FEDERALISM AND NATIONAL INTEGRATION: AN ASSESSMENT OF FEDERAL CHARACTER PRINCIPLE UNDER PRESIDENT BUHARI (2015-2024)

BY

SHEDRACH CHIDI SHEDRACH
HND/23/PAD/FT/1243

BEING A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION, INSTITUTE OF FINANCE AND MANAGEMENT, KWARA STATE POLYTECHNIC, ILORIN

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF HIGHER NATIONAL DIPLOMA (HND) IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

MAY, 2025

CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that this research work has been read and approved by the undersigned on behalf of the Department of Public Administration, Institute of Finance and Management (IFMS), Kwara State Polytechnic, Ilorin as meeting the requirement for the award of Higher National Diploma in Public Administration.

_____   _____

Mrs. Geetto A. A   Date

(Project Supervisor)

_____   _____

Chief Olowookere. A. O   Date

(Project Coordinator)

_____   _____

Mr. Seriki, I. A.   Date

(Head of Department)

DEDICATION

I dedicate this project to Almighty GOD for His grace and guidance, and also to my MOM, whose love and support have been a constant source of inspiration, especially during the completion of my Higher National Diploma project."

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I give thanks to Almighty God for His blessings and wisdom. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Mrs. Geetto AA for her guidance and support throughout this project. I am also grateful to my colleagues for their valuable feedback and assistance. I appreciate the amazing and wonderful people through whom I came into this world, given to me as family. To my late dad, whose memory continues to guide me, and to my mom, whose love and support have been a constant source of inspiration. To my lovely siblings: Shedrach Mary Nneoma,Shedrach Favour Ikechukwu. Finally, to My Mom, whose financial support made this project possible. I am profoundly grateful for their immeasurable and relentless love and support spiritually, emotionally, financially, and morally all through my academic pursuit. God bless you all.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY OF THE FINDING, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

ABSTRACT

This study critically assesses the federal character principle under President Muhammadu Buhari's administration (2015-2024), focusing on its implications for federalism and international integration in Nigeria. The research aims to explore three key objectives: first, to examine the relationship between the federal character principle and democratic governance in Nigeria; second, to investigate the influence of religious and ethnic loyalties on national integration; and third, to evaluate the adherence to the federal character principle in practice. The study delves into how the federal character principle, designed to ensure equitable distribution of political and economic power among Nigeria's diverse ethnic and religious groups, influences democratic processes and national unity. It explores how religious and ethnic affiliations affect national integration and whether these factors undermine or support the principles of federalism. By analysing official records, policy documents, and empirical data, the research assesses whether the federal character principle has been effectively implemented or if deviations have occurred. The findings reveal the complexities of balancing federalism with national integration in a multi-ethnic society and highlight the challenges and successes of the federal character principle in promoting equity and inclusivity. The study provides insights into the effectiveness of the principle under Buhari's leadership and offers recommendations for enhancing its implementation to support democratic consolidation and national cohesion.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1   BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

The Nigerian federalism is a creation of the British. Before the arrival of British colonialists, the area now known as Nigeria was inhabited by peoples who belonged to different empires, kingdoms and societies, which were traditionally administered. The relationship between these various entities was characterized by much conflict and little co-operation. Furthermore, such vices as cannibalism, ritual murder and the killing of twins were rampant among some of the peoples (Oyewole, 2004).

Plural and sharply divided societies all over the world attempt to manage their diversities and divisive tendencies through one or combination of policy alternatives in the organization and management of their public services for performance; and Nigeria is not an exception (Abdullah, 2007). Often times, these policy alternatives turn out to be delicate arrangements; but when carefully conceived, crafted and practiced, it provides opportunity for various minority and majority to interact peacefully and co-habit on agreed terms which has been proved to have enhanced productivity.

One of such policy alternatives adopted for the management of the public service in Nigeria for even representation is the federal character principle, which was borne out of the need to ensure even spread of government appointments in all the regions, states

and local government councils in the country. Nigeria is essentially a plural society, its component groups are separated apart from each other by significant differences of language, ethnicity, and cultures of Nigeria created differences in attitude, outlook and character. Faced with these problems, Nigeria adopted federalism as a means of achieving its much needed goal of national integration. In essence the federalism so adopted is expected to reduce the immensely aggressive inter-ethnic competition and tension, allay the usually alleged fear of domination, bringing government nearer to the people and give the different groups more opportunities, thereby integrating the country.

Federalism, according to K.C Wheare, is the method of dividing powers so that the central and regional governments are each, within a sphere, co-ordinate and independent. He said that the characteristics of this Federal Principle are the division of powers among levels of government, a written constitution showing this division of powers and co-ordinate not sub-ordinate supremacy of the two levels of government with respect to their functions (K.C Wheare,).The practice of federalism in Nigeria is one of the legacies the British colonial masters bequeathed to Nigeria

Nigeria as a country came into corporate existence in 1914, as a result of the fusion between the northern and southern protectorates by the British. National integration is the ultimate goal to be achieved in a multi ethnic country like Nigeria for there to be any reasonable development. National integration is a process of cohesion between two or more social units, whereby these units come together to constitute a

political whole which include among other things the joining of various parts of society into a functioning whole, the growth of obedience and loyalty to its pars and the emergence of shared national values. It follows, that Nigeria would have received national unity where obedience and loyalties to the Nigerian state, transcend loyalties to its parts. Thus conceptualization implies social equality of citizens.

National integration is a positive aspect that reduces socio-cultural and economic differences or inequalities and strengthens national unity and solidarity, which is not imposed by any authority. National unity and integration encourages People to share ideas, values and emotional bonds. It is feeling of unity within diversity. National identity is supreme. Cultural unity, constitution, territorial continuity, common economic problems, art, literature, national festivals, national flag, national anthem and national emblem etc. to promote National Integration.

National integration is highly necessary in a multi-religious, multi-ethnic, multi-caste, multi-regional society like Nigeria. Realizing the need of it, the government of Nigeria decided to introduce the federal character has a solution to the multi-ethnicity in the national integration. But this federal character principle as over time been a subject of debate both to its practice and constitutional use by leaders.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Federation requires decentralization of power among the component units. It also requires that no component unit should be as large in size as to eliminate others. The case

of Nigeria shows that power is concentrated in the central government. On the other parts, there exist structural imbalance between the northern, the east and west of Nigeria. This situation therefore by majority, political power is proportionately in favor of the north above other religions. The issue of revenue allocation in Nigeria is not without its own problems. As if all these problems are not enough for Nigeria federalism, the issue of on shore offshore dichotomy and equally the alarm raised about the marginalization from all religion in Nigeria are by setting the unity of the country

So the question still remains if the federal character principle has been worthwhile in bringing out integration and unity into the country. Various elements and scholars have been seen to bring about various reasons to why the federal character principles and integration processes have seem to fail in the country, and have also offered up various solutions that can be initiated into the solving of the problem.

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

Nigeria was faced with the challenge of how to imbibe the principle of federalism in practice. As a result, the quota system was introduced into the Nigerian public service in 1958 by the government to ensure equitable representation of the various groups in the country. Oyewole (2002) said the federal character principle was incorporated as an

employment policy having taken into cognizance the impervious and insistence demand by each ethnic group, no matter how small numerically, or how poor materially, or how backward educationally for a fair and dignified place in the Nigeria sum.

But this purpose thus solve the issue of equal representation but as noted by Goodluck Jonathan do not solve the issue of merit or competence. Most of the times, the appointment based on federal character have to forgo merits in other to please the constitution this therefore has caused problems to various leaders. Due to the fact that its practice has not been well implemented by some leaders and also leaders have to choose ethnicity over merit in other to implement it. Many scholars have attributed unproductive and inefficiency to the adoption of the Federal Character Principle which they believe negates the administrative ethics of merit system –skill, qualification, and experience through training which are the basic criteria for efficiency

1.3   OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The following are the objectives of this study:

1. To examine the relationship between federal character and democracy in Nigeria.

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

3. To investigate if the federal character principle are being followed duely.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTION

The following are the questions the study poses;

1. What are the relationship between federal character and democracy in Nigeria?

2. What are the impact of religions and ethnic loyalties and national integration in Nigeria?

3. Are federal character principle being followed duely?

1.5 RESEARCH HYPOTHESIS

The hypothesis behind this research are:

H0. There's no relationship between federal character and democracy in Nigeria

H1. There is relationship between federal character and democracy in Nigeria

H0. Federal character principle are not being followed in Nigeria

H1. Federal character are being followed in Nigeria.

1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

It has become obvious that Nigeria cannot make any meaningful progress in the absence of unity. Some founding fathers of Nigeria adopted federalism as a pragmatic instrument for the achievement of the goal of national unity. The rationale was to see if there could be unity in diversity which means that there could be ways of bringing

diverse ethnic groups into a modern nation. However, amidst all the efforts, the goals of national integration are not yet possible owing to the numerous problems inherent in Nigeria federalism.

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

1.7 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The scope of this study on federalism and the problem of national integration. The study will be a descriptive analysis on Nigeria democracy and will study the various problem and prospect of the federal character principle

1.8 LIMITATION AND DELIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

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

1.9 DEFINITIONS OF KEYWORDS

Federal Character: The system of distributing positions/resources to reflect the ethnic, regional or sectional differences in Nigeria, irrespective of whether the person concerned is the most qualified or not.

Representation/Representative: A condition which exists when the characteristics and acts of one vested with public functions are accordance with the desires of one or more persons to whom the functions have objective and subjective importance. It therefore carries with it authority and legitimacy as such person performs has duty on behalf of others.

National unity: This is a type of government formed by a group of parties, generally during times of emergency. These governments are said to be unified by a love of country rather than by political affiliation.

National integration: It is a positive aspect that reduces socio-cultural and economic differences or inequalities and strengthens national unity and solidarity, which is not imposed by any authority.

Federalism: Federalism is a system meant to integrate people in a society who are diverse ethnically, culturally, geographically and even religiously

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL REVIEWS

2.1 PREAMBLE

This chapter presents the relevant literature for this study. The first part focuses on the conceptualization of instructional materials. The second part entails the empirical review of literatures and lastly the theoretical framework.

2.2 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

CONCEPT OF NATIONAL INTEGRATION

National integration is mainly the process of bringing the various peoples of different cultural and social background together in a given social context or polity for their collective interests and good. The classic definition of national integration according to Weiner (1967) states that "national integration refers specifically to the problem of creating sense of territorial nationality which overshadows – or eliminates – subordinate parochial loyalties". In furtherance, Weiner and Laparambola (1969), aver that "national integration primarily involves the amalgamation of disparate social, economic, religious, ethnic and geographic elements into a single nation state". Again, Hogan (2006), postulates that "national integration involves the uniting of formerly separate groups into one group with the obliteration of any previous social and cultural group differences as well as the obliteration of separate group identifications". In a nutshell, national integration implies both the capacity of a government to control the territory under its

jurisdiction as well as a set of popular attitudes towards the nation generally described as loyalty, allegiance, and intelligence to place national above local and parochial concerns (Abia, 2006).

CONCEPT OF FEDERALISM

Federalism is a system of government in which governmental parts that exists in a country are shared between central government and component region. It is also defined as the system of government in which governmental parts are shared between the central government, i.e. the federal government and its components (state and local government) (Akpoto, 1995).

Generally, federalism connotes the existences of two levels of government, each constitutionally or jurisdictionally empowered to make decision independent of each other within the legislature sphere assigned to it. The classic definition of a Federal Government, as provided by Sir Kenneth Wheare, is a system of government in which sovereignty is divided between the central and state governments. He then concluded that in this system of government, each level of government should be limited to its own sphere and, within that sphere, should be independent of the other. This system of government can therefore be contrasted with a Unitary System in which the component units are legally subordinate to the central government (Wheare, 1967). This form of government is more suitable for societies with complexity of diversities via, ethnic, linguistic, cultural, racial, religions and so on, as well as other cleavages which are

territorially defined. However, the nature of diversities helps in a nation's decision to adopt the aggregative or dis-aggregative type of federalism. Nigeria therefore falls into the latter because of the wide diversities. Under this type, there exist a ballcanization of formerly unitary state near disintegration and its diversities which progress to a state. For the ethnic minority states, in particular, over centralization has led to such inauspicious and obnoxious outcomes as the erosion of the autonomy and security that genuinely federalist arrangements assure for minorities, the inordinate appropriation by the centre of the resources of the oil-rich Delta minority communities, and the direct and often counter-productive intervention of central authorities in those local and regional issues, such as the determination of local government boundaries, that are best left to sub-national authorities or communities (Friedrich, 1963).

THE FEDERAL CHARACTER COMMISSION

In the current paper, we focus on the Federal Character Principle, easily one of the most contentious and debated constitutional innovations introduced to manage and curtail horizontal inequalities in the political-administrative sphere. In particular, we will examine the impact and functioning of the Federal Character Commission (FCC), an institution which was established to work out a formula to ensure equitable and fair representation of Nigeria's diverse groupings in public service, monitor public service recruitment exercises, and prosecute violations of the federal character principle.

MANDATE AND MODUS OPERANDI

The federal character principle was first included in the Second Republic constitution, but is now enshrined in provisions 14.3 and 14.4 of the 1999 Constitution. It requires that there is 'no predominance of persons from a few states or from a few ethnic or other sectional groups' in the federal government and its agencies. Similarly, state governments and local government councils and their agencies must reflect the diversity within their areas op authority. The Federal Character Commission (FCC) was created by decree in 1996 by the military regime of Sani Abacha. The 1999 constitution has included the FCC as one of the 14 independent federal executive bodies (153.1, Third Schedule Part 1). Its first mandate is to work out an equitable formula, subject to the approval of the president, for the distribution of posts in public service as well as political appointments.

The commission is composed of a chairman, 37 commissioners representing the 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT), and the Secretary of the Commission (FCC, 2016). The Chairman, commissioners and secretary are appointed by the President upon nomination by the state government and confirmation by the National Assembly. The FCC is supported by civil servant staff responsible for data gathering and monitoring, administration etc. The FCC has established 24 committees to monitor recruitments into about 600 ministries, departments and agencies (MDA) of the Federal

Government. The state branches of the FCC monitor the states and Local Government Areas (LGA).

The distribution formula developed by the FCC is strictly based on geographical areas including geopolitical zones, states, local government councils and electoral wards, rather than ethnicity, religion and demography. Geopolitical zones are not formally recognised as administrative units in the constitution, but they are well-known and used, including by the FCC. Nigeria counts six geo-political zones: North-Central, North-East, North-West, South-East, South-South, and South-West. The zonal level is used when the number of employees in an institution is small. In this case, each zone should count for between 15 and 18% of the employees.[3] However, no state should dominate in a zone. The approved formula for equitable distribution across states is that each state should produce 2.75% of the total work force, with an acceptable range of 2.5% to 3%. The FCT should take up 1%. At the state level, the ranges are dependent on the number of LGAs in the state. At the LGA-level, the ranges are dependent on the number of wards. At all geographical levels, exceptions exist for junior staff, which may take up 75% of a specific 'catchment area' or the locality where the institution is based.

The FCC collects data on MDAs nominal rolls by year and produces an annual report for the President. It also monitors recruitment exercises, pointing out to the MDAs which states should receive preference in hiring based on the analysis of the nominal roll. Candidates should firstly meet the criteria set out in the vacancy, and then fulfil federal

character criteria. This implies that candidates with a lower score than others, but from underrepresented states, should receive preference, as long as the minimum criteria are respected. Vacancies for positions in the federal civil service are to be advertised in one Northern and one Southern newspaper for a period of six weeks, but increasingly also on the web. FCC commissioners monitor the recruitment process to ensure the implementation of federal character. The MDAs are required to present the names and states of origin of successful candidates recruited. While MDAs who meet the requirements are awarded a certificate of compliance after the recruitment exercise, Chief executive officers of MDAs who do not comply may be prosecuted for criminal offences. Penalties include fines of 50.000 Naira or more, and 6 months or 2 years of imprisonment (FCC, 2016). (EXTRACTED FROM MUSTAPHA 2016)

POLITICAL APPOINTMENT STATISTICS

As noted above, the FCC is also responsible for monitoring the distribution of political appointments. It has not regularly published statistics on these positions, yet recent controversy and debate on President Buhari's political appointments and perceived bias towards the North (Baiyewu, 2018) has led the National Assembly to call on the FCC to clarify the matter (Federal Character, 2018). The commission's website now provides data on political appointments, but these data should be treated with extreme caution. Indeed, while the FCC has felt the need to publish the data as it is, the data is far from complete. Moreover, there is also no information provided on how much data is

missing. The FCC website states that the information is as of August 2018, and no updates have been done in almost a year.

What we can derive from the data is that there is an equitable distribution of ministerial positions across the zones, which is due to the constitutional provision that requires each state to be represented by at least one minister in the federal executive council. It also appears that the South-West and North-West zones have a disproportionate number of presidential advisers and senior special assistants, and chief executive officers of MDAs. These two zones also produce the President and Vice President. Given the data, however, it appears that the debate on political appointments is yet to be clarified by the FCC. Furthermore, the capacity of the FCC to address a situation where the president is perceived to violate the federal character principle is debated as the Commission is beholden to the president which appoints its members, and approves its rules and budgets (EXTRACTED FROM MUSTAPHA 2016)

2.3 EMPERICAL REVIEW

AN OVERVIEW OF NIGERIAN FEDERALISM AND INTEGRATION

Nigeria is a federal society comprising 36 states structure with a population of more than 150 million people and has more than 250 ethnic groups, which necessitate an arrangement that could accommodate people from the different segments of the country in the public service (Gberevbie, 2012). The notion of federal character presupposes the existence of a federal society.

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

Federalism as has been adopted in Nigeria found its way into our political arena during the colonial era. The concept is closely related to the various social based on coordinative, rather than sub coordinative relationship. It emphasises partnership among parties of equal claims to legitimacy who seek a common social order. Jinadu says that it is usually built as a form of government and constitutional structure deliberately designed by political architects to cope with the different task of maintaining unity, while preserving diversity, Jinadu, (2009).

Speaking about Nigeria federalism two schools of thought emerged on its evaluation. The first school comprising of the nationalist believed that British imposed federalism on Nigeria in order to maintain the neo colonial control of the country after the lowering of the mantle. Chief Obafemi Awolowo, a convinced federalist described the British imposed federal structure as an abominable destructive and divisive British heritage, Awolowo, [1968]. They also believed that the colonial power made sure that there was enough structured imperfection left behind to bedevil inter-ethnic relations

after independence. However, this view of imposition held by this school is not exactly objective as Nigerians involved gave consent for her to become a federal state.

The second school of thought is of the opinion that historical and geographical factors determine the political evolution of Nigerian federalism. Nigeria being a large and culturally variegated country could not have been governed for a long time from one center Akinyemi, (1979). This view is not quite correct, as it is time that factors of history and geography more than anything else determines the constitutional evolution of Nigeria.

The formal adoption of the federal system in Nigeria, which came into existence with the introduction of the Lyttleton constitution of 1954, signaled the need for representative bureaucracy that could address the problem in the composition of the federal public service anchored on productive service delivery (Adamolekun, 1989; Ayoade, 2000; Ikelegbe, 2004). Accordingly, Max Weber (1864-1920) showed the way forward on how to achieve organizational productivity through the theory of ideal bureaucracy; and it is doubtful if any modern human organization, whether in public and private sector can function adequately without adhering to the principle of rationality in employee procurement and rewards as postulated by Max Weber (Anyebe, 2004). After going through the available literatures on federalism it was observed that the writers made relevant contributions, they did not give a comprehensive analysis of the problem of Nigeria federalism as they affect national integration. Sequel to this, in exploring the

meaning of federalism, the issue of national integration must inevitably arise. In line with this, it became germane to review the contributions made by some scholars on national integration.

Duuelger defines national integration as building up solidarity and breaking down antagonism among the people in a political system. It refers specifically to the creation of a sense of territorial rationality which overshadows parochial loyalties. Chime sees national integration as a process of cohesion between two or more social units whereby those units come together to constitute a political whole, which can in some cases be described as community.

Ali Mazrui in his book cultural Engineering and nation building in East Africa 1902, sees national integration as the process of merging sub going entities into a shared sense of national consciousness. In the same vein De Uree also defines integration as the combination and autonomous social and political problems arising among its members, for controlling their behaviour and the processes occurring among them, for keeping peace among them and or mobilizing their power or resources for making collection decision and as a result of all things, acting as a new unit with respect to its social or physical environment. Prior to these definitions, integration will be conceived as the process of increasing a social or political system capacity based on decision making process.

National integration is relation to national development. It usually constitutes a platform for national development. Development can only be achieved in an atmosphere of cooperation and unity. Where everybody feel a sense of belonging and wants to contribute his own quota to the development of national goal. According to O. Aboyade in his book, issues in the development of tropical Africa (1976), he observed that development is essentially a continuous process of generating and more efficiently allocating resources for achieving greater social satisfying ends. While political development relates to the overall capacity of a people to govern them efficiently, this ability to govern relates to the capacity to extract resources, make and regulate behaviours. It also means the ability to resolve societal problems and manage conflicts. If the society is able to do all these things mentioned, it will certainly lead to economic development for that nation.

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

Ethnic groups are communal or cultural groups based on common ethnicity, language, customs, and/or territory. The concept of ethnic group is different from tribe. Tribe is gradually passing from usage. Tribe is defined as a group bound together from

the beginning of time with common ancestor, line of descent, kinship, territory, and language. The word tribe is no long acceptable because it does not accurately describe the history of cultural groups as they emerged in the colonial period and saw full development in the First Republic (1960-65).

In the early days, there was no unity among members of ethnic groups. Members did not identify themselves as belonging to ethnic groups. Rather, they saw themselves as from small villages. These small village groups were not under a central government. There was often distrust or suspicion of strangers from other towns.

The colonial government helped to develop ethnic groups through their uniting of villages into regions. With the creation of three major regions, the North, the West, and the East, in 1939, the people were brought together for the first time. Next, cultural and political entrepreneurs set out to forge unity among the groups. In the 1940s, cultural associations such as the Ibibio Union, the Igbo State Union, and Egbe Omo Oduduwa, emphasized common culture and history of its group. The next step in the cementing of ethnic groups was the Macpherson Constitution of 1951. The regions were given greater power through division of the civil service by regions. The federal civil service, previously a great source of national integration, was now divided into three. As there was a shortage of qualified Northerners to fill positions in the civil service, the Northern region put southerners on contract.

The formation of political parties also followed regions. The Northern People's Congress (NPC) was a "closed" party, restricted to the North. There were no branches of the party outside the North. Southerners in the North could not join the party. Southerners resident in the North were barred from contesting for election in the North.

Extreme regionalism was the main characteristic of the First Republic. The slogan was "East for the Easterners, West for the Westerners, and North for the Northerners. Nigeria for nobody. Regions were more powerful than the federal government. The North, with the greatest population, controlled the country. There was strong discontent in the South. The two coups of January and July, 1966, brought change. Major General Johnson Aguiyi Ironsi declared the regions abolished and decreed one civil service for the country. This action angered the North who opposed opening the civil service in the North to southerners. They feared Southern domination. The pogroms against Igbos in the North were an expression of anger in the North against the attempt to end Northern control.

When the next Head of State, General Yakubu Gowon, took power in the coup of July 1966, Northerners attacked southerners, and southerners fled the North. Gowon succeeded in dismantling the regional structure of the country. On May 27, 1967, Gowon announced the creation of twelve states. Six states were formed from the North, three states from the East, and two in the West and one in the Mid-West. The creation of states

diluted the power of the three regions. The federal government increased its power as the bloc voting by regions was ended.

Along with the division of the regions, there was increased power for the government and dilution of the power of the emirs. The reduction of the power of the emirs was essential in developing loyalties to the nation instead of the 7region. The federal government also increased its power over revenue allocation. In the First Republic, the regions controlled more revenue than the federal government. The federal government gradually took over the major share of revue and decreased the allocations to the states. The federal government control of revenue consolidated the power of the central government over the states.

The Civil War may have furthered the national integration of Nigeria with the victory of the federal government, there was an end to the idea of secession. The failure of Biafra closed the chapter of the First Republic and began a new era of national integration. In 1976, nineteen states were created. The West was split into Ondo, Ogun, and Oyo, and Kwara. The East Central State was divided into Anambra and Imo. In the North, new states included Kaduna, Niger, Plateau, Sokoto, Bauchi, Benue, Gongola, and Borno. Again in 1991, the East was split up even further to add Enugu State and Abia State. Cross River State was divided to make Akwa Thorn State. Bendel state was split into Delta State and Edo State. New states in the North included Katsina Adamawa Taraba Jigawa, Nassarawa, and Kogi. New states in the West included Osun. In 1996,

Kebbi, Yobe, Ebonyi, Ekiti, Bayelsa, and Gombe Were added to make thirty-six states. The creation of states was a move towards national unity as ethnic unity was diluted. There is now a return to pre-colonial pattern of many groups within each larger group. The division into more states has increased local loyalties and prevented the potential for unity among the larger ethnic groups. There is a return to the colonial principle of divide and rule. None of the regions speaks with one voice.

However, as a federal state, Nigeria was faced with the challenge of how to imbibe the principle of federalism in practice. As a result, the quota system was introduced into the Nigerian public service in 1958 by the government to ensure equitable representation of the various groups in the country (Tonwe and Oghator, 2009). To further consolidate on the gains of the quota system, the Federal Military Government of Generals Murtala Mohammed and Olusegun Obasanjo in the drafting and approval of the 1979 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria during the transition to civilian rule (1976-79) introduced into the Nigerian political and administrative landscapes the principle of federal character (Ekeh, 1989). Federal character principle sought to give opportunities in education and employment, usually at the point of entry, to disadvantaged groups and areas to enable them compete and catch up with more advanced areas and sectors of the nation (Ekeh, 1989).

In comparing the practice of quota system with that of the federal character principle, Ekeh (1989) posits that the latter demands far more than the former in the sense

that it switches emphasis from opportunities to privileges and benefits. He argues that federal character principle is a legal weapon put in place to regulate appointments, promotions, security of tenure and severance in every government department. The reference to the phrase disadvantaged groups in the area of educational opportunities means that special consideration should be given to candidates from the Northern provinces and other areas where educational facilities were more backward than elsewhere (Gboyega, 1989). The awkward application of the federal character principle tends to pose challenges to the productivity of the Nigerian public service through the circumscription of merit. Such practice of the principle of federal character in personnel procurement without due regard for merit is more likely to mire efforts at sustainable development in a society.

The arrival of British and other European explorers, merchants and religious missionaries tempered and eventually reduced these vices to the barest minimum. After a series of efforts at pacification and conquest, effective British occupation of the area took place from the Royal Niger Company, whose charter was revoked in that year. Consequent upon this, three separate territories emerged. These are Lagos, the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria and the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria (Wikipedia, 2015).

The Federal structure of Nigeria is believed to be "a bad marriage that all dislike but dare not leave, and that there are possibilities that could disrupt the precarious

equilibrium in Abuja" (Ogbe, et al, 2011). The dominant conceptual and legal foundation for Nigerian internal political geography is federalism. A federal arrangement was expected to be instrumental for forging national unity out of the plural society and at the same time in preserving the separate social identities cherished by its component parts. Nigeria's political system has continued to operate with minimum cohesion (Ola, 1995). Rivalry fundamentally instigated by ethnic mutual suspicion and problems of minority increasingly weakens the fabrics of Nigerian Sovereignty. This has culminated in the Nigerian Civil War. It has also dragged the nation-state into the turbulent June 12 political crisis which has completely made Nigerian sovereignty frail and fragile (Ojo, 1989).

Federalism would therefore, seem to provide an attractive system of government especially in the context of ethnic pluralism found in many African States. It is generally accepted that so far federalism as a conflict management system has failed to remove the bogey of ethnicity, sectionalism and religious conflict from Nigerian body politics. With over forty years of trying to navigate through the murky waters of Nigerian politics many, including the nationalists, politicians and civil society have become despondent to the extent that one can hear voices calling for the outright balkanization of the country (Ademuyiwa 2014). Furthermore is Nigeria, the contestation over federalism has fundamentally manifested itself in two principle either as a guest for access and control over political power or as access to federally generated revenue. As observed by Momoh (1999), the task to social engineering and reconstruction of the notion of federalism in

both form and the substance was left in the hands in the military. It was not surprising that the crisis of federalism depended on the country. Also as the revenue allocation principle was restricted in favour of the states, there were more demands for increased revenue from the state and local governments. It is not out of place to note that the peculiarities, irregularities and tensions that vexed and continue to vex Nigerian federalism stemmed in apart from the arbitrary rule of the military (Suberu 1994). However, there is still doubt that the desire to improve on Nigeria's federal practice exerts a magnetic force amongst many Nigerian. Also in the current dispensation, the expectations is that the various vexation issues like the over centralization of powers by the federal government, the creation of states, revenue allocation, the creation of local government councils and the question of citizenship is given urgent attention. Much as it has been obtained in most European colonies, the workability of federalism in Nigeria has been far reaching feat from being politically transparent. In Nigeria, this very process of the formulation of a sovereign civil state among other things stimulated the sentiments of parochialism, and ethnicity because it introduces into society a valuable new prize with which to contend

AN OVERVIEW OF PROBLEMS IN NIGERIA'S INTEGRATION

Fifty one years after independence, Nigeria still battles with one of the major fall-outs of federalism, the politics of trying to appease all sections of the polity. This has become necessary because success to national positions and resources are limited at the

individual level. This is as a result of the multi-ethnic nature of the society (Nwankwo, 20002). According to Ola, different governments that have governed this country have at one point or the other derived various methods to cope with this ever present problem of power distribution in both the political and economic spheres. Therefore, there have been accusations and counter accusations from all sections of the polity, as to how powers are being distributed or how they ought to be distributed so avoid the marginalization of the minority groups (Ola, 1995).

The challenge of integrating the multi- cultural and pluralistic nation like Nigeria remains a major one. The very many ethnic groups and socio-political inclinations and antecedents only deepen the challenge of uniting the different peoples of Nigerian as a united democratic nation. Adeyemi (2016). The issues of making Nigerians properly integrated with one another not minding the tribe or geopolitical zone for their individual and collective good and progress are some of the challenges that call to question Nigeria's state of preparedness towards development, let alone, sustainable development. National integration as a national interest and project in Nigeria is challenged by the issues of gross intolerance, distrust, ethnicity, corruption, and most dangerously, insecurity, which seems to be a formidable force undermining national cohesion and unity in high measures. These issues are practically creating conflicts, disorder and instability and needs to be tackled to the benefit of all citizens of the nation.

The federal character principle can be regarded as a direct approach to redress horizontal inequalities between different groups in society. Such an approach targets specific groups directly and associates a person's group identity with a certain benefit. Affirmative action policies (e.g. quotas) provide certain positions in government, public service, educational institutions etc. based on one's belonging to a marginalized group (Brown, Langer, & Stewart, 2012). Direct policies are often the most effective way to correct imbalances, but they may also have adverse consequences. These include a hardening of group identities as these identities become the basis for entitlements. This has occurred in India (Heyer & Jayal, 2012), and arguably in Nigeria as well (Suberu, 2001). Nevertheless, direct policies can still contribute to peace if they succeed in ensuring that all groups feel included in the country's governing system.

Oyewole noted that the federal character principle which was supposed to solve this issue has not been substantial enough has the case of merit comes and leadership style. The PDP since 2015 that Buhari came into power has been clamouring for a re-structuring of the federal employment because they consider the present employment and appointment into federal government lopsided to the extent that most in the helms of affairs are majorly Northerners. Oloyede 2018

The issue of national integration and the peaceful co-existence of the pluralistic and multi- cultural Nigerians in Nigeria has been a national discourse in the country since it secured independence in 1960. Despite global states' adoption of the constitutional

principle of "unity within diversity" among nations, national integration remains a major challenge to most nations, including Nigeria. Okoroafor Ejike C. (Ph.D) The state of national integration in Nigeria has been under the persistent negative influence of the issues of insecurity, poverty/deprivation, illiteracy, and ignorance, corruption, poor leadership/governance, etc. Okoroafor argues that the application of philosophical insight by Nigerians through the way of seeking and upholding the fundamental value of truth has the potentials to positively renew our individual and collective consciousness, perceptions, thoughts and behaviour to relate and co-exist for the good of one another and the nation and also change the narrative of national integration in Nigeria. He recommends that Basic Philosophy should be made compulsory course for tertiary institution students; governments, organizations and particularly individuals should put more emphasis on seeking and upholding the truth at all times in the course of governance/management and relationships in every position and capacity.

The challenge of integrating the multi- cultural and pluralistic nation like Nigeria remains a major one. The very many ethnic groups and socio-political inclinations and antecedents only deepen the challenge of uniting the different peoples of Nigerian as a united democratic nation. (Oyewole 2013). The issues of making Nigerians properly integrated with one another not minding the tribe or geopolitical zone for their individual and collective good and progress are some of the challenges that call to question Nigeria's state of preparedness towards development, let alone, sustainable development. National integration as a national interest and project in Nigeria is challenged by the issues of

gross intolerance, distrust, ethnicity, corruption, and most dangerously, insecurity, which seems to be a formidable force undermining national cohesion and unity in high measures. These issues are practically creating conflicts, disorder and instability and needs to be tackled to the benefit of all citizens of the nation. Abia (2006), advocates that "for a state like

Nigeria to survive, there must be ways of harmonizing areas of conflicting interests and integrating the various groups to produce some measure of value consensus". However, Nzenwa (2016) explores how philosophical insight into the issues and challenges of national integration can help reinvent the spirit of true nationalism and patriotism that can build up effective national integration in Nigeria. It explicates that philosophical tool such as the fundamental value of "truth" has the potentials to unlock the negative structures and practices that support and reinforce the very elements that propagate disunity, distrust, antagonism, intolerance and other forms of hate-based relationships that undermine our oneness, cohesion and unity, as a nation that has been together for more than one hundred years (counting from the year of amalgamation – 1914). There is no doubt that Nigeria at this stage of its development requires that its citizens despite their different cultures, ethnic origins, ideologies and beliefs hold on to one another in order to energize the nation in full for the maximization of its potentials towards the actualization of greatness. This kind of solidarity, oneness, unity and cooperation is what national integration stands for and this experience to a reasonable and

practical extent seems to be lacking in the country (Okoroafor, Nzenwa and Ezeibe, 2016).

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

According to him, ethnicity exists in a political society consisting of diverse ethnic groups. It is also characterized by a common consciousness of being one in relation to the other groups. Impulsiveness can be sighted as an attribute of ethnicity which says, is normally accompanied by nepotism and corruption. Conflict is also seen as important aspect of ethnicity. As he says, it is inevitable under conditions of inter-ethnic competitions for scarce valuable resources particularly in a society where inequality is accepted as natural and wealth is greatly exchanged.

Several efforts have been made to adjust these social abnormalities and as Ibrahim Babangida said from anthropological and sociological viewpoint, Nigeria is a complex

country, therefore nation building in Nigeria context must be of necessity because it is a comcomplex and expensive enterprise.

Eleigwa, (1995:5), Nnoli 1978, also believed that the recovery of Nigeria will not be an easy task. He says adequate solution to the ethnic problems of Nigeria must stern logically from rigorous scientific analyses of the causes of the emergence and persistence and growth of ethnicity in the country. Ojukwu in his lecture, towards a greater Nigeria, said that national integration cannot be achieved by giving setaceous speeches; rather appropriate steps will include de-emphasizing tribe and ethnic origin in all official documents that no Nigeria should offer instability whatsoever.

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

LINGERING CHALLENGES OF THE FEDERAL CHARACTER COMMISSION

Mustapha (2009) asserted that after 10 years in function, the FCC had not appeared able to redress the imbalances in the public service, in particular with regard to the North-Eastern and North-Western zones. Another 10 years later, the same finding emerges. Furthermore, the main reasons offered for this apparent ineffectiveness have

largely remained the same. These concern the difficulties in addressing the gaps over time with limited recruitment exercises, promotions based on years of services, and limited opportunities outside the civil service to foster worker mobility (see also Mustapha, 2009). Moreover, the FCC does not want to be associated with forced dismissals to redress imbalances, (rightly) fearing that this would cause disaffection and protest. Finally, education levels in the North are still lagging behind those in the South. Nonetheless, the fact that no shifts have occurred over 20 years also necessitates an analysis of additional factors impeding the commission's functioning.

A first important issue concerns the practical workings of the FCC in redressing imbalances. While the statistics reviewed above are on the aggregate level, the FCC itself focuses on geographical representation on the level of each institution and recruitment guidelines are developed for each MDA in the public service. Imbalances in one institution can hence not be compensated by imbalances in a different direction in another institution, which is for instance located in another part of the country. This slows down the process of redressing imbalances in the public service as a whole, but the policy is deliberately chosen from the perspective that people 'should find their own' (FCC, 2018, July 9) in each government institution, at least at the level of senior employees.

A second challenge concerns the balance of power between the FCC and the MDAs. As mentioned by several commissioners, they are fighting the human tendency of chief executives and permanent secretaries to hire their own kinsmen in public

institutions. MDAs hence try to circumvent the rules by falsifying their nominal rolls. This also implies that balances can be more severe than indicated in the previous section as FCC data are based on the nominal rolls provided by the MDAs. Furthermore, MDAs often receive a waiver for the obligation to publish vacancies in two newspapers for a six-week period, because the associated costs are deemed too high.

The Integrated Payroll and Personnel Information (IPPIS) system used by the federal government offers the opportunity for the FCC to acquire the full staffing lists of MDAs, yet unfortunately the FCC has no direct access to the system. While an executive circular of 2017 stated that no salaries should be payed to people not mentioned on an FCC certificate of compliance, doubts have been expressed as to whether this rule is actually followed, as no one enforces it. Cooperation and data access is also a pertinent issue at the state level as the constitution states that permission of the state governor is needed to enforce federal character at that level, which is sometimes refused.

Another power struggle takes place between the FCC and the Federal Civil Service Commission (FCSC) which is responsible for recruitment into the ministries and extra-ministerial departments. As both the FCC and FCSC are established by the constitution, the latter has for a long time argued that the former can have no power over it. The FCSC also operates a different allocation system, by which all new positions are divided equally across all states without taking into account prior imbalances. The FCC

has a stronger role in monitoring the parastatals. Nevertheless, if we only take into account federal parastatals, it remains the case that imbalances have persisted over time.

While MDAs are not always cooperative, the FCC appears to have limited real powers to enforce compliance with federal character. Legally speaking, the FCC has far-ranging powers and can take chief executives to court for prosecution. This rarely happens, however, and if it does, it does not result in a sentence. While some commissioners argue that the FCC works better when it resorts to a more informal, mediating role, others see the lack of sentences as a major weakness. This has also led some commissioners to argue for a separate federal character tribunal, as judges usually allow chief executives to settle cases outside of court. The FCC has also been sued itself for failing to ensure federal character (Ibeh, 2015).

The power balance between the FCC and MDAs is also affected by the resources put at the disposal of the FCC. A lack of adequate funds is consistently regarded to be the most serious impediment to the workings of the FCC. According to interviewees, the situation at the state offices is even worse. While the FCC receives numerous complaints, the commission often lacks the resources to deal with them effectively, and in particular, to start court cases. Furthermore, most of the time, MDAs fund part of the FCC monitoring costs, which raises doubts with regard to integrity. While a recent proposal would make it obligatory for all MDAs to fund a certain percentage of the FCCs work, the proposal has not yet been approved. The lack of resources can also foster corruption.

One of the privileges of state commissioners is that they can occasionally nominate people for employment in MDAs, a rule which appears to encourage patronage and slot-selling (Umoru, 2018).

Another challenge lies with the number of commissioners in function. While Mustapha (2007) expressed concern with the costs and inefficiencies of 37 full-time commissioners, as opposed to six zone-based commissioners, it appears that recent years have rather experienced serious shortages in the number of commissioners active. Multiple commissioners have not been replaced for several years. In July 2018 only 21 commissioners were in function, with about 15 more to retire by August. No new appointments were made and there was no contingency plan to safeguard the FCC's functioning. With only about six commissioners left, not equally divided by zones, the workload for the commissioners would have to rise significantly. As a rule, state commissioners replace adjacent states where necessary, mostly on a zonal basis. Yet six commissioners can hardly be present in all 24 committees of the FCC and liaise with all state offices. While the non-replacement of state commissioners appears to have been a general phenomenon under the first Buhari regime, most probably as a way to cut recurrent government spending, it does show a serious lack of interest from policymakers in defending and supporting the FCC (Agabi & Iloani, 2018)

This lack of interest is also reflected in the executive engagement with the FCC's annual reports. While the annual reports are produced and sent to the president on a

yearly basis, according to one interviewee (FCC, 2018, July 9), no president has discussed the report with the FCC since President Yar'Adua (2007–2010). Nor have there been written responses to the commission. The National Assembly conducts oversight on the FCC but appears mostly concerned with the budget rather than with the substantive workings of the commission. The FCC can also be faulted, in part due to the inaccessible format of the report, but also because it rarely undertakes public outreach activities. The reports of the FCC are not presented to news media and stakeholders, for instance, which could create a stronger push for policymakers to pay more attention as well. This development stemmed from the controversies that surrounded the early reports of the FCC. The planned new website could be an important outreach instrument but is still under construction. Moreover, the publication of incomplete data, as appears to be the case for political appointments, could also raise controversies.

In order to act as a voice in public debate, the FCC would also need to resolve some legitimacy problems. The issue of corruption has already been mentioned, but an additional concern is that the FCC itself does not seem to respect federal character. While the executive chairman and secretary of the commission should be drawn from the North and South and rotate (Mustapha, 2007), all past chairmen have originated from the North which has led to criticism (Oloja, 2017). The position of acting chairman is an exceptional procedure, but has been used four times now. All past acting chairmen have also originated from the North. This issue has led MDAs and other stakeholders to question the FCC's integrity (Bello, 2018). In June 2019, a new acting chairman hailing

from Ondo state in the South-West was appointed, however, which may partly restore confidence in the commission.

Before concluding, it is worth considering two pertinent issues relating to the first mandate which the FCC cannot resolve on its own, and which undermine its larger objectives. The first issue concerns the indigene-settler dichotomy, which distinguishes between natives of a particular locality and migrants (Fourchard, 2015). Indigenes can receive certain entitlements such as access to public service jobs and scholarships that are not accessible to migrants as they can, in principle, receive those benefits in their locality of origin, regardless of how long they and their predecessors have resided in the area. In some cases, notably in Jos, the capital of Plateau State, contestation over who is indigene and settler has led to recurrent inter-group violence.

While the FCC has defined what an indigene is, it has done so in such a way as to direct the responsibility for identifying indigenes to local governments. Indigene certificates issued at the local government level are hence simply followed by the FCC, regardless of local implementations and controversies (Mustapha, 2009, Ostien, 2009). Criticism of the indigene/settler dichotomy is acknowledged within the FCC, but the commission is not inclined to intervene in this debate: 'It's not good for Nigerian unity, but we cannot change it' (FCC, 2018, July 3). The rule that women maintain the state of their father to protect their rights upon divorce also continues to be implemented regardless of resistance from many societal actors (Mustapha, 2009).

A second issue concerns the FCC's focus on geographical territory and not ethnic or religious group in assessing the distribution of public service positions. This appears to benefit larger ethnic groups such as the Hausa-Fulani, Igbo, and Yoruba as these are spread across states (Mustapha, 2007). It is also ethnicity rather than state of origin that sometimes affects people's perceptions of marginalization. Indeed, while Hausa-Fulani can originate from a number of states, their presence in public office as a group can still be regarded as a sign of dominance as people could argue that Hausa's dominate rather than be interested in whether one is from Jigawa, another from Niger etc. (FCC, 2018).

2.4 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

SYSTEM THEORY

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

This theory is seen as a set of related elements and interrelations among them, which are disintegrated from those elements not in the system by ambiguous analytic boundaries. The theory explains the component of the system made up of groups, persons or areas where the frequency of a particular pattern of interaction falls to an observable degree. Interdependence is the uniting force in the system; this is because stability and

subsequently growth can only be achieved when all the components of a system work together.

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

The three vital components of Easton definitions of political system constitute authoritative allocation, values and society. At this point, it becomes necessary to make a brief application of this theory to the Nigerian political scene, before and after independence. The theory would be employed in this study because in Nigeria, like any other third world federative system, the power to allocate the resources available in the country is essentially concentrated at the central government, [federal level] that is the hierarchy of authority [federal level, state and local government], with the central government sitting on top of other levels in the allocation of revenues. This is basically due to the prolonged military rule in the country, and this has been one of the banes. For the country to experience genuine unity and subsequently development, all the groups

and cleavages have to come together since no part of the system can function effectively

and maximally without depending on the other components.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

The descriptive survey design will be used as a source of primary data on federalism and national integration in the literature of the study

The research is designed specifically to study the problems federalism and national integration.

The project will make use of primary research method which will be questionnaire divided into various segments of questions and answer.

3.3 POPULATION OF THE STUDY

The population of this study are the average Nigerian, due to the wide area the research covers. The research will therefore focus on only working-class adults in my immediate environment.

3.4 SAMPLE AND SAMPLING TECHNIQUES

In the course of the research the population will be chosen by specific random sampling. In which the samples will be targeted to adults of working class that will have ideas on politics.

3.5 INSTRUMENTATION

The instrumentation used for the collection of data is a structured questionnaire tit led "an assessment of Nigeria federalism and national integration".

The questionnaire is divided into two sections. A section for the bio data of respondent and the other for the structured questions posed to the respondents.

A Likert Scale of Measurement will be adopted as the response mode which will consist of

Strongly Agree – (SA)

Agree – (A)

Disagree – (D)

Strongly Disagree – (SD)

For the other question section the response mode will be;

Very Available – (VA) -

Available – (A)

Not Available – (NA)

Not Very Available – (NVA)

3.6 VALIDITY OF INSTRUMENT

Reliability of measurement instruments contributes to validity of research findings. If an instrument will be measuring what is not designated to measure, the instrument fails to be valid and would yield unreliable result. Instruments reliability is a way of ensuring that whenever we use any instruments to measure experimental variables will give the same result every time.

To ascertain research validity of the research instrument, the researchers will intensively consult his supervisor on items analysis and accuracy of the qualitative research and the observation guide items in relation to the variables of the study. The Researcher will also make wide consultations with colleagues on observation development. This led the development of a scale which logically reflects what is purported to measure, enabling the researcher to obtain sufficient information on the problem of youth political participation and social media.

3.7 METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION/ ANALYSIS

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

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

3.8 METHOD OF DATA ANALYSIS

The data collected from the study would be analyzed using SPSS and it will be graphically (Model) analyzed to show the level of acceptance to the questions been asked.

3.9 ETHICAL CONSIDERATION

In order to conduct this research, permission from the supervisor of this project will have to be given so that administration of the questionnaire will commence. Similarly consent from the respondent will be sought, their confidentiality assured and the purpose of the study will be explained

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is focused on the presentation of the collected data, its analysis and discussion of findings. The data is obtained through administration of questionnaire to the serving corps member in shao, Ilorin west and Ilorin east. One hundred respondents were randomly sampled out of the total population of all members which is previously mentioned. The obtained data in the course of this research were presented in tabular form, analyzed using descriptive statistics of frequencies Table.

4.2 ADMINISTRATION OF QUESTIONNAIRE

The researcher administered the questionnaire herself. A total number of 100 copies of questionnaire were administered to; a total of 80 of the administered questionnaires were filled and returned. The table below shows the response rate.

Questionnaire Distributions and Return Rate

Table 1

No of copies distributed	100
No of copies returned	80
No of copies not returned	20
Total (%)	100%

Source: field survey , 2025

4.3 DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

Distribution of the responders based on sex, marital status, age, educational qualification place of serving and batch status.

SECTION A

1. **Sex Distribution**

Options	Respondents	Percentage
Male	40	50%
Female	40	50%
Total	80	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2025

From the above table it can be seen that out of 80 sample size that 40 respondents which is 50% are Male while the remaining 40 respondents 0f 50% are female who respond to the questionnaires distributed.

2. **Age Distribution**

Options	Respondents	Percentage
18-30years	25	31%
21-25years	35	44%
26-29years	20	25%
Total	80	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2025

From the above table it can be deduced that 25 respondents which is 31% are of the age 18-30years, 35 respondents of which is 44% are 21-25years while the remaining 20 respondents of 25% are 26-29years it is obvious that all this years starting from 18years are very familiar with NYSC.

3. **Educational Qualification**

Options	Respondents	Percentage
ND/NCE	-	-
HND/BSC	80	100%
Masters and Others	-	-
Total	80	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2025

From the above data we can see that all the respondents possess higher educational qualification which shows the level of literacy that has deep understanding of NYSC is at 100%

4. **Marital Status**

Options	Respondents	Percentage
Married	40	50%
Single	40	50%
Widow/widower	-	-
Total	80	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2025

From the above table, from 80 sample size, it can be deduced that 40 respondents of 50% are married, while 40 respondents of 50% are still single.

5. **Place of Serving**

Options	Respondents	Percentage
Moro LG	20	25%
Asa LG	40	50%
Ilorin east LG	20	25%
Total	80	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2025

From the above table, from 80 sample size, it can be deduced that 20 respondents of 25% are serving in Moro local government, 40 respondents of 50% are serving in Asa local government, 20 respondents of 25% respondents are currently serving in Ilorin east.

6. **Batch status**

Options	Respondents	Percentage
Batch A stream I	10	13%
Batch A stream II	10	13%
Batch B stream I	45	56%
Batch B stream II	15	19%
Total	80	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2025

From the above table it can be deduced that 10 of the respondents are 13% are batch A stream I, 10 respondents of 13% are batch A stream II, 45 respondents which is 56% are batch B stream I while 15 respondents of which is 19% are batch B stream II.

4.4 APPENDIX II: QUESTIONNAIRE

Please Tick [   ] one option: SA = Strongly Agreed, a = Agreed, SD = Strongly Disagreed, D = Disagreed

Table 4.2.1

Respondent	Frequency	Percentage
Do you ascertain that there is a relationship between NYSC and national integration in Nigeria?		
Strongly Agreed	60	75%
Agreed	-	-
Strongly Disagreed	-	-
Disagreed	20	25%
Total	80	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2025

From the above table 4.2.1, data can be deduced that out of 80 sample size of the respondents, 60 of the respondents whom were 75% testify ascertain   that   there   is   a relationship between NYSC and national integration in Nigeria while 20 respondents of 25% are against the notion.

Table 4.2.2

Respondent	Frequency	Percentage
NYSC has been the major mechanism to effective national integration and federalism in Nigeria?		
Strongly Agreed	50	63%
Agreed	-	-
Strongly Disagreed	30	37%
Disagreed	-	-
Total	80	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2025

From the above table 4.2.2, the data obtained shows that 50 of the respondents which is the sample size of 63% are of the notion that NYSC has been the major mechanism to effective national integration and federalism in Nigeria and the remaining 30 respondents of 37% are against it.

Table 4.2.3

Respondent	Frequency	Percentage
There are several challenges impeding the objectives of NYSC in Nigeria?		
Strongly Agreed	80	100%
Agreed	-	-
Strongly Disagreed	-	-
Disagreed	-	-
Total	80	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2025

From Table 4.2.3 it was deduced that from sample size of 80, 80 respondents which is 100% are of the opinion that there are several challenges impeding the objectives of NYSC in Nigeria.

Table 4.2.4

Respondent	Frequency	Percentage
Does the establishment of NYSC contribute to national development in Nigeria?		
Strongly Agreed	30	38%
Agreed	-	-
Strongly Disagreed	30	38%
Disagreed	20	24%
Total	80	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2025

From Table 4.2.4 it was deduced that 30 of the respondent of 38% are of the opinion that the establishment of NYSC contribute to national development in Nigeria the remaining 50 respondents of 62% are against it.

Table 4.2.5

Respondent	Frequency	Percentage
Inadequate fund has been the major hindrance to NYSC scheme in Nigeria?		
Strongly Agreed	-	-
Agreed	-	-
Strongly Disagreed	80	100%
Disagreed	-	-
Total	80	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2025

From the findings presented in Table 4.2.5, the sample size of the study is N of 80 respondents, out of whom 80 respondents of 100% strongly agree that inadequate fund has been the major hindrance to NYSC scheme in Nigeria.

Table 4.2.6

Respondent	Frequency	Percentage
NYSC as contribute immensely to the development of Youth through skills acquisition in Nigeria?		
Strongly Agreed	80	100%
Agreed	-	-
Strongly Disagreed	-	-
Disagreed	-	-
Total	80	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2025

From the above table 4.2.6, we can see that 80 respondents of 100% succumbs that NYSC as contribute immensely to the development of Youth through skills acquisition in Nigeria.

Table 4.2.7

Respondent	Frequency	Percentage
Several mechanisms as been put in place to achieve objectives of NYSC towards improving national integration and federalism in Nigeria?		
Strongly Agreed	70	88%
Agreed	-	-
Strongly Disagreed	10	12%
Disagreed	-	-
Total	80	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2025

From the above table 4.2.7 we can see that 80 respondents of 86% ascertain that several mechanisms as been put in place to achieve objectives of NYSC towards improving national integration and federalism in Nigeria while the remaining 10 respondents of 12% are against the opinion.

Table 4.2.8

Respondent	Frequency	Percentage
Does NYSC serve as an engine room to promote unity in diversity as uphold the true federalism in Nigeria?		
Strongly Agreed	10	12%
Agreed	-	-
Strongly Disagreed	70	88%
Disagreed	-	-
Total	70	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2025

From the above data, we can see that 10 of the respondents of 12% ascertain that NYSC serve as an engine room to promote unity in diversity as uphold the true federalism in Nigeria and the remaining 70 respondents of 88% are against the notion.

Table 4.2.9

Respondent	Frequency	Percentage
Do you agree that deployment of corps member serve as avenue for promoting cultural heritage in Nigeria?		
Strongly Agreed	-	-
Agreed	-	-
Strongly Disagreed	-	-
Disagreed	80	100%
Total	**80**	**100%**

Source: Field Survey, 2025

From the above data, we can see that 80 respondents of 100% of the respondents disagree that deployment of corps member serve as avenue for promoting cultural heritage in Nigeria.

Table 4.2.10

Respondent	Frequency	Percentage
Does NYSC encourage the valorization of the ethnic individuality rather than dissolution of the ethnic personality?		
Strongly Agreed	50	63%
Agreed	-	-
Strongly Disagreed	30	37%
Disagreed	-	-
Total	**80**	**100%**

Source: Field Survey, 2025

From the above data, we can see that 50 respondents of 63% of the respondents strongly agree that NYSC encourage the valorization of the ethnic individuality rather than dissolution of the ethnic personality while the remaining 30 respondents of 37% strongly disagree to the notion.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF THE FINDING, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 SUMMARY OF THE FINDING

The study was undertaken to investigate the effectiveness of the National Youth Service Corps programme in Nigeria in relation to its major objective which is to help bring about national integration and federalism. It also aimed to identify those factors which have an influence in promoting or inhibiting integration in the context of the NYSC programme.

In view of Nigeria's long history of inter-ethnic hostility and political instability; it is clearly important to see whether the attitudes of graduate youths, participants in the scheme, have changed in any significant way at the end of their service year. Indeed the political history, the ethnic and cultural diversities, and the attendant prejudices and suspicions in the country make progress conditional upon the sense of national integration. It is to be noted however that the research was not designed to attempt to change attitude, but to investigate whether change occurred as a result of their participation in the national service, and if so to what extent, in which direction, and what specific factors have enhanced the effectiveness of the national service in terms of attitude change.

5.2 CONCLUSION

The study concludes that there is a great need to protect Nigeria's very existence. This does not simply mean the warding off of external aggressor. It also entails the need to maintain internal peace. Internal peace and unity would depend upon the different groups' willingness to assist each other, and above all the willingness to work together as members of the same political system, rather than treating one another as the "stranger next door." The Nigerian government realises these dimensions, which is the major reason for the creation of the NYSC, to serve as a mechanism for attitude intervention, to reshape the attitude of its citizens in favour of the national integration and federalism.

The Europeans may have created Nigeria arbitrarily but it is only rational that integration is achieved for the nation's progress. Nigeria needs to be one to survive. It therefore behoves the National Youth Service Corps programme administrators who are assigned the major task of helping to bring about inter-ethnic understanding among graduate youths to make it a success. This they can do by ensuring that skills and talents are maximally utilized, that corps members are maximally exposed to their host community. The participants, the future leaders, who are likely to determine the direction in which the country would be moving, must develop attitudes of mind that make for national integration and the federalism of Nigeria.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations were offered to help the NYSC scheme resuscitate the dwindling objectives of NYSC towards national integration and federalism;

i.   Security of lives and properties must be guaranteed so as to ascertain the willingness of graduates of tertiary institutions to participate in NYSC scheme; acceptance of postings to various communities in the nook and cranny of the country; as well as, readiness to play active role in the discharge of community development service in their communities of service;

ii.   It is also recommended that funds should be made available for individual and group projects so that meaningful activities can be carried out through the community development service;

iii.   Also, adequate monitoring and evaluation should be done to ensure that project funds are properly utilized which will enhance national integration. This will motivate corps members to work. Individual corpers who have personal projects to embark on would be encouraged to do so.

iv.   It is further recommended that commitment of the scheme's management and proper guidance of Corps members as well as availability of operational facilities and logistics would go a long way in tackling aforementioned challenges confronting the provision of national integration and federalism;

v.   It is suggested that lectures and seminars be held once or twice a week in the evenings and/ or on Saturdays throughout the one-year service period to help corps members master the local language.

REFERENCES

Abdullah, S.A. (2007) "*The Civil Service Reforms*." In H. Saliu, Amali, E; Olawepo, (eds) Nigeria's Reform Programme: Issues and Challenges. Ibadan: Vantage Publishers Ltd.

Abia, V.B.E (2006). Government and politics in Africa: A comprehensive approach. Lagos: BMB

Achebe, C. (2001). The trouble with Nigeria. Paper for UN – WIDER conference on sharing ideas   for Nigeria's prosperity, September, 2001.

Akinpelu, J.A. (1981). Introduction to philosophy of education. London: Macmillian.

Adamolekun, L. (1989) "The Nigerian Civil Service: Problems of Manpower Development,   Utilization and Orientation."

Anyebe, A.A. (2004) "An Assessment of the Traditional system of Public Administration." *The Abuja Management Review*.

Akinsanya, A. A. & Lawal, G. (2014). Executive-legislature relations.

Baiyewu, L. (2018, October 24). Buhari's alleged lopsided security appointments split southern, northern senators. *Punch*. Retrieved from https://punchng.com/buharis-alleged-lopsided-security-appointments-split-southern-northern senators

Bello, N. (2018, 14 August). Leadership   crisis   threatens   Federal   Character Commission. **S**

Friedrich, C. J. (1963). *Federalism*: National and International in Theory and Practice. New York: Friedrich A Pager Publisher.

Nwankwo, B. C. (2002). *Authority in Government. Onitsha*: Abbot Books limited.

Ogbe O., Max M., Shija M.D and Zever A.T. (2011) *The Need For Reform of Fiscal Federalism in Nigeria*, Benue State, National Journal of Human Resource Development Vol.1 No. 1

Ojo S.O.J. (1989) Of Justice Political Development and the Nigerian State:

Ola R.F. (1995) Nigerian Political System: Inputs, Outputs and Environment, Benin City, Ambik Press.

Ola, R. F. (1984). Local Administration in Nigeria. London: Kegan Paul

Wheare, K.C. (1967), Federal Government, 4th Edition, London Oxford University Press.

Macleans, C. W. (2007). *Analysis of educational philosophy*. London: Queensbay Inc.

Mustapha, A. R. (2007). *Institutionalizing ethnic representation*: How effective is the Federal Character Commission in Nigeria?

Mustapha, A. R. (2009). *Institutionalizing ethnic representatio*n: How effective is the Federal Character Commission in Nigeria? Journal of International Development

Ojeme, V. (2018). *Federal character not required in appointment of service chiefs – FCC*. Vanguard.

Morgan, C. (2016). *Analyzing sustainable development issues in Afric*a. London: Marriot.

Nkwocha, A. E. (2008). *History and logic (Revised Edition)*. Owerri: Readon Publishers Ltd.

Obialor, M. M. (2016). *Corruption and national development in Nigeria*. Umuahia: Ogun Printers Ltd.

Ogbonna, P. A. (2005). *The essentials of philosophy and logic*. Owerri: Austus Printers and Publishers.

Ogunlami, S. C, (2013). *Methods and strategies of diversification of Nigeria economy*. Lagos: Fair- Weather Publishers Ltd.

Okoroafor, E. C; Nzenwa, B. N. and Ezeibe, I.P. (2016). Implications of effective national integration for sustainable development in Nigeria. Nigerian Journal for Strategic Researchand Development. 1 (40) 99 – 120.

Okoroafor, E.C (2016). *Inequality and gender development in Nigeria*. Unpublished work. Owerri.

Onosode, G. (2013). *Government policy and industrialization in Nigeria*: Some contemporary   issues for national development. Lagos: Sky level.

Uchendu, M. (2014). *Understanding multi- cultural Nigeria*: A sociological approach. Owerri: Tims Printers.

Uchendu, T. C. (2014). *Gender issues and productivity in Nigeria*. Lagos: Gross Dimension Publishers

Udeh, S. C. Okoroafor, E. C. and Ihezie, U. C. (2013). *Insecurity and national economic development*: Implications

Weiner, M.D. (2006). *Academic's dictionary of sociology*. New Delhi: Star Offset Printers. for Nigeria's International Development and Management Review. 8. 93-

Udenwa, A. (2012). *We're witnessing worst corruption in Nigeria's history*. Saturday Sun. September 22.

Weiner, M. (1967). *Political culture and political development. Princeton*: Princeton University Press.