternative available. The implication of this was that Nigerian federalism lacked the requisite foundation for a formidable federal system, the resultant effect of which is loyalty to ethnic groups rather than loyalty to the nation. In a circumstance of mutual suspicion and fear of domination, competition for power among ethnic groups becomes unavoidable. And it is on the basis of this fear of domination that formation of political parties in Nigeria always reflects a strong dose of ethnicism.

Colonialism left behind for Nigeria a non-hegemonic state that further aggravated the crisis of ethnicism in the Salawu and Hassan, Country. This is succinctly captured by Osaghae (2001) when he writes that:

... the pervasiveness of ethnic politics in the country is taken to be symptomatic of aggravated crisis of legitimacy that has engulfed the state, and is explained in terms of the proven efficacy of the ethnic strategy, the weakness of alternative identities and political units, the prevailing milieu of lawlessness that has enveloped the country's political landscape, and the inability of the state to act as an effective agency of distributive justice.

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CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The methods that were used to organize the investigation would be detailed in this chapter. The research methods used to capture data include the research setting, research design, population of the study, sampling size, research instrument among others.

3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

The descriptive design (a type of survey research) was used to observe the independent and non-manipulated variables. This type of research involved a one-time observation.

3.3 RESEARCH SETTING

The research was conducted in six (6) states across the six geo-political zones of Nigeria. The largest ethnic groups are the Fulani/Hausa, Yoruba, Igbo accounting for 68% of the Nigeria population while the Edo, Ijaw, Kanuri, Ibibio, Ebira Nupe and Tiv comprise 27%, other minorities make up the remaining 7%. The selected states for conducting the investigation include Kaduna State (North West), Delta State (South-South), Lagos State (South West) Edo State (South South), Anambra State (South East), Kwara State (North Central).

3.4 POPULATION OF THE STUDY

The research was conducted by eliciting information from targeted population of ethnic nationalities such as Hausa/Fulani, Yoruba, Igbo, Benin, Edo, Ijaw/Ishekiri, Ebira/Igala. The population covered these target groups in the six geo-political zones of Nigeria which is made up of thirty-six states and the federal capital territory.

3.5 SAMPLE AND SAMPLING TECHNIQUE

A total of 120 respondents constituted the sample size. A multi stage sampling was used in selecting the study respondents. This was based on the need of getting ethnic representativeness in the study population that's why we selected 20 respondents from each Geo-Political zone. To this end, samples of respondents were divided among the six geopolitical zones namely Hausa/Fulani (Kaduna State), Ijaw/Itsekiri (Delta State), Yoruba (Lagos State), Edo/Benue (Edo State), Igbo (Anambra State), Igala/Igbira (Kwara State). The respondents were randomly selected from the various identified clusters in the regions.

3.6 SOURCE OF DATA

The primary data was generated by the administration of structured questionnaires in study respondents. Secondary information was collected from various documents such as books, newsletters, reports, magazines, journals, daily newspaper, internet etc.

3.7 RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

The data used for the study were generated through structured questionnaire. However, in situations where respondents have difficulties in filling the questionnaires, a personal interview was conducted by the researcher. The questions in the questionnaires were closed ended questions except question No. 8 that was open ended. The questions were designed to ensure a relationship with the objectives of the study. The questions were eight (8) in number.

3.8 ADMINISTRATION

The structured questionnaires were administered in six states namely Lagos, Kaduna, Delta, Edo, Anambra, Kwara states with the assistance of six (6) research assistants. The questionnaires were sent to the assistants through e-mail copies of the questionnaires were randomly administered in the selected states by the research assistants. The filled questionnaires were returned by post.

3.9 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY OF THE RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

The opinions of qualified statistician and constitutional lawyers were sought when the questionnaire was designed. The questionnaire was validated by the experts as instrument that would measure what it was designed to measure. In addition to the validity of the research instrument, the researcher used the Guttman Spliff half to determine the reliability of the instrument.

3.10 METHOD OF DATA ANALYSIS

The researcher used relevant coding method to classify the responses of the study respondents. The codified responses were analyzed using descriptive statistics such as frequency distribution and percentages to examine the pattern of response to each variable used. The four hypotheses were tested with chi-square (χ^2) test at 5% level of significance.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

4.0 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, data generated from the respondents through questionnaires were presented and analyzed. The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section focus on the presentation and analysis of data whereas the second section is devoted to research questions and hypothesis testing while the last segment discusse the research findings.

A total of 120 questionnaires were distributed out of which 100 were returned. This shows a return rate of 83%.

4.1 RESPONDENTS' CHARACTERISTICS AND CLASSIFICATION

The respondents were classified by age, gender, tribe, religion, occupation, political affiliation, education and marital status.

Table 4.1.1: Below tabulates the age of the respondents

Respondent Age				
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	18-25	45	45.0	45.0
	26-35	32	32.0	32.0
	36-59	23	23.0	23.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0

Source: Researcher's field survey 2024

Table 4.1.1 shows that 45% of the respondents fall between 18-25years age category, 32% of the respondents fall between 26-35years age category while 23% of the respondents fall between 36-59 years age category.

Table 4.1.2 below tabulates the respondent sex

Respondent Sex				
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Male	70	70.0	70.0
	Female	30	30.0	30.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0

source: Researcher's field survey 2024

Table 4.1.2 Shows that 70% of the respondents were male while 30% of them were female.

Table 4.1.3 below classifies respondents into tribes

Respondent Tribe				
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Hausa/Fulani	20	20.0	20.0
	Yoruba	20	20.0	20.0
	Igbo	18	18.0	18.0
	Benin/Edo	16	16.0	16.0
	Ijaw/Itsekiri	14	14.0	14.0
	Ebira/Igala	12	12.0	12.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0

Source: Researcher's field survey 2024

Table 4.1.3 shows that 20% of the respondents were Hausa/ Fulani, 20% were Yoruba, 18% were Igbo, 16% were Benin/Edo, 14% were Ijaw/Itsekiri while 12% were Ebira/Igala.

Table 4.1.4 below tabulates respondent's religion

Respondent Religion				
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Muslim	45	45.0	45.0
	Christian	55	55.0	55.0
	Others	0	0	0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0

Source: Researcher's field survey 2024

Table 4.1.4 shows that 45% of the respondents were Muslim, 55% were Christian.

Table 4.1.5 classifies respondent's occupation

Respondent Occupation				
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Artisan	6	6.0	6.0
	Student	14	14.0	14.0
	Security Personnel	8	8.0	8.0
	Public Servant	38	38.0	38.0
	Politician	2	2.0	2.0
	Trader	22	22.0	22.0
	Social Worker	2	2.0	2.0
	Others	8	8.0	8.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0

Source: Researcher's field survey 2024

Table 4.1.5 shows that 6% of the respondents were artisan, 14% of the respondents were students, 8% of the respondents were security personnel, 38% of the respondents were public servant, 2% of the respondents were

politician, 22% of the respondents were trader, 2% of the respondents were social workers while 8% of the respondents belong to other occupation.

Table 4.1.6 classifies Respondent's Political Affiliations

Respondent Political Affiliation				
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	PDP	20	20.0	20.0
	ANPP	2	2.0	2.0
	APC	39	39.0	39.0
	APGA	1	1.0	1.0
	Labour Party	20	20.0	20.0
	Others	18	18.0	18.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0

Source: Researcher's field survey 2024

Table 4.6 shows that 20% of the respondents have affiliation with PDP, 2% of the respondents have affiliation with ANPP, 39% of the respondents have affiliation with APC, 1% of the respondents have affiliation with APGA, 20% of the respondents have affiliation with Labour Party while 18% of the respondents were affiliated to other political parties.

Table 4.1.7 classifies Respondents' Educational Status

Respondent Education				
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Primary School	2	2.0	2.0
	Secondary School	30	30.0	30.0
	Tertiary	68	68.0	68.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0

Source: Researcher's field survey 2024

Table 4.1.7 shows that 2% of the respondents were primary school leaver, 30% of the respondents were secondary school leaver while 68% of the respondents had tertiary education.

Table 4.1.8 classifies Respondent's Marital Status

Respondent Marital Status				
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Single	50	50.0	50.0
	Married	50	50.0	50.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0

Source: Researcher's field survey 2024

Table 4.1.8 shows that 50% of the respondents were single while 50% of the respondents were married.

Table 4.1.9 classifies Respondents Responses on the Challenges of Federalism in Nigeria

S/N	Variables	Yes		No		Total
		F	%	F	%	F %
1.	Weak electoral system	86	86	14	14	100
2.	Corrupt judicial system	84	84	16	16	100
3.	Ill-equipped police force	86	86	14	14	100
4.	Porous territorial borders	90	90	10	10	100
5.	Weak capacity to generate revenue for the government	68	68	32	32	100
6.	Over reliance on crude oil	92	92	8		100
7.	Low level of co-operation among state security agencies	90	90	10	10	100
8.	Lack of political will to tackle corruption	98	98	2		100
9.	Leadership failure	98	98	2	2	100

Source: Researcher's field survey 2024

Table 4.1.9 shows respondents opinion on the challenges of federalism in Nigeria which include: leadership failure (Yes 98%, No 2%), lack of political will to tackle corruption (Yes 98%, No 2%), over reliance on crude oil (Yes 92%, No 8%), porous territorial borders (Yes 90%, No 10%), low level of co-operation among state security agencies (Yes 90%, No 10%), weak electoral system (Yes 86%, No 14%), ill equipped police force (Yes 86%, No 14%), corrupt judicial system (Yes 84%, No 16%), weak capacity to generate revenue for the government (Yes 68%, No 32%).

Table 4.1.10 Classifies respondent's responses on the major sources of ethnic violence in Nigeria.

S/N	VARIABLES	YES		NO		TOTAL
		F	%	F	%	F %
1	Weak leadership	90	90	10	10	100
2	Embezzlement of public funds	94	94	6	6	100
3	Mass poverty	100	100	-	-	100
4	Unemployment	98	98	2	2	100
5	International politics	70	70	30	30	100
6	Mutual suspicion among ethnic groups	80	80	20	20	100
7	Competition for employment	80	80	20	20	100
8	Monopoly of power by major ethnic groups	92	92	8	8	100
9	Competition for political office	92	92	8	8	100
10	High level of illiteracy	82	82	18	18	100
11	Religious intolerance	90	90	10	10	100
12	Sensational media report	74	74	26	26	100
13	Reliance on federal character system	80	80	20	20	100
14	Extra-judicial killing	82	82	18	18	100
15	Inequitable distribution of federal allocation	88	88	12	12	100
16	Lack of trust of the judicial system	92	92	8	8	100

Source: Researcher's field survey 2024

Table 4.1.10 shows that the major sources of ethnic conflict in Nigeria are:

1. Mass poverty (Yes 100%),
2. Unemployment (Yes 98, No 2%)
3. Embezzlement of public funds (Yes 94%, No 6%)
4. Lack of trust in the judicial system (Yes 92%, No 8%)
5. Competition for political appointment (Yes, 92%, No 8%)
6. Monopoly of power by major ethnic groups (Yes 92%, No 8%)
7. Religious intolerance (Yes 90%, No 10%)
8. Weal leadership (Yes 90%, No 10%)
9. Inequitable distribution of federal allocation (Yes 88%, No 12%)
10. Extra-judicial killing (Yes 82%, No 18%)
11. High level of illiteracy (Yes 82%, No 18%)
12. Reliance on federal character system (Yes 80%, No 20%)
13. Competition for employment (Yes 80%, No 20%)
14. Mutual suspicion among ethnic groups (Yes 80%, No 20%)
15. Sensational media report (Yes 74%, No 26%)
16. International politics (Yes 70%, No 30%)

Table 4.1. 11 shows respondents' opinion on the relationship between the federal system of government (federalism) and uprising of ethnic militias across Nigeria.

SN	Variables	SA	F%	A	F%	U	F%	D	F%	SD	F%	TOTAL
1	Terrorism	56	56%	20	20%	0	0%	12	12%	12	12%	100%
2.	Kidnapping	38	38%	34	34%	6	6%	14	14%	8	8%	100%
3.	Bombing of oil installation	48	48%	22	22%	4	4%	18	18%	8	8%	100%

Source: Researcher's field survey 2024

Table 4.1.11 shows that 56% of the respondents strongly agreed with the statement that the federalism was responsible for terrorism, 20% of the respondents agreed, 12% of them disagreed while 12% of the respondents strongly disagreed with the statement. The table also shows that 38% of the respondents strongly agreed with the statement that the federalism was responsible for spate of kidnapping, 34% of them agreed, 6% of them were undecided, 14% of the respondents disagreed while 8% strongly disagreed with the statement. The table also

shows that 48% of the respondents strongly agreed with the statement that federalism was responsible for bombing of oil installation in some part of the country, 22% of the respondents agreed with the statement, 4% of them were undecided, 18% of the respondents disagreed while 8% of them strongly disagreed with the statement.

Table 4.1.12 shows respondents' opinions on the relationship between federal system of government (federalism) and the widespread political imbalance in Nigeria

SN	Variables	SA		A		U		D		SD		TOTAL
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	%
1	Agitation for the creation of state government	42	42	28	28	18	18	6	6	6	6	100
2.	Agitation for the creation of local government	34	34	42	42	10	10	6	6	8	8	100
3.	Agitation for the creation of state police force	26	26	42	42	16	16	12	12	4	4	100
4.	Agitation for the equitable distribution of federal allocation	42	42	32	32	14	14	8	8	4	4	100

Source: Researcher's field survey 2024

Table 4.1.12 shows that 42% of the respondents strongly agreed with the statement that federalism is responsible for agitation for the creation of state government, 28% of the respondents agreed with the statement, 18% of them were undecided, 6% of the respondents disagreed while 6% of the respondents strongly disagreed with the statement. The table also shows that 34% of the respondents strongly agreed with the statement that federalism is responsible for the creation of local government, 42% of the respondents agreed with the statement, 10% of them were undecided, 6% of the respondents disagreed with the statement while 8% of the respondents strongly disagreed with the statement. The table also shows that 26% of the respondents strongly agreed with the statement that federalism is responsible for agitation for creation of state police force, 42% of the respondents agreed with the statement, 16% of them were undecided, 12% of the respondents disagreed while 4% of the respondents strongly disagreed with the statement. The table also shows that 42% of the respondents strongly agreed with the statement that federalism is responsible for agitation for the equitable distribution of federal allocation, 32% of the respondents agreed with the statement, 14% of them were undecided, 18% of the respondents disagreed while 4% of the respondents strongly disagreed with the statement.

Table 4.1.13 shows respondents’ opinion on the relationship between federal systems of government (federalism) and collapsing social amenities in Nigeria.

SN	Variables	SA		A		U		D		SD		TOTAL
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	
1	Instability In energy supply	64	64	18	18	6	6	6	6	6	6	100
2.	Poor road network	56	56	36	36	4	4	4	4	0	0	100
3.	Collapse rail and inter modal system	58	58	36	36	6	6	0	0	0	0	100
4.	High level of unemployment	62	62	32	32	6	6	0	0	0	0	100
5.	Poor health care delivery	56	56	32	32	6	6	4	4	2	2	100
6.	Low standard of education	54	54	38	38	2	2	6	6	0	0	100
7.	High level of illiteracy	46	46	32	32	12	12	10	10	0	0	100
8.	Acute water supply	46	46	40	40	6	6	4	4	4	4	100

Source: Researcher’s field survey 2024

Table 4.13 shows that 64% of the respondents strongly agreed that federalism was responsible for instability in energy supply, 18% of the respondents agreed with the statement, 6% of them were undecided, 6% of the respondents disagreed, while 6% of the respondents strongly disagreed with the statement. The table also shows that 56% of the respondents strongly agreed with the statement that federalism was responsible for poor road network, 36% agreed with the statement, 4% were undecided, 4% of the respondents disagreed with the statement while none of the respondent strongly disagreed with the statement. The table also shows that 58% of the respondents strongly agreed with the statement that federalism was responsible for collapsed rail and inter modal system, 36% of the respondents agreed with the statement, 6% of them were undecided, none of the respondents neither disagreed nor strongly disagreed with the statement. The table also shows that 62% of the respondents strongly agreed with the statement that federalism was responsible for high level of unemployment, 32% of the respondents agreed with the statement, 6% of them were undecided, none of the respondents neither disagreed nor strongly disagreed with the statement. The table also shows that 56% of the respondents strongly agreed with the statement that federalism was responsible for poor health care delivery, 32% of the respondents agreed with the statement, 6% of the respondents were undecided, 4% of them disagreed while 2% of the respondents strongly disagreed. The table also shows that 54% of the respondents strongly agreed with the statement that federalism was responsible for low standard of education, 38% of them agreed with the statement, 2% of them were

undecided, 6% of the respondents disagreed while none of the respondents strongly disagreed with the statement. The table also shows that 46% of the respondents strongly agreed with the statement that federalism was responsible for high level of illiteracy, 32% of the respondents agreed with the statement, 12% of them were undecided, 10% of the respondents disagreed while none of the respondents strongly disagreed. The table also shows that 46% of the respondents strongly agreed with the statement that federalism was responsible for acute water supply, 40% of the respondents agreed with the statement, 6% of them were undecided, 4% of the respondents disagreed while 4% of the respondents strongly disagreed with the statement.

Table 4.1.14 shows respondents' opinion on the relationship between federal system of government (federalism) and the spate of insecurity in Nigeria.

SN	Variables	SA		A		U		D		SD		TOTAL
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	%
1	Increase in rate of armed robbery	40	40	44	44	6	6	6	6	4	4	100
2.	Increase in smuggling activities	46	46	36	36	6	6	6	6	6	6	100
3.	Importation of illegal arms	46	46	38	38	2	2	8	8	6	6	100
4.	Increase in white collar crime e.g., advance fee fraud	44	44	36	36	10	10	4	4	6	6	100

Source: Researcher's field survey 2024

Table 4. 1.14 shows that 40% of the respondents strongly agreed with the statement that federalism was responsible for the increase in rate of armed robbery, 44% of the respondents agreed with the statement, 6% of them were undecided, 6% of the respondents disagreed, while 4% of the respondents strongly disagreed with the statement. The table also shows that 46% of the respondents strongly agreed with the statement that federalism was responsible for increase in smuggling activities, 36% of the respondents agreed with the statement, 6% of the respondents were undecided, 6% of them disagreed while 6% of the respondents strongly disagreed with the statement. The table also shows that 46% of the respondents strongly agreed with the statement that federalism was responsible for importation of illegal arms, 38% of them agreed, 2% of the respondents were undecided, 8% of the respondents disagreed while 6% of them strongly disagreed with the statement. The table also shows that 44% of the respondents strongly agreed with the statement that federalism was responsible for the increase in

white collar crime, 36% of them agreed with the statement, 10% of the respondents were undecided, 4% of them disagreed while 6% of the respondents strongly disagreed with the statement.

4.2 TEST OF HYPOTHESES

Three hypotheses were formulated for this study. They are hereby tested for acceptance or rejection using the chi square (χ^2) statistic test.

The formula used for chi square is
$$\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(O_f - E_f)^2}{E_f}$$

Where O_f = observed frequency of the row and the column.

E_f = expected frequency of the row and the column.

Decision Rule: reject the null hypothesis and accept the alternative hypothesis if the calculated chi square value is greater than the tabulated chi square value. Accept the null hypothesis and reject the alternative hypothesis if the calculated hypothesis is lower than the tabulated value.

Hypothesis 1

H_0 ; there is no significant relationship between federal system of government and uprising of ethnic militias across Nigeria.

H_1 ; there is significant relationship between federal system of government and uprising of ethnic militias across Nigeria.

This hypothesis was tested with responses to question 4 of the questionnaire which sought to know if there exit a significant relationship between federal system of government and uprising of ethnic militias across Nigeria.

Level of Significance

The level of significance used for this test is 5%. Hence, the tabulated value will be;
$$\chi^2_{tabulated} = \chi^2_{a,(r-1)(c-1)} = \chi^2_{0.05,(3-1)(5-1)} = \chi^2_{0.05,(2 \times 4)} = \chi^2_{0.05,8} = 15.51$$

Decision Rule: If calculated value is more than tabulated value, we reject the null hypothesis. Otherwise, we accept the null hypothesis. The summary of the table in the appendix shows that the calculated value is 15.98 (that is $\chi^2_{calculated} = 15.98$).

Decision: Since $\chi^2_{calculated}$ is greater than $\chi^2_{tabulated}$, we reject the null hypothesis and accept the alternative hypothesis.

Conclusion: We therefore conclude that there is significant relationship between federal system of government and uprising of ethnic militias across Nigeria.

Hypothesis II

H₀: there is no significant relationship between federal system of government and widespread political imbalances in Nigeria.

H₁: there is significant relationship between federal system of government and widespread political imbalance in Nigeria.

This hypothesis was tested with responses to question 5 of the questionnaire which sought to know if there exit a significant relationship between federal system of government and widespread political imbalances in Nigeria.

Level of Significance

The level of significance used for this test is 5%. Hence, the tabulated value will be $X^2_{tabulated} = X^2_{\alpha, r-1, c-1} =$

$$X^2_{0.05 (4-1)(5-1)} = X^2_{0.05(3 \times 4)} = X^2_{0.05, 12} = 21.0$$

Decision Rule: If calculated value is more than tabulated value, we reject the null hypothesis. Otherwise, we accept the null hypothesis.

The summary of the table in the appendix shows that the calculated value is 16.23 (that is $X^2_{calculated} = 16.23$).

Decision: since $X^2_{tabulated}$ is greater than $X^2_{calculated}$ we accept the null hypothesis and reject the alternative hypothesis.

Conclusion: we therefore conclude that there is no significant relationship between federal system of government and widespread political imbalance.

Hypothesis III

H₀: there is no significant relationship between federal system of government and collapsing social amenities in Nigeria.

H₁: there is significant relationship between federal system of government and collapsing social amenities in Nigeria.

This hypothesis was tested with responses to question 6 of the questionnaire which sought to know if there exit a significant relationship federal system of government and collapsing social amenities in Nigeria.

Level of Significance

The level of significance used for this test is 5%. Hence, the tabulated value will be $X^2_{tabulated} = X^2_{\alpha, (r-1)(c-1)} =$
 $X^2_{0.05, (8-1)(5-1)} = X^2_{0.05, (7 \times 4)} = X^2_{0.05, 28} = 41.3$

Decision Rule: If calculated value is more than tabulated value, we reject the null hypothesis. Otherwise, we accept the null hypothesis.

The summary of the table in the appendix shows that the calculated value is 67.62 (that is $X^2_{calculated} = 67.62$).

Decision: since $X^2_{calculated}$ is greater than $X^2_{tabulated}$, we reject the null hypothesis and accept the alternative hypothesis.

Conclusion: There is a significant relationship between federal system of government and collapsing social amenities.

Hypothesis IV

H₀: there is no significant relationship between federal system, of government and state of insecurity in Nigeria.

H₁: there is significant relationship between federal system of government and state of insecurity in Nigeria.

This hypothesis was tested with responses to question 7 of the questionnaire which sought to know if there exist a significant relationship between federal system of government and state of insecurity in Nigeria.

Level of Significance

The level of significance used for this test is 5%. Hence, the tabulated value will be $X^2_{tabulated} = X^2_{\alpha, (r-1)(c-1)} =$
 $X^2_{0.05 (4-1)(5-1)} = X^2_{0.05, (3 \times 4)} = X^2_{0.05, 12} = 21.0$

Decision Rule: If calculated value is more than tabulated value, we reject the null hypothesis. Otherwise, we accept the null hypothesis. The summary of the table in the appendix shows that the calculated value is 8.87 (that is $X^2_{calculated} = 8.87$).

Decision: since $X^2_{calculated}$ is less than $X^2_{tabulated}$, we accept the null hypothesis and reject the alternative hypothesis.

Conclusion: there is no significant relationship between federal system of government and the spate of insecurity in the country.

4.3 DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

The research established that there is a significant relationship between federal system of government and uprising of ethnic militias across Nigeria. Table 4.1.11 shows that majority of the respondents agreed that federalism was responsible for terrorism, bombing of oil installation and the spate of kidnapping in the country. The findings buttressed the disclosure that the emergence of armed ethnic militia was linked to activities of politicians especially from the Northern region. The politicians believed that by sponsoring this group they can have influence over the federal government. Another group in the Niger delta was able to get the federal government to establish a ministry for NIGER delta affairs while granting amnesty to the militant groups that were responsible for bombing of oil installation. Arm struggle is now the choice of ethnic group as a tool for seeking redress of perceived marginalization.

The research also established that there is no significant relationship between federal system of government and widespread political imbalance in Nigeria. Table 4.1.12 shows that there was no strong indication among the respondents on the relationship between federalism and the various agitation for creation of state government; agitation for the creation of local government; agitation for creation of state police and agitation for equitable distribution of federation allocation. The finding shows that other factors could have been responsible for the agitation for creation of more state. Virtually all the ethnic groups are calling for the creation of state and local government in order to get revenue from the federal government. Recently, the chairman of the Northern governor forum said that the federal revenue was not equitably distributed to the North and thereafter called for the review of the allocation formula for allocating funds to the federating units. Governors from the south-south has also renewed their call for resource control which simply means having control over the exploration of crude oil from the state which at present is being controlled by the federal government. There has been call for creation of state police especially by governors in the west in order to address the myriad security challenges in the region. At present the federal government controls the police force. This agitation could be the failure of leadership failure which encourages nepotism, tribalism and corruption without any political will to punish offenders

The research also established that a significant relationship exists between federal system of government and collapsing social amenities. Table 4.1.13 shows that majority of the respondents were of the view that federalism was responsible for collapsing social amenities such as instability in energy supply, poor road network, collapsed rail and intermodal system, high level of unemployment, poor health care delivery, low standard of education, high level of illiteracy and acute water supply. High level of governance has been pointed out as responsible for the collapsing social amenities. The federal system of government with all the duplicity of functions at the three tiers of government is expensive to operate. This finding confirms Iriekpen calculation of the emoluments of the army of 17,500 individuals holding political offices in executive and legislative arm of government in Nigeria

which he put at N1.3 trillion annually. The budget of Nigeria is being expended on recurrent expenditure at the detriment of capital project as a result of high cost of maintaining the current federal system of government. Various international human index places Nigeria at a very low level because of the poor state of infrastructure and poor standard of living.

The research also established that there is no significant relationship between federal system of government and the spate of insecurity in Nigeria. Table 4.1.14 shows that the federal system of government was not responsible for the spate of insecurity in Nigeria such as increase in armed robbery, increase in smuggling activities, importation of illegal arms and increase in white collar crimes. The findings buttressed the claim of Sheikh Lemu, chairman of the Presidential Committee on the 2011 election violence and civil disturbances. The revered cleric said that the cause of the insecurity in the country was the failure on the past regimes to implement the recommendations of various committees, commissions and panel that has been set up in Nigeria. Furthermore, the existing widespread desire for change as a result of frustration and disappointment of many members of the general public regarding the inability of successive regimes to solve the problems of social amenities and corruption. The chairman also avers that the basic cause of the violence in nearly all the communities concerned was political. The struggle is about who controls the federal system with such much of concentrated power. It is all about failure to elect leaders that will promote equity, fairness and probity without recourse to tribal and religion proclivity.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter summarized the research findings with the view to arriving at the conclusion. The recommendations on how to effectively tackle the challenges of federalism are included in this chapter.

5.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The research has critically examined four postulations and established the following facts:

- There exists a significant relationship between federalism and uprising of ethnic militias in a multi ethnic African society. The research found out that the federal system of government was responsible for terrorism, kidnapping and bombing of oil installation. There has been struggle among various ethnic groups to check federal appointments because of the high concentration of power at the centre. The federal government controls virtually everything including healthcare, education, labour, road construction, police to mention a few. This struggle which arises from the lopsided federal government structure is responsible for the various arm campaign the country is witnessing.
- There is no significant relationship between federalism and widespread political imbalance. The research found out that federalism was not responsible for agitation for the creation of state government, agitation for the creation of local government, agitation for the creation of state police force, and agitation for the equitable distribution of federal allocation. Those agitating for creation of more state believe whether correctly or not that they are being marginalized and that the creation of this state will redress such perceived marginalization. The federal system as currently practiced is skewed to favour whoever is in power and his cronies. This explains the reason for the clamour for more states by virtually all the ethnic groups.
- There exist a significant relationship between federalism and collapsing social amenities. The research found out that federalism was responsible for collapsing social amenities such as instability in energy supply, poor road networks, collapsed rail and intermodal system, high level of unemployment, poor healthcare delivery, low standard of education, high level of illiteracy and acute water supply. The cost of running a federal system of government is responsible for the collapsing social amenities.
- There is no significant relationship between federalism and the state of insecurity in a multi ethnic African society. The research found out that federalism was not responsible for the increase in rate of armed robbery, increase in smuggling activities, importation of illegal arms and increase in white collar crimes

5.2 CONCLUSION

The research established that the federal system of government was responsible for uprising of ethnic militia and collapsing social amenities. The research could not find any relationship between federalism and widespread political imbalance. Also, the research did not find any relationship between federalism and the spate of insecurity in the country. We therefore conclude the federal system of government is partly responsible for the social-economy malady we are currently facing while leadership failure takes some part of the blame. The challenge therefore is to start the process of restructuring the system that will allow credible and competent leaders to hold political office.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations are being proposed based on the findings of the research:

- There should be devolution of power to the state government in the spirit of true and fiscal federalism.
- The 1999 constitution should be reviewed on issues including land reforms, budgetary process, fiscal federalism, local government and state creation request and process, procedure for constitution amendment, citizenship and indigene issue.
- Rotation of presidency among the six geo-political zones should be enshrined in the constitution.
- There should be provision for state/community policing in the constitution.
- Reform electoral process and institutions charged with the responsibility of conducting election to put in place structures that promote merit in the election of political office holder and public sector appointment.
- Abolish the quota system in determining political appointments because it does not promote merit.
- The remuneration of all appointed and elected political office holder should be reviewed downward in such a way that it would not be attractive.
- Commitment to mass literacy programme toward elimination of illiteracy and the attendant social problems.
- Promotion of transparency, accountability and good governance.
- Provision of social amenities through faithful implementation of the budgeted capital projects.
- Affirming honesty, fairness, morality and justice in the system while penalizing impunity and corruption
- Strict implementation of extant laws in order to send strong warnings to corrupt government officials and their conniving partners in the private sector

- Provision of modern communication facilities for judicial officers in order to improve on the dispensation of justice and complete upgrading of prison facilities.
- Adequate remuneration for security officers and provision of group life insurance to cover disabilities and death.
- Adequate planning towards constructing borders across the country in order to stem the high rate of terrorism and insecurity in the country.
- We should elect selfless, visionary and strong-willed leaders that are not mindful of tribalism and nepotism.
- Develop a democratic culture and ethos that will make political leadership accountable to the citizenry and not one that will be pandering to foreign powers and their local allies.

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