**T.C.**
**ISTANBUL AYDIN UNIVERSITY**
**INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE STUDIES**



**NATIONAL INTEGRATION AND EFFICACY ON SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA**

**M.A THESIS**

**Ejimadu Christian CHUKWUEMEKA**

**Department of Political Science and International Relations**
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**(Y1712.110031)**

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**Theses Advisor: Prof. Dr. Ragıp Kutay KARACA**

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# DECLARATION

I hereby declare that all information in this thesis document have been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all materials and results, which are not original of this thesis. (…/…/2020)

**Ejimadu Christian CHUKWUEMEKA**

I dedicate this to my late father, Pa Damion Uchechuwku Ejimadu, Mrs. Susan Ejimadu and siblings. To my wife , Mrs. Adeola Adetayo Ejimadu for moral support.

## FOREWORD

My unreserved appreciation to The Almighty for the unfathomable strength bestowed upon me throughout my academy sojourn in completion of my Master's Degree in Political Science and International Relations at Istanbul Aydin University. My appreciation goes to my thesis supervisor, Prof. Dr. Ragip Kutay Karaca and my second Advisor Dr. Hazar Vural for their times and energy for proofreading, worth more than golden medals. My indebted thanks to my academic advisor Prof. Dr. Hatice Deniz and Prof. Dr. Fliz Katman for their academics impact.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| **3Rs'** | : Reconciliation, Rehabilitation and Reconstruction |
| **AFRICOM** | : African Command |
| **APIC** | : Abandoned Properties Implementation Committee |
| **BBC** | : British Broadcasting Cooperation |
| **FCT** | : Federal Capital Territory |
| **ISIS** | : Islamic state of Iraq and Syria |
| **MEND** | : Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta |
| **MNOCs** | : Multi-National Corporations |
| **NAN** | : National Alliance of Nigeria |
| **NCNC** | : National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons |
| **NNDP** | : Nigerian National Democratic Party |
| **NPN** | : National Party of Nigeria |
| **NRC** | : National Rehabilitation Commission |
| **NYSC** | : National Youth Service Corps |
| **UPGA** | : United Progressive Grand Alliance |

# NATIONAL INTEGRATION AND EFFICACY ON SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA

## ABSTRACT

This study examined national integration and its efficacy on socio-economic and political development of Nigeria. The country is located in the West African sub-region with a population of over 200 million people. Nigeria was colonised by Britain who, for the purpose of colonial administration, merged together about 450 different ethnic groups in 1914. The inter-ethnic relationship among these various groups was hostile in the period leading to independence from British colonial rule in 1960. While efforts were made to unite these groups by the newly independent government, a civil war of secession broke out in 1967 and lasted until 1970. The factors which led to the war, the course of the war and the outcome of the war made the Nigerian government implement integrative mechanisms so as to unite the 450 ethnic groups in the country and avoid future war. This study made use of historical research method to assess the various integrative mechanisms adopted by the Nigerian government and the efficacy of such integrative mechanisms on socio-economic and political development of Nigeria in the post-Civil War period. In-depth oral interviews were conducted with ten (10) experts on Nigerian history. Furthermore, written documents such as government publications, letters, correspondence, documentaries, newspapers, journal articles, books and online sources were explored to enrich the work. Content analysis was used to analyse the data. Based on the outcome of the analysis, the study discovered that the efficacy of national integrative such as the introduction of the National Youth Service Corps, the establishment of Unity Schools, the promulgation of National Language Policy, and the creation of the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja are politicised and therefore weak in enhancing the socio-economic and political development of Nigeria. The study also observed that the emergence of violent ethnic militia groups and spread of terrorism could lead to the disintegration of Nigeria. The study recommended that the Nigerian government should review the constitution to allow more inclusion of minority groups in the national polity. It also recommended that efforts should be made to improve on the social security of Nigerians to allow the citizens to develop sense of belonging and promote the principle of federal character in the country.

**Key words:** Politics, Integration mechanisms, Nigeria

# NİJERYA'DA ULUSAL ENTEGRASYON VE SOSYO-EKONOMİK VE SİYASİ KALKINMAYA ETKİSİ

## ÖZET

Bu çalışmada ulusal entegrasyon ve Nijerya'nın sosyo-ekonomik ve politik gelişimi üzerindeki etkinliği incelenmiştir. Ülke, 200 milyondan fazla Batı Afrika alt bölgesinde yer almaktadır. Nijerya, sömürge yönetimi amacıyla 1914'te yaklaşık 450 farklı etnik grubu bir araya getiren İngiltere tarafından sömürgeleştirildi. Bu çeşitli gruplar arasındaki etnik gruplar arası ilişki, 1960 yılında İngiliz sömürge yönetiminden bağımsızlığa yol açan dönemde düşmandı. Bu grupları yeni bağımsız hükümet tarafından birleşme çabalarına rağmen 1967'de iç savaş başladı ve 1970'e kadar sürdü. Savaşa yol açan faktörler, savaşın seyri ve savaşın sonucu, Nijerya hükümetini ülkedeki 450 etnik grubu birleştirmek ve gelecekteki savaştan kaçınmak için bütünleştirici mekanizmalar uyguladı. Bu çalışma, Nijerya hükümeti tarafından benimsenen çeşitli bütünleştirici mekanizmaların iç savaş sonrası Nijerya'nın sosyo-ekonomik ve politik gelişimi üzerindeki etkinliğini değerlendirmek için tarihsel araştırma yönetimini kullanmıştır. Nijerya tarihi üzerine 10 uzmanla derinlemesine sözlü görüşmeler yapıldı. Ayrıca, çalışmaları zenginleştirmek için devlet yayınları, mektuplar, yazışmalar, belgeseller, gazeteler, dergi makaleleri, kitaplar ve çevrimiçi kaynaklar gibi yazılı belgeler de araştırılmıştır. Verilerin analizinde içerik analizi kullanılmıştır. Analiz sonuçlarına göre, çalışma Ulusal Gençlik Hizmet Gücü Kolordu'nun tanıtımı, Birlik Okullarının kurulması, Ulusal Dil politikasının ilan edilmesi ve Federal Başkent Bölgesi'nin oluşturulması gibi ulusal bütünleştiricinin etkinliğinin, Abuja siyasileştirmiştir ve bu nedenle Nijerya'nın sosyo-ekonomik ve politik gelişimini artırmada zayıftır. Çalışma ayrıca, şiddetli etnik milis gruplarının ortaya çıkmasının ve terörizmin yayılması Nijerya'nın dağılmasına yol açabileceğini de gözlemledi. Çalışma, Nijerya hükümetinin azınlık gruplarının ulusal politikaya daha fazla dahil olmasını sağlamak için anayasayı gözden geçirmesi gerektiğini önerdi. Ayrıca, vatandaşların aidiyet duygusunu geliştirmelerine ve ülkede federal karakter ilkesini teşvik etmelerine izin vermek için Nijeryalıların sosyal güvenliğini geliştirmek için çaba gösterilmesi önerildi.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Siyaset, Entegrasyon mekanizmaları, Nijerya

# 1. INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Background to the Study

Throughout the 19th century, Nigeria was not seen by Britain as a country and neither do the people of Nigeria see themselves as one nation. Rather, the British colonial government saw Nigeria as a commercial venture having purchased the country from the Royal Niger Company in 1899 (Morel, 1924). Sir Ralph More, the Commissioner for Southern Nigeria admitted at a conference held in London on September 20, 1900 that the purchase of the Niger Company left the British Government with a debt of £860,000, which served as a major hindrance to effective management of the new British estate in West Africa (Conover, 1959, p. 35). Since Nigeria was a commercial venture of the British imperialists, there were efforts to generate income from the Estate that would make it self-sustaining. However, the financial statement of 1900 showed an expenditure of £176,128 which exceeded the revenue by £12,000 (Morel, 1924, p. 89). Hence, the running of Nigeria was seen as a burden on British taxpayers. To offset this huge debt as well as manage the estate efficiently, the British Government embarked on projects that would ease administration, facilitate trade and increase revenue. This was made possible through the creation of the Northern Protectorate in 1900, which was followed with the merger of Southern Protectorate with Lagos Colony in 1906, and subsequently, the amalgamation of both the Southern and Northern Protectorate in 1914 (Aderinto, 2018, p. 177).

In the early stage of British rule in Nigeria, the Colonial Administration turned towards the establishment of schools, building of hospitals, construction of roads, construction of railways and the establishment of colonial offices so as to reduce the cost of administration and increase revenue. Although, the British colonial government didn't create these social amenities with the aim of integrating the different ethnic groups in Nigeria, they were the earliest attempt to integrate the people that make up Nigeria. Schools, churches and markets

became centres of social integration where people of different languages could learn and speak the English language, worship the Christian God or trade together. Construction of roads and railways were carefully done to network the various communities and thereby promote the integration of territories that were formerly independent of each other. Efforts of the British colonial government to integrate and promote unity in Nigeria through socio-cultural, political and constitutional means did not produce the much needed results. Ojo (2014) argued that the colonial division of Nigeria into West, South and North serve as a precursor to nationalism in Nigeria. British division of Nigeria into three regions (Yoruba, Hausa and Igbo) by the 1946 Richard Constitution paved the way for the rise of ethnic nationalism. The major beneficiaries of ethnic nationalism were the three major ethnic groups namely, Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo. These three groups have constantly dominated the political scene since 1960.

Since 1960, the people of Nigeria have had to contend with forces of disintegration especially the Nigerian Civil War (1967-1970). The 30 months civil war was fought by the Igbo against the independent Nigerian government. After the war, the Nigerian government came up with national integrative mechanisms so as to promote the socio-economic and political development. These included the introduction of the National Youth Service Corps, the establishment of Unity Schools, the promulgation of National Language Policy, and the creation of the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja. Despite the implementation of the integrative policies, there have been recoded conflicts among the various groups in Nigeria.

## 1.2 Statement of the Problem

The idea of incorporating several regions of Nigeria was informed by the British in 1914 who amalgamated people of different historical backgrounds, beliefs and socio-political settings for administrative purposes. Unfortunately, rather than uniting Nigeria's over 400 ethnic groups, it turned out to be one of the main sources of conflict, contributing to a 30-month civil war from 1967-70 and numerous ethnic disputes in the post-civil war period up to 2019. While academics have made attempts to explore the issues of Nigeria's national

integration, very few have undertaken scholarly research on the factors that inhibit national integration in Nigeria. Therefore, this study aims to examine national integration and its efficacy on socio-economic and political development in Nigeria. The study takes into account role of the British colonial government in the amalgamation of Nigeria in 1914 and how this has impact on national integration in Nigeria. The study will also examined the incidences of disintegration in the early years of independence (1960-1970). These included the series of political clashes and military coups carried out by different ethnic groups in Nigeria during this period. The integrative mechanisms adopted by the Nigerian government in putting an end to these conflicts during this period were examined. These includes the Nigerianization Policy, the introduction of the National Youth Service Corps, the promulgation of National Language Policy, the creation of Unity Schools, and the creation of the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja. Each of these integrative processes assessed to determine if they have served of the purpose of national integration or further divide the country into opposing units from 1970 up to 2019.

The major contribution of this study to existing knowledge lie in its analysis of national integrative mechanisms. It points out the failures of these integrative mechanisms and links it with the emergence of violent ethnic militia groups who work to disintegrate Nigeria. The central argument of this dissertation is that the response of the Nigerian government to incidences of ethno-religious conflicts was effective only between 1970 and 1979. Other periods in Nigerian history has seen the different nationalities plunged into violent conflicts and edged towards disintegration.

## 1.3  Objectives of the Study

The efficacy of national integrative mechanism is being investigated as it impact on the socio-economic and political development in Nigeria. To achieve this general objective, the study targets the following specific objectives:

- Discuss the implications of British Amalgamation policy of 1914 on national integration in Nigeria;

- Examine the impact of the Nigerian Civil War (1967-1970) on national integration in Nigeria?

- Explore the integrative mechanisms adopted by the Nigerian government in the post-Civil War era to promote national integration in Nigeria;

- Assess the effectiveness of various integrative mechanisms adopted by the Nigerian government in relation to socio-economic and political development of the country?

- Analyse the emergence of violent ethnic militia groups in reference to disintegration of Nigeria;

- Examine the response of the Nigerian government to incidences of ethno-religious violence from independence up to 2019;

## 1.4 Research Questions

- What impact did the British Amalgamation policy of 1914 have on national integration in Nigeria?

- What impact did the Nigerian Civil War (1967-1970) have on national integration in Nigeria?

- What were the integrative mechanisms adopted by the Nigerian government in the post-Civil War era to promote national integration in Nigeria?

- How effective were these integrative mechanisms in relation to socio-economic and political development of Nigeria?

- Will the emergence of violent ethnic militia groups lead towards disintegration in Nigeria?

- What is the response of the Nigerian government to incidences of ethno-religious violence from independence up to 2019?

- What are the factor affecting the efficacy of integrative mechanism in Nigeria in the 21st century?

**1.5 Thesis Hypothesis**

- British Amalgamation policy of 1914 was exploitative and did not promote national integration in Nigeria

- Britain colonial government promoted uneven development in Nigeria through legal frameworks and socio-political policies.

- Religious division, poverty, corruption and question over resource control are the major drivers of ethnic conflicts in Nigeria

- The Nigerian Civil War (1967-1970) provided the framework for national integrative mechanisms in Nigeria.

- The integrative mechanisms adopted by the Nigerian government in the post-Civil War era was effective only between 1970 and 1979.

- The effectiveness of various integrative mechanisms adopted by the Nigerian government in the post-Civil War era is no longer effective in meeting the socio-economic and political development of the country in the 21st century.

- The emergence of violent ethnic militia groups and spread of terrorism in could lead to disintegration of Nigeria.

**1.6 Scope of the Study**

This study focuses on national integration and efficacy on socio-economic and political development in Nigeria. The geographical area covered is Nigeria which is located in the West African sub-region. The target population are the 200 million Nigerians who belong to over 450 ethnic groups. The main areas of research centres on the efficacy of national integrative mechanisms most especially, the 1914 amalgamation; the 1960-1966 Nigerianization Policy, the introduction of the National Youth Service Corps, the establishment of Unity Schools, the promulgation of National Language Policy, and the creation of the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja. The period covered is from 1914 and terminates in 2019.

**1.7 Theoretical Framework**

There are plethora of theories on national integration. These include neo-functionalism, inter-governmentalism, post-functionalism and constructivism. This study made use of constructivism as framework for analyzing Nigeria's national integration process. Neofunctionalism was developed in 1950 by Ernst B. Haas (1958) and expounded by Jean Monnet due to his method of European integration, which was aimed at integrating individual sectors of the region. The central basis of the theory is that integration will be achieved if states could allow the following (1) increasing economic interconnectedness between nations (2) capability to resolve and establish international regimes (3) substitute national regulatory regimes with supranational rules. The theory, however, has been criticized as a theory of disintegration and not of integration (Aybet, 2000, p. 32).

Intergovernmentalism was proposed by Stanley Hoffmann and later developed by Andrew Moravcsik in the mid-1960s as a theoretical alternative to neofunctionalism. The central thesis of the theory is that states are the major actors and therefore make decisions based on their domestic needs. The theory rejects neofunctionalist perspective that states submit to any power at the supranational level. The theory also rejects the spillover-effect argument under intergovernmentalism and contends that state determines the level of integration as the state does not want to have its sovereignty tampered with. The theory has been criticized as winner-takes all approach to integration because it is driven by state interests (Marks, 2019, p. 1114). Another theory of integration is postfunctionalism, which has challenged the theoretical debate on regional integration. The theory was propounded by Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks in 2008. In direct opposition to neofunctionalism, postfunctionalism assumes a backlash mechanism of integration. In other words, there is preferences over jurisdictional than national jurisdiction. There is efficiency, distribution and identity (Marks, 2019, p. 1112).

**Constructivism**

For years, international Relations was characterized by two famous theories namely: realism and liberalism. These mainstream theories undermined the

functionality of constructivism because it focuses on social construction instead of material construction. The end of Cold War and collapsed of the Soviet made people to reconsider explanatory ability into the mainstreams. Constructivism contradicts the mainstream of international relations of neorealism and neoliberalism. It opines that international relations is socially constructed. In view of Alexander Wendt, he postulates that there are two basic tenets of Constructivism namely, the structures of human association are predetermined by shared ideas other than material forces, and that the identities and interests of actors are constitutively constructed by these ideas rather than given by nature.

Constructivism is the reorientation of critical international relations theory. Price and Reus-Smit (1998) argues that constructivists were prompted by the following reasons. First, response by neo-liberals and neo-realists criticism levelled by critical theorists. Secondly, demise of the cold war, which demonstrated the collapse of the dominant tenant of rationalists' theories such in explaining international dramatic changes. Lastly, was the generational change of international relations scholars who have been hugely enlightened by insights of the Third Debate critical theory. Adler (1997) further stresses that constructivism is influenced by human actions and the way in which material world shapes. Constructivists have focused on non-materials elements such as norms, ideas, knowledge and culture emphasizing on specific importance in social life in International Relations.

According to Wendt, he articulates that individuals have a common and shared knowledge in the society which fosters societal cooperation and commonality. He refutes the notion emerging from the mainstream theories that human associations are primarily determines by material factors alone as it is said by neoliberalism and neorealism. Wendt believes that material elements exist and also cannot be denied. He further stresses that although these material factors if not U communally shared, it is ineffective. Therefore, the shared knowledge is essential in International Relations theory. More so, Ruggie (1998, p856) postulates that constructivism is the completeness of human consciousness and its role in international life. Further buttress that, based on the following, (1) Human interaction is primarily shaped by ideational ones not by material

factors. (2) That most important ideationals factors in this context are intersubjective beliefs as collective comprehension. (3)

Those beliefs shaped and construct the actors' interest and identities. The constructivists claim that international relations comprises of social facts which drive the interest of state with human agreement. Constructivism theory was developed by Nicholas Onuf in 2010 and recently expanded by other scholars such as Hayward R. Alker, Jr., and Alexander Wendt. The central proposition of constructivism theory is that national integration is socially constructed. This implies that integration is determined primarily by shared ideas rather than material forces. In light of this, Nigerian history can be understood with the aid of constructivism.

**Constructivism and Nigerian Identities**

For constructivists, 'identity' is an integral part of international actors and basis and leverage of interactions among state-actors. Identities are inter-subjective and motivational that spurs the action and goals of states in international arena. Same various identities make states to behave or act the way they do. Identities are elements of shared social knowledge, ideas and norms rather than natural deposits. The mainstream theories fervently argue that national interests are premised on material factors which negate Wendt positions. It is against this background that Wendt highlights the identities in the foregoing:

1. Wendt stereotyped the identity to be for a 'Person' or typical 'corporate' entity which self-organising creating actor's peculiarity among others in interactions among other actors'. 'I' is self-organising actor with conscious work and memory but in other manner, the state which is collective ideas is 'we' or 'group self'. 'I' or 'we' are used by individual either in different levels. 'I' or 'we' is used as an actor exogenously representing the state in international communication but with conscious underlying inter-subjective and socially constructed non-materials factors.

2. This subcategory refers to peoples of the same ethnic identity who shared sameness in culture, history, language, norms, values and intra-subjected by nature and constitution. The sameness socially not limited within intrinsic environment. It goes beyond border of the generic country.

3. The third is connected with foreign policy analysis; each actor has unique identity which distinguishes their interests. Human interactions across national borders are based on collective identities of states which are socially positioned. More so, this type of identity is dependent in conformity with collective cultural acceptance, social structures and shared expectations.

4. The modus operandi of interactions is uniquely constituted with state identities. They are socially motivated to act the way they are do. States in this sense, bear the social reflexivity and statecraftship.

Identity is the source of motivation that drives the interest. Identity tells who actors are and interest defines what they want. Be that as it may, Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa with over 250 ethnic groups and about 400 languages laced with different forms of cultures, traditions, norms and histories. It is enigma for a country with such peculiar characteristics to witness a peaceful socio-political and economics system transitions without stumbling blocks. It came to being after amalgamation of 1914 which holistically reformate the orientation of Nigeria as a nation. It further established identities discrepancy among the ethnic groups. This is one of the setback in nationhood. The sudden fusions of various entities create more havoc than good. The need to fostering togetherness brings in the issue of integration and its' mechanism for social acceptance regardless of ethnic background. Thus, national integration is the process and act of bringing different ethnic groups together as one and to foster a formidable nation based on agreement.

As the country was on the path to autonomous, myriad of political parties, political movements and organizations had reflexive ethnic undertone which created barrier in one Nigeria. A typical example can be drawn from the Northern People's Congress (NPC) as the name implies was a cultural movement for the North, Action Group was modified from Egbe Omo Oduduwa, a pan-Yoruba socio-cultural group, meanwhile National Congress of Nigeria and the Cameroon later metamorphosed to National Council of Congress of Nigeria which was led by the igbo ethnic unionists. Ethnic unions mainly the minority groups such as Northern Elements People's Union (NEPU) and the United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC) which assiduously struggle to control the centre were borne out sheer ethnic sentiment. In addition, the issue

of interest played in when Nigeria was preparing for independence people from the Southern protectorate push for the move for independence in which Chief Anthony Enahoro moved the motion for self-government while the Hausa-Fulani leaders was not ready for independence due to fear of Southern domination over them in post-colonial era. Most of the crisis that had occurred in Nigeria was as a result of strong attachment to ethnic identity and the defence of one another ethnic groups. But, one can also put into consideration the issue of federal character which had created a lot of social problems, ethnic favouritism and the promotion cultural and ethnic disparity. Don't forget that there is domination of the minority even though it is believed literarily that the minority interest is protected but in Nigeria politics it is believed that the only time the minority group produced the president was 2011 when Goodluck Ebele Jonathan became the president. The Easterners are the only geo-political zone with five states while others have six states. All these are some of the factors that could trigger strong attachment to the issue of identity which could lead to the outbreak of major crisis. Moreover, the issue of power zoning contributed to strong attachment to one's ethnic group which will invariably leads to identity politics. This has actually leaded to increase in electoral malpractice such as falsification of election results, ballot snatching, and underage voting and so on. These are some of the reasons Nigeria has suffered great setbacks in her political activities.

One of the bedevilling factors that are cascading Nigerian recent political history is ethnic –politics in the accomplishment of political goals. This has over the years have manifested in issues such as admission to universities, appointment to public or political office etc. by various ethnic nationalities in the country. This is category is known as Ethnic Politics. Singh & Arya (2006) observed that a country like Nigeria, multi-ethnic nationalities with a prolong struggle for independent must face the challenges of integrating these various ethnic groups into single nations. The attainment would be rather nearly hard to achieve due to multi-ethnicity. Nigeria as a multi-ethnic society is characterised with problem of managing the pluralistic nature. This should be used as tools to promote a strong and formidable entity through national integration but rather it is used as an instrument of destructions in the hands of ethnic politics.

The common feature of Nigeria with different colours of languages, cultures, religion, geographical locations, histories and multi- identities make it impossible for smooth transition into national integration. All these factors establish ethnic paranoid in terms dominations from other ethnic groups and distribution of 'national cake (wealth)'. The national identities that exist are perpetually altered with ethnic bigotry which of course in transnational level still remains valid as 'we' rather 'I'. These identities are socially constructed with inter-subjective ideas, norms with knowledge. Efforts to attain a sustainable national integration have remained unattained. This is as a result of states' that evolved from the pre-colonial to post-colonial era. Ethnic loyalties and bigotry are main issues that need to be dealt with. The post-colonial type of states' manifestations that transited into nationhood influence the identity symbols. The identity symbols have features of ethnic identity, spatial location, language, culture; histories are referred to as ethnic identity. The political space has been increased since May 1999 due to communal, ethnic-religious mobilization and politicization. Ethnic politics has become social impetus that made national identities and integration hardball since 1950s'. Ethnic identity is natural phenomenon and place all and sundry into specific ethnic groups. In this sense, the consciousness of belonging to a group is a naturally selection no more no less.

In a more specific manner, Olaniyi states that ethnic identity has been in existence long time during pre-colonial administration but became more pronounced during colonial era through amalgamation. In the opinion of Adebola , the remote cause of ethnic identity can be traced to the historical antecedent in Nigeria's history. Kingdoms and empires lived distinctively with various traditional political systems but this was different things entirely when the British arrived the entity now called Nigeria. The British couldn't continue with previous political system, therefore, they introduced Indirect Rule System for administrative convenient. This was best used to integrate different ethnic identities.

Ugwueze, Issah and Amujiri argue that there are multiple factors responsible for ethnic identity in Nigeria and these are political and cultural factors. The political factors specifically are characterized with traditional political system

which is attributed to each and every empire and kingdom. This political system modified and trims down the political consciousness. Far from that, cultural factor is linked with local dishes, customs, hair styles, beliefs. Colonialism is another political factor that recreates the political orientation which technically promotes national identities. The essence of national integration becomes a major issue in Nigerian politics as a result of amalgamation policy.

Alemika (2004) posits that ethnicity is as a result of multi-ethnicity in a geographical location in which such nature of multiplicity is used as a tool for economic and political benefits'. This condition is politicized ethnicity may encourage ethnic nationalists. These nationalists may request for secession and independent. Also, ethnic politicised may lead to militia or terrorist group. However, flowing from the above, it is a known fact that Nigeria doesn't emerge or sprout out naturally. It was propagated by the British. Although, there were natural emergence of kingdoms and empires which were later infused to create a civil state. This without doubt defies conventional social contract theory of state origin according to Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau. The trio points out in ideal state must have civic consensus to establish a civil government with law and order. Nonetheless, in the opinion of Aiyede, ethnic identities are not a problem in Nigeria and defile the process of national integration. The main goal of ethnic identity is to identify a group or an individual. It is a compass to who you are, where you are going and where you are coming from. It is encompasses culture, traditional, language, norms and traditional. Ethnic identity has been used to muster ethnic politics contra conventional politics.On the contrary, Yagboyaju opines that promotion of ethnic identity elements such as language, food, dressing etc has driven wedge to achieve national integration. He asserts that language and religion are key factors in integrative process. No ethnic group would accept other ethnic language to surpass hers. A Christian or Muslim community would always votes for candidate who worships with the same faith. This is sharp struggle that cannot be ignored. In consonance with the above, Lafenwa arguing from the perspective of culture as put forth by Gabriel Almond posited that there is an extent to which the promotion of parochial culture can help promote development. In this sense, mode of dressing, language disposition will never promote national integration until unity in

diversity is attained. In the words of Ekanola (2006), he over stretches the issue between minority and majority in integrative mechanism. There is inter- and intra-ethnicity in Nigeria. There are three (3) major ethnic in Nigeria namely: Igbo, Yoruba and Hausa. The ijaws, Itshekiri, Egbas among others are not voice to be reckoned with. The three ethnic groups are mutual constitutive which create ethnic nationality and bigotry. In line with the above, Ojie & Ewhrudjakpor (2009) states that before the advent of colonial administration, Yoruba,Ikwere,Ijaw, Hausa, Bini, Igbo, Gusu etc lived as separate entities. But colonialism conjoined these ethnic groups together geographically. This single act, has prolong struggles among the ethnic groups.

In the opinion of Nwosu, the basic features of colonialism in Africa and the rest of the world is to bring different ethnic group together which is obtainable in Nigeria. Peoples with diverse culture, language, religions and language are put together. Nigeria is a multi-ethnic society. Nigeria is not established because of statehood rather the conjoiner created her for economic reason. In a similar vein, Danjibo inquired that what is national integration without a national language, or identity. Though other than English language, other languages such as Igbo, Yoruba and Hausa has been adopted in the business of the national assembly but to what extents can the languages be used in national business? There is therefore the need to have a neutral language such as Swahili in East Africa which is different from ethnic languages and has helped to integrate most of the people in that region.

In Nigeria, while there are intra-ethnic differences, there is also inter-ethnic diversity. In the words of Ekanola (2006), and the Ijesha, Egba, Itshekiri and Ijaw peoples of Nigeria may be rightly described as ethnic groups while the more general classifications of the "Igbo" "Yoruba" and "Hausa" stand for nationalities, and thus, Nigeria as a multi-ethnic state is made up of different ethnic groups and nations. In line with the above, Ojie & Ewhrudjakpor (2009) stated that "Before the advent of colonialism, indigenous nations and ethnic groups such as the Igbo, Yoruba, Ikwere, Afizere, Angas, Ndokwa, Bini, Gusu etc. existed as separate societies. Colonialism brought these disparate geo-political entitles together in a new nation for political, administrative and economic purposes". In the opinion of Nwosu, the colonization of Africa and

several other third world states ensured that peoples of diverse culture were brought together under one country. The same was the fate of Nigeria; Nigeria is undoubtedly a plural society with different ethnic groups, religions, languages, cultures and institutional arrangements. More so, because the mission of colonialism, which was majorly economic in nature, most of these peoples were not well integrated into the new states. Instead, some of the imperial powers cashed in on the cultural divergence of these countries to ensure the examination of their objectives. The disparate ethnic groups had been interacting before the advent of colonialism. The interaction between ethnic groups is regarded as ethnicity. Ethnicity in the opinion of (Salawu & Hassan, 2011) is a phenomenon, which involves interaction among various ethnic groups and which by itself does not pose any serious threat to unity of the State and by definition it means the interactions among members of many diverse groups. In the words of Alemika (2004), ethnicity as a social phenomenon has objective and subjective, rational and non-rational dimensions.

Interpretative and Radical constructivism will explain the various forms, challenges and role of language in national integration. Nigeria as a country has more than 400 ethnic languages. The "lingua Franca", English language is used to unify the linguistic diffusion and to balance the ethnic inequality. Hence, the interpretative and radical constructivism in this sense become veritable tools that filters through the complexities and strength of indigenous and foreign languages. Nigeria is homogeneous society with federal system in the first republic prior to military incursion in the affairs of the country. In the same vein, Conventional constructivism will throw more views on it organic function, this paradigm will socially construct the Nigerian history, national integration, the institution and international theories, norms, identity, interest and political outcome in both domestic and international politics. It holds its original function. When put together, the two views are to critically examine the historical antecedents and other themes in Nigerian history.

This mixture of culture, traditions, norms, indigenous politics, religion, language with introduction of English language are catalyst that redesigns the country to what it is lately. The unparalleled migrations of different groups in the country at different times creates wedge in social acceptance, material

distribution (i.e. revenue allocation that result to social anomaly. There is physical evidence of uneven development across the country) and interaction. This strain federal government effort to bring the country together. More than a decade, the government has cushioned in methods to avert unity in diversity through initiatives and policies in the constitution but hit the brick wall (Bartolini, 2005, p. 18) . Constructivism offers alternative understandings to a number of central themes in Nigerian history. This includes rise of non-state actors, ourbreak of civil war, ethno-religious conflicts and the relationship between state identity and interest.

## 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1 Concept of National Integration

National integration is a term used to describe nation-building, domestic solidarity, national cohesion, domestic allegiance or the domestic issue includes agreement on the political community's boundaries and the essence of the political regime. This implies forging between a state's representatives on the level of harmony they want to have, as well as the sort of political framework and organizations they want. This actually implies creating consensus among different groups that make up the state. There can be almost no entirely homogeneous culture. Hence, integration has various political, cultural, psychological and financial elements. Integration is a constellation of various values, languages, standards and a network of social and moral institutions. National integration is the consciousness among the people in a country that share common identity. While people belong to distinct nationalities, cultures, regions and speak distinct languages, it implies that they still acknowledge themselves as one (Asaju and Egberi 2015, p.127). National integration is the process by which many groups within a given region are united or cooperate.

National integration is defined by the degree to which, on the functional side, individuals and communities in a common society adapt to the demands of cultural life while peacefully coexisting in a diverse environment. National integration is a process, not an end in itself, and is usually affected by conflict and other social forces. Political actors are induced, in a different regional environment, to pass their allegiances, interests and political activities to the centre whose entity holds or seeks authority over a pre-existing nation-state in a mechanism also note that the knowledge of a common identity among a people of the country is national integration. National integration includes creating society for solidarity and institutionalizing forms of social interaction; providing legislation and statutes that define types of interaction; and giving

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validity within the social system to the means of attaining required objectives. According to Weiner (cited in Okorie, 2013),

National integration relates to the process of developing a central identity and uniting cultural and socially distinct communities into a single nation-state. When used in this way, integration presupposes the existence of an ethnically diverse society in which each group is characterized by their own language, history, arts and other self-conscious cultural attributes. Thus national integration explicitly refers to the issue of establishing a sense of identity which overshadows or individual loyalty to ethnic groups.

Weiner (2017) considers the notion as the establishment of a key domestic power over subordinate political divisions or areas that may or may not overlap with separate cultural or social groups. It therefore has to do with the subjective emotions towards the country that people belonging to distinct political groups have. National integration therefore refers to the objective power which the central authority has over the whole territory under its jurisdiction. The idea relates to the issue of binding the (governed) individuals to the state (leaders). The presence of a divide between the state and the individuals is suggested here. This difference could be demonstrated in the shape of disparity between the governing classes and the masses in ambitions and beliefs. This naturally leads to the disintegration of society if the ruling elites cannot bridge this divide peacefully. The principle of national integration helps to show the consensus of interest required to sustain the social order. This could be concepts relating to justice, equity, the desirability of economic development and shared cultural heritage. The common interest can also be based on methods, tools and processes for dispute resolution. Using the notion of national integration, the minimum agreement needed to keep a social order is established. These may be principles relating to fairness, equity, the desirability of economic development as an objective, exchanging prevalent history and symbols, and, in particular, an accord on what represents desirable and undesirable social goals. The concept also concentrates on methods and procedures for achieving national objectives and resolving conflict. The problem here is the legal rules, the legislative framework's meaning and the ways it should operate.

Akinbade (2004) sees integration as the method of preserving a state's territorial integrity. This implies is that integration is a necessary function in a deeply fragmented society to ensure stability and adaptability within the state. As stated by Mazrui (cited in Aluko and Usman, 2016), the five main elements of national integration include: the fusion of norms and culture ; the advancement of social independence ; the reduction of the divide between the elites and the masses, between urban and rural regions, between rich and poor, and so on ;the resolution of emerging disputes ; and the exchange of shared experiences so that individuals can find that they have suffered together.

This study agrees with the views of (Birch, 2012) that the components of national integration are in four areas: The formation of national identity symbols, the formation of national government bodies, the establishment of an educational system and the production of national pride. On this basis, the study defines national integration as the unification and consolidation of a society with the aim of ensuring the maximum well-being of the largest number of its members, as well as the development of its distinctive personality in order to make its own contribution to humanity and to world civilization. The primary barrier to national integration growth is the presence within the state of ethnic minorities that withstand integrative trends. If a couple of city-states are ignored, such minorities are contained in almost all contemporary nations.

**2.2 Overview of the Nigerian State**

Nigeria is bounded by Niger on the north, Chad and Cameroon on the east, the Atlantic Ocean Gulf of Guinea on the south, and Benin on the west. Not only is Nigeria big in land mass but also the most populated nation in Africa. Nigeria is located in sub-Sahara region in Africa with Kilometres 923,768 of Latitude 4°N and 14° N, Longitude 4°E and 15° E respectively. It is bordered to north by Niger, east by Chad and Cameroon, to the south by Gulf of Guinea and lastly to the west by Republic of Benin. Nigeria enjoys a hot tropical climate due to its location near the equator and the Atlantic Ocean. Rainfall decreases in the extreme northeast from more than 4000 mm in the Niger Delta to less than 250 mm. Nigeria's population was reported in 1921 to be at 17 million and increased in 1931 to 21 million. The 1953 census added 31 million to the population

(National Bureau of Statistics, 2019). It was given as 55.67 million by the survey of 1963. The census of 1991 put the population at 88,992,220 while that of 2006 put the figure at 162 million. Today, the population of Nigeria. The National Population Commission projected that Nigeria's population is now rising at approximately at 2.8% per annum. This trend has seen the population of Nigeria increased to 201 million people in 2019. This development pace is very large compared to the world's developed countries (National Bureau of Statistics, 2019).

Nigeria has over 250 ethnic groups, each group having its own language and culture. The three main ethnic groups are Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo. Nevertheless, other ethnic groups are spread across the country along the two major regional divisions of north and south. Hausa, Kanuri, Fulani, Tiv, Nupe, Igala, Idoma, Jukun, Igbira, and Berom are among the noteworthy ethnic groups in the south (Aito, 2016). The noteworthy ethnic groups in the north-eastern portion of Nigeria will be discussed in this section. Highlighting the peoples ' traditions of birth, migration pattern, belief system, and their socio-political and financial operations will be the key emphasis of this section. After New Guinea and Indonesia, Nigeria is the world's third most ethnically and linguistically diversified nation (Moses, 2012). In almost every region of the economy, this ethno linguistic variety has very important consequences. To achieve a varied demographic, it means a significant investment in instructional and media assets. Different ethnic groups, with diverse cultural habits, have very distinct concentrations of social capital and thus distinct abilities to join the pro-poor change process. Ethnicity was a significant variable in Nigerian political growth, with authority in the hands of a few dominant organizations almost solely. This would certainly generate demand for higher transparency and far-reaching shifts in the political process if minorities were to be empowered. Democratic institutions' gradual entry risks sabotaging traditional types of personal wealth with very adverse implications for the poor. There is therefore a general tension between the fresh urban elites whose rise to authority is underlined by access to finance but whose networks are heavily ethnically based.

Nigeria has an official language structure; English is the national language and is used throughout the Federation. A number of significant national languages, such as Hausa and Yoruba, are commonly used in particular areas, and those formally appointed for further redevelopment are a third hierarchy of languages, about 22 at last count (Moses, 2012). Nevertheless, Nigeria does not have a language policy contained in a single legal body. Ethnic or regional organizations created to support the growth of the home group are one of the most distinctive characteristics of the Nigerian landscape. Each significant subgroup or clan shapes its own connection in bigger ethnic groups, such as the Yoruba and Igbo.

In October 1960, Nigeria achieved complete independence under a constitution that allowed for a parliamentary system of governance. The newly independent country was grouped into three regions covering western, northern, and eastern regions under the constitution, a significant measure of self-government remained in each of the three regions. Exclusive powers in defence, security, foreign relations, trade and fiscal policies were granted to the federal government. Nigeria transformed its relationship with the United Kingdom in October 1963 by declaring itself a federal republic and promulgating a new constitution (Ukiwo, 2005).

**2.3 Review of Related Literature on National Integration and Socio-Economic**

**Development of Nigeria**

Chidume, Chukwu, Ukaegbu, & Agudiegwu, (2014) maintains that the year 1914 is significant and contentious in the history of Nigeria. It marked the year that British brought together different ethnic nationalities, which were autonomous or semi-independent nations, and fused them together to become one entity called Nigeria. British colonialism and imperialistic activities disregarded the history and cultural interest of the different nationalities in Nigeria by lumping them together as one country. Consequently, when the country gained independence in 1960, it became a major challenge for the different nationalities to see themselves as one. While efforts have been made by successive Nigerian governments to integrate Nigerians, these efforts have met series of failures. Chidume, Chukwu, Ukaegbu, & Agudiegwu, (2014)

further argued that these electoral violence, ethnic nationalism, political corruption, identity crisis, divisive political behaviour, abuses and violations of human rights, democracy and democratization, federalism and rhetoric about functional constitution and development. In describing the labyrinth problems that are albatrosses to Nigerian statehood, the study adopts the theoretical framework of group / elite theory. Finally, the study made efforts to recommend ways to address these issues and problems facing Nigeria.

Mua'zu Babangida Aliyu (2013) noted that, the unity and origin of Nigeria's independence rests succinctly on the pillars laid by the colonial government. Nigerians be educated as to why it has been adopted as a consensus mechanism for solving issues emerging from mutual fears within various ethnic groups. The Southern fear of superiority from a politically advantageous North, whose size and population is larger than the South, became a source of conflict in the country. Those fears prompted the others to champion the ethnic agenda that later destabilized the country. As fears of ethnic attacks kept rising, nevertheless, the unitary structure embraced by the Nigerian military did not fix problems in Nigeria. The Nigerian civil war led to the death of at least one million Nigerians in a battle that lasted from 1967 to 1970.

Tony Marinho (2013) described how Nigerians have suffered needless trauma over the years from failure and abandonment of leadership opportunities. The study recount the suffering of Nigerians ranging from poor electricity supply, bad road network and transportation, high level of insecurity, and weak educational system.

Emmanuel O. Ojo (2009), the study examined the difference between pure expectations and actual practices regarding Federalism in Nigeria. The study starts with Nigeria's plural character in all its implications which makes federalism compelling. The theoretical foundation centres on federalism and the ability to integrate diverse and fragmented societies. Nevertheless, the study suggests that Nigeria needs a' real' federal system based on a different ideologies rather than' the present distorted union where the core is focused on too much power and resources.

Ukiwo (2005) asserted that research on ethnicity in Nigeria carries the imprint of almost all the distinct approaches that have been employed to researchers

abroad; literature has been dominated by views that control the position of the state and critical elites in ethnic mobilization. Besides the tenuous account of false consciousness, much continues to be understood about why, when and how adherents are enlisting (or not enlisting) in ethnic disputes. In addition, commentators have given more attention to inter-ethnic conflicts than to intra-ethnic disputes because they often take for granted the cohesion of ethnic groups. The author also hinted that literature is scare on the inter-ethnic accommodation and cooperation phenomenon. This article suggests that a systematic examination of horizontal inequalities, i.e. inequalities resulting from differential access to profitable political, financial and cultural assets by representatives of distinct ethnic groups, will provide perspectives into the often overlooked common grounds of racial disputes. There will also be explanations as to why some inter-ethnic relationships are characterized by brutal confrontation while others have been more serene.

Onifade and Imhonopi (2013) noted that the Nigerian governments, previous and present, have made significant attempts since the beginning of the Nigerian country to propagate strategies and programs aimed at national integration. Despite such well-intentioned and unity-oriented programs and strategies, the unity of Nigeria remained plagued and endangered by integrated socio-cultural, religious and political dichotomies.

Unless these divisive trends towards domestic inclusion are checked, Nigeria's long-awaited and strongly declared unity and indivisibility will stay a utopia.

## 3. BRITISH COLONIAL RULE AND INTEGRATION OF NIGERIA

### 3.1 Amalgamation Policy of 1914

In 2014, Nigeria celebrated one hundred years since the British amalgamated the northern and southern protectorates into a single body formally known as Nigeria. ( Oluwatobi , 2018, p. 15). Two personalities were instrumental to the amalgamation of Nigeria. It was Lord Frederick Lugard, the then Governor General, who conducted the merger of the two protectorates while Flora Shaw (later Lugard's wife), the former London Times correspondent, suggested the name, Nigeria.( Kavwam, 2017, p. 3) argued that the amalgamation of the two protectorates emerged out of the scramble and partitioning of Africa with strong reference to the Berlin Conference that occurred from November 1884 to February 1885. The Berlin conference itself was not attended by Africans but Europeans whose primary goal, at that time, was to secure geographical spaces for European countries in Africa without going to war with themselves. By implication, the conference set the tone for the scramble for and partitioning of African territories. Consequently, by 1902, Africa had lost 90% of its territories to European control (Lugard, 2018, p. 60)

The process of acquisition of colonies in Nigeria predates the Berlin Conference. In the mid -19th century Britain began to struggle with the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade through its West Africa Squadron and enforced anti-slavery treaties with West African leaders so doggedly that they formed an active presence from Sierra Leone, through the Niger Delta and as far as Congo (Hopkins, 1980, p. 778). The Kingdom of Lagos under King Kosoko however, continued to engage in slave trade activities. Britain used the opportunity of internal conflict between the king and Akintoye to bombard Lagos in 1851. British intervention in Lagos is known as the Lagos Bombardment (or Lagos Reduction). The British enthroned King Akintoye and removed King Kosoko. The British also signed a treaty between Great Britain and Lagos on January 1, 1852, outlawing the slave trade. The period alsomarked the beginning of the

consular era in the history of Lagos, in which Britain offered to protect Lagos from external incursion. By 1861, Lagos was bombarded by British Naval forces and formally ruled Lagos as a colony (Pearce, 1986, p. 142). Between 1861 and 1914, British activities in Nigeria were geared towards the conquest of the whole territories. The Niger Delta was proclaimed a protectorate in 1885 after some opposition. Yorubaland approved British protectorate policies and trade extension as a consequence of internecine wars that ravaged Yorubaland. Thus, by 1897, the whole of Yorubaland came under British colonial rule (Falola, 2009, pp. 2–6). The Royal Niger Company who was instrumental in the conquest of Nigeria had its license revoked in 1900 which made it to become a trading company.

Britain hoisted the Union Jack at Lokoja on January 1, 1900 (Falola, 2009, p. 8). Since then, the British Government administered Nigeria in three distinct divisions: first, the Lagos Colony and Protectorate, consisting of fields of power of the current Western States and the Lagos State Government. Second, the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria. Third, the protectorate of Northern. The Northern and Southern protectorate administrations had been well established by 1912. But for the whole nation there has been increasing need for a better and more efficient structured type of administration. One of those who advocated bringing together the North and the South was E.O. Morel. He argued against the continued separation of North and the South regions as the growth of the entire nation would be retarded by staying separate. For instance: customs duties levied on the seaboard-owned trade with the Southern part accumulated to the Northern part. The North, therefore poor, had to depend on economic assistance from the British treasury. The merger of the North and the South would in the instant and distant future bring better financial management to the nation. Morel figured out that bringing the two regions together would lead to better and more efficient administration and a more reasonable division of the entire nation into provinces. He proposed the division of the Nigeria into four provinces comprising Sokoto, Kano, Bornu and Zaria; the main provinces comprising the provinces of Zaria, Bauchi,

Niger, Yolo and Muri; the western provinces comprising the provinces of Oyo, Abeokuta, Ondo, Benin, Kabba, Ilorin, Warri and Ijebu; the southern provinces comprising Calabar, Owerri, Onitsha, Ogoja and Ijaw (Lugard, 2018, p. 450).

With the amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigerian protectorates in January 1914, the British, under Lord Fredrick Lugard, began the idea of federalism in Nigeria. In reality, it was an inclusion mechanism that would essentially improve his administrations ' indirect governmental structure, as extended in his book The Dual Mandate in British Tropical West Africa (Ikime, 1977, p. 98) In reality, it was a way that he could demonstrate this role of Governor General from 1914 to 1919 and that he supported the benefit of British Nigeria in place of promoting inclusion of the various organizations. It degenerated into disputes over political authority, control of financial resources and spiritual separation, as was subsequently seen. The catastrophe thus resulted to a civil war in Nigeria that clearly demonstrated the failure to incorporate the nation with the amalgamation strategy (Boahen, 2011, p. 17). The major result of the amalgamation was the intentional expansion of the Native Administration's emirate philosophy to the South. The Northern Courts Ordinance established in 1914 was thus used throughout the newly-united nation. Second, the 1916 Northern Ordinance extended to the South Native Administration. In 1916, the Northern Native Revenue Ordinance was also applied in the West and introduced in 1928 in the East. The division of the nation into North and South was maintained for administration purposes to relieve the complication of Lieutenant Governors ' responsibilities. This new arrangement meant that most of the tasks that the Governor-General had not earlier been given were transferred to the Governor-General both in the North and in the South.

## 3.2 Legal Framework for Integration of Nigeria

The legal framework for national integration of Nigeria is the constitution. During the colonial era, when the nation was administered as a Crown Colony, the first constitutions of Nigeria were adopted by Order in Council. During this era, the constitutions implemented were those of 1913 (entered into force on 1 January 1914), 1922, 1946, 1951 and 1954 (Ezera, 1964, p. 64). In 1906, the

Lagos Colony and Protectorate and Southern Nigeria Protectorate were grouped into an administrative unit known as Southern Nigeria's Colony and Protectorate. As a distinct political unit, the North was administered separately. For administrative comfort, each section was split into provinces.

Benard Bourdillon split the South into the provinces of the East and the West in 1939 (R. Pearce, 1987, p. 198). It was an intentional action. He wanted a stronger and more efficient administration. During this time, no representatives were sent to the Lagos Legislative Council by the Northern provinces. Although, senior British officers from the Northern Provinces attended the Legislative Council, but they did not represent the Northern people interest instead, they reflected British citizens ' interest in doing company in Nigeria, such as British mining and business groups. The Governor has enacted all legislative matters relating to the North, with the exception of financial matters. The Northern Provinces ' exclusion was due to distance and inadequate communication. But religious and customary distinctions may also have been factors. In a sense, it implied that, except through the Chief Commissioner, the North did not share directly with the Governor. Bourdillon believed it would be wise to bring in the North to participate in the Legislative Council and to advise the Governor on issues that affect them. The first plan was to set up regional councils to serve as provincial legislatures and the Lagos Federal Council. As an advisory body, the provincial legislature was to serve. Alternatively, he was to set up three first parallel chambers with the Lagos council as a second chamber.

Bourdillon did not want other than legislative power from the regional councils. They may also function in the consultative ability, but they may not be able to pass laws. The passing of bills into law rested with the Council of Lagos. The Lagos Central Council was to consist of regional council representatives and a few directly representing the country's officials and non-officials. Before he retired, Bourdillon had not placed his plans into practice (Pearce, 1987, p. 187). In 1945, Bourdillon was succeeded by Sir Arthur

Richards. His primary job was to build a sort of government where the various components could progress rapidly towards a more integrated unit. His first step was to combine the Native Authorities with the regional councils. Through

officials, these bodies were brought together in one legislative body in Lagos. Three regional councils have been established, one for the North, one for the East, and one for the West. But without regard to the legislative body in Lagos, these councils had no legislative power nor were they prepared to cope with issues relating to taxation. They had the authority to discuss any economic legislative measures, but these bills could not be enacted in law. The bills were enacted in law by the Lagos legislature. The Richards Constitution was thus unitary as it emphasized the country's unity. It also gave each region the chance to be conscious of their issues and cope with them. In addition, unofficial majorities included the emirs and chiefs. The Constitution was also helpful in setting up a Central Legislative Council for Nigeria and setting up three regional councils by Council orders. Implementing the federal idea, means passing deliberative authority to the states, signalled appreciation of the country's diversity. Although the Richards Constitution was realistic in assessing the scenario in Nigeria, it certainly deepened regionalism as an alternative to political integration. Beyond that, many Nigerians regarded it a failure, partially because its details were bitterly criticized and opposed, and mostly because it did not effectively lead to self-government, which was what Nigerians most required (Ikime, 1977, p. 90).

In 1951, the Constitution promulgated by Authur Richard was replaced by that of Macpherson Constitution. Since allowing Nigerians to hold ministerial executive positions, the Macpherson Constitution adopted the collective responsibility principle. Nevertheless, the principle was implemented in such a way that no space was provided to run for the essential ministerial offices. All ministers could do was to ensure that decisions on these matters were taken by the governor in the council of ministers in conjunction with the appropriate public official (Elaigwu, 2017, p. 12). The Macpherson Constitution collapsed and was replaced with the Lyttelton Constitution of 1954. There were a number of provisions in the new Constitution. First, the federal system was formalized by the government. It allowed federal and regional representatives to be elected. Also, popular electoral laws were introduced, and eventually parliamentary democracy was promoted. Having laid the foundation in the Lyttelton Constitution for the federal system of government, the nation marched toward

self-government in subsequent constitutional growth. Several undertakings have been given, such as "self-regulation 1956" for any region that demanded it, and the agitation of independence has been in any decline. As a result, there was no constitution except for minor adjustments to the Constitution of 1954. Series of constitutional conferences have taken place and political decisions and steps have been taken, including the autonomous governance in the West and East in 1957 and the autonomous government in the North in 1959, and the creation of the Eastern House of Chiefs in 1960. The results of these conferences, a conference was held in London to finalize the constitution of independence.

The results of these conferences were the creation of the Prime Minister's position, the House of Chiefs in Eastern Nigeria, two federation legislatures, a House of Representatives, and a Senate. In addition, the federation's Governor General's position was created while the Chief Secretary's position was abolished (Bello-Imam, 1987, p. 267). The Nigerian constitution also included fundamental human rights. The 1960 Independence Constitution retained Nigeria's federal structure with full self-government for the three regions; it provided advice on the appointment of High Court and Supreme Court judges with a Constitution of Judicial Services composed of judges. The Republican Constitution of 1963 was the second constitution of the country. Nigeria was formally recognized as a Federal Republic. The constitution came into force on 1 October 1963 (Nigeria's fifth anniversary as an independent country). The 1963 Constitution, based on the Westminster system, lasted until a military coup in 1966 overturned the democratic institutions of Nigeria (Lynn, 2001, p. 600). (Lynn, 2001, p. 600) The 1979 Constitution, which led to the Second Republic, abolished Westminster's structure for a system of electing a presidential by elections. The Constitution requires that the political parties and the members of the Federal Executive Council (Cabinet of Nigeria) represent the "federal" character of the nation in order to avoid a pitfall of the first republic: political parties must be registered in at least two-thirds of the states of Nigeria, and each state has at least one cabinet member. In essence, the 1979 Constitution promoted the concept of 'federal character' as means of national integration. With the establishment of a Third Republic, the 1993 constitution was intended to see the return of democratic rule to Nigeria, but was never fully implemented

(Asaju & Egberi, 2015, p. 128). Section 14(3) of the 1999 Constitution provides: "The composition of the Government of the Federation or any of its agencies and the conduct of its affairs shall be carried out in such a manner as to reflect the federal character of Nigeria and the need to promote national unity, and also to command national loyalty, thereby ensuring that there shall be no predominance of persons from a few State or from a few ethnic or other sectional groups in that Government or in any of its agencies."

In accordance to the foregoing provision, Article 135(3) states that, in the nomination of ministers, the president shall reflect the federal character of Nigeria,' provided that in order to bring the provision mentioned above into effect, the president nominates at least one minister from each state that is indigenous to such state In addition, Section 157 provides for the appointment by the President to the offices of the Secretary of the Government of the Federation, of the Head of the Federation's office, of the Ambassadors, of the main representatives of the foreign country or of the Permanent Secretary, of the Office of any ministry or of any of the Departments of the federal government (Aguda, 2000, p. 22).

### 3.3 Socio-Economic and Political Institutions for Integration of Nigeria

The new independent Nigeria pursued that policy of Nigerianization between 1960 and 1966. The policy centered on replacing British officials with Nigerian officials in the public service, particularly in strategic areas such as the Central Bank of Nigeria, the Nigerian Army, the Nigerian Policy, etc. This policy was meant to Nigerianize the country, promote unity and spread development across the four regions of the federation. Rather than serve this purpose, the policy led to conflicts (Federal Government of Nigeria, 1956, pp. 4–10). The Northern Region expelled the southern expatriates as they were seen as becoming domineering in every sector of the northern region. This was tagged the "Northernization Policy". In retaliation, the southerners booed the northerners whenever opportunities for such came up. With the crisis of 1962 census, 1964 elections and breakdown of order, a coup, assumed by the northerners to be an Igbo coup, placed General J.T.U Aguyi-Ironsi as the first military head of state. And by the time Aguiyi-Ironsi abolished regions, creating a centralized

administrative structure, the northerners felt targeted and started attacking southerners, mainly Igbo, living in north. The northerners, particularly those in the military, further launched the second military coup to balance the polity. The Eastern Region, under Chief Chukwuemeka Ojukwu, rejected Gowon's authority. Gowon, in a bid to promote unity, transformed Nigeria's four regions into 12 states. In response, Ojukwu declared the Eastern Region independent and renamed it the Republic of Biafra. Thus, the civil war that lasted for 30 months begins. In essence, the Nigerianization Policy and counter Northernization Policy became one of the remote causes of the Nigerian Civil War (Falola & Heaton, 2008, p. 2)

- National Youth Service Corps:

The National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) scheme was created by decree No.24 of 22nd May 1973 in a bid to reconstruct, reconcile and rebuild the country after the Nigerian Civil war with the aim to enhance the "encouragement and development of common ties among the youths of Nigeria and the promotion of national unity" (Enegwea & Umoden, 1993, p. 12). There is no compulsory conscription in Nigeria, but university and later polytechnic students have been required to participate for a period of one year in the mandatory NYSC programme. There is an' orientation' of around 3 weeks in a camp away from friends and family. At the end of the year and the first activity followed by one month's leave ceremony is also held (Enegwea & Umoden, 1993, p. 25). Corp members are usually assigned to communities far away from their hometowns. They are required to blend with individuals from other tribe. These individuals should have different social and family backgrounds. In other to ensure they integrated into the new culture, they are told to learn the language and the indigenous culture of the place to which they are posted. This initiative is aimed at bringing about harmony within the country and encouraging young people to understand other ethnic groups.

They are supposed to interact with people of other cultures, social backgrounds and religious backgrounds, to know the culture of the Indigenous people in the place to which they are assigned. The goal of this action is to introduce unity to the country and help young people to respect other ethnic groups. Sadly, in the regions to which they were sent, many youths carrying out the NYSC program

were killed due to religious strife, ethnic violence or political crisis. In the run-up to the 2011 presidential elections, many locations were flared as dangerous areas due to bombings and other violent attacks, especially in the north. In the north-east states, Islamist terrorists called Boko Haram have targeted Corps members. Many have remained unemployed after the program. Some have lost the lives on the bad roads (Adejumo, 2019). Hence, many parents do not want their children to serve in the north or place that are outside their ethnic region. Many have called for the cancellation of the program as years later, national integration has not been achieved.

- Federal Unity Schools:

The 104 unity schools scattered throughout Nigeria were established by the Federal Government to inculcate the spirit of federal character in younger children. However, several factors have made parents to seek for the abolition of unity schools are state governments, parents and stakeholders have decried the corruption in the admission quota which hinders federal character as preached by the policy. The cut-off mark was said to be in favour of children in the north. This premised on the words of the former Minister of Education, Professor Ruqquayat Rufa'I who said that:

Under the current arrangement, 30 per cent of available slots will be given to pupils on merit; another 30per cent will be distributed based on state quota while 30 per cent will be distributed based on environment while the remaining 10 per cent will be distributed based on what the ministry called "exigency."(cited in Ahupa, 2014, p. 78)

Consequently, when a candidate from Lagos State is required to score 133 before the admission to a unity school in the 2013/2014 academic year, those from Bornu State only have to score 45 to be admitted. Osun State candidates will score 127 for admission to a unity school while others in the north would score as low as 4, 10 or 12 for admission. This is considered ill-balanced and was only meant to favour the north. This also has not promoted national unity (Onifade & Imhonopi, 2013, p. 76)

- Principle of Federal Character

Federal Character was meant to promote national unity through the representation of all ethnic groups in the agencies of the federation. The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria defines the Federal Character as:

The composition of the government of the Federation or any of its agencies be carried out in such manner as to reflect the Federal Character of Nigeria and the need to promote national unity and also to command loyalty thereby ensuring that there shall be no predominance of persons from a few ethnic or other sectional groups in that government or any of its agencies (Aguda, 2000)

Other provisions were made to ensure that at the state and local levels, the Federal Character principle is maintained. Despite the good nature of this policy, Bello notes that the concept reinforces the Nigerians ' parochial, professional orientations and ethnic relations. Such trends form the basis of discontent within the country and between different ethnic groups. Also, since the implementation of the policy, it has only favoured the major ethnic groups such as the Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa thereby discriminating other minority groups to benefit from the principle of Federal Character (Aguda, 2000, p. 19).

- National Language Policy:

Over 400 languages have been identified in Nigeria. Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba have become national languages. However, due to the existence of other languages, scholars agitated for a national language that would unite the people. English was considered neutral and thus became the official language to conduct government business, corporate business and school business. However, the artificial creation of a ''Wa-Zo-Bia'' led others to move for the integration of Nigerian peoples though the fusion of their languages. This policy has not yielded any results as it lacks neutrality, promoting only the interest of the major ethnic groups in Nigeria (Bamgbos e,ş 1991, p. 33)

- The Federal Capital Territory, Abuja:

Abuja is considered to be the centre of unity. It connects the entire country and is free from any major ethnic claim. However, the presence of Gwari, Koro, Hausa and Fulani in large number removes the neutrality of Abuja. The Federal

Government has failed to relocate these people to another place as promised. In fact the problem reaches back into the era of General Murtala Mohammed and General Olusegun Obasanjo who advertised for the name of the new capital. Abuja was suggested, a name belonging to the northern Suleja emirate. Also, Alhaji Shehu Shagari introduced the penal code, a northern Nigerian law into Abuja. This totally removed the neutrality of Nigeria as a tool for national integration. And since its establishment, only northerners have emerged the minister of the FCT. This invariably hinders national integration and makes federalism a bad integrative mechanism in Nigeria (Ojo, 2009, p. 119).

# 4. ASSESSMENT OF NATIONAL INTEGRATIVE MECHANISMS IN NIGERIA

## 4.1 Nigerian Civil War (1967-1970) and National Integration in Nigeria

The circumstances which led to the outbreak of the Nigerian Civil War (1967-1970) were rooted in ethnic, religious and economic factors. There were records of conflicts in the 1953 Kano Rebellion, the 1966 census crisis, the 1964 Federal Election crises, as well as the 1966 coups and counter-coups. All these factors led to the outbreak of the Nigerian civil war. The 1953 Kano Riot arose as a fear on the part of the leaders of the North that the leaders of the South were trying to force them into a national integration for which they were not prepared. The Southerners led by Chief S. L. Akintola of the Action Group went to Kano to gather support in an attempt to educate the Northerners about the benefits of self-government. This eventually led to a four-day riot in Sabongari, Kano on May 16-19, 1963. Apart from loss of life, the implication of this riot was that it worsened the relationship between the leaders of the South and North.

The Census Crisis of 1962 was based on ethnic suspicion where the Southerners assumed the Census Board influenced the data to continue the Northern agenda. According to Diamond (1988, p. 131), Southern politicians believed the British government had manipulated the census data in favour of the north in order to 'ensure that Northern politicians had political power '. Nigeria's National Census of 1962 was not the first with ethnic controversy. Previous efforts to count Nigerians in 1952/1953 met with popular resistance and charges of regional prejudice. Hence, the division between the north and the south had been established even before independence. In 1964, Nigeria held its first general election where Douglas (1965, p. 174) observed that it was marred with constitutional chaos and high level of national disintegration. The major political parties were divided into two ethnic camps. The United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA) received the support of people from Southern Nigeria. All political parties in the south such as .National Council of Nigeria and the

Cameroons (NCNC) and the Action Group (AG) also supported UPGA. In the north, the leading political party was National Alliance of Nigeria (NAN) and received the support of northerners including Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) and the National Party of Nigeria (NPN). The political atmosphere was heated and various politicians in the Eastern Region wanted secession as the only way out. The elections were eventually held and led to the victory of NAN and NPN, it was however marked with violence. The outcome of the election had grave effect on the unity of the country. Gradually, the military became involved with the justification that the crises between the south and north threatened Nigeria's national security.

A sizeable number of army officers group, mainly South eastern Igbos, snatched the government and annihilated the political figures from northern Nigeria including the Prime Minister, Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa (Obi-Ani & Obi-Ani, 2016, p. 16). The Federal Government of Nigeria attempted to calm ethnic uproar or create a constitution that was acceptable to all parts of the country. Attempts to set up the Federal system greatly increased tensions, leading to another July 1966 coup. Consequently, the military governor of the Eastern Region, Lt. Col. Odumegwu Ojukwu refused to acknowledge Lt. Col. Yakubu Gowon as the Head of State. Subsequently, coup-related massacre led to death of many people of Igbo origin in the northern which prompted mass movement of Igbo back to the south. In his bid to save the country from disintegration, General Gowon divided into 12 states. Ojukwu reacted to this development by issuing series of "survival edicts" during the spring of 1967 which put federal government assets under the control of the Biafra. Gowon opposed these moves by instituting both land and sea blockade into eastern Nigeria. On May 27, 1967, Ojukwu officially announced the secession of Biafra as an independent republic. While Biafran's secession eventually failed, their propaganda and ability to obtain international attention prolonged the conflict beyond what many outside observers' expected. The Federal Government waged the battle to preserve Nigeria's existence while the Igbos also battled on the basis of self-determination. This process of establishing a new Igbo state and the countermeasures adopted by the Nigerian Federal Government to truncate this process was the single most important reason for the outbreak of the civil war in

Nigeria on 30 May 1967. The war was estimated to cost about 1 million lives and had particularly devastating effects on national integration in Nigeria.

## 4.2 Assessing the Effectiveness of Integrative Mechanisms since 1970

At the end of the 30-months civil war in Nigeria, the Federal Military Government under General Gowon embarked on peace-building process through the implementation of Reconciliation, Rehabilitation and Reconstruction (3Rs'). Some of these policies were meant to integrate the already divided nation. Inevitably, the failure of these policies fuel long-standing after-war memories. Basically, this section examines the integrative mechanism pursued by the government in the post-civil war period. On the 15th of January 1970, General Yakubu Gowon gave a victory speech to the Nation,

On our side, we fought the war with great caution, not in anger or hatred, but always in the hope that common sense would prevail. Many times we sought a negotiated settlement, not out of weakness, but in order to minimize the problems of reintegration, reconciliation and reconstruction. We knew that however the war ended, in the battlefield or in the conference room, our brothers fighting under other colours must re-join us and that we must together rebuild the nation anew (Yakubu, 1970)

Months before the end of the civil war, General Gowon had anticipated that there would be need to help the victims to be reintegrated into the Nigerian society. Thus, in 1968, the federal military government set up the National Rehabilitation Commission (NRC) with the primary task of organizing post-war food relief efforts, compensating those whose land was destroyed or damaged by the conflict, resettling and aiding displaced communities, and conducting rehabilitation programs. The Commission was established through the promulgation of Decree No 41 and led by Mr. Timothy Omo-Bare.(Ojeleye, 2016, p. 101) The Commission was tasked with the responsibility of provision humanitarian assistance to the most affected persons during the war. Critics have argued that The Commission made little or no impact in the lives of those that were affected during the war. According to Mrs. Ngozi Akachukwu,"by placing Commission under the Federal Ministry of Economic Development and Reconstruction, the Ministry did little to supply the needed materials to people

at displaced camps that were scattered across eastern Nigeria. The Commission was controlled by Hausas and Yoruba. There was little representation of Igbo in the Commission which technically did not serve its purpose in eastern Nigeria."

The successors of General Yakubu Gowon seem to be not contended with the policies of Gowon towards the Igbo. In some of them wanted the Igbo to be degraded and declared "conquered." Hence, subsequent heads of state came up with policies that discouraged national integration in Nigeria. For instance, the Obasanjo-led Federal Military Government took away Igbos ' properties in Port Harcourt and other parts of Nigeria, renamed them Abandoned Properties and without further guarantee annexed them to the Federal Government by Decree No. 90 of 1979 (Onuoha, 2018,p.14). The Federal Military Government came with the Abandoned Properties Implementation Committee (APIC) which oversaw the auction of Igbo properties beyond Igboland. The Decree empowered the Committee to sell properties that belonged to Igbos

Every sale or disposition of abandoned properties conducted by the Abandoned Properties Implementation Committee (hereinafter in this Act referred to as "the Committee") set up by the Federal Government shall be deemed to have been lawful and properly made and any instrument issued by the Committee which purports to convey any estate or interest in land, shall be deemed to have been validly issued and shall have effect according to its tenor or intendment (Chp One (1) of the Abandoned Properties Act, 1979)

According to Mr. Godwin Onorowa (Oral Interview, October 4, 2019), the sale of properties which belonged to Igbo in other parts of Nigeria was a significant setback to post-war Nigeria national reconciliation. In his words, "the properties were declared abandoned and forcefully taken over by the Federal Military Government through a Decree. The properties were thereafter sold to non-Igbos at discounted prices. Unfortunately, no compensation were given to the original owners. How do you achieve integration using such method?"

State creation was another integrative policy pursued by the Nigerian government after the civil war (Alapiki, 2005, p. 49). There was a common perception among the Igbo that setting up only two Igbo states in the 1976 state formation exercise had put the Igbo at a huge disadvantage especially in comparison to creating 5 states in each of the Hausa / Fulani (northern) and the

Yoruba (western) regions. Falola & Aderinto (2010) observed that the creation of states in 1967, 1976 and 1987 overhauled the connections between communities in many parts of the country and promoted a "divided-self" in the people of Nigeria. In the post-war era, however, these policies were never actually implemented, posing the question of whether or not the Gowon regime was committed to true reconciliation. The condition escalated when the federal government publicly refused, rounded up and deported the workers of humanitarian organizations and countries willing to help in these activities at the end of the war in Biafra. The concerns of the federal government arose from the belief that these relief organizations and church institutions played a crucial role in supporting the war result in Biafra.

The East-Central State was the only state out of the twelve established in 1967 to be ruled by an "administrator," working from a position of relative weakness and inequality while the others had military rulers. This condition lasted for five years after the war even when the Gowon government was toppled. The post-war rhetoric for integration faced another crisis with the implementation of the 1970 Public Officers (Special Provisions) Decree No. 46, which prohibited senior Igbo civil servants and employees from being reabsorbed on the grounds that they were accomplices who had supported Biafra's war effort. Predictably, most top Igbo extraction officials are regularly removed from the armed forces, jails, and police, or forced to retire. This was a situation that was radically different from what was expected, but the reasoning behind the government's action was to compensate the ethnic groups who remained in the union following Biafra's independence, and not to be seen as punishing those who took up arms against the state. The plight of Igbo ethnic origin military officers became even more serious as they were rounded up. Some officers remained in detention, while others were reabsorbed and placed on probation for a period of four years without promotion.

In addition, the need of integration and reduction of all conflicts after the civil war led the Federal Military Government to issue Decree No. 24 of 22 May 1973 that established the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC). The Decree stated that the "NYSC is being established with a view to the proper encouragement and development of common ties among the youths of Nigeria

and the promotion of national unity" The NYSC scheme was therefore developed as a mechanism for national recovery, reconciliation and reconstruction. Sadly, many youths in the NYSC programme were killed in the communities they were sent to due to religious conflict, ethnic violence or political violence.

**4.3 Emergence of Violent Ethnic Militia Groups and Disintegration of Nigeria**

Nigeria has experienced post-colonial history of unconventional conflicts waged by non-state political actors such as the Maitatsine sect (founded in 1980), Boko Haram (formed in 2002), Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND, formed in 2005), the Ombatse militia group (founded in 2013), The Avengers (formed in 2016), and a host of several Shiite movements. Adeakin (2010, p. 129) is of the view that these violent groups emerged due to the political environment of Nigeria which is dictated by bad governance, religious extremism, poverty, corruption and ethnic rivalry over resource control. This shows that Nigeria's national security has been threatened not only by nation-states but also by non-state actors as well as narcotic cartels, multinational corporations and even natural disasters.

Since 1997 when the country transmitted back into civilian rule, several militant groups have stolen the spotlight that affects the political narratives. These groups are stratified based on ethno-cultural and regional lines which include, African's Egbesu Boy and Atangbala Boys. These two became a defunct but transcended into Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND in 2005). Despite uniting divisiveness among them, MEND was not a unified cohesive body. Each sub-group that formed MEND have their aims that overshadowed the central body's objectives. Although, they have a clear and unified aims which is agitation over inequitable resources distributions in the oil producing region of Niger Delta. It central focus is to halt exploration and exploitation of the oil production in the region except there will be commensurate and equitable benefit. In order to make their agitations to be effective, MEND devised unconventional methods of response to the detest government policies such as abduction of expatriates and locals while working on the oil rigs or oil-extraction fields. More so, there were a lot of vandalization

oil pipelines, production facilities, vehicles, transportation ships, onslaught on Nigerian soldiers and government buildings (BBC, 2011). However, concerted efforts have been put forward by the federal government of Nigeria to ameliorate the dire situation in the region. President Dr Goodluck Jonathan established various capacities most nobble among others is the amnesty package to pardon MEND's members who must have engaged and act contrary to the state rule of law and reinstate peaceful and workable state system. The past and present capacities vis-à-vis Niger Delta Development Board (1961), Niger Delta Development Commission (2001) and the Oil Minerals Producing Areas Development Commission (2001).

Given this background, Boko Haram founder, Mohammed Yusuf (1970 – 2009) exploited the situation by attacking churches, mosques, markets, banks, telecommunication facilities, military barracks, police stations, schools, and local government secretariats, among others. Ustaz Mohammed Yusuf is at the heart of Boko Haram's emergence. Born on January 29, 1970, Yusuf was born in the village of Girgir, Jalasko, Yobe State, Nigeria and dropped out of high school for education as a Muslim cleric in Chad and the Republic of Niger. He joined the Islamic Movement of Nigeria (a Shiite organization) in the 1980s; in 1994 he became the' Emir' of the Jamaatul Tajdid Islam (JTI, Movement for the Revival of Islam, Borno Chapter); and in 2000 he became a member of Jama'atu Izalatul Bid'awaI kamatu Sunna (Izala, Movement for the Removal of Change and the Reconstruction of Sunni Islam). His position as member of the Supreme Council for Sharia in Nigeria elevated his status and helped to establish another group, Ahlul sunna wal'jama'ah hijra (Adherents to the Sunnah and the Community), which he later changed to Jama'atu Ahlus-SunnahLidda'Awat Wal Jihad (People Committed to the Prophet's Teachings for Propagation and Jihad). Today, the group is popularly called Boko Haram because of the philosophies advocated by Yusuf that revolve around nabbing' western education as a sin;' refused to recognize the Sultan of Sokoto as the head of Muslims in Nigeria; condemned Izala ideology as far as true Islam teaching is concerned; dismissed as fraudulent the Nigerian government and security forces.

Although literature is silent between 2003 and 2008 on Boko Haram's activities, it was the time that gave Nigeria a foothold to the party. The period laid the

foundation for financing Boko Haram, stockpiling weapons, recruiting and networking. For example, in 2001, Yusuf received part of the £ 1.8 million sent to terrorist networks by Osama Bin Laden. He also travelled to Saudi Arabia and formed cooperation in Somalia with al-Shabaab and other local al-Qaeda affiliates in the Sahel. Several police stations were raided and arms carted away in Bama, Gwoza, Kala-Balge during this time. Among the unemployed Izala youth, membership was gained in particular. To join Boko Haram, hundreds of graduates have burned their certificates. The new recruits were given grants to start small businesses and a new settlement was established near Kannamma, Yobe State, called Afghanistan. By 2009, Yusuf had an estimated 280,000 followers for insurgency training, some of whom he sent to Afghanistan. Before his death in 2009, Yusuf gave Boko Haram a clear vision, claiming that Sharia state "should be founded in Nigeria and, if possible, through faith preaching throughout the world."

Boko Haram grew from 2009 to 2012 into a more violent and brutal group of terrorists. The new leadership under Abubakar Shekau has expanded the group funding to include drug trafficking throughout the Sahelian region, ransom kidnapping, organized bank robbery, market raids, prisons attacks, police stations and military barracks to loot sophisticated artillery and external funding from other terrorist groups. Membership was extended to convicts equally after being released in jail-breaks in Boko Haram. For example, 721 prisoners were released to rescue their leaders by Boko Haram during the jail-break operation of the group in Bauchi and Koton-Karfe prisons in Kogi State were attacked by Boko Haram in 2012 and released 200 prisoners. This display of force appealed to new recruits who believed that the all-powerful terrorist group would release them once they were arrested by the' infidel Nigerian state.' Terrorist attacks by Boko Haram from 2012 to 2015 focused on Northeast Nigeria's territorial control. The group took effective political control of 28 cities and challenged 21 cities in Borno, Adamawa and Yobe with the Nigerian government. Of importance to this study is that, the territorial regulation of these cities opened up new possibilities for membership recruitment, education, financing and expansion of arms. On membership recruitment, Abdullahi announced that, without firing a single shot, Boko Haram seized Bara City in Yobe State. They

were preaching and gaining large numbers of followers trained as suicide bombers. Similarly, in conquered territories, the pool of funds, fuel and food supplies became available to Boko Haram. The group attacked Chibok in December 2015, the rural community where 276 girls were kidnapped in 2014, plundered the farms and stole more than 200 cows. The group formalized their network with international terrorist organizations including the Islamic State in March 2015. This allegiance was in the promotion of support, weaponry, education, learning and networks in its core areas. The result was that Boko Haram received technical support from ISIS, especially in conducting a social media war that, according to Sarah, made the group more recognizable and appealing to funders, fighters and loyalists. While Boko Haram's philosophies had their origins in the 19th-century Uttman Dan Fodio Jihadi wars as well as the early activities of Islamic movements in Nigeria; Mohammed Yusuf was central to the founding of Boko Haram, while Abubakar Shekau extended the strategic areas of finance, weapons, recruitment, training and networking that made the group participate in prolonged insurgency.

## 4.4 Response of the Nigerian Government to Incidences of Ethno-Religious Violence

The Nigerian government launched a series of counterinsurgency operations in its bid to suppress insurgency in the country between 2009 and 2015 (Vanguard Newspaper, 2016). But this is not without shortcomings. For example, after the insurgency intensified in 2009, the Nigerian military detained over 20,000 civilians and tortured 8,000 people who had been raided in their homes and farms illegally to death (Amnesty International, 2015). Likewise, in Nigeria, Chad and neighbouring Cameroon, Boko Haram has cruelly killed over 30,000 civilians and displaced 2,152,000 people (IDMC, 2015). However, while it is common among newsmen to record the number of deaths in terrorist attacks, the spate of abuse carried out by soldiers against terrorists and members of communities during counterinsurgency operations is seldom covered. This area gained the attention of Human Rights activists across the globe and demanded that the US government re-access its relationship with Nigeria noting that gross human rights violations contradicts US foreign policy (Adeakin, 2010). The

global image of Nigeria has moved from periods of extreme positivity to periods of extreme negativity. Over time, the picture of Nigeria was characterized by good times (1960-1967, 1970-1983 and 1999-2007) and bad times (1993-1999, 2007- 2014) in the comity of nations. Successive governments in Nigeria have committed enormous resources to foreign agencies to launder their badly damaged image as a result of such factors as corruption, nepotism, ethno-religious fundamentalism, authoritarianism, advance fee fraud (also known as 419), trafficking in human beings, electoral abuse, internet fraud, the hanging of Ken Saro-Wiwa and the nine environmental activists in Ogoni. The devastating Niger-Delta crisis has adversely affected Nigeria's image in the international system and its domestic economy (Adeakin, 2010).

The terrorist activities of the Boko Haram insurgent group in North-East Nigeria have been a cause of concern to the Nigerian government, Nigerians and the world at large in recent years (2015-2018). After countless of offensive attacks in 2009,July in Nigeria called for the attention of the international community In September 2011, the sequence of events told Commander General Caryter Hamin of the U.S. African Command (AFRICOM) to list Boko Haram as one of three terrorist groups in Africa. The U.S. government named three of the sect's leaders as global terrorists in June 2012 and, on November 2013, the U.S. Department of States added the Nigerian-based jihadist group, Boko Haram and its splinter faction known as Ansaru, to the list of foreign terrorist organizations and specifically designated global terrorist entities (Vanguard Newspaper, 2016). This has meant that Nigeria is now listed as a country where terrorism thrives; it has an impact on the external image of the nation. The pace at which Boko Haram has gained momentum becomes a threat to national security and tranquillity. As a matter of fact, it has captured the attention of the US which later declared Boko Haram as an international terrorist group on November 24, 2013 with interest to support the Federal Government of Nigeria to eliminate the sect and its debacle. The splinter groups are well-coordinated, and determined in its vehement attack against some Nigerian states and its eminence in the sub-region of West Africa.

# 5. SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

## 5.1 Summary and Conclusion

This study examined national integration and its efficacy on socio-economic and political development in Nigeria. The areas covered in the study included the impact of the British Amalgamation policy of 1914 on national integration in Nigeria. It also investigated the impact of the Nigerian Civil War (1967-1970) on national integration in Nigeria. The study also explored the integrative mechanisms adopted by the Nigerian government in the post-Civil War era to promote national integration in Nigeria. Another area that was examined was the effectiveness of various integrative mechanisms adopted by the Nigerian government in relation to socio-economic and political development of the country. The study also examined emergence of violent ethnic militia groups in reference to disintegration of Nigeria as well as the response of the Nigerian government to incidences of ethno-religious violence from independence up to 2019.

The chapter one dealt with the background to the study. The chapter observed that the idea of incorporating several regions of Nigeria was informed by the British colonial government in 1914 who amalgamated people of different historical backgrounds, beliefs and socio-political settings for administrative purposes. The chapter further states that rather than uniting Nigeria's over 400 ethnic groups, the amalgamation policy turned out to be one of the main sources of conflict, contributing to a 30-month civil war from 1967-1970 and numerous ethnic disputes in the post-civil war period up to 2019. The chapter also identified integration theories with emphasis on variants of inter-governmentalist, neo-functionalist, post-functionalist and constructivism integration theory.

Chapter two focused on the concept of national integration. Basically, the term national integration was used in the study within the framework of nation-

building, domestic solidarity, and national cohesion among the various groups that coexist in Nigeria. Other aspects covered in the chapter two were the languages and ethnic groups as instruments of national integration in Nigeria. The final part of the chapter two gave an overview of socio-economic and political development of Nigeria since independence.

Chapter three discussed the amalgamation policy of 1914. It explored the legal framework for national integration in Nigeria. The socio-economic and political institutions that were created by the Nigerian government were examined as means of national integration of Nigeria.

Chapter four assessed the impact of the Nigerian Civil War (1967-1970) on national integration in Nigeria. It also identified the various national integrative mechanisms in post-Civil War Nigeria. The effectiveness of these integrative mechanisms were analyzed within the purview of emergence of violent ethnic militia groups and disintegration of Nigeria. Lastly, the response of the Nigerian government to incidences of ethno-religious violence was assessed.

Chapter five dealt with the summary, conclusion and recommendations.

Hence, prior to formation of Nigeria in 1914, several ethnic groups lived autonomously and distinctively. The historical development of these ethnic groups showed their immigrations at different times and settlement patterns. On the eve of incursion, the 'mere geographical location' through colonization, had distinctive patterns of socio-economy and political system with diplomatic relations amongst empires and kingdoms. No kingdoms or empires were self-reliance. They traded on several articles of trade, cultural and intelligence exchange prevailed, wars were fought, kingdoms were lost and districts were annexed. For instance, the Oyo empire (in the Western region) kingdom had a close political relationship with the Old Benin kingdom (South -South) for many years ago still flourish. The use of "Eko" in Yoruba kingdom in modern time which is named after a city in the heart of Western metropolitan, Lagos, literally means a camp in Edo native language. In addition to that, during an uprising in the old Benin kingdom, Prince Ewaka son to Oramiyan was sent to end political upheaval and restore tranquillity. He did so quite alright and earned the merit to become part of royal lineages in Edo. Far from that, meanwhile in the East, the South-South had lustrous trades with her neighbours.

They traded with riverine and farm products such as snail, palm wine, plantain, tubers of yam, chilli pepper, shrimps among others. However, in the North, a Caliphate was established by Usman Dan Fodio who propagated Islam. He denounced heresies but engaged in territorial expansion. In the wake of 1804 to 1816, a colossal part of the old Oyo empire was captured (Ilorin) through Fodio's ideological crusade also Benue (north central region) was not spared.

Similarly, each of these empires had home-made political systems and ways of interaction. Farther in the east, the political system was acephalous. There were no central authorities. It was based on age grade system. Each districts had village heads' known as Eze. More so, the Old Oyo Empire potentially operated democratic political system yet monarchical in nature. There were checks and balances to contain the arbitrariness of the palace or royal dignitaries. The king oba was regarded as the second hand to the gods' ( orisa ) which was seen as divine. The most astonishing part was that, despite the fact that much was accorded to the king, the system would ostracize an err king through the laid down traditional constitution. On the other hand, the Hausa/Fulani was on Emirship system which similar to monarchical political system. The political system diffusions that spread across the empires motivated the British to use indirect rule system. Indirect rule is an administrative system whereby traditional chiefs were used as spokesmen to convey directives from the British representatives to the empires and kingdoms. The chiefs served as a bridge between the Governor General and governed (kings and Emirs).

Consequently, the 1914 amalgamation policy conjoined the entities to be called Nigeria. It was arduous for the British to unify these empires and kingdoms in an accord. It was herculean task of sort. The unification of Nigeria was premeditated in fact, based on financial breakthrough and administrative convenient. The size of Nigeria is too enormous to be administered from a single source. The purchasement of Nigeria was grossly unaffordable for the British. It downed their expenditure astronomically. The amalgamation was successful with creation of quack social infrastructures such as: schools', market stalls, road networks, railway, and introduction of cash crops with Christianity. A lot have argued that the amalgamation policy was for economics benefits due to some reasons. The British transported a large portion of

groundnuts from Kaduna, cocoa from Ibadan, others items from east includes cash crops, tusks, hides to the metropolis. It is said to be double-edged sword of different sides.

The number of literacy skyrocketed through introduction of Christianity. More secured roads were constructed and traditional transport systemswere replaced. The elites who stood against apartheid in old Nigeria were bye-products of British colonization. On top of that, Nigerian political consciousness grew momentously with agitations for autonomy. The political consciousness was as a result of the second wave of nationalists vis-a-vis Herbert Macaulay, Chief Obafemi Awolowo , Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe, Chief S.L Akintola, Sir Ahmedu Bello, Alhaji Tafawa Belewa, Chief Anthony Eromosele Enahoro who studied abroad and exposed to what was obtainable in the British metropolis such as human rights' and eco-political independent. The Second World War was also a major contributory factor that aggravated political consciousness. Some ex-service men, who killed white soldiers during the war, realized that after all, the whites were human like them not the god they thought they were. They shared the stories how the war was fought and how they killed the supposed white supremacy. These were the catalyst that stimulates the elites and sundry to agitate for independent.

Despite the mutual interests of the nationalists and political activists, different ethnic identities later played out in their agitations for independent of Nigeria. This was why Chief Obafemi Awolowo opined that, creation of Nigeria is a marriage of inconvenience. Nigeria independent was not attained on the platter of gold. During the senate proceedings in Western House Assembly 1953, Chief Anthony Enahoro moved for the motion for self-government but the northern representatives' contra because they were not ready for self-government. It was 1957 that Chief S. Ladoke Akintola reaffirmed to Chief Enahoro's proposition. 1959 was remarkable when Sir Tafawa Belawa proposed and accepted the independent of Nigeria. Prior to Balewa acceptance, Chief Akintola had travelled to North in 1957 to meet with the northern leaders to renegotiate the fate of Nigeria but he was bulled by northern political thugs. Back home in the west, there were simultaneous retaliations. There is no doubt that the political parties were created based on tribal sentiment but geared towards achieving one

goal. The Northern People's Congress (NPC) as the name suggests was a cultural movement for Northern peoples' development.

The Action Group (AG) was a modified version of the Egbe Omo Oduduwa, a pan-Yoruba socio-cultural group; while National Congress of Nigeria and the Cameroons metamorphosed into the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC), a Southeastern group led by Igbo ethnic unionists. Other clear ethnic unions that changed to "national" parties included the Northern Elements People's Union (NEPU) and the United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC), which struggled for the control of the centre. All these political parties were borne out of the ethnic group's interest. Be that as it may, there are emerging issues that led to military incursion in Nigerian politics. Politicians were engaged in mismanagement of public funds, census crisis, election riot, Kano riot, mistrust among ethnic nationalists, nepotism. The first military coup d'etat was staged to rejuvenate the socio-political and economic affairs. The assassinations of the prominent figures from the north even if it was blatant errors or premeditated gruesome annihilation have divided the country further. Of equal importance, the stern reaction for secession from the military administrator of the Eastern region Lieutenant Colonel Odumegwu Ojukwu against Major General Yakubu Gowon was timely, ethnocentric and ranks stratification. The death of Nigerians during the fratricidal civil war cost the country a lot. It was against this background that, the government of Yakubu Gowon initiated the 3Rs' to reintegrate the country. Nevertheless, different integrative mechanisms are devised to foster peaceful co-existence among several ethnics group in Nigeria such includes: NYSC, Fedaral character, Unity schools, English language Policies, NDDC among others. These aforementioned mechanisms yielded less result due to corruption, greed, profiteering and lack of government close monitoring. It would be repugnant and misleading to hold on to the fact the 1914 policy of amalgamation is the only substantial architect that felicitates Nigerian underdevelopment in all spheres. Of course the British imperialism is part of the element that contributed to the skanky state of development. One could recollect that during colonization throughout there was no record of productive companies that were built in Nigeria. The socio-economic and political development was affected grossly by three significant factors namely;

(1) British interference in internal politics disorientated the governed and extinct traditional political values (2) multi-ethnicities that beget the question of 'who is who' in Nigeria establish struggles among ethnic groups (3) leadership idiosyncrasy: greed, nepotism, party politics, and godfatherism. These and many more are the major drivers of disparity in Nigeria.

## 5.2 Major Finding

The major findings of the study were derived based on the content analysis of the research hypotheses. It was discovered that;

- The British Amalgamation policy of 1914 was exploitative and instead of promoting national integration in Nigeria, it further divided the people. This finding is in agreement with the findings of other scholars such as Oluwatobi (2018) who argued that primary aim of the amalgamation was to protect the British economic interest and to facilitate the exploitation of the nation's resources. Similarly, Ojo (2014) argued that while Nigeria may have been created by the British; a large number of Nigerian politicians have cremated it. He pointed to incidences of internal conflicts, corruption and dilapidated infrastructure within the few years of independence.

- The British colonial government promoted uneven development in Nigeria through legal frameworks and socio-political policies. Development in Nigeria is not equally shared between the south and the north. According to Bourne (2015), the ethnic configurations of Nigeria and the patterns of development between the north and the south makes it difficult for anyone to understand. There is evidence that development in the south was much more favoured by the British than in the north (Falola, 2003).

- Religious division, poverty, corruption and question over resource control are the major drivers of ethnic conflicts in Nigeria. According to Samuel (2012), the source disintegration in Nigeria is anchored on Religious division, poverty, corruption and question over resource control.

- The Nigerian Civil War (1967-1970) provided the framework for national integrative mechanisms in Nigeria. Several authors are of the view that the Nigerian Civil War became a source of inspiration for the Nigerian

government to develop framework for national integration (Ojo, 2009; Bourne, 2015; Olayoku, 2019).

- The integrative mechanisms adopted by the Nigerian government in the post-Civil War era was effective only between 1970 and 1979.

- The effectiveness of various integrative mechanisms adopted by the Nigerian government in the post-Civil War era is no longer effective in meeting the socio-economic and political development of the country in the 21st century.

- The emergence of violent ethnic militia groups and spread of terrorism in could lead disintegration of Nigeria. Based on the analysis of the activities of ethnic militia groups as well as the Boko Haram insurgents, there is high level of concern by Nigerians and the international community that the country is a failed state and may disintegrate if the situation is left unchecked.

## 5.3 Recommendations

Based on the outcome of the content analysis, the following recommendations were made:

- It is therefore recommended that the Nigerian government should review the constitution and increase inclusion of minority groups in the national polity.

- Furthermore, efforts should be made to improve on the social security of Nigerians to allow the citizens to develop sense of belonging. National orientation should also be used to improve upon existing principle of federal character which is suffering from corruption.

- Federal Government of Nigeria must frown against all act of terrorism. Unlike the contemporary event whereby the Federal Government grant amnesty to member of bokoharams. The repentant Boko Harams' who were pardoned and reinstated into the fabric of the society without capital punishment that commensurate with their deeds. If this prerogative gestures from the presidency continues uncheck, more havoc of terrorism would rain across Nigeria sparsely.

- It would be recalled that election malpractices and census numbers manipulations were part of the issues that paved way for military incursion

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into Nigerian politics in 1966 that led to demise of prominent politicians. This factor is very much around in Nigeria. An incumbent government and states always utilize this means to rig election to their favour while states often use census to inflect the revenue allocations and create oblivious constituencies.

- Lastly, Federal Government should strictly monitor various boards in-charge of integrative mechanisms and bring to book any defaulters or deviants except these are done, the main objectives won't be realized.

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**RESUME**



**Education**

Master in Political Science & International Relations
(2018-2020)
Istanbul Aydin University, Istanbul, Turkey

Bachelors in History & Diplomatic Studies
(2009-2012)
Tai Solarin, University of Education, Ogun, Nigeria

N.C.E in History & Political Science
(2003-2006)
College of Education, Ikere-Ekiti, Nigeria

**CHRISTIAN CHUKWUEMEKA EJIMADU**

**About Me**

Date of Birth: July 26, 1987
State: Imo
Gender: Male
Country: Nigeria

**Experience**

- English Teacher
  Albes Koleji (Istanbul Turkey)
  (2018-2019)

- Higher Education Teaching Professional
  Highland International School (Lagos, Nigeria)
  (Jan 2016- Dec 2016)

- Warehouse Administrator
  Euro -Mega Nigeria Limited (Lagos, Nigeria)
  (2015- 2017)

- Waiter
  The Hotel Bon Voyage (Lagos, Nigeria)
  (Mar 2014- Aug 2014)

**Contact**

- Staroopatowska 4/6, Room 6
  21-610 Radom, Poland
- +90-5378435417, +485-16997706
- ejimaduchristian2@gmail.com

**Language Skills**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Listening | | C2 |
| Reading | | C2 |
| Spoken Production | | C2 |
| Spoken Interaction | | C2 |
| Writing | | C2 |