The Challenges of National Integration in Nigeria

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DOI: 10.36108/NJSA/7002/50(0160)
Vol. 5 Issue 1, 2007

Abstract
This paper interrogates the challenges of national integration in Nigeria. Several policies and programmes of government like harmonized state structure, establishment of National Youths Service Corps Scheme, Federal Character Commission have not been able to achieve the goal of uniting the peoples of Nigeria. The question is, what are the factors responsible for lack of unity, tribalism, nepotism, electoral malpractices, anarchy and social disorganisation, which are the bane of the Nigerian soda-political structure today? This paper provides answers to this question. It exposes the intricacies of national integration and seeks to x-ray the factors which hinder the realization of the dream of national integration and their possible alternatives. The identified alternatives deal with how to achieve the objective of national integration in Nigeria.

Introduction
This paper addresses issues related to integration among groups in Nigeria. It lays emphasis on the needs, policies and programmes for national unity. The major highlights of the paper are: the need for national integration; policies and programmes of national integration in Nigeria, and the major factors against the realization of an integrated Nigeria. The paper ends by discussing issues that will help to build a Nigerian bloc which will stand to survive the developmental challenges facing her as a nation. In this process, inter and intra tribal conflicts will give way to progress and development.

Theoretical Review
The need for a strong alternative to the problems confronting a multi cultural nation like Nigeria has brought to the fore the concept of multi-culturalism. It is an approach which postulates mechanisms that could address problems posed by diverse cultures. It is concerned with policy initiatives and programmes that are geared toward a united polity. From this point, there is need to acknowledge the existence of diverse cultures and ensure the protection of the fundamental rights and responsibilities of individuals.

Multi culturalism as an approach provides that people in a multi-cultural area like Nigeria are prepared and positioned to retain their culture and enjoy full access to participation and adhere to constitutional principles and commonly shared values prevailing in the society. (Inglis 1995). In light of the above position, issues relating to national integration can best be understood from the standpoint of structural functionalism. This theory sees the society as being patterned like a living body, made up of complex inter-relationships within connecting parts. A society like Nigeria is compared to living
organisms. The society is made up of different parts, which must function together. Malfunctioning of any part affects the entire system. The society therefore is an inter-connected whole. Any part that is dysfunctional endangers the stability of the entire social structure (Warren Kidd et. al. 2003).

Different ethnic groups, states and all the social institutions constitute the parts of the society. Haralambos M. et al (1980) argue that the various parts of society are seen to be interrelated and taken together form a complete system. To understand any part of society, such as the family or religion, the part must be seen in relation to the society as a whole. Each part is to be examined and considered valid in the maintenance of the social system. It is therefore significant to argue that every citizen and ethnic group in Nigeria has valued roles to play for the survival of the nation. Each of these roles should be considered, appreciated, appraised and valued. It would help to promote value consensus, policies and programmes of national integration in Nigeria.

The Need for National Integration
Before colonialism, the people who are today called Nigerians were of diverse cultures. They were formerly under various socio-political structures. They had different governmental structures and systems. Some of them were regarded as emirates like the Sokoto, while some were regarded as empires. For instance, the Oyo empire, Benin empire and Borno empire. Some were also known as kingdoms. For the Igbo, their leadership structure was gerontological. The council of elders was overseeing the people's affairs.

During the Colonial period, these people who were under different traditional administrative structures began to be administered by the British colonial masters. The British colonial government took cognizance of the traditional structures of governance prevalent among the people. They designed methods of governance that helped them to administer the people effectively without altering their traditional political structures. This is the main reason why policies of both direct and indirect rule were adopted.

Direct rule system had to do with direct contact between the leaders (colonial masters) and the led (the colonized people). On this premise, there was face-to-face contact between colonial workers and the people being administered - the people in the hinterland. Colonial government appointed warrants chiefs from among the colonized people who acted as their representatives. Government's representatives under the supervision of the colonial masters implemented policies/instructions from the colonial government. This was practiced in Igbo traditional society where the council of elders constituted the hallmark of governance. The British colonial government appointed leaders of various Igbo communities in the name of warrants chiefs. The warrant chiefs were colonial administrators and they worked in line with colonial policies and programmes. It is significant to note
that some of their policies were not in agreement with the culture of the
people such as the policy of taxation in which both males and females were
subjected to pay. The tax policy was rejected in many quarters. The women
revolted against the policy in particular. In 1929, the Aba women rioted and
expressed their grievances against the policy.

On the contrary, indirect rule system of governance was made manifest
in the Northern region. The British Colonial administrators ruled the
hinterland indirectly through the emirs. The emirs received instructions from
the colonial government and passed on such instructions at the level of policy
implementation to their subjects. If the colonial government wanted the
people to pay tax, the emirs would collect the taxes and pass it on to the
colonial government. The policy worked in the Northern Nigeria with great
success. It was possible because they already had an established political
structure. It is also a fact to note that the people have respect for their elders
more especially those who are in the authority of governance. An attempt to
dismantle this structure would have had negative consequences on the
colonial government, hence the indirect rule system.

There were fundamental differences between the Emirs and Warrant
Chiefs used by the British colonial government in Nigeria. The differences
include the following:

- The Emirs acquired their leadership status through the ascription process.
  It implies that they inherited their positions. This is contrary to the
  positions of the Warrant Chiefs who were political appointees of the
  British Colonial Government.

- The Emirs were answerable to their people. They worked in line with
  their cultural provisions. They resorted to the interests of their subjects
  (people) before executing any colonial policy. On the other hand, the
  warrant chiefs were not answerable to the people rather the colonial
  government. They were much more interested in executing colonial
  policies as they come without recourse to their socio-political and cultural
  implications. In this light, most of the policies of the colonial government
  affected the people negatively. An example is the colonial tax policy,
  which was rejected by the women and led to the Aba women's riot in
  1929.

- The Emirs were very diplomatic in carrying out the instructions of the
  colonial masters among their subjects. They used varied mechanisms in
  persuading their subjects to comply with colonial directives. This made
  them command obedience from the people. On the opposite, the warrant
  chiefs employed power as the major instrument to ensure the people's
  compliance to government policies. In this process, they used force to
  implement government policies.

- Islamic religion was instrumental to the establishment of governance in
  the Northern part of Nigeria. Islam as a religion is an element of culture.
  The people of the north held on tenaciously to their faith in Islam. They
had strong beliefs that the emirs were divinely chosen. As a result, obedience to their command means obedience to Allah and prophet Mohammed. On the side of the Warrant Chiefs, the people within the Igbo community where they operated did not recognize them [the warrant chiefs] as divine instruments. They were seen as instruments of exploitation established by the colonial masters. Their positions were anti-cultural. This is one major reason why they were not accorded traditional recognition and respect. Their actions were resisted at all cost by the people. People obeyed them because they feared the colonial government's brutality.

From the above explanations, we can agree that the two systems of governance used by the British colonial government were as a result of the people's cultural diversities. The cultural differences of the two areas were evident in their perspective traditional political institutions. It is also important to note the fact that the British colonial government also considered the population strength of the two areas; the northern and eastern regions. The north has a very vast land mass and it is believed to be densely populated.

Thus, in order to enable colonial government reach the grass roots, the only option was to adopt the indirect rule system.

However, the population strength of the eastern part of Nigeria was not as dense when compared to that of the north. It was easy for the people to be organized directly than using the traditional rulers whom the colonial masters could not identify. This is due to the gerontological structure of government prevalent in the people's traditional life. The Igbo's traditional political structure is egalitarian in nature. All citizens are seen as equal partners. This hinges on the belief that everyone is equal and should have the same rights and opportunities. The differences in these areas led to the carving out of both the Northern and Southern protectorates. Each of these protectorates had a Governor General.

In 1914, all the protectorates were merged and were named Nigeria. This was the beginning of the history of Nigerian's national integration. Frederick Lord Lugard championed the process of amalgamating all the protectorates. According to Nweke, (2004), Sir Fredrick Lord Lugard was the Governor in charge of the Northern protectorate. He decided to create a merger of both the northern and southern protectorates as a common political entity. He explained his reasons for this venture and the expected positive socio-political effects and forwarded it to the Queen of England for approval. The Queen granted his request. By historical fact, Nigeria was born on January 1st 1914 and that date marked the beginning of the modern history of the nation.

The British colonial government who masterminded the integration of the different tribes into one national structure called Nigeria did it with reasons.
Perhaps the colonial government felt that it would have the opportunity of exercising socio-political and economic control of the area. As a colony under one government, the activities of her citizens would be under close monitoring. It would also give the government the opportunity to understand the people and their problems better. The purpose of the colonial government to integrate Nigeria may have been dashed by the nature of the socio-political, cultural and economic instabilities in Nigeria presently.

The questions are, what then is the problem? What is responsible for the lack of unity among Nigerians? Is it not possible for the different tribes that make up Nigeria to experience a political, socio-cultural and economic cementing that will give the people a we sense? If this cannot be realized, what is the possible alternative to the nation's unstable social structure so that development at all levels of life - human and material, will be experienced in an atmosphere of peace, harmony, love and progress.

In the wake of her independence in 1960, her national anthem reminds Nigerians of the need to overlook tribal differences and live as a united nation. The first anthem drew the attention of her citizens on the need to work as a corporate political entity not minding the varied cultures. The anthem reads:

Nigeria we hail thee;
Our own dear native land;
Thou tribe and tongue may differ;
In brotherhood we stand;
Nigerians all;
Are proud to serve
Our sovereign motherland.

**Current National Anthem**

Arise, O compatriots,
Nigeria's calls obey.
To serve our fatherland, with love and strength and faith,
The labour of our heroes past shall never be in vain.
To serve with hearts and might;
One nation bound in freedom, peace and unity.

Oh God of creation,
direct our noble cause
Guide our leaders right,
help our youths the truth to know,
In love and honesty to grow,
And living just and true, great lofty height attain.
To build a nation where peace and justice shall reign.
National Pledge
I Pledge to Nigeria my country,
To be faithful, loyal and honest,
To serve Nigeria with all my strength,
To defend her unity and uphold her honour and glory,
So help me God.

Both the first and the current national anthems and pledge are clarion calls to all citizens. They tend to remind citizens about their roles and responsibilities in working towards the building of one nation where peace and progress will be the hallmark of the people's culture. This has not been realized.

In all national issues, ethnicity, sentiments and tribalism have continued to reign supreme. Nnoli O. (1980:9) argues that discussing ethnicity in a heterogenous nation like Nigeria may succeed in keeping ethnic sentiments aflame by bringing it to the forefront of the consciousness of the reading population. He further believes that it may generate divisive inter ethnic controversies. According to him, ethnicity is a very sensitive issue in national politics. Its interpretation may be regarded by some ethnic ideologues as encouraging ethnic tension (Livine Robert, 1966). However, focus on ethnicity may mask other important variables that are functional in destabilizing a corporate political entity like Nigeria. Such variables as sentiments, tribalism, nepotism are dangers to Nigeria's existence.

Achille (1971) views tribalism as not only an anachronistic misnomer which impedes cross cultural analysis by drawing invidious and highly suspect distinctions between Africans and other peoples of the world, but it also over simplifies, mystifies and obscures the real nature of economic and power relations among Africans and between them and the capitalist world.

In the Nigerian situation, some of those in governance try by all means possible to favour their own people at the expense of other citizens. The National treasure is faced with the struggle of who will get the biggest chunk for his people which in turn encourages corruption. Individuals occupying high status positions use their positions to enrich themselves against national ethics and culture. It is however important to note that corruption has become endemic in Nigeria and it has negatively affected development at all levels of governance. Otite (2000) argues that "Corruption is the perversion of integrity or state of affairs through bribery, favour or moral depravity". He stresses that corruption takes effect when at least two parties have interacted to change the structure or processes of society or the behaviour of functionaries in order to produce dishonest, unfaithful or defiled situations.

Available records reveal that corruption has been the bane of Nigeria's public administration. In assessing Gowon's military regime, the Nigerian Tribune (1st August 1975) asserted inter alia; "Gowon's regime was
unashamedly corrupt to the macro. Everyone knew it. His pledge to enact an anti-corruption decree like other promises was never fulfilled. When attempts were made to expose these evils, he suppressed the attempts with the very weight of his high office" (Nigerian Tribune August 1st 1975, cited by Maduagwu 1995) Lamenting the scourge of corruption in the second Republic Maduagwu (1995) asserts that; Ministers, governors, party officials, supporters of all the political parties, business associates, all rallied round to share the booty. Shagari's NPN ruling party, having more access to the national resources, excelled of course, in this rape of public wealth.

The list of cases of corruption is endless if we probe into all political regimes in Nigeria since independence. Even in the current political dispensation, led by Umaru Musa Yar' Adua, several cases of corrupt practices abound. The former speaker of the House of Representatives, Mrs. Partricia Etteh was removed as a result of a N600 million contract scandal. In this light Tokunbo (1972) laments that; it is not an exaggeration of the tragic events of the country since independence, to say that all efforts to establish a just and efficient administration have been frustrated by corruption. The evil exists in every facet of our society.

This has resulted in socio-cultural instabilities, religious crisis, disharmony, social dysfunction and crimes of varied magnitudes. Nigeria as a nation has become polluted with problems, which has negatively affected all her citizens.

Policies and Programmes of National Integration in Nigeria
Between 1914 and 1960, the colonial government at different levels and in all regions designed varied policies and programmes which would help it unite the Nigerian people. Actions of government in this period towards national unity were most prominent in its constitutional writings, reforms and reviews. The first constitution was Clifford's constitution of 1922, followed by Richard's constitution of 1946. There is that of McPherson's of 1951 and finally that of Littleton's in 1954.

Each of these pre-independent constitutions was established in the process of finding lasting a panacea to the disintegrated nature of the nation state. Each of them was championed as a result of the socio-political circumstances of the time and the need to replace uncomfortable policies with comfortable ones in order to carry the people along no matter their cultural differences. These partially worked out. It is important to note that the Nigerian political structure is tribalized. Tribal politics was recorded in the history of Nigeria prior to independence in 1960 and even after. Nweke (2004: 227) records that in 1951 the three political parties that were formed to contest elected positions as provided by MacPherson's constitution were tribalized.

The National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon (NCNC) which was formed by Sir Herbert McCauley was dominated by the Igbos, the Action Group led by Chief Obafemi Awolowo was for the Yorubas while the
Northern People's Congress (NPC) led by Sir Ahmadu Bello and Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa was controlled by the Hausas/Fulanis. He further posits that sentiments and tribalism were inculcated into the Nigeria's political structure which resulted in crisis. The political crisis generated by tribalism in Nigeria's political life made the colonial secretary Oliver Lyttleton, call for a new constitution which would grant each region more autonomy and prepare a way for its independence; In 1953 when Sir Oliver Littleton's Constitution was written, the constitution provided that:

1. the regions that wanted self government could have it in 1956 leaving the North to decide when it was ready and that,
2. Lagos would become a federal territory (Nweke 2004: 227).

For these provisions to be entrenched in the constitution, it implies that tribalism is glaring in the nation's polity. It is a bane to national security and integration.

On first of October 1960, Nigeria gained her independence. On first of October 1963, Nigeria became a republic. This by law is a status for total sovereignty. It is a status for self-governance and political freedom. The people were given the freedom to take valued decisions concerning their governance. It is therefore a status of self-rule. The self-rule status ushered in a new system of government in which Nigerians began to administer their own affairs. They formed their own government and began to write their own constitution. Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, as the first indigenous Governor General headed the first government, while Alhaji Tafawa Balewa became the first Prime Minister.

It is pertinent to note that Nigeria is a diverse political entity. It is made up of people from different cultures and ethnic origins. This socio-cultural diversity is responsible for the people's diverse of interests. People work to protect these interests at all cost. Whether life is involved or not, the ultimate goal is to protect these vested interests. The events of the Nigerian civil war coupled with other factors are points of departure in which a discourse of national disintegration rest on. The offshoot of the 30 months civil war and other factors have determined the state of the nation today. On this premise, different policies were formulated and implemented by different types of government in order to ensure that wounded hearts are healed, and that broken structures are mended.

It is on this basis that the disorganized socio-political structures of Nigeria lie. In this light, Achebe (1979) in "Things Fall Apart" writes, that when things fall apart, the center can no longer hold. This signifies that the integration of different facets and segments Nigeria is a difficult mission.

In the quest for a one and united Nigeria, different policies and programmes were designed by different governments at different times. These policies call for national integration. National integration calls for a
greater understanding and feeling of oneness. It calls for a "we sense" in relationships and cohesiveness among Nigerians. It is important so as to ensure the continued stability and unity of Nigeria.

Unity is strength. Nweke (2004:192) argues that national integration is significant in order to enhance a social, cultural, economic, educational and political stability. He defines national integration as a continued process through which different tribes, ethnic groups, cultures, states, local governments, wards, communities, villages, families and individuals are cemented together as one nation. It is a process of continued existence and a valued process of ensuring that the spirit of oneness is solidly maintained in a nation.

It is important to briefly look at different policies and programmes of national integration. They may be viewed as the processes of continued integration in Nigeria. They shall be examined under the following sections:

- The unitary school system of education;
- The protection of fundamental human rights of citizens;
- The 3R mechanism of government;
- The National Youths Service Corps (N.Y.S.C.) scheme;
- The clarion calls of the national Anthem and the pledge and;
- The Federal Character Commission.

**The Unitary School System of Education**

The federal government adopted a unitary system of education, in 1976 following the introduction of universal primary education. In this process, educational institutions like Federal Government Colleges, Polytechnics and Universities were established in different states by the federal governments. These are called unity institutions. The law provides that students from all states should be admitted. Each state has its own quota in a defined federal and state educational institution. The expectation is that the students and staff of such institutions irrespective of their tribes should see themselves as one people with a common national identity. This primary purpose has not been realized. Sentiments, discrimination and tribalism continue to impact negatively on the management of these schools.

**The Protection of the Fundamental Human Rights of Citizens**

The 1999 constitution of the federal republic of Nigeria provides for the protection of the fundamental human rights of her citizens. Citizens have the right to life, right to own property, right to associate freely, right to speak or freedom of speech, freedom of movement and religion. Any infringement on any of these rights attracts punishment to the offender. It therefore implies that a citizen can move to any part of the country without any restriction. This helps to facilitate and encourage freedom of association. Through this process, citizens' sovereignty is guaranteed.
At present, the fundamental rights of Nigerians are not fully protected. For instance, citizens’ fundamental right to freedom of religion have been threatened by violent religious crises in northern Nigeria. The crisis is usually ethno-tribalistic since the crisis is often between the Christian Igbo and the Muslim Hausas/Fulans and as a result lives and properties have severally been lost during religious crisis.

**The 3R mechanism of government**

After the civil war, it was discovered that homes, lives and properties worth trillions of naira were lost. Many of the things that were lost cannot be monetarily quantified. The federal government adopted various measures to reconcile wounded hearts and to bring peace back to the nation. She adopted a 3R mechanism. The mechanism stands for Reconciliation, Reconstruction and Rehabilitation.

The programme was aimed at ensuring that peace was restored in the lives of many Nigerians. It was aimed at reconstructing damaged structures, and rehabilitating those who were war victims. These are people who had lost everything. They are also those who were wounded and had become disabled. For instance, the federal government built a rehabilitation camp at Oji River in Enugu State where such people are kept and cared for. At present the camp can no longer accommodate the war victims and they are not properly cared for. They depend on charity for survival and sustenance. The agonizing situation has resulted in many of them dying from hunger, stress and socio-psychological pressure.

**The National Youths Service Corps (N.Y.S.C.) Scheme**

In 1973, the federal government established a scheme called National Youths Service Corps (NYSC). The scheme was designed to ensure that graduates of Nigerian origin throughout the world who wish to serve on Nigerian soil are introduced to the cultures of other tribes in Nigeria. Graduates who are not up to thirty (30) years of age are meant to serve their fatherland outside their cultural or tribal area for one year.

The major purpose of the scheme is to expose Nigerian youths to other cultures and encourage love, compassion and tolerance. By implications they can learn/speak their language, dress like them, eat their food and even marry from among them. It is important to note that the federal government sponsors such marriages. The purpose of this is to build and encourage love, peace, unity and progress among Nigerians. However, why is it that many Nigerian youths still fail to be culturally integrated in their places of service? This is one reason why many youths see youth service corps programme as a federal punishment. In this light, the main objective has still not been realized (Nweke, 2004).
The Clarion calls of the National Anthem and the Pledge
Okeke (2001) argues that the anthem is a clarion call to all Nigerian people to arise for the service of their fatherland with unreserved spirit of patriotism. This he says is significant so that the efforts made by her nationalists shall not be an exercise in futility. No wonder line three, stanza one says, “the labour of our heroes past shall never be in vain.” The last line in the second stanza concludes by asking every citizen to work towards building a nation where peace and justice shall reign. Every Nigerian child is compulsorily expected to know both the anthem and the pledge. The child is meant to memorize them at any point in time. To get this done, pupils in primary schools and students of secondary schools compulsorily recite them both at the beginning, and closure of their daily school activity. This is aimed at ensuring that they become part and parcel of every Nigerian child.

The child is expected to grow up being conscious of the need to work for the unity of one Nigeria. Nweke (2004) has it that in November 2003 and in other periods, some ambassador designates and many other citizens of Nigeria lost their positions of honour (ambassadorial appointments and so forth) because they failed to sing the national anthem and recite the national pledge.

The Federal Character Commission
The Federal Character Commission is a unifying organ of the federal government of Nigeria. It is a commission that is charged with the responsibility of sharing the nation’s resources among the three tiers of government. The commission defines through a quota system how resources are allocated to different regions with a view to applying justice and equity and taking cognizance of the population's strength, land mass, material and human resources, educational strength and a lot of other indices.

Consideration is made to protect the weak, sections of the nation. This is the reason why some states are classified as educationally advantaged. Those who are educationally disadvantaged receive higher revenue allocation to help them facilitate their educational processes to meet up with their educational demands. Also, states where mineral resources like crude oil are deposited and utilized, receive higher budgetary allocation than others. This is responsible for the establishment of the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC), which is charged with the responsibility of aggressively developing the oil producing regions as compensation to host communities. The federal character commission is a unifying organ of the federal government. It was established to help strengthen the bond of unity among Nigerians and is expected to give people a sense of belonging. The commission has failed in this light.

The Major factors that hinder the Integration of the Nigerian People
One of the major factors which hinders the integration of the Nigerian people, is cultural diversity. Nigeria is a heterogeneous nation with people of varied
cultures. Thus, it is very difficult for people of diverse entities and cultural origins to be joined together under one national culture.

The British colonial masters who amalgamated both the northern and southern protectorates as a common political entity did it because of their own selfish interests which was against the interest of the different tribes. They forgot that the methods of governance in those protectorates differ because of the people's cultural diversity. Worthy of note is the fact that there is no unity in diversity. Ezeugwu in Okafor et al (1999)" believes that: The position of Ezeugwu is the case of Nigeria. Most of the tribes preferred to be given political freedom than to be part of a corporate political entity called Nigeria. This was the major cause of the Nigerian civil war. If this should be considered, many people argue that a united Nigeria is not possible. they advocate for the division of the nation into different ethnic blocs as independent nations. Most people believe in the establishment of a three-nation structure ie: Yoruba, Hausa and Igbo nations. This is responsible for the existence of continued crisis in different parts of the nation especially in the Niger delta region. Nigerians in the Niger Delta feel developmentally disadvantaged because they lack basic infrastructures even when their soil is the major source of the nation's wealth (crude oil). Other tribes have reasons for their secession bid. This has resulted in the existence of instability in all the nation's socio-institutional structures and in lack of development.

It is pertinent to note that another major factor responsible for the disintegration of Nigeria is religion. Nigeria is polarized into two major religious groups; Christianity and Islam. Violent religious crisis usually occur between the two groups and it is often the worst in the northern Nigeria, which is dominated by Islamic worshipers. Christianity is the dominant religion for the easterners [mostly the Igbos]. This in turn affects national unity.

Conclusion

The heterogenous nature of Nigeria and lack of unity among the various ethnic groups in Nigeria has adversely affected the development of the nation. It has become a serious threat to the country's future. Several government policies established to encourage the unification of all Nigerians as one have failed. The unity of the Nigerian people is a clarion call of her dedicated nationalists who championed the cause of her independence in 1960 and her republican status in 1963.

Citizens need to cultivate the habit of showing love to one another. They should be patriotic in all their dealings. This will be the major instrument of development; humanly, structurally and otherwise. In this light, instabilities in all the social institutions shall be things of the past. Both leaders and followers will brace up to the challenges and responsibilities of their
positions. A new Nigeria will be created where peace, progress and development shall be upheld.

**Recommendations**

From all indications, peace cannot reign in Nigeria when there is no love for one another. It is not also possible for progress, positive growth and development to take their proper place when there is no unity. It is pertinent to ensure that people from diverse ethnic orientations see themselves as one Nigeria. This will be functional if those in governance will ensure even development of both material and human resources. This development should be divorced from prejudice, tribalism and sentiments.

Secondly, corruption should be eradicated. The government and other private institutions should wage serious war against corruption. For instance, the role played by the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) should be consolidated. By this, the commission should be autonomous and true transparency in its dealings with the public should be encouraged. Thus, there will not be any fear of unnecessary intimidation of the public by the President or whoever is by the law empowered to give verdict on any case. It will create room for sound judgment and sanity in Nigeria. The empowering act of autonomy should be signed into law and political office holders, whether President or Governors should have no immunity or special protection in the commission's activities. The rule of law should be upheld.

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