IDENTITY CRISIS AND NATIONAL INTEGRATION: THE NIGERIA EXPERIENCE

Onyemaechi Christopher UGWUIBE[1] & Francisca N. ONAH[2]
[1]Department of Public Administration & Local Government, University of Nigeria, Nsukka
[2]Social Science Unit, School of General Studies, University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

ABSTRACT

National integration has remained a gradual pursuit in many heterogeneous post-colonial states, Nigeria inclusive. The 1914 amalgamation exercise in Nigeria embarked upon by the British colonialists was a unification of more than 250 ethnic groups without unity. It was rather a marriage of convenience to ease administration and exploitation by the colonial powers. Thus, the fact of this colonial incursion could be said to mark the origin of identity crisis in Nigeria. Although various strategies and policies of national integration have been adopted in Nigeria to address the identity crisis since independence, the situation remains worrisome. It is against this back drop that this paper focuses on identity crisis and national integration in Nigeria. The study adopted the social identity theory in explaining identity crisis and national integration in Nigeria. Data for the study were gathered through secondary sources and analyzed using the content analytic method. The study reveals that the mechanism for national integration in Nigeria to some reasonable extents failed far below expectation. Among others, the paper recommends fairness and equity in appointments to political positions especially at the top echelon of government so as to reflect Nigeria's federal character. Nigerians should also be acquainted with the ethics of patriosm.
Keywords: Heterogeneous Society, Identity Crisis, National Integration, Nigeria, Policy

Introduction

Nigeria is a country where diverse ethnic groups exist side-by-side, struggling for survival. She is recognized as the most populous country in Africa. According to Dayo (2018), Nigeria has a population of about 186 million people. The country is divided into 36 states, Federal Capital Territory and 774 local government areas. Asaju and Egberi (2015) noted that the major ethnic groups in Nigeria are the Hausa-Fulani of the north,

the Yoruba of the southwest, and the Igbo of the Southeast. However, the co-existence among these groups, which is characterized by fear of the unknown and suspicion of domination of one ethnic group by another has become inevitable. However, the incessant agitation and struggle to have control of the nation's resources remain the bone of contention and sources of threat to peaceful co-existence, nation building and national integration in Nigeria.

Meanwhile, the suspicion and fear among these ethnic groups that make up Nigeria has longstanding history. It is necessary to state at this point that before 1914, the country known as Nigeria today were living separately in their various kingdoms, clans and empires, many of which were under different powerful rulers, while some others were under acephalous society. The social aggregate which metamorphosed into Nigeria included the Oyo, Kanem-Borno Empires, Bonny and Benin Kingdoms, etc (Ekundare, 1975; Coleman and Roseberg, 1966). The people had very little interaction with the neighbouring empires and kingdoms, hence saw one another as strange bedfellows when brought together by Sir Fredrick Lugard in 1914. Therefore, one could reinstate that colonialism played a unification role in the amalgamation of the different ethnic groups of Nigeria into one country, but it equally planted the seed of disintegration by the structural disunity it instituted administratively and legally. This could be said to have marked the cradle for the unity in diversity existing in the country today.

The crux of the matter is that, these ethnic groups are not of equal population and hence some tend to dominate others thus exploiting them. The spirit of brotherhood is doubtful among these ethnic groups. This division is accompanied with serious suspicion, distrust, and antagonism among its diverse people resulting into ethno-regional conflict, militia groups in the Niger Delta, Oodua Peoples Congress (OPC) in the South-West, Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) in the South East, Boko Haram in the North and the Fulani herdsmen conflict virtually in all the states of the federation. All these are indications of the existence of rivalries between and among the various groups over the sharing of national resources or with the perception of being marginalized.

In Nigeria, people's identities have many different facets that they frequently change and contain considerable contradictions. For instance, people living in Nigeria would be expected to have a strong sense of Nigerian identity but the complexity of being a Nigerian and the diverse ways in which Nigerians from different ethnic groups interpret Nigerian identity does not show patriotism. In nutshell, the lack of adequate representation in political appointment especially at the federal level constitutes a great threat to national integration. It is in realization of some inherent cleavages of inadequate representation among other reasons, which this paper, therefore, seeks to examine the contentious issues in Nigeria's identity crisis and its challenges to national integration.

Methodology

The study adopted descriptive research design. Data were drawn mainly from secondary sources. Such as: text books, reputable journals, official publication, newspapers and Internet sources. The justification for the use of secondary source is that it is reliable and

usually contains huge amount of information. The secondary sources also helped the researchers to consult some documents which the study does not have physical access to. Data for this paper were analyzed using the content analysis. It focused on the analysis of knowledge information deducted from the issues raised in the paper in the light of the available data gathered.

On Identity Crisis and National Integration

The term identity has become a national issue that is connected to religion identity, state identity, national identity, transnational identity, ethnic identity, tribal identity, individual or personal identity. To Plessis (2001) ethnic identity in the African context is primarily linked to the state and to the conflict-generating effect of negative identity. Further, positive identity could also be the basis for cooperation and transformation. Therefore, positive identity plays a vital role for sustainable economic transformation. But such identity is not developed in isolation. The historical background of any given society and the character of the state tend to determine the pattern of identity that would likely emerge in that society. For instance, the decision of groups or individuals to identify themselves ethnically or religiously is the function of their interest that is dependent on the nature and scale of contestation (Nnorom and Odigbo, 2015). It is within this context that identity in Nigeria seems to be conceived from negative standpoint. However, identity as used in this paper describes the way individuals and groups defined themselves and are defined by others on the basis of ethnicity, religion affiliation, language, and culture.

Besides, identity crisis would refer to a situation where the members of any given nation are unable to arrive at a particular consensus on the legally accepted single identity for the nation in spite of the different policies that may have been promulgated and implemented by the government. According to the American Heritage Dictionary, an identity crisis is "a psychosocial state or condition of disorientation as a result of conflicting pressures and expectations and often producing acute anxiety." To Erik (1982) identity crisis is related to the reawakening of minority identities and their insistence on redefining the national identity. These efforts are expected to have crucial impacts on the political authority. This, by no means, implies the emergence of chaos or anarchy in any polity. The term "crisis" is an indicator of social transformation or a crucial turning point in the evolution of any given society. Therefore, an identity crisis is about stability and legitimacy of the political authority (government) and struggles among different groups to rearrange state structures.

In a multi-ethnic nation like Nigeria, identity crisis can be brought about by the absence of a core unifying identity on the one hand, and the existence of plurality on the other. This would lead us deceptively to conclude that all pluralistic societies inherently have identity crisis. Undoubtedly, the existence of plural identities is a necessary condition for an identity crisis, but not a sufficient one. Thus, identity crisis is a cultural group crisis over the issue of defining a national identity for a stable political system. Nigeria as a country is abundantly blessed with both natural and human resources to enhance her economic, social and political heights. What prevented and is still

preventing this take off process has been spotted by many political analysts and scholars in various field of endeavour to be Nigerian's weak national identity and lack of national integration. National integration therefore brings about progress. Any country that its citizen exhibits a genuine esprit de corps has the potentials of rapid development and survival of its citizenry. The concept integration simply means "the bringing of people of different ethnic groups into unrestricted and equal association, as in society or an organization or nation. A nation is a country with a unified socio-economic and political structure. It denotes a body of people who have a feeling of oneness, built on the basis of common history, society, culture and values. This feeling of oneness binds the people together in to a nation. In general terms it is this feeling that is known as national integration.

To Coleman and Roseberg (1964) integration is the progressive reduction of cultural and regional tensions and discontinuities in the progress of creating a homogenous political community. Integration is a progressive elimination of antagonisms and reduction of cultural and regional decisions and differences in the process of creating a homogenous political entity. In the light of the above, Onah and Orluwene (2009) conceptualized integration as the degree of cohesiveness of a nation; the extent to which it's various elements interconnects to form a consolidated unit. There is no doubt therefore that integration could broadly be seen as a strategy of bringing together people of diverse ethnic groups into a single entity for a deliberate co-existence. Thus, if one adopts the term integration, then "national integration" in the case of Nigeria will definitely imply the bringing of the different ethnic, religious, economic, social-cultural and political groups into unrestricted and equal association on national issues. Adejoh (2005) sees integration as the process of bringing diverse cultural and social groups into a single territorial unit and the establishment of a national unity. The concept assumes the existence of an ethnically plural society in which each group is characterized by its own language, culture, religion, etc or other self-conscious cultural qualities, which generate the problem of creating a sense of territorial nationality, which overshadows or eliminates subordinate parochial loyalties. In the same line of thought, Osimen, Balogun and Adenegan (2013) are of the view that national integration reduces socio-cultural and differences or inequalities and strengthen national unity and solidarity, which is not imposed by any authority. Thus, people are bound to share ideas, values and emotional bonds. It is also feeling of unity within diversity where national identity is supreme. In postcolonial state, like Nigeria, national integration is a strategy of forging unity in diversity, and connotes a striving to be a unified people in a modern, colonially created, nation-state.

Theoretical Framework
This paper is anchored on social identity theory propounded by Tajfel and Turner (1985). The social identity theory is a theory that gives insight on how individuals relate to others in a pluralist society like Nigeria. The role of identity is very significant in understanding identity crisis and national integration. These variables capture the way people view themselves in Nigeria. In Nigeria for instance it is clearly assumed that a

Hausa man by virtue of his ethnicity is a Muslim, a classification that distorts the Hausa-Fulani dichotomy in that region (Agbiboa, 2012). In the same line of thought, Ikelegbe (2005) asserts that most Southerners are seen as Igbos thereby submerging numerous other minority ethnic groups such as the Ibibios, Efiks, Ijaws, and many other groups. In this paper, ethnicity, religion, language, States, culture, etc are all key components of identities in Nigeria. However, the study draws our attention on identity crisis and its implications on national integration.

The theory gives an understanding on how groups internally construct a cohesive consciousness which is installed in the minds and hearts of its members. The argument rests on the ground that identity crises are deliberate political struggle for resources which negate the core objectives of national integration in a pluralist society like Nigeria. It is also important to note that the issue of identity has significantly contributed to the various attacks perpetuated by various sectional violent groups such as the Boko-Haram, Kidnapping, Fulani Herdsmen crisis, etc. The paper also contends that identity crisis is intensely perceived to have negatively affected Nigeria quest for a strong national integration.

Selected Identity Crisis Situations in Nigeria Ethno-Religious Clashes
Ethno-religious clashes are the clash, contention, confrontation, battle, rivalry, controversy or quarrel among ethno religious groups. Ethno-religious clashes have proved to be the most violent inter-group crisis in Nigeria. They have occurred mainly in the Middle-Belt and cultural borderline states of the Muslim north, where Muslim Hausa-Fulani groups have been pitted against the Christians. It is often very difficult to differentiate between religious and ethnic conflicts as the dividing line between the two is very tiny (International IDEA 2000, p. 296). The major examples of violent ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria have included the Kafanchan-Kaduna crises in 1987 and 1999, Tafawa Balewa clashes in 1991, 1995 and 2000, the Kaduna Sharia riots of 2000, and the Jos riots of 2001, etc. Although no exact figures of casualties were recorded in the Kaduna riots of 2000 and the Jos riots of 2001, each claimed several hundreds of lives and generated violent ripple effects beyond Kaduna and Jos. The introduction of Sharia conflicts had further polarized Kaduna, Zamfara, Sokoto among other States along religious and ethnic lines. So intense was this suspicion and fear that, Christians and Muslims, just as the various ethnic groups, found it no longer safe to live with one another. This scenario led to the emergence of separate quarters for Christians and Muslims especially within Kaduna metropolis and other major towns in the state, thus creating new and greater security threat and challenge for ethnic integration (Olatunji and Ayuba, 2016).

Intra/Inter-Group Crisis
In the contemporary Nigeria today many communities have experienced one communal conflict or another. Notable among these crises are: Zango-Kataf conflict in Kaduna State (1999-2001); Tiv-Jukun Wukari conflict in Taraba State (1999-2001); Itsekiri-Urhobo Warri crisis, (1999-2000); Yelwa-Shendam conflict (2003- 2005), Mangu-Bokoss crisis (1988-

1999), (Ubi, 2001; Best, 2004). Further inter-group economic crisis is the conflict over grazing opportunities that has taken place in recent time across the country between Fulani herdsmen and pastorals. Many communal clashes have occurred as Herdsmen shepherd their flocks to graze on every available vegetation on their route and this has often attracted protests from communities. This scenario has given rise to an unhealthy rivalry between farmers and herdsmen leading to violence, loss of lives and property. In some cases, a whole community is wiped out and those fortunate to escape have become refugees in other places. These clashes have occurred several times in Plateau, Benue, Nassarawa, Kogi, Kwara, Edo, Delta, Enugu, Abia, Ebonyi, Ondo, Oyo Osun and many other states as reported by Okoli and Atelhe (2014).

Mechanisms Instituted to Stimulate National Integration in Nigeria.
   1. **The Constitution**
The 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria provided for integrative mechanisms to ensure unity in Nigeria. This integrative mission was explicitly stated in Chapter II Section 14 and 15, sub sections 1-3 a,b,c,d of the constitution. Section 15 (2) states unambiguously: Accordingly, national integration shall be actively encouraged whilst discrimination on the grounds of place of origin, sex, religion, states, ethnic or linguistic association or ties shall be prohibited. To encourage inter ethnic marriage among persons from different parts of the constitution Sub sections 3 a, b, c, d of the constitution minces no words on how to ensure oneness in spite of diversities in Nigeria.

   Also, Section 15(4) equally states clearly about the desire to build a bridge of understanding among different ethnic groups in Nigeria. It states that: The state shall foster a feeling of belonging and of involvement among the various people of the federation to the end that loyalty to the nation shall override sectional loyalty. The above provisions become necessary because of lack of deliberate institutionalized integrative designs in both the 1960 and 1963 constitutions. This oversight was regarded as the causes of many crises of the nation building in Nigeria's First and Second Republics. Hence, the authors of the 1979 constitution which formed the bedrock of the 1999 constitution took time off to ensure that the diversities of the people, their history, and culture were reflected to guard against threats to unity and dissuade parochialism among the various groups making up in the federal republic of Nigeria. It is therefore in recognition of the non effective implementation of the above constitutional provisions in our national life that we now turn our attention to the factors that militate against Nigeria quest for national identity and integration.

   2. **Federal Character Principle**
The idea of federal character principle is not a recent phenomenon. It was known by different nomenclatures such as zoning or quota system and dates back to the pre independence period of nationalist struggle for participation in the administration of colonial Nigeria and especially after Nigeria became a Federation in 1954. It is rooted on fairness and effective representation as espoused in our constitution, to guide the leadership to search for competent holders of major offices to be distributed within the

entire nation, and avoid concentration in a few ethnic hands or geographical places, as we currently have in the leadership of our security apparatus .It is also important to note that the concept of federal character was first popularized under the Murtala/Obasanjo's regime (1975-1979). It became a constitutional matter in the Constitution Drafting Committee and the Constituent Assembly, the bodies which produced the 1979 Constitution. It finally found its way into the constitution as a directive principle of state policy (cf Osaghae, 1988, p.4). It is imperative at this point to define what the principle is. As defined by the 1979 Constitution, section 14(3), cited in Nnoli (1996), it means that:

> The composition of the Government of the federation or any of its agencies, shall be carried out in such a manner as to reflect the federal character of Nigeria and the need to promote national loyalty, thereby ensuring that there shall be no predominance of persons from a few states or from a few ethnic or other sectional groups in that government or any of its agencies (Nnoli, 1996:234).

Pursuant of the above provision, section 135(3) states that in the appointment of Ministers, the president shall reflect the federal character of Nigeria provided that in giving effects to the provision aforesaid, the president shall appoint at least one Minister from each state who shall be an indigene of such state (Nnoli,1996, p.234).

However, as laudable as the policy is, there exists a lacuna between intent and actual practices thereby defeating the objective of the policy. For example, the appointment made under President Muhammadu Buhari's reignited the debate about the applicability of the federal character principle because the appointment tended to be described as "lopsided". It is important to note that available data has revealed that the Northern part of the country has dominated the other parts. So far, the appointments made by Buhari since assumption of office in May 29th ,2015 as President revealed that the federal character principle has succeeded in institutionalizing North-South dichotomy rather than integrating it. The table below is an empirical evidence of the issue at stake.

Table 01: Synopsis of Key Appointments by President Muhammadu Buhari since 2015

S/N	Appointee(s)	Designation	Geo-Political Zone	State of Origin
1.	Lt. Col Abubakar Lawal	Aide de Camp to president	North-West	Kano State
2.	Femi Adesina	Special Adviser, Media and Publicity to the president	South-West	Osun State
3.	Garba Shehu	Senior Special Assistant, Media and Publicity	North-West	Kano State
4	Lawal Abdullahi Kazaure	State Chief of Protocol/Special Assistant (Presidential Matters)	North-West	Jigawa State
5.	Ahmed Idris	Accountant General of the Federation	North-West	Kano State
6.	Babagana Monguno	National Security Adviser	North-East	Borno State
7.	Abayomi Olonishakin	Chief of Defence Staff	South-West	Ekiti State
8.	Tukur Buratai	Chief of Army Staff	North-East	Borno State

9.	Ibok-Ete Ekwe Ibas	Chief of Naval Staff	South-South	Cross Rivers
10.	Sadique Abubakar	Chief of Air Staff	North-East	Bauchi State
11.	Monday Riku Morgan	Chief of Defence Intelligence	North-Central	Benue State
12.	Lawal Daura	Director General, State Security Services (SSS)	North-West	Katsina State
13.	Mahmood Yakubu	Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC)	North-East	Bauchi State,
14.	Habibu Abdulahi	. Managing Director, Nigerian Ports Authority(NPA)	North-West	Kano State
15.	Paul Boroh	Special Adviser, Niger Delta Amnesty Office	South-South	Bayelsa State
16.	Baba Haruna Jauro	Acting Director General, Nigerian Maritime Administration, Safety and Security Agency, NIMASA	North-East	Yobe State
17.	Umaru Dambatta	Executive Vice Chairman/ Chief Executive Officer, Nigerian Communications Commission	North-West	Kano State
18	Babatunde Fowler	Executive Chairman, Federal Inland Revenue Service, FIRS	South-West	Lagos State
19.	Aliyu Gusau	Director General, Budget Office of the Federation	North-West	Zamfara State
20.	Babachir David Lawal	Secretary to the Government of the Federation	North-East	Adamawa State
21.	Alhaji Abba Kyari	Chief of Staff to the President	North-East	Borno State
22.	Col. Hameed Ibrahim Ali (rtd.)	Comptroller-General, Nigerian Customs Service	North- Central	Nassarawa State
23.	Kure Martin Abeshi	Comptroller-General, Nigerian Immigration Service	North -Central	Nassarawa State
24.	Senator Ita S.J. Enang	SSA to the President on National Assembly Matters (Senate)	South-South	Akwa Ibom State
25.	Emmanuel Kachikwu	Group MD NNPC	South-South	Delta State

Source: *htt://www.gistmania.com & Compiled by the Authors*

From the above table, we could see that the leadership of this country especially in this current dispensation is dominated by the Northern section of the country. Further, the greatest manifestation of this tendency is the implicit policy of reserving some sensitive political positions for people from certain parts of the country. The key ministries/positions where the Northerners hold sway are regarded as being important to the continued safeguard of Northern interest in the scheme of things.

3. **National Youth Corps (NYSC) Scheme**

The National Youth Service Corps scheme was established by Decree 24 of 22nd May 1973 as a deliberate effort to ensure the realization of the Federal Government's policy of Reconciliation, Rehabilitation and Reconstruction introduced by the Federal Government after the Nigerian Civil War. According to Enebe (2007, p.82) the prime motive for the

Scheme was to expose young people to the realities of life in states other than their own to probably socialize into some of the culture and make socio-cultural contacts that would blossom into new and healthy relationship which in turn, would gradually lead to national integration. Decree 24 was replaced by Decree 51 of 16th June 1993. With the adoption of the 1999 constitution which ushered in democratic rule, the enabling document establishing the NYSC is now referred to as "the NYSC Act CAP N84, Laws of the Federation of Nigeria 2004" (NYSC, 2015).

However, in recent time Nigerians have witnessed an increasing death rate among some corps members across the states posted to serve their fatherland. The recent violent killings of many Nigerian graduates serving the country in different towns and communities especially of the Northern parts of Nigeria, bring to the limelight the negative orgy of violence meted on Nigerians when religious fanaticism and ethnic sentiments is married to desperate desire to rule the nation forcefully, by any segment of the country or religious sect (Okoro & Ani, 2011, p.750).

4. Educational Institutions

Quality education is an instrument through which Nigerians could be made to imbibe the values of responsible citizenship and conduct their lives toward national integration. Okorosaye-Orubite, (2008) asserts that education is a product and processes that reforms society and induces desirable change in behaviour patterns of individuals. Enebe (2007) noted that the educational institutions in Nigeria are strong agencies of integration. Every one of them operates a form of quota system but a student can always be admitted on merit. The effective mobilization of people to achieve target goals is enhanced by education. Education develops the mental capacity of the individual, and certainly, it is easier to mobilize a population where the average individual has an enhanced mental capacity than otherwise. Education also makes man moral and productive, and thus endows him with the capacity to enhance the achievement of collective interests (Okowa, 2003).

It is clear that the outcome of integration policies and programmes in Nigeria to reasonable extents have fallen far below expectation. The Nigerian education system impedes integration. It also sacrifices merit as far as admissions into Federal and State Universities, College of Education, Polytechnic, etc are concerned. In some occasions, brilliant and promising prospective students are denied admission into Federal, State and Local Educational Institutions on the basis of quota system.

5. Creation of States and Local Governments

The evolution of the Nigeria federalism can be traced to the amalgamation of the Southern and Northern Protectorates in 1914. The federal structure began to form in 1939 under the administration of Sir Bernard Bourdillon who divided the Southern Protectorates into two. The Richards and Macpherson constitutions of 1946 and 1951 respectively only created a decentralized unitary system. The practice of federalism in Nigeria was officially adopted through the Lyttleton Constitution of 1954 as it was the first genuine federal constitution of the country (Olusegun, 2010).

Nigerian federalism in recent time has undergone some structural changes by which the federation has moved from its initial three-region structure at independence to a four-region structure by 1964, and to its current thirty-six states structure including seven hundred and seventy - four local governments. These structural changes have been necessitated by the need for a balanced federation that would give all nationalities self-actualization and fulfillment. However, these changes have increased imbalances in the Nigerian federation as exemplified in continued centralization and concentration of power at the centre with its attendant consequences. Although the state and local government creation exercises have helped to spread development across the country to some extent; it is equally obvious that inspite of the structural changes, the Northern region remains dominant over others so much that it is the decider on matters of joint deliberation (Muhammed, 2008). The dominant and domineering posture of the Northern region over other sections of the country is traceable to the advent of the federal system in Nigeria. Due to this uneven structure, even when new states are created, the North continues to occupy over 50% of states in the country. Thus, the Northern geopolitical zone enjoys certain advantages in terms of resource allocation and federal appointments, particularly in cases where state representation is adopted as criteria. This arrangement is a clear violation of one of the core principles of true federalism, and has thus not been able to adequately promote national integration rather the country continues to face various protestations and agitations by groups against the current federal structure
.

Conclusion

This study has tried examine the emergence of identities crisis in Nigeria federalism and their impact on national integration. From the literature reviewed 'identity' has a personal and social meaning. Identity can be defined as distinct qualities, characteristics and beliefs of an individual or a group of people. In Nigeria, structures of political control are formed on the basis of identity via a custom-made patronage system. These identities have been a constant source of crisis and cleavage in the country.

There is no doubt that Nigeria had failed in efforts to forge a national identity since its independence in 1960. The various leaders past and present government had grappled with issues of the national question which focused of how to make the federating units have a sense of belonging in terms of equal access to state resources and allocation of power. The initiation of some strategies meant to curtail the domination of groups by others such as the federal character principle, NYSC scheme, constitutional provisions among others had failed, because of implementation challenges, which had made such policies look like the problem instead of the opportunity. Therefore, the struggle from the difference ethnic groups for juice political position with a idea to control economic wealth and other resources of the country is invariably a threat to sustenance of peaceful co-existence, political development and democratic process of Nigeria.

Recommendations

Against the backdrop of the outcome of our study, the following are the recommendations: First, it is highly recommended that the federal character principle be adequately implemented according to its constitutional provisions. This will imbibe the spirit of equity, fairness and transparency in governance Second, the paper further suggested that there should be fairness and equity in the appointment of political position especially at the top echelon of government so as to reflect the federal character principle. Nigerians should be fully acquainted with the ethics of patriotism. They should be made to take the nation first before any sectional interest.

Moreover, there should also be a deliberate awareness program on political and social reorientation of the entire citizenry. Such program will go a long way in changing the negative stereotypes and negative values that have characterized the Nigerian peoples. Finally, the leadership problem should be squarely addressed in Nigeria. There is an urgent need for a leadership that will pay attention to the fiscal imbalance in Nigerian federalism and incorporates it into the process of good governance. This would go a long way to build the confidence needed among the people for integration.

References

Adejoh, P. E. (2005). Ethnicity, marginalisation, integration and development in Nigeria. In Oyekanmi, F.D. (ed.) *Development crisis and social change.* Lagos: Department of Sociology, University of Lagos.

Agbiboa, D.E. (2012). Ethno-religious conflicts and the elusive quest for national identity in Nigeria. *Journal of Black Studies*, *44*(1),3-30.

Asaju, K . & Egberi, T. (2015). Federal character and national integration in Nigeria: The need for discretion and interface. *Review of History and Political Science*,*3*(1),126-134.

Best, S.G. (2004). The methods of conflict resolution and transformation. In Best, S.G. (ed) *Introduction to peace and conflict studies in west Africa: A reader*. Ibadan: Spectrum books Ltd

Coleman, J.S. & Roseberg, C.G. (1966). *Political parties and national integration* (ed). In tropical Africa. Berkeley: University of California.

Dayo, J. (2018).Man committed suicide after Buhari rejected Peace Corps Bill. "*Vanguard*". March 3.

Ekundare, O. (1975). *Economic history of Nigeria 1875-1975.* Ibadan: University Press.

Enebe, G.C. (2007). Culture as a tool for national integration and development in Nigeria. In Ali, V.E (7th Ed), *African Humanities issues in Humanistic Studies.* Nsukka: Afro-Orbis Publications Limited.

Erik, E. (1968). *Identity, youth and crisis*. New York: W.W. Norton

Federal Republic of Nigeria (1979) .*Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.* Lagos, Government Printer.

Federal Republic of Nigeria (1999).*The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria*. Lagos: Federal Government Printer.

Ikelegbe, A. (2005). The construction of a Leviathan: State building, identity formation and political stability in Nigeria. In W.A. Fawole and C. Ukeje, (eds).*The crisis of the state and regionalism in West Africa*. Dakar: CODESRIA, pp. 71-92.

International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA) (2000) *Nigeria: Continuing Dialogue (s) for Nation Building*, Stockholm: International IDEA

Muhammed, A. (2008). Some comments on five decades of Nigerian federalism. In Hassan Saliu et al (eds). *Perspectives on nation – building and development in Nigeria: Political and legal issues.* Lagos: Concept Publications.

Nnoli, O. (1996). Ethnic and regional balancing in Nigeria federalism. In Elaigwu, J.I and Akindele, R.A. (eds), *Foundations of Nigeria federalism: 1960-1995.* Jos: Institute of Governance and Social Research (IGSR).

Nnorom, K & Odigbo, J. (2015). Identity crisis and the challenge of peace- building in Wukari-Nigeria. *Academic Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies MCSER Publishing, Rome-Italy, 4*(1),17-24.

NYSC (2015). Brief on security arrangements put in place by the NYSC scheme towards the security and safety of corps members before, during and after the 2015 General Election presented at a meeting with National Democratic Institute (NDI) International Election Observation Delegation, March.

Okoli, A.l. C. & Atelhe, G. A. (2014). Nomads against natives: A political ecology of herder/farmer conflicts in Nasarawa State, Nigeria. *American International Journal of Contemporary Research* Vol. 4 No. 2.

Okoro, S. I. & Ani, K. J. (2011). Transnational media and the development of a progressive peaceful political culture in Nigeria. In Chiegboka, A. B. C., Utoh-Ezeajugh, T. C. & Ogene, M. S. (Eds.). *The Humanities and Sustainable Development,* Nimo: Rex Charles & Patrick Ltd.

Okorosaye – Orubite, A.K. (2008).Education and sustainable development in the Niger Delta. In conference proceedings, International Conference on the Nigerian State, Oil Industry and the Niger Delta, March 11-13.

Okowa, W.J. (2003). Education and mobilization in the struggle for self determination and resource control. Paper presented at Kimse A.B. Okoko Committee of Friends in the Academia Reception, March 14, Yenagoa, Bayelsa State.

Olatunji, E. A. & Ayuba G, M. (2016). Kaduna State Sharia Crisis of 2000: The lessons and challenges after sixteen years. *Journal of Humanities And Social Science (IOSR-JHSS), 21*(10),08-14

Olusegun, A. (2010). Federalism and the challenges of nation-building in Nigeria. *International Journal of Research in Arts and Social Sciences,2*, 23-38.

Onah, F.O & Orlunwene, O.B. (2009). Federalism and national integration in Nigeria (1999-2007). *Nigerian Journal of Public Administration and Local Government, 16* (1&2), 69-86.

Osaghae, E. E. (1988). The complexity of Nigeria's federal character and the inadequacies of the federal character principle. *Journal of Ethnic Studies. 16* (3),1 – 25.

Osimen, G.U, Balogun, A. & Adenegan, T.S. (2013).   Ethnicity and identity crisis: Challenge to national integration in Nigerian. *Journal of Humanities and Social Science (IOSR-JHSS),16* (4),79-86.

Plessis, A. (2001). Exploring the concept of identity in world politics. Being a seminar paper presented at the University of Pretoria, July 25th-26th.

Tajfel, H. & Turner, J.C. (1985). The social identity theory of intergroup behaviour. In Worchel,S. and Austin, W.G (eds). *Psychology of Intergroup Relations*. Chicago: Nelson Hall.

Ubi, O.A. (2001). Communal conflict and traditional conflict resolution. The Ugep / Idommi 1992 conflict experience. *The Psychologist* 3,71 – 82.