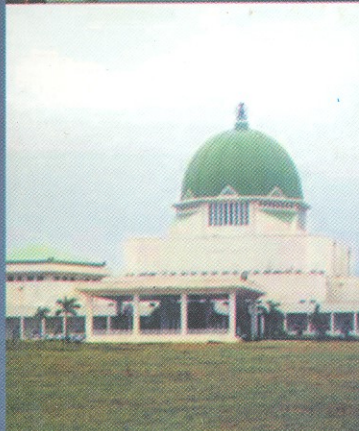
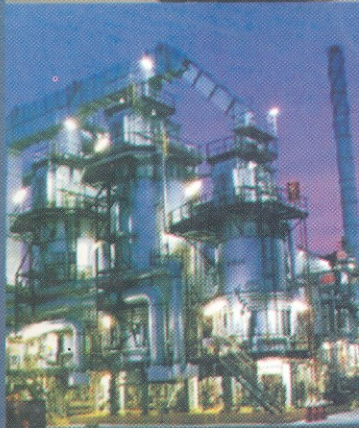
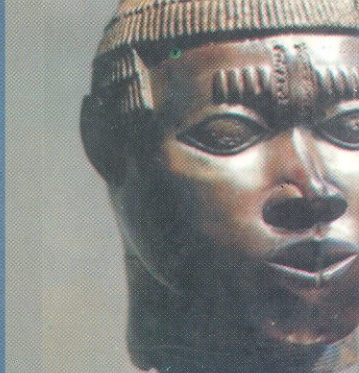


NIGERIAN STUDIES

Readings in History, Politics,
Society and Culture

EDITED BY

AKINJIDE OSUNTOKUN
VICTOR UKAOGO
AKACHI ODOEMENE



CHAPTER 23

ETHNICITY AND NATIONAL INTEGRATION IN
NIGERIA: THE POST COLONIAL EXPERIENCEJACOB OLUFEMI FATILE AND
KEHINDE DAVID ADEJUWON

INTRODUCTION

Nigeria is bedeviled by myriad problems which, despite its oil riches, inhibit its development and even threaten its continued existence as a sovereign state.¹ Any attempt to understand the development of the Nigerian State cannot escape a study of ethnicity as one of the main challenges to the achievement of national integration. Nigeria is a plural society inhabited by about 400 ethnic nationalities speaking varied languages and having distinct cultures and traditions.² Today, rather than integrating into a cohesive community with a common sense of identity and destiny, citizens of Nigeria are returning more and more to primordial affiliations for identity, loyalty and security. Instead of forging a united front and presenting a concerted effort to face the challenges of development in an increasingly competitive and globalized world, Nigerians are busy waging ethnic and religious wars, struggling for control over resources, resisting marginalization by dominant ethnic groups, and contending with diverse problems of basic survival.³ There has been a serious attempt at nation building since the 1950s but the major problem had been how to weave the divergent and heterogeneous cultures into one nation. Since independence, the country has witnessed enormous amount of violence which has in some cases led to the breakdown of governmental structure. The whole issue of ethnicity in Nigeria therefore has become a thorough concern of most scholars especially as it pertains to the unity and progress of the Nigerian society. Most people have attributed the economic, social and political disorganization of Nigeria to the unnecessary and parochial reliance of almost the entire population and especially the Nigerian

leadership on ethnicity as a guiding tool in governance and action. The reliance on ethnicity has over the years presented an unnecessary favouritism of the ethnic group in power and the social, political and economic disregard of the ethnic groups outside the corridors of power.⁴

The vilification of ethnicity as the scapegoat of all vices associated with the Nigerian body polity has made the subject a dominant theme in the study of Nigerian political economy. No work is deemed "scholarly" that does not consider the salience or relevance of ethnicity in its analysis and conclusions.⁵ Integration of all social groups into a united entity is the goal of all modern nation-states. However while the process is relatively easier in monolingual and mono-cultural states, it is one of the greatest problems for most multilingual and multicultural nations particularly in Africa. This is due to the fact that these African nations were created by European colonial powers from diverse linguistic and cultural ethnic groups. As a result of unequal access to social and economic opportunities the struggle for political power, the key to those opportunities, was conducted from the basis of ethnic interest during the colonial and post colonial periods. This certainly hampered the process of integration.⁶ It is therefore the protective and inward looking nature that creates the problem of integration for a culturally heterogeneous state like Nigeria.

It is important to note from the onset that the title of this paper is not only timely and ambitious, but also somewhat restrictive (the post colonial experience). Thus, the purpose of this paper is to show how ethnicity factor impeded the process of national integration in Nigeria. It observes that one of the most politically sensitive areas of social life in Nigeria is ethnicity and national integration. It also argues that the adverse effect of ethnicity on national integration has however been more than the result of its manipulations and abuses by the elites in the quest for political power. The title of this paper is therefore borne out of the fact that in Nigeria, ethnic issue has become very pronounced, where resources for distribution are involved, the disfavored ethnic groups out of frustration and disillusionment begin to lose hope in the entire system and cultivate either a systematic or a radical withdrawal of their love and pride for the country. Their identity as Nigerians therefore lay

in the shadow of their tribal and parochial allegiances. This makes the task of achieving national integration difficult.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The discussion of ethnicity is fraught with perverse conceptualization. It is no wonder that various socio-political disorders and ill-effects are wrongly associated with ethnicity - a phenomenon many developmentalists of the sixties-now themselves threatened by extinction-thought would perish in the heat and light of modernity or disappear unceremoniously into museums. That was not to happen. It is either the heat dispersed all across vast stretches of sand or the archaeologists are not ready to lay the building blocks of the museum. Either way, Africa's ethnicity stayed. Not precisely in the romantic fields of the Garden of Eden. And not in the Forests anymore, but almost everywhere.⁶

To begin with, Abner Coher⁷ for instance limits his conception of ethnicity to what he termed "Political ethnicity." According to him, ethnicity refers to strife between ... ethnic groups in the course of which people stress their identity and exclusiveness. The concept of ethnicity refers to a social identity formation that rests upon culturally specific practices and a unique set of symbols and cosmology. A belief in common origins and a broadly agreed common history provide an inheritance of symbols, heroes, events, values and hierarchies, and conform social identities of both insiders and outsiders. To Osaghae,⁸ ethnicity may be defined as, "the employment or mobilization of ethnic identity and difference to gain advantage in situations of competition, conflict or cooperation." This definition identifies two issues that are central to discussions of ethnicity. The first is that ethnicity is neither natural nor accidental, but is the product of a conscious effect by social actors. The second is that ethnicity is not only manifest in conflictual or competitive relations but also in the contexts of cooperation.

Ethnicity is so much a matter of "shared traits or cultural commonalities", but the result of the interplay between external categorization and self-identification.⁹ Ethnicity also encompasses the behavior of ethnic groups. Ethnic groups are groups with ascribed membership, usually not always based on claims or myths of common history, ancestry, language, race, religion, culture and territory. While all these variables

need not be present before a group is so defined, the important thing is that such a group is classified or categorized as having a common identity that distinguishes it from others.¹⁰

From the above definitions, it shows that ethnicity is a social phenomenon associated with the interaction among ethnic groups. It has exists only within a political society consisting of diverse groups, characterized by a common consciousness of being one in relation to the other relevant groups, and tends to be elusive, that is, acceptance and rejection of linguistic-cultural characterizes social relations. Also, ethnicity is characterized by conflicts.¹¹

A major shortcoming in the definition of ethnic group discovered so far is that it has been defined narrowly and useful only to one particular geographical location. According to Godon¹² for instance, an ethnic group is "... any group which defined or set off by race, religion, or national origin, or some combination of these categories". This definition is relative to America and is of limited utility, especially when Nigerian materials are under consideration. In order not to fall victim of this parochial definition, it is necessary to fashion out an all embracing definition. On his part, Melvin T. Tumin conceives of ethnic group as;

a social group which, within a large cultural and social system claims or is accorded a special status in terms of a complex of traits (ethnic traits) which it exhibit or is believed to exhibit. Such traits are diverse and there is much variety in the complexes that they form the religious and linguistic characteristics of the social group, the distinctive skin-pigmentation of its members, their national or geographical origin or those of its forbearers.¹³

Sometimes the definition of the ethnic group stresses something common to the group other than ancestry, language or even the subjective conceptions of the members. Rose offers this kind of definition, according to him, ethnic groups are;

Groups whose members share a unique social and cultural heritage, passed from one generation to the next. Ethnic groups are frequently identified by distinctive patterns of family life, language, recreation, religion and other customs which cause them to be differentiated from others. Above all, all members of such groups feel a sense of identity and interde-

pendence of fate with those who share the customs of the ethnic tradition.¹⁴

Ethnic groups constitute social formations which are identified by their communal factors which include mainly, language, culture or both. They are marked by distinct linguistic and/or cultural similarities with common consciousness and identity which exposes them to a consciousness of being one in relation to other ethnic groups.¹⁵

Having defined ethnicity and ethnic groups, we can now conceptualize national integration which is another major concept relevant to this study. According to Ojo¹⁶ integration is the process of unifying a society which tends to make it a harmonious city, based upon an order its members regarded as equitably harmonious. It is the attainment, within a territory of a "sense of community" and of institutions and practices strong enough and widespread enough to assure, for a long time, dependable expectations of peaceful community. It is important to state that integration covers a vast range of human relationships and attitudes. The integration of diverse and discrete cultural loyalties and the development of a sense of nationality; the integration of political units into a common territorial framework with a government which can exercise authority; the integration of the rulers and the ruled; the integration of citizens into a common political process; and finally, the integration of individuals into organization for purposive activities. Thus, in having an integrative nation, individuals and groups must subordinate their ethno-regional and linguistic background for an organic entity despite the diversities in such a political system.

National integration therefore is an attempt at unifying society in order to create harmonious society. It refers specifically to the problem of creating a sense of territorial nationality which overshadows or eliminates subordinate parochial loyalties. Weiner is of the opinion that while "national integration" is concerned with the subjective feelings which individuals belonging to different social groups or historically distinct political units have toward the nation.¹⁷ To Bamisaye national integration is the process of bringing together culturally and socially discrete groups into a single territorial unit and the establishment of a national identity.¹⁸

From the viewpoint of Oni and Ogundiwin national integration is the building of a national state but of disparate social, economic, religious, ethnic and geographical elements which entails the translation of diffused and unorganized sentiments of nationalism into a spirit of citizenship through the creation of state institution that can translate into policies, and programmes and aspirations of the citizenry.¹⁹ While Sklar sees national integration from three perspectives, first, as a substitution of sub-national communities, tribes, languages, groups or regions for higher loyalties.²⁰ Second, as an establishment of a wider regional continental activity. Third, creation of durable bound of unity within a state. It can also be seen as an attempt at unifying society in order to create a harmonious society.

National integration can therefore be conceptualized as the process whereby several disparate groups within a given territorial entity are united together or cooperate under conditions which do not appear to permit satisfaction of the system needs in any other way. For there to be national integration, there must be a common central authority to serve as a rallying point as we have in United States of America. National integration seeks to produce intra-national unification and system stability.

ETHNICITY AND NATIONAL INTEGRATION: A THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

One major theoretical issue in many of the recent studies on ethnic relations in Africa is the extent to which ethnic units and cultural entities coincide, or the extent to which ethnic affiliations can be said to be predicted of socio-cultural attitudes and beliefs.²¹ From the view point of Varshney there are four main schools of thought on the study of ethnicity.²² These are essentialism, instrumentalism, constructivism and institutionalism. Most scholars combine more than one perspective in their analysis. Essentially, the earliest of the four approaches, rose from cultural cartographies and greatly influential modernization theorists whose positions become the point of departure of the other three approaches.²³

For the purpose of analysis in this paper, modernization theory is considered appropriate in explaining the relationship between ethnicity

and national integration. Modernization theory assumed that conflicts in developing societies were borne out of the fact that the people who constitute these societies originated from varied cultures that engaged themselves in bloody dues before the advent of the "civilisers."²⁴ Modernization theorists do not see issues of ethnicity as a puzzle that necessarily has to be solved. It also argues that a movement toward democracies will ensure that a democratic state will unify rather than fragment the different nationalities forced together in Nigeria by colonialism. For them, the focus would be on the extent at which economic and political development in Nigeria would result in increased migration from rural to urban centers, increased higher education attendance, and thus movement from "primitive" to modern social formations that consequently will resolve ethnic issues.²⁵ The modernization theorists had predicted that with increasing modernization, urbanization, industrialization, vocational training, free enterprise, social mobility, independent judiciary etc, the third world countries would acquire the sudden leap to modernity and ethnic politics will be a thing of the past.

While modernization theory was based on the premises of essentialism, modernization theorists were not convinced that separate development was the best solution to the problem of ethnicity. Rather, it advanced charismatic national leadership, national parties, national youth movements, national political institutions, western education, advanced in communication and transportation, and urbanization, indeed, modernization as catalysts for integration.²⁶ Offiong noted "What the modernization theories most often end up with is eventuating ethnocentric practical recipes which admonish the poor societies to imitate them all the way and they would acquire a sudden leap into the 20th century. In order words, join the Calvinistic cult and you will experience a sudden leap to modernity."²⁷

In a major critique of modernization theory, Idahosa and Otoghile noted that, as years rolled by, it became clear that modernization does not in any way constitute the answer to our ethnic problem.²⁸ They argued that, even, in the United States, the centre of the so-called modernization, it has been clearly seen that, the minority problem of the black and others which have ethnic dimension remain. Melson and Wolpe also demonstrate that rather than eliminating ethnicity, modernization managed to create and re-instore it.²⁹ They stated further that moderni-

zation promotes uneven development in different spheres among the different ethnic groups, and that the initiatives adopted by disadvantages groups to bridge such disparities culminated in conflicts. Unlike previous critics of modernization who identified social change as the cause of ethnicity, Nnoli inspired by the Marxian class perspective of the dependency movement, asserts that ethnicity developed from colonialism.³⁰ He argues that the colonial administration deliberately promoted ethnicity through policies of indirect rule, categorization of Africans by "tribe" and promotion of separate settlements between natives and settlers of urban centers.

It is instructive to note that Nnoli has changed his view and later pronounced the argument that democracy and substantial withdrawal of state from economic activities would help to check ethnicity.³¹ Kalu therefore conclude that the modernist argument suffers from the fallacy of a single alternative especially with respect to the transformative imperative of democracy.³² Thus, the assumption that democracy will cement the divisions between ethnic, cultural, religions, race and linguistic differences in Nigeria continues to yield negative results decades after political independence.³³ Even though there is a deep human need for community, factors essential to the survival of democracies present liberal democratic with a conundrum.

ETHNICITY AND NATIONAL INTEGRATION IN NIGERIA

Nigeria is one of the states that owes their existence to the imperialistic activities, which by virtue of a superior technology and economy subjugated people from diverse nationalities and organized them to construct Nigeria in 1914, with the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorates.

By the time Nigeria won her independence from Britain in 1960, its artificial origin, coupled with other factors, had bequeathed it a number of fundamental problems, one of which is the challenge of integrating, into a cohesive socio-political whole, the various entities and strange bed fellows that were lumped together by the colonialists.³⁴ With independence, the British paternalistic moderation influence in the country was removed. But the socio-economic and political inequalities among

and between different ethnic groups which British rule had created remained. At independence, therefore, one can say that there was a mal-integration of the diverse ethnic groups within the new state. What was needed to reduced the scale of existing ethnicity which has risen from group aspiration as well as the feeling of deprivation and marginalization from the viewpoint of Lasisi was to design social and economic policies that would reduce inequalities. The new government, however, did not improve the situation. Its political and economic policies further divided the ethnic groups.³⁵

Thus, at independence, the people making up the country were not effectively integrated toward the end of evolving a true sense of national identity and commitment to the survival and development of the nation.³⁶ Under this dichotomy, national integration continues to be imperiled. To fully understand this factor and its consequences, we need to carefully examine idea of ethnicity in post colonial era and its manifestations within the Nigerian context. Nigeria emerged as a new political entity without a common history or common tradition. It had to build itself as a nation, while at the same time developing its power as a state. The background of its federal form demand the proposal of both tasks.³⁷ Nigeria's people for the most part had not yet come to think of themselves as Nigerians. Ethnic loyalty took precedence over national identity. The nation's people identified themselves primarily as Hausa-Fulani, Ibo or Yoruba, for example. Their identity as Nigerians lay in the shadow of their tribal and parochial allegiance.³⁸ But the amalgamation of ethnic groups that supported independence acted together mostly not of common desire to rid themselves of colonial power, not of common identification. Nigeria's early nationalist leaders understood the difference and the need for integration to create allegiance for a common national identity rather than resting on collective antagonism against colonial rule.³⁹

However, the late Sardauna of Sokoto, Sir Ahmadu Bello once remarked briefly that "God did not create Nigeria." According to him, "the British did."⁴⁰ Ekoko seems to support the Sardauna when he avers that "the modern Nigerian state is the creation of nineteenth century Europeans colonial imperialism, it is a product of competing and conflicting claims over territories spheres of influence and interest among British, French and German agents of imperialism against the

backdrop of their larger relations in Europe. Similarly, Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, the first Republic Prime Minister declared in parliament in 1947 that since the amalgamation of Southern and Northern provinces in 1914, Nigeria had existed as one country only in paper . . . it is still far from being united. Nigeria unity is only a British intention for the country.⁴¹ Chief Obafemi Awolowo, clearly outlined the work required to move colonial Nigeria to true nationhood. "Nigeria is not a nation." Awolowo declared in 1947, "it is a mere geographical expression." There are no "Nigerians" in the sense and there are "English", "Welsh" or "French." The word "Nigeria" as explained by Awolowo, is merely a distinctive appellation to distinguish those who live within the boundaries of Nigeria from those who do not.⁴² The identification expressed by Balewa and Awolowo in the years following independence reflected the lack of integration.

The collapse of the first republic demonstrates clearly the inability of the Nigerian elite to integrate Nigeria. The Northern People's Congress (NPC) which dominated the federal government lacked the legitimacy in the west and so could not restore social order within the west. Furthermore the Nigeria National Democratic Party which won the elections in the west equally lacked legitimacy in the area as a result of the manner in which the elections were won and lost.⁴³

Considering the problem of ethnicity in the context of the Nigerian civil service, it is important to emphasize the fact that in Nigeria some ethnic groups are more educationally and economically advanced than the others. This disparity in the socio-economic development of Nigeria's ethnic groups creates a social structure that inhibits relationships of confidence and mutual trust among the groups. The forms of social interactions which results from this situation arouse suspicious hostile rivalries, envy and fear of domination of one group by another. This, no doubt, constitutes a serious impediment to national integration in the country.

Although it is logical to expect recruitment into the civil service to emphasize educational qualification such emphasize many believe should take cognizance of the ethnic composition of the country by allocating positions in the service in proportion to the population of each ethnic group in Nigeria. The view has been translated into a game va-

riously known as "ethnic balancing", the "quota system" and the "federal character."⁴⁴

Playing the game of ethnic balancing, successive governments in Nigeria have had to cause the service to modify its rules of appointment and advancement to allow for the participation of a sizeable number of people of the less developed areas, particularly northerners. The modification, an apparent distortion of the merit system, has been justified on the ground that it makes for unity, peace and political stability in Nigeria.⁴⁵

The National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) was created in a bid to bring about national integration, to reconcile and rebuild the country after the civil war. But recent developments and studies have shown that the scheme (NYSC) had failed to serve its purpose. This prompted Tijani to state thus:

We had inaugurated a NYSC scheme in which our youths spend the first year of their life after graduation, giving free service in state outside state of their birth. We have moved the capital base of our federation from Lagos in the Southwest corner of the country to the centre of the country, to Abuja, so that all Nigerians will be near enough to it, and will have a sense of belonging. Free movement of people; freedom of self expression and possession is guaranteed to every Nigerian wherever he choose to stay. All the ingredients of unity and integration of our country are there on the ground. but we failed to unite and integrate.⁴⁶

Babangida Aliyu (Governor of Niger State) took a critical look at the nation's quest to achieve national integration and posited that the political ideology of Late Azikwe will be handy in this direction.⁴⁷ According to him, the present leadership of the country has lessons to learn from the great "Zik", who was known as a bridge builder in Nigerian politics during the first and second republics as well as great statesmen and nationalist per excellence. He opined that the nation's quest for national integration will only be successful if artificial boundaries created as a result of political exigencies are jettisoned to pave way for restoration of selfless service, accommodation dialogue and cosmopolitanism.⁴⁸

Wallerstein is of the opinion that in a modern nation state, loyalties to ethnic group interfere less with national integration than loyalties to the extended family.⁴⁹ According to him, there are four principal ways in which ethnicity serves to aid national integration. First, ethnic group tends to assume some of the function of the extended family and hence, this diminish the importance of kinship roles: two, ethnic groups serves as mechanism of re-socialization; three, ethnic groups help keep the class structure fluid, and so prevent the emergence of caste; fourth, ethnic groups serves as an outlet for political tensions.

Nigeria's failure to achieve national integration cannot be blamed, of course, solely on ethnicity. Nor can ethnicity be dismissed as a vital means to the necessary ends of national integration. Rather, new nations such as Nigeria must better understand how ethnicity can be properly managed to achieve national integration.

MANAGING ETHNICITY AND NATIONAL INTEGRATION IN NIGERIA

In Nigeria, various constitutional development before and after independence were concerned with the principal goal of managing ethnicity, which had shown clear signs of subverting the nation building project. Several research works has been carried out on the management of ethnicity in Nigeria, but while these initiatives have solved some old problems, they have generated many intended consequences, that have exacerbated ethnicity.

To achieve national integration, the cooperation of non-governmental organizations as well as individuals committed to the survival of Nigeria would be required. This is a very great challenge, but it would seem to be a necessary prerequisite if the diverse nationalities that live within the territorial boundaries of Nigeria are to develop a new pan-Nigerian consciousness.

The civil society has to be brought to the fore in order to begin to make self-reliance the cornerstone of the process of development in each state and the people's participation is the key that unlocks self-reliance. There is urgent need to restore the centrality of the people in determining and implementing development goals in Nigeria, which will invariably bring about national integration. Also, a change in

people's attitudes toward other ethnic groups is crucial. Alternatively civil society must retrieve power from the power elite so as to determine the political process that will evolve a legitimate state in Nigeria. Thereafter autonomous communities will provide representative to a "true sovereign national conference" that will bestow on Nigeria an identity, a spirit, a focus. Such a conference, no doubt, will ensure democratic participation in decision making, such that the needs of the people will receive high priorities and be made the target of policy.

While the future undoubtedly belongs to the people, there is need for the emerging leaders to come to terms with the roadblocks to national integration in Nigeria. More significantly, there is need to implement a democratic order through "deep politics" in form of citizens self-empowerment that will ultimately lay the foundation for cooperation and integration among the various ethnic groups across the thirty-six states of Nigerian federation.

The most important mechanism to reduce the conflict between ethnicity and national integration as argued by Wallerstein⁵⁰ is the nationalist party. This paper recommends sustained effort to ensure the election of nationally focused candidates/parties in order to position the state to serve as a true agent of distributive justice and a way to discourage further ethnisation of the Nigerian political process. Also, efforts should be made to de-contract the so-called influence of ethnicity especially on the voting behaviour of Nigerians. One sure way of doing this is to sensitize the citizens about the artificiality of ethnicity and encourage them to always make their voting issue based. For political party to serve as measures of national integration, the paper advocates for two party systems. This is when the parties will be equally matched and voting pattern can be used to measure national integration. Modern day leaders of new nations from Thomas Jefferson in the United States, to Mohandas Gandhi in India, to Mao-Tse-Tung in China, and to Julius Nyerere in Tanzania have all emphasized education role in national development and integration. In pluralistic societies like Nigeria, education has been viewed as means of diminishing ethnic and other difference that threaten to fragment a new nation into splitters, as each group sticks to its new identity, rather than adhering to a common national identity.

Within the context of the debate on how to attain national integration and enduring social peace, Horowitz similarly contends that a lasting social peace could only be attained if there is a fundamental change in the attitudes and values of members of society, from those that are predisposed to war and violence to those that are productive of peace.⁵¹ Likewise the integration of the ethnic nationalities requires a transformation of attitudes and values. This would entail a process of social mobilization to teach and persuade members of different nationalities to see one another as people with whom the rise and fall together, and bring them to a belief that their destinies are inextricably knit together in such a way that they either win together or lose together. It would require a massive educational enterprise to reduce the importance of kinship and ethnic identity.

If Nigerians wish to preserve Nigeria as a viable state, they must learn from past mistakes, identify and pursue policies that would effectively promote integration. Ethnic tensions between the diverse ethnic nationalities in Nigeria are pointing towards the fragmentation of the country. This was recently confirmed by an intelligent report from the United States of America, which warned that Nigeria might disintegrate within the next 15 years.

For the survival of Nigerian nation and the integration of its diverse and sophisticated people, the practice of true federalism that gives autonomy to different states and a reduction in the powers of the central government becomes imperative. In addition, the structures of ethnicity which are heavily relied upon in the distribution of societal wealth must be fundamentally altered and discouraged. Government should be responsive to the yearnings and aspirations of the citizens. When government begins to improve the welfare of the citizens and show high level of responsiveness to their aspirations, the ethnicity factors will be reduced and identification with the country will be imminent. National integration will therefore be achievable.

CONCLUSION

In multi ethnic states like Nigeria, ethnicity comes alive as the basis for a politicized search for redistribution of resources, which are always contentious. Given that in the Nigerian context, ethnicity is a political,

rather than a cultural phenomenon, establishing an institutional platform with clear and acceptable constitutional rules will determine the impact of ethnicity on Nigeria's political economy. Nigeria's efforts at achieving national integration have remained largely unrealized. The integration crisis facing Nigeria is manifested in the minority question, religious conflicts, ethnic politics, resource control, youth restiveness and the call for a sovereign national government.

It is not mincing words therefore to say that a disunited and disintegrated nation hardly achieve progress. As a result of ethnic factors championed by different ethnic leaders in Nigeria, and the inability of the state to adequately address the issue of ethnicity, the level of national integration will continue to fall drastically. Also, until the Nigerian leadership and the entire nation redirect their thinking away from ethnic lines, national integration would simply be a mirage. We can therefore conclude this paper with the words of Emerson that: "What makes a nation's pillar high, not gold, but only men can make a nation great and strong. Men who for truth and honors sake stand fast and suffer long; they build a nation's pillar deep, and lift them to the sky."⁵²

Nigerians therefore need a different governance approach based on a different philosophy that will guarantee groups' rights by recognizing the heterogeneity of the polity. This will go a long way to bring about the expected national integration in Nigeria.

NOTES

1. A. B. Ekanola, "National Integration and the Survival of Nigeria in the 21st Century," *The Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies* 31, no 3, (2006), 279.
2. Democracy in Nigeria, *Capacity Building*, Series 10, 1999, 10
3. U. I. Agbor, "Ethnic Pluralism and National Identity in Nigeria," in G. O. Ozuma, et al, (eds), *Nigeria: Citizenship Education* (Aba, Nigeria: AAU Vitalis Book Company, 1999), 170.
4. U. Ukiwo, *On the Study of Ethnicity in Nigeria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 4.
5. R. A. Lasisi, "Language, Culture, Ethnicity and National Integration: The Togo Experience since 1900," *African Study Monographs* 14, no. 1, (June 1993), 1.

6. S. Hameso, "Towards Positive Ethnicity in Africa," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 28, no 2, (2007), 4.
7. Cited in J. A. Bamgbose, *Fundamentals of Nigerian Politics*, Ijede Commercial Enterprises, Lagos, 2000, 115
8. E. E. Osaghae, *Structural Adjustment and Ethnicity in Nigeria*, (Uppsala: Nordic African Institute, 1995), 11
9. R. M. Brubaker, et al, "Ethnicity and Cognition," *Theory and Society*, 33, (2004), 32.
10. Ukiwo U. op cit., 4-5.
11. S. A. Idahosa and A. Otoghile, "Ethnic Politics and Elections in Nigeria," *Benin Journal of Social Sciences* 8 & 9, nos 1 & 2, (2000), 118.
12. M. Gordon, *Assimilation in America, Life*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 27.
13. Quoted in Idahosa S.A and Otoghile A, op cit, 119.
14. P. Rose, *They and We*, (New York: Random House, 1965), 11
15. Agbor, 170.
16. E. O. Ojo, "Federalism and National Cohesion," in E. Onwudiwe and R. T. Suberu, (eds), *Nigerian Federalism in Crisis: Critical Perspectives and Political Options* (Ibadan: Department of Political Science, University of Ibadan, 2005), 51.
17. Cited in C. U. Okafor and M. I. Okeke, *Political Culture: the Nigerian perspective* (Enugu: Academic Publishing Company, 2008), 20.
18. O. Bamişaye, "Political Parties and National Integration in Nigeria: 1960 - 1983," in U. Eleazu, (ed) *Nigeria: The First 25 years* (Ibadan: Heineman Educational Books, 1988), 36.
19. M. A. Oni and A. O. Ogundiwin, "Political Parties as Instrumentalities of National Integration: A Cross Sectional Study of a Decade in Nigerian Politics, 1999 - 2009," a paper presented at a National Conference on a Decade of Democracy (1999 - 2009). Reflections on Nigeria's Fourth Republic, Department of History and Archaeology, Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida University, Lapai, Niger State, May 18 - 20, 2009, 6.
20. Richard Sklar, *The Nigerian Political Powers in an Emergent African Nations* (New York: Nok Publishers, 1964).
21. Sanda, 34.
22. A. Varshney, *Ethnic Conflict and Civil Life: Hindus and Muslims in India*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002).
23. Ukiwo, 5.
24. Ibid.
25. K. A. Kalu, "Constitutionalism in Nigeria: A Conceptual Analysis of ethnicity and Politics," *West Africa Review*, Issue 6, (2006), 15.

26. Ukiwo, 6.
27. D. A. Offiong, *Imperialism and Dependency*, (Enugu: Fourth Dimension-Publishers, 1980), 14.
28. Idahosa S.A. and Otoghile A, op cit., 117.
29. R. Melson and H. Wolpe (eds), *Nigeria: Modernisation and the Politics of Communalism*, (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1971).
30. O. Nnoli, *Ethnic Politics in Nigeria*, Fourth Dimension Publishers, Enugu, 1978.
31. O. Nnoli, *Ethnicity and Development in Nigeria*, Avesbury, Aldershot, England, 1995.
32. Kalu, 16.
33. Ekanola, 282.
34. Eleazu, U.O, *Federalism and Nation Building*, Stockwell, Devon, 1977.
35. Lasisi, 9.
36. Ekanola, 282.
37. A. Olukoju, "Nigeria: A Historical Review," in Okafor, F. U, (ed) *New Strategies for Curbing Ethnic and Religious Conflicts in Nigeria*, (Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishers, 1997), 13.
38. Onwubu, E. Ethnicity Identity, Political Integration and National Development: the Igbo diaspora in Nigeria, *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol 13, October 1975, p. 399.
39. T. J. Davis and A. Kalu-Nwiwu, "Education, Ethnicity and National Integration in the History of Nigeria: Continuing Problems of Africa's Colonial Legacy," *The Journal of Negro History* 86, no 1, (Winter 2001), 5.
40. Cited in E. Edosa, *Nigerian Government and Administration: A Brief Outline*, (Benin City: Morgan George Publishers, 1994).
41. Ibid, 30.
42. Onwubu, 403.
43. B. Dudley, *Introduction to Nigerian Government and Politics* (Lagos: Macmillan, 1982), 72
44. A. K. Onabanjo, "Ethnicity and Max Weber's Rational-Legal Domination: The Case of Nigerian Civil Service," in Akinade, O. S (ed), *Public Administration in Periods of Uncertainty*, Fact finders International, Ibadan and Lagos.
45. Ibid.
46. K. Tijani, "Unity and Integration of Nigeria," *The Guardian*, March 6, 2005, 3
47. T. Nnaji, "Aliyu, Zik's Leadership Paradigm and National Integration," *The Sun*, Monday, November 30, 2009, 3.
48. Ibid.

49. I. Wallerstein, "Ethnicity and National Integration in West Africa," *Cahier d'etudes africaines* 1, No 3, 1960, 134.
50. Ibid., 138.
51. Cited in M. I. Ifeancha and J. Nwangwu, "Democratization and National Integration in Nigeria," *Research Journal of International Studies*, 9, (2009), 19.
52. R. Emerson, *From Empire to Nation: The Rise to Self Assertion of Asian and African Peoples* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960).