

AL-HIKMAH JOURNAL OF THE HUMANITIES



VOLUME 1 / NUMBERS 1 & 2 DECEMBER, 2008

COLLEGE OF THE HUMANITIES, AL-HIKMAH UNIVERSITY, ILORIN

TABLE OF CONTENTS VOL. 2 PAGES

1. Problems of National Integration in Nigeria:
Some Reflections By A.A. Muhammed
and O.A. Opaleye1-16
2. The Structure of Laughter in Hausa Conversation
by M. Abdul.....17-26
3. Recreation and Sport in Islam: Halal or Hara?
by Ojuade, J. Olasunkanmi.....27-34
4. Lexical Borrowing: A Linguistic Investigation of Arabic
Loan Words by Hamza Abdulraheem35-52
5. Foreign Language and National Development: The Case
of French in Nigeria by Sanni Suleiman.....53-62
6. Military Rule and the Changing Roles of the
Emirs of Ilorin by J.O.O. Odepidan.....63-78
7. The purpose of Studying Literary Criticisms
by Assayouti Ologele Al-Mubarak..... 79-78
8. The Wisdom as Expressed in Imam Abdul-Ganiyi's
Laamiyah's Poem by Kamaldeen..... 117-100
9. Usage of Preposition "Ma'a" in Arabic Language:
Its rules and Significance by Qasim Badmasi..... 134-117
10. Mourning of the Dead in Islam by Sirajudeen Bilal.. 100-130

PROBLEMS OF NATIONAL INTEGRATION IN NIGERIA: SOME REFLECTIONS

Abdulrasheed A. Muhammed and Opaleye Oyebisi Adisa

Abstract

Nigeria emerged at independence in 1960 as a plural society which essentially derives from the fusion of various ethno-cultural groups under an overarching national entity created by the departing colonial government. The coming together of these diverse elements, however, came with the challenge of integrating them into a stable national entity where commitment to the nation will supersede primordial ties and interests. This paper examines the challenges vis-à-vis the institutional and constitutional mechanisms put in place by successive Nigerian governments to achieve national integration. It concludes that while Nigeria's integration problems stem from its colonial experience, accentuated by excesses of the political class, attitudinal change and re orientation of the people towards imbibing the values of national consciousness and cohesion lie at the root of resolving the integration problems.

Introduction

The quest for peace and stability has been the central concern of all political entities the world over. This derives from the simple fact that whatever the aspirations of any polity, such can only be achieved within an atmosphere of peaceful co-existence of all citizens and a harmonious relationship between the rulers and the ruled. Put differently, the task of societal or national development is one that has the people as the central focus and object of development (Ake 2001:19). This imperative, therefore, requires that particular attention be paid to relations among the citizens for whatever development endeavour to succeed. Deriving from the above is that the citizens must be bound together in pursuit of a common purpose or aspiration and a common destiny. In other words, effective integration of the citizens is *sine-qua-non* to any form of societal development. Moreover,

scholars have established that the central problem that is often more pressing than even economic development, especially in culturally variegated countries is the achievement of integration (Ogunojemite 1987:225). This is because neither political nor economic development can be achieved in a state where commitment to the national authority by a majority of the people does not supersede primordial ties and loyalties. It must, however, be noted that while achievement of effective national integration has been less problematic in the advanced European countries, it has remained a source of worry to most developing countries, especially in Africa.

The point has been that due to the colonial experience of African countries, political entities are a reflection of colonial boundaries, which resulted in many local languages being spoken in a country with its attendant consequences for national integration. Nigeria is one of such countries where multiplicity of ethnic groups has to co-exist in addition to having multiplicity of religious groups. This situation obviously created some problems, which the country had to contend with, years after attainment of political independence.

In close to five decades that Nigeria has attained independence from the British, it has not been able to remove from its daily life, the placement of parochial interest above national interest. Despite the country's claim to unity in diversity, ethnic loyalties are still a common feature of politics. In addition to this is the problem created by multiplicity of religious groups within the country. Both ethnic and religious diversities have stalled the country's march towards building a united entity. These problems, over the years, have come in different magnitudes and dimensions, manifesting in military intervention in politics, political instability, rising spate of political violence and an unprecedented upsurge in ethnic militia groups championing the cause of internal autonomy for their various ethno-cultural groups. For instance, since independence, the country has experienced a host of successful and unsuccessful coup d'etats, It went through an agonizing civil war that lasted for almost three years and which, resulted in the death of thousands of peoples as well as several cases of political violence.

The country also has to cope with near daily incidence of groups and some leaders of thought calling for balkanization of the entity. Consequently, the country is now on the verge of disintegration and integrating it becomes an all-consuming hope in the country's march towards development. Worse still, in spite of government's endeavour to manage these problems since

independence, they appear to persist. Obviously, this scenario raises some genuine concern: What actually is the root cause(s) of national integration problems in Nigeria? How has the government been managing these problems? To what extent have the adopted measures been able to produce desired results? All these questions call for examination. The paper is organized into five parts, beginning with this introductory, remark. The next section examines the concept of national integration followed by attempt to trace the epistemology of integration problems in Nigeria. Next is an attempt at examining government's intervention measures and their effectiveness while in the last section of the work, we try to draw out some conclusions and policy recommendations.

Concept of National Integration

The simplest meaning of the term integration may be given as combining parts into a whole. The tendency, in recent sociology on integration, has been to differentiate types of integration rather than to make the concept one-dimensional. Consequently, there may be economic integration, social integration, cultural integration and political integration. However, national integration assumes a general dimension as it encompasses other forms of integration. This is why national integration has been defined as 'the unification or the act of bringing together of the diverse, and at times conflicting education, social, political, economic, religious, ethnic and cultural elements in the society into a single whole' (Ukpo 1985: iii). This means that national integration may imply a political phenomenon, which acknowledges the presence of diversities in a polity and thus seeks unification of the diversities. It is thus a political strategy for communally fragmented societies in which the political system accommodates the communal group much as it attempts to promote a sense of common loyalty to the national entity.

Ogunojemite (1987:224) identifies four uses of the term integration. First, it refers to specific problem of creating a sense of territorial nationality, which eliminates subordinate parochial loyalties and second, it refers to the problem of establishing national central authority over subordinate political units. Both are however related in that they amount to achieving cohesion among diverse and discrete units and the development of a sense of nationality. The other two uses referred to by Ogunojemite stem from the elite-mass perspective and emphasize "the progressive bridging of the elite-mass gap" and the "achievement of a minimum value consensus that is necessary for the

maintenance of a political system". He concludes that "as diverse as these definitions are, they have a common link in that they all point to the fact that integration, it is, that holds a society and a political system together" (Ogunojemite 1987: 225). Implicit in the above view is that integration involves the capacity of a political system to develop and sustain a participant political community and also presupposes a general willingness by a society to offer and accept full-fledged political partnership of all citizens without reservations (Kircheimer 1966: 182). In a way, this can be termed to mean "political development" which has been defined as "the increasing capacity of a political system to deal successfully with six major crisis in the process of becoming a modern nation-state" (Palmer 1975:8). These are the crisis of identity, legitimacy, penetration, participation, integration, and distribution. What is to be noted here is that, even if nation-building is to be situated in the context of achieving political development, integration must come first because it is a situation of cohesion, deriving from consent rather than coercion between the parts of a community sufficient to make it a workable whole (Bullock and Stallybrass 1977:134).

National integration implies preservation of unity in diversity; it does not presuppose a radical displacement of existing commitments or dissolution of ties with the existing primary communities (Smock 1971:203). The members of a relatively integrated community may still identify with their clan, family, linguistic group or race, but commitment to national community takes precedence over parochial interest. This, according to Schabowska and Himmelstrand (1978) is expressed through recognition by members of the community of a common good. That is, a common state and its authority, acting in the interest of their people. The two men concluded that, integration means an identification of the population with the broader community other than its own group, without reaching, however, beyond the country's borders and the emergence of such bond does not breach ethnic solidarity (Schabowska and Himmelstrand 1978:56). William Chambers captures national integration more succinctly when he asserts that: Most broadly, national integration may be taken as a process of incorporating various parts of a society into a functioning whole... integration tends to proceed by phases ... it moves from lower to higher stages. Among these, we may note the growth of

obedience and loyalties to the nation which transcend loyalties to its parts, the reduction of barriers between various parts of the whole, the opening of communication, and ultimately the toleration of differences within unity; the emergence of shared values and perspectives or consensus (Chambers 1966:98-99).

The conclusion to be drawn here is that, national integration requires the alleviation of tensions and discontinuities among groups in the polity in such a way that everyone in the society feels that his future is tied to that of the nation and should the nation disintegrate, he falls apart himself.

Root Cause and Manifestations of National Integration Problems in Nigeria

The dominant trend among scholars is to trace post independent problems of African States to their colonial origin. The argument is that, colonialism denied these societies of their very existence and character while it imposed on them a new culture and way of life which are alien to them. Colonialism also altered existing boundaries and brought discrete communities together under a single political authority. As observed by Emerson (1966:267-268):

One of the familiar roots of the problems of national integration in Africa is that the colonial powers imposed upon the continent a set of political boundaries, which impinged erratically on the established ethnic and political alignment of the Africa peoples, creating political entities which each embraced a larger or smaller miscellany of disparate communities and not frequently cut across tribal lines [sic].

Worthy of note here with reference to Nigeria is that the problems of national integration in post - independent Nigeria emanated from her colonial origin. This is because, the existence of many ethnic groups in the country not only created a pattern of sub national loyalty but also resulted in fear and tension, lack of trust and political antagonism among the various groups which are revealed from time to time by conflicting demands at moments of

competition for scarce national resources (Otite, 1990: 67). In other words, Nigeria has diverse ethnic groups variously estimated between 250 and over 300 (Kurian 1971:1081; Barbour 1982:2; Otite 1990). In addition, it displays a multiplicity of religious groups thus representing a plural society per excellence. The inevitable consequence of this situation is, therefore, the reality of coping with the integration problems, which they pose.

One other consequence of the colonial situation is the existence of multiplicity of religious groups. Although this cannot be wholly attributed to colonialism because the colonialists brought only the Christian religion while other belief systems have been in existence before the advent of colonialism. This includes, the Africa Traditional Religion (ATR) and Islam which had registered its presence in Northern Nigeria before the coming of the colonialists. The colonialists never took cognizance of these ethnic and religious diversities while merging the various groups but were rather influenced by the perceived economic and strategic importance of the area in the intra European scramble for the soul of Africa (Babangida cited in Muhammed, 1998:10).

Another strand of colonialism as the root cause of the problems of national integration in Nigeria lies in the Machiavellian policy of divide and rule embarked upon by the colonialist. Indeed, there were no concrete steps taken to fuse the people together as one. For instance despite the 1914 amalgamation of the territories of Nigeria, different administrative styles were established in the territories and this led to the development of different set of Nigerians to the extent that the different administrations were hostile and uncooperative (Muhammed, 1998:10). This situation, coupled with the division of the country into three unequal regions in 1946 led to a strong regional feeling and harboring of primordial sentiments.

While colonialism is believed to be the root cause of national integration problems in Nigeria, it has however been reinforced in the post colonial era by a number of factors among which are the intemperance of the Nigerian people and lack of willingness to stay together; the adversarial attitude of political leaders and political parties as well as the existence of many power potentates in the country. Indeed, it has often been argued that the Nigeria peoples, since inception of the Nigerian state in 1914, lack the strong will to stay together as a nation. Perhaps, this unwillingness to unite started in the colonial era as Tafawa Balewa remarked in 1948 thus:

Since 1914, the British government has been trying to make Nigeria

into one country, but the Nigerian people themselves are historically different in their background, in their religious belief and customs and do not show themselves any sign of willingness to unite... Nigeria's unity was only a British intention (cited in Okoli 1987:190)

The existence of many power potentates in the country equally reinforced the divisions created by colonialism. In trying to capture state power, these power potentates manipulate ethnic and religious cleavages in the country and the consequence of this is that constructive argument and sagacity are substituted with sentiments and bigotry. In other words, national integration problems in Nigeria can equally be traced to lust for power, greed and desire for personal aggrandizement among Nigerians especially the elites who tend to politicize social differences in their intra-class competition for power and primitive accumulation. Also, there exists the tendency for parties to see themselves as forces competing in a multi-ethnic society and thus interpret competition in terms of the survival of ethnic entities (Ojo, 1998a:6; Gulrez, 2004:14). Of course this unfortunate situation has had and is still having profound impact on the Nigerian state. Since independence in 1960, hardly did a year pass without witnessing one political catastrophe or the other which eventually results in massive loss of lives and properties. For instance, the political crises engendered by prebendal politics shortly after independence not only resulted in massive loss of lives but also, along with other issues, precipitated events that led to the 30 month civil war.

The civil war came and ended with 'no victor, no vanquish' slogan but after wholesale destruction of lives and properties. Since the end of the war, Nigeria has been writhing from one political conflagration to another. There have been series of sectionally-motivated coups and counter coups; and crises of marginalization from different ethnic and religious groups to the extent that each group becomes suspicious of the government's motive any time policies are made. Even the country's external relation is not spared of this ugly antagonism. Suleiman (2004) noted that, religion has played dominant effect in determining Nigeria's relation with the rest of the world. This is evident in the kind of antagonisms that greeted Nigeria's membership of the OIC, Nigeria's relation with Israel and in 1995, Nigeria's membership of D8, a group of 8 developing countries. There is no doubt that ethnic and religious cleavages have impacted negatively on Nigeria's national integration efforts. It has led to militarization and armed conflict in the past

(Gulrez, 2002:14) and it's not certain that this would not continue into the foreseeable future. This is because elites in the country have continued to use ethno-religions identities as instruments of political bargaining. This trend as well has made virtually all past attempts at integration sterile.

The decade of the 1990s witnessed Nigeria coming close to the verge of disintegration. This is because various catastrophic occurrences which could have been averted emerged. Integration problems were again aggravated by what seems to be the selfish desire of the military to hold on to power. Although there was low level of integration among Nigerians but what seems to be the prospect of one was crystallizing around the personality of Chief M.. K. O Abiola, the Social Democratic Party (SDP) Presidential flag bearer in the aborted Third Republic. In spite of being a Muslim and from the West and in spite of having another Muslim, Baba Gana Kingibe from the North as his running mate, he still received the admiration and support of most Nigerians as witnessed in the turn out of voters for the June 12,1993 presidential elections. However, the results of the presidential election was only released half way before the whole election was annulled by President Babagida, the then military head of State on allegations of corrupt practices and irregularities. This singular act opened a new chapter in Nigeria's integration problems, as the annulment did not go down well with the people especially from the Southern part of the country who saw it as another attempt to perpetuate Northern hegemony in the country. The resulting impasse continued through the decade, even after the exit of Babangida and till date, it has not fully subsided. The point is, the level of disarray and bastardization which various ethnic and religious groups have undergone over the years has created a pattern of sub national loyalties in the country which further makes little or no meaning of even the current democratic experience. For instance, since inception of the current democratic administration in 1999, there is little or nothing to suggest willingness of Nigerians to stay together. The level of social disarray is dismaying while the spate of crises is monumental (Muhammad,2003) For instance, between may,1999 and January 2000, no fewer than fifteen ethnic- religious and related crises occurred in the country (The comment, January 30,2002. P.2). This scenario according to Muhammad (2003) is rather suggestive of the description of one of Nigeria's literary legend, Chinua Achebe's and the centre cannot hold, mere anarchy loosed upon our lives', or to use Albert's (1998: 57) phrase: Everybody unto its

mothers' breast. It must be stated that all through while the problem lasts, successive governments have been making concerted attempts at integrating the diverse peoples in the country, but as will be discovered; political intricacies have largely rendered them ineffective.

Successive Government's Intervention

Since independence, successive Nigerian governments have been trying to make Nigeria one and consequently making deliberate attempts at national integration and nation building. Integration efforts in Nigeria includes attempts such as commitment to the practice of federalism introduced in 1954 by the colonial government, establishment of the National Youth Service Corp (NYSC), Unity Schools, Federal Capital Territory, Federal Character Principle and creation of states and local governments among others. All these were aimed at securing greater participation in National affairs and foster a sense of commitment to national concerns over and above primordial interest.

Before elaborating on the strategies adopted by Nigerian government, it is pertinent to observe that practical efforts at national integration and national-building did not begin until the Gowon regime (1966-75). This is because prior to this period, there were no serious efforts geared towards national integration. For instance, the Balewa government only intended to bring together the major ethnic groups in the country represented by their political parties in the task of national integration (Okoli, 1987:190). This idea however failed to consider the role of the individual Nigerian and therefore could not curb the regional and ethnic rivalries which culminated in the military intervention of January, 1966. Also, the Ironsi government (January - July, 1966) had as its intention the elimination of tribal and regional sentiments when he promulgated the Decree No. 34 of 1966 which converted the country into a unitary state. But the way and manner Ironsi introduced the Decree left many Nigerians suspicious of his motives. This and some other events led to the overthrow of his government and the subsequent ascension to power of General Yakubu Gowon who reverted the country to its federal structure.

As adumbrated earlier, the adoption of federalism in Nigeria dated back to 1954 and the intent was to achieve maximum unity in the country. The system, according to its exponents is capable of reconciling both the

centrifugal and centripetal forces in the society thereby promoting unity in the state. But its practice in Nigeria has been fraught with anomalies. Noteworthy is the fact that since inception, Nigeria's federalism has been operating both in the political and fiscal contexts. The former relates to the structural make-up of the country which has grown from an initial three regions to its present 36 states structure. The latter on the other hand relates to the mode of resource expropriation and allocation of resources. While in the political context, Nigeria's federalism has remained structurally imbalanced, its fiscal practice, as well, has remained procedurally deficient (Muhammad 2002). These manifest in the fact that, first, right from inception, the country's federal structure is one of an asymmetric association in which the North alone was equal in land mass to the sum of other parts put together (Ojo 1998b). As a result, even when new states were created, the north continues to occupy over 50 percent of states in the country, thereby constituting a permanent majority on issues of joint deliberation. Second, there exists a manifest skewedness in resource distribution among component units while efforts to arrive at a national consensus on the revenue sharing formula, in spite of several revenue commissions, have hardly yielded any acceptable outcome (Zabadi and Gambo, 2000: 75). The eventual consequence of the above is that it creates disenchantment with the practice of federalism in Nigeria with attendant implications for national integration.

Adoption of the federal character principle is another attempt made at achieving national cohesion and commitment to the central authority in Nigeria. The principle according to the 1979 Constitution Drafting Committee implies:

The distinctive desire of the people of Nigeria to promote national unity, foster national loyalty and give every citizen of Nigeria a sense of belonging to the nation notwithstanding the diversities of ethnic origin, culture, language or religion which may exist and which it is their desire to nourish, harness to the enrichment of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (cited in Ayoade 1998:109).

The federal character as an integrative mechanism is expected to ensure broad participation in national affairs by all sections of the country through a fair and effective representation of all units in the country at Federal

institutions, agencies and other power position. Also in line with the federal character principle, the activities of state and local governments in the country are to be carried out in such a manner as to "recognize the diversity of the peoples within its area of authority and the need to promote a sense of belonging and loyalty among all people of the federation" (Ogunojemite 1987:228). To give it legal backing, the principle was entrenched in section 14 (3) and 14(4) of the 1979 Nigeria constitution and subsequent Constitutions. The federal character has however been faulted on the ground that it encourages polarisation of the ethnic individual rather than dissolution of ethnic personality (Ayoade, 1998:11) and therefore to some extent, contradicts the process and idea of integration. The disparity in the standard and level of Western education between the states made its application difficult and the result of this is that merit is thrown overboard in the name of achieving relatively equal representation in the federation.

States and local governments' creation is one other strategy aimed at integrating the Nigerian people. States and local government creation exercise is typical of virtually all military regimes in the country with the exemption of the Burhari - Idiagbon regime (1983 - 1984). Some of the important benefits of states creation according to Larry Diamond (cited in Nwosu 1998:34) is that it has succeeded in 'breaking up the hegemony of Nigeria's ethnic groups, decentralize ethnic conflicts, disperse development activity, foster cross - cutting cleavages ...and in general contain the powerful centrifugal forces inherent in Nigeria's ethnic composition'. Thus, from its four regions of the first republic, Nigeria grew to a twelve states structure in 1967, to nineteen in 1976, 21 in 1987 and 30 states in 1991. The Abacha administration (1993 - 98) equally created six additional states in 1996 to give the country its present thirty - six states structure. Local governments in the country have also increased from its 301 in 1979 to about 774 presently.

But states and local governments creation in the country has not really succeeded in achieving its purpose which is to eliminate social tension that breeds instability and frustrates the country's march towards national greatness. Rather, it has reinforced diversity and led to the development in Nigeria politics, of another problematic concept of "Stateism" in addition to the existing "ethnicity" and tribalism". This is because anytime new states are created, the tendency is for people who hitherto belong to the same state but now find themselves in different states to see themselves as "former brothers" thus becoming competitors for national resources. Also, states and local

government creation exercise is usually accompanied by endless agitations for more. For instance, despite the creation of seven additional states to make nineteen in 1976, the Shagari regime that followed between 1979 and 1983 received several requests for new states to the extent that there were more than sixty states billed for creation before the regime was overthrown in 1983. Also, the 1995 National Constitutional Conference received about eighty requests for new states and 1,200 for local governments (Newswatch April 8, 1996:10). The above explanations simply put the efficacy of states and local governments' creation as integrative mechanism in doubt.

The enhancement of interaction among the nascent elite through the establishment of the National Youth Service Corp (NYSC) scheme in 1973 with the aim of inculcating in the Nigerian youths a spirit of selfless service to the community and to emphasize the spirit of oneness and brotherhood of all Nigerians, irrespective of cultural or social background represents one practical step at achieving national integration. The NYSC scheme was backed by the NYSC establishment Decree No. 24 of 1973 but later repealed and replaced by Decree 51 of 1993. The scheme is expected to assist in the development of common ties among Nigerian Youths and, promote national unity and integration (NYSC, 1993). On completion of the one year compulsory service by universities and polytechnic graduate participants are encouraged to seek job and reside in states other than their state of origin. However, unfolding events revealed that the NYSC has not made any serious impact as the leadership is often accused of corruption and embezzlement, manipulation of postings and also, alienation of corp members when it comes to getting a permanent job in states where they are posted to serve.

Conclusion

Our analysis so far has been an attempt to explore the bases and dimension of Nigeria's integration problems. So far, certain facts become obvious about Nigeria's integration problems. First is that, these problems cannot be divorced from the country's colonial experience which gives it its plural character. Colonialism, like in other colonized territories, resulted in the creation of a culturally variegated society with several levels of cleavages. Thus, the emerging groups had to compete among themselves for vantage positions and resources.

Equally, this problem was reinforced and compounded by political elite who in their intra class struggle for relevance, manipulates existing cleavages.

Thus, competitions are interpreted in terms of survival of ethnic and religious groups.

Second is that, successive Nigerian governments have always realize the need to integrate the citizens as a prerequisite for national development. This has therefore propelled them into adopting one strategy or another in order to ensure maximum commitment to national unity. These included both institutional and constitutional mechanisms such as the federal system, federal character principle, states creation, the NYSC scheme among others. However, while these mechanisms show prospects of being effective, political intricacies in the country tend to mar their application. Thus, integration problems in the country appear to be persistent and defying known and existing solution.

Against this background, it is suggested that what is mostly needed is re-orientation and attitudinal change on the part of citizens and political elites towards managing the country's integration crises. This can be achieved through state inspired efforts as well as through the efforts of non-state agencies of socialization such as religious groups and organizations, civil society groups among others. This is because, no matter the strategies adopted by the government, it can only work if all stakeholders believe in it and provide enabling environment for it to thrive. This of course cannot be possible without a positive disposition to such mechanisms.

References

Ake, C. (2001) *Democracy and Development in Africa*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books.

Albert, O. (1998) Federalism, Inter-Ethnic Conflicts and the Northernisation Policy of the 1950s and 1960s. in Amuwo K. et. al, (eds.) *Federalism and Political Restructuring in Nigeria*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books and IFRA. Pp. 50-63.

Ayoade, J.A.A. (1980), Intergovernmental Relations in Nigeria', *Quarterly Journal of Administration*. Nigeria: University of Ife. January.

Barbour, K. M. (1982). Nigeria in Africa. In Barbour, K.M. (ed.) *Nigeria in Maps*. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

- Bullock, A. and Stallybrass O. (1977). *The Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought*. London, Collins.
- Chambers, N.W. (1966). Parties and Nation Building in America. In La Palombara, J. and Weiner, M. (eds.) *Political Parties and Political Development* Princeton: University Press.
- Gulrez, M. (2002). Nigeria Muslim Community: Political Connotation, *India Journal of Politics*. Vol. Xxxvi (3-4), July-December, pp. 107-120.
- Kircheimer, O. (1966). Transformation on Party System. In L Palombara J. and Weiner M. (Eds.). *Political Parties and Political Development* Princeton: University Press.
- Kurian G.T. (1979). *Encyclopaedia of the Third World Vol. II*. London: Mansell publishers.
- Muhammad, A. A. (2002). An Analysis of Recurring Issues in Nigerian Federalism. Unpublished M.Sc. degree Dissertation. Department of Political Science, University of Ilorin, Nigeria
- Muhammad A. A. (2007). Federalism, Democracy and the National Question under Nigeria's Fourth Republic' *Political Science Review* Vol. 4, No. 1
- Muhammed, M. N. (1998). Ethnicity and national Integration Problems in Nigeria *Ilorin Journal of Arts and Social Sciences* Vol. 1 pp 10 21 *Newswatch*, Lagos. April 8, 1996.
- Nwosu, N.I, (1998). The Military and Constitutional Engineering in Nigeria', *Ilorin Journal of Business and Social Sciences* Vol. 5 No 1.
- NYSC (2003). *NYSC Handbook* Abuja: NYSC Secretariat
- Ogunojemite, L.O. (1987). Federal Character as an Integrative Mechanism: The Nigerian Experiment at Nation Building. In Olugbemi, S.O. (ed.) *Alternative political Future for Nigeria*. Nigerian Political Science Association.

- Ojo, E.O. (1998a). Political Parties and National Integration. *The Herald Newspaper*, Ilorin Nigeria. September 4.
- Ojo, E.O (1998b). 'Nigerian Federalism in Historical Perspective', *Ilorin Journal of Arts and Social Sciences Vol. 1* pp 1-9.
- Okoli, F.C. (1987). Unity in Diversity or Diversity in Unity? Towards a Viable Political Structure for Nigeria in the 1990s. In Olugbemi S.O (ed.) *Alternative Political Future for Nigerian*. Nigerian Political Science Association Publication.
- Otite, O. (1990). *Ethnic Pluralism and Ethnicity in Nigeria* Ibadan: Shaneson C.I. Limited.
- Palmer, D.N. (1975). *Elections and Political Development* London: C. Hurst and Company.
- Schabowska, H. and Himmelstrand, U. (1978). *African Reports on the Nigeria Crisis*. Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies.
- Smock, C.A. (1971). *Ibo Politics: The Role of Ethnic Unions in Eastern Nigeria*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Suleiman, A.O. (2004). *Religion in Nigerian Foreign Policy: Reflections on the G8*. Abuja, Nigeria: Zumunta Consult and Publishing Company Limited.
- The Comment, Lagos. January 30, 2002.
- Ukpo, (1985). Keynote Address' in Nigeria Folklore Society, *Folklore and the Challenge of National Integration*, Zaria.
- Zabadi, I.S. and Gambo, A.W. (2000). Federalism and National Security in Nigeria, *African Journal of Federal Studies Vol. 1 No. 1* pp. 65-81.