

# Politics Of Federalism in Nigeria: Preparing Human Capital for Effective Restructuring

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*Abstract- Nigeria's practice of federalism has been highly politicized and antithetical to growth and development, breeding tensions and further deepening the fault lines inherent in the political system. Federalism in Nigeria is characterized by 'unitary tendencies', where almost all powers are concentrated at the center whereas the federating units, the states and local governments, are reduced to mere appendages. This power concentration at the center has ignited a number of concerns culminating into agitations and counter agitations for restructuring. Therefore, the study seeks to assess the politics of federalism and how prepared is the human capital for restructuring in Nigeria. Content analysis was adopted in analyzing data. The study revealed that rivalry fundamentally instigated by ethnic mutual suspicion increasingly weakens the fabrics of Nigerian unity sovereignty there by resulting to agitations and counter agitations. It is therefore, recommended that attention and more efforts should be directed to have a national political leadership that would be able to inspire citizens to think and act federal.*

*Indexed Terms- Federalism, Autonomy, Restructuring, Capacity Building, Nigeria.*

## I. INTRODUCTION

A fundamental mechanism of evaluating the level of civilization or courteousness of modern political systems is the level and extent to which they are well-organized (Lawal et.al, 2013 and Kirfi et.al, 2013). The political organization of states most often, reflects the structure of governmental authority, level of administrative efficiency and the attendant power relations. Based on the structure, it is convenient to determine the extent to which authority is dispersed or

concentrated in a particular political system. One of the most enduring modes of political arrangement in the world today is federalism. Federalism presupposes that national and states/or regional governments should stand to each other in a relation of meaningful autonomy resting upon a balanced division of powers and resources. Each state/or region must have power and resources sufficient to support the structure of a functioning government, able to stand and compete on its own against the others (Toyin and Femi, 2014 and Ahmed et.al, 2021).

Nigeria as a country has undergone a long process of restructuring in terms of the number of geo-political administrative units constituting the polity. This process is popularly referred to as "state creation" and/or "reorganization" the process whereby new geo-political units/constituents known as "states" in most federations are created out of existing or old ones (Aliyu, kirfi & Abdulsalam, 2022). The outcome of this process is usually an increase in the number of states constituting the Nigerian federation (Osimen, Agemelo and Oyewole, 2018). According to Yaquub (1997), for example, state creation in its most significant importance in Nigeria, is primarily a constitutional issue and this is so because of the nature of its entry into the country's political engineering. From this perspective, it would seem that state creation was concomitant to a series of constitutional developments beginning with the 1946 Richard's Constitution through the 1951 and 1954 Constitutions, which involved the creation of the Eastern, Northern, and Western Regions and climaxed in the establishment of a federal Nigerian state in 1954 (Nicolson, 1967).

Following the first and second military interventions of 1966 and 1967 respectively, and the subsequent restructuring of the country from four regions to

twelve states, the country has witnessed several other restructurings, which have culminated into 36 states and 774 local governments, this undoubtedly indicates the compelling need for an informed human capital whose capacities are built to withstand the challenges that comes with the restructuring.

### 1.1 Statement of the Problem

Nigeria as a country that has teared through the dislodgement of the federating units formerly the Northern, Western and Eastern Regions of the country in the process assumed to be fair for all distinctively united socio-cultural entities with a view to constitutionally address issues seen as rooted challenges for the country such as resource control, fear of social, political and economic domination, the tide of political muscle has remained unabated. This concurs with the views of Odukoya and Ashiru (2007) where they pointed out that federalism does not necessarily possess the magic wand or formula that instantaneously resolves the problems and contradictions of heterogeneous societies like Nigeria which is one of the most ethnically diverse countries in the world with well over 250 ethno linguistic groups, some of which are bigger than many independent states of contemporary Africa. They contended that the socio-economic and political specificities of different societies, coupled with constant and continuous engineering, re-engineering and adjustment is needed, if the goals of federalism is to be achieved. These heterogeneity has become a stumbling-block rather than a blessing as the enormous human capital Nigeria has is politically uninformed thereby lacking the capacities to withstand the shocks of restructuring. Musa, (2016) asserted that though the creation of states and local governments in Nigeria was to accord the sense of equity and belonging to the various socio-cultural groups in the country, some quotas have been accused of politicizing the tenets of federalism to their advantage by having more states and local governments to their region thereby igniting the fear of political, social and economic domination. However, despite the centrality of the 1999 constitution (as amended) in ensuring equity in resource sharing, appointments and national representation through the operationalization of the federal principle, a number of socio-cultural groups in some parts of the country have since the last two

decades been agitating for a reversal of the “many times” restructured Nigeria. While some are calling for the creation of more states eg. Amana State, Katagum State, etc. others are calling for secession eg. Biafra Nation, Oduduwa Republic etc. yet still, quite a great number are calling for the return to the formerly abolished regional system of government. Nigeria’s practice of federalism has been antithetical to growth and development, breeding tensions and further deepening the fault lines inherent in the political system.

These issues indicates rust and political brouhaha Nigeria is into and epileptically pulling through to maintain its head above waters. One would be compel to insinuate that the federal arrangement that mothered the various restructuring agendas right from inception, typical of regional government, State and local government creation may have in the test of time and environment failed.

### 1.2 Research Questions

The following questions are expected to guide the study:

1. What are the factors that gave rise to the imperfections in the Nigerian Federal System?
2. How did the origin and sequence of events on restructuring affected the contemporary Nigerian state including the structure and features of Nigerian Federalism and it traces?

### 1.3 Objectives of the study

1. To examine those factors that gave rise to the political aggrandizement of federalism in Nigeria.
2. To examine the origins and sequences of events on restructuring that creates the contemporary Nigerian and the readiness of its human capital for effective restructuring.

### 1.4 Significance of the Study

Theoretically, the work will be of great significance to the academia as researchers in the fields of political science and capacity building will find it useful and at the same time adding to existing knowledge on the topic of study. Additionally, the practical significance of the study is demonstrated in the context of the applicability of the recommendations and conclusions strained in the research work.

## II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Federalism is derived from the Latin word *foedus* meaning “covenant.” A “covenant” signifies a partnership or marriage in which individuals or groups consent to unite for common purposes without giving up their fundamental rights or identities (Kincaid 2005). For federal countries, this covenant involves the principle under which at least two constituent parts (or states) that are not wholly independent make up the system as a whole (Gamper 2005). In federalism, sovereignty is constitutionally divided between a central governing authority and constituent political units, like states or provinces. Simply, federalism can be viewed as a system that accommodates both self-rule (of the constituent unit) and shared rule (at the federal level). Some definitions of federalism refer to quasi-sovereignty of constituent/ sub-national parts and their guaranteed participation in federal policymaking. The classical definition of federalism often refers to it as “a dual system that consists of the federation and the states.” Local governments though regularly part of all federal states do not constitute the federal system (Gamper 2005).

From an operational perspective, Ojo (2002) points out that federalism is reputed to be an effective political-cum-constitutional design for managing complex governmental problems usually associated with ethnic and cultural diversity.

### 2.1 Evolution of Federalism in Nigeria

Nigeria is, one of the most ethnically diverse countries in the world with well over 250 ethnolinguistic groups, some of which are bigger than many independent states of contemporary Africa (Ojo, 2009). The Nigerian federalism is a creation of the British. Before the arrival of British colonialists, the area now known as Nigeria was inhabited by peoples who belonged to different empires, kingdoms and societies, which were traditionally administered. The relationship between these various entities was characterized by much conflict and little cooperation. Furthermore, such vices as cannibalism, ritual murder and the killing of twins were rampant among some of the peoples (Adigwe, 1974). The arrival of British and other European explorers, merchants and religious missionaries

tempered and eventually reduced these vices to the barest minimum. After a series of efforts at pacification and conquest, effective British occupation of the area took place from the Royal Niger Company, whose charter was revoked in that year. Consequent upon this, three separate territories emerged. These are Lagos, the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria and the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria (Wikipedia, 2010 and Musa, Muazu & Abdulkadir, 2019). The choice of federalism as the preferred system of government for Nigeria was not accidental. The eventual transformation of Nigeria into a federal state started in 1954 as a result of the 1953 Lyttleton constitution conference.

In the fiscal context, there is no doubt that profound conflict exist among the component units of the Nigerian federation. At inception of the system, there was a large devolution of powers to the regions. Equally, each region enjoys considerable autonomy over its internal affairs in addition to having a regional police force and civil service. In terms of resource distribution, the principle of derivation occupied a significant place in the distribution formula. This followed recommendations of the Louis Chick Commission of 1953 which was set up to ‘assess the effect, on the public expenditure of Nigeria as whole, of the reallocation of functions between the center and the regions’ (Agbu, 2004). Thus, derivation remained a major emphasis in federal revenue allocation between 1954 and 1966 when the military took over headship of the country, albeit some other commissions were set up whose recommendations led to some minor modifications in the revenue sharing arrangement. The pre-military federal system that Nigeria operated in the period now known as the First Republic was fundamentally different from the post-military federal structure. In the former, the three and later four regions, were fully autonomous federating units. Each region, with a premier as head of government, operated its own laws and constitution. Each of them had native authority police while the federal government maintained the Nigeria police. According to Kirfi, Ajadi and Aliyu, (2013) Each region was allowed to have its representatives in some foreign countries. They were designated agents, not ambassadors although they functioned practically in

that capacity. Each region also had the symbol of its own authority. None of them was totally or near totally dependent on the centre for its fiscal and other needs. Each region was strong enough and rich enough to take care of itself.

## 2.2 Characteristics of a Federal System of Government

According to the Australian scholar, Suberu (1990), there are certain conditions that must be met for federalism to thrive. These conditions are:

- i. An independent country with a central government that has the institutionalized power to govern the whole of the country;
- ii. The country is divided into separate geographical regions which have their own institutions of government to govern in their particular regions;
- iii. The power to govern is distributed between central and regional governments;
- iv. The distribution of power between the central and regional governments is set out in a constitution and is rigidly entrenched by the constitution so that it cannot be amended by the central government or any region or regions;
- v. The constitution contains rules to determine any conflict of authority between the centre and the regions. In most constitutions, the general rule is that the law of the central government will prevail;
- vi. The distribution of powers between the central and regional governments is interpreted and policed by a judicial authority. The judicial authority has the constitutional power to make binding decisions about the validity of legislation and government action, or where there is a conflict of the laws of the central and regional governments (cited in Evans, 2010, Nura & Kirfi, 2013).

## 2.3 Factors Militating Against Successful Practice of Federalism in Nigeria

The major reasons for the introduction of federalism in Nigeria were cultural diversity, fear of domination by minorities, geographical factor, economic factor, effective administration, and bringing government nearer to the people. Instead of federalism bringing the needed peace, development and administrative ease, it has brought backwardness, conflicts and political turmoil. In present day Nigeria,

multi-various factors militate against the successful practice of federalism, hence the continued outcry and need for restructuring to nip these challenges in the bud. These factors include:

- i. **Multi-Ethnic Accommodation:** A constraint to Nigeria's federation is that it is anchored on a precarious grudging of multi-ethnic accommodation, thriving on unabated uncertainty and tensed expectation. The dilemma of the Nigerian state lies in the pretentious and faulty federal system. As argued by Suberu (2001), at the heart of Nigeria's predicament is the development of an intensely dysfunctional system of centralized ethno-distributive federalism. Federalism has not been a particularly workable option in Nigeria. This is not as a result of federalism as an integrative mechanism, but because of its acts that are antithetical to federal principles.
- ii. **Issue of Federal Character Principle and its Application:** Another major source of tension in the Nigerian federalism is the issue of federal character and its application. The 1979 Constitution formally recognized the application of the principle of federal character in section 14. It describes the purpose of federal character rather than the substance when it states that it refers to the distinctive desire of the people. This is a controversial and retrogressive clause in the constitution (Saliu, 2006). The federal character principle does not seem to take care of the struggle amongst various ethnic groups to have a share of the said "National Cake".
- iii. **Political Hegemony/Dominance:** The issue of political hegemony has also threatened Nigeria's federalism. This has become a perpetual feature in Nigeria's federalism, because a striking feature of Nigeria's politics since independence has been that of intense elite power struggle especially along ethnic lines. This is understandably so because; according to Fatile and Adejuwon (2009), the form and function of the Nigerian state did not fundamentally change at independence because state power remained essentially the same immense, arbitrary, and often violent and always threatening. The political implication of this is that the political class perceived powers as everything

and the control of state power became the focal and central preoccupation. Consequently, the struggle for power became so absorbing that everything else, including development was slaughtered on the altar of political struggle for power. Power politics apart from being seen as the quickest route to wealth was also the means to security and sure guarantor of general well-being.

- iv. **Constitutional Challenge:** Since its independence, Nigeria is faced with the challenge of drafting a constitution that has the backing of an overwhelming majority of Nigerians. Federalism in Nigeria has faced stiff challenges over the years, from those wanting a unitary form of government on the one hand, and from those wanting a confederal arrangement, on the other. Several indices of over centralization of powers abounds, thus negating federalism and heightening the call for restructuring.
- v. **Inter-Ethnic Rivalry:** One of the factors militating against federalism in Nigeria is interethnic rivalry. Nigeria, we all know is made up of diverse group of people with different ethnic groups, and the rivalry among Hausa/Fulani, Yoruba and Igbo has become a serious issue overtime. According to Achebe (2005) different set of people from different geo-political regions agitates for power or position of authority which sometimes lead to disagreements and ethnic conflicts among the parties involved. Achebe further stated that the major reason for ethnic rivalry in Nigeria is lack of cohesion and the inability of the parties involved to concede the defeat in order to promote national peace and unity.
- vi. **Unequal Sharing of Constitutional Power between the Component Units and the Centre:** Given the provisions of the 1999 constitution as amended and the manner in which the country is presently being run, it is fair to say that the federating units do not share constitutional powers equitably. This idea of fair sharing of constitutional powers took place in the 1960 and the 1963 constitutions. What is obtained today is a far cry from true federalism as the federating units are mere appendages and subordinates to the federal government. It must however be observed that the federal structures

have never existed in Nigeria society but was a creation of the British government to serve their purpose. When the federal military government came on board, it foisted its centralized governance structure and has always assumed superiority over the state government (Dode, 2015).

#### 2.4 Restructuring

The term restructure according to Rooney (1999) denotes to change the basic structure of something. To restructure means to rearrange, reorganize or reposition a system, to correct the structural defects with the hope for better and more effective performance. According to Bello (2017), restructuring, simply put “is the process of increasing or decreasing the number of component parts that makes up a system and re-defining the inter-relationship between them in such a way that the entire system perform more efficiently” (Bello, 2017). There are many dimensions to restructuring; this could include political, economic, educational, social, accounting, administrative restructure etc. Within a political milieu, restructure is necessitated when there are fundamental flaws in the structural arrangement of a political system. More appropriately, this is when power and authority configuration of a country is visibly lopsided in favour of the central government to the detriment of the composite units. When this is the case, the dominant unit will inadvertently be the power broker at the center (Adulkarim & Kirfi, 2014).

Depending on the side of the divide an individual or group interest is best served, people and groups tend to align on issue of centripetal or centrifugal positioning. In the view of some political analysts this opposing positioning might also be the ‘balancer’ of a federal state (Bouchat, 2013). The fact that federalism debates and talks is centered around restructuring rather than on disintegration means that Nigerians are in agreement that there is unity in diversity. What the country need is to strengthen its federating structure to make the union more functional based on competitive mutual benefits for all concerned (Ajadi, & Kirfi, 2013).

## 2.5 Capacity Building

Unlike physical investment, capacity building entails more than education, training, or the building of institutions. Improved capacity involves continuous learning-by-doing, and the development over time of more effective practices (Odusola, 2002). Capacity building enhances human capital quality to the point that it can be factored into preparation of financial statements. (Kirfi and Abdullahi, 2012)

According to Kirfi, (2011). Training entails the use of prepared programmes which reinforce employee's existing competencies or facilitate the acquisition of new knowledge, skills and abilities in the interest of improving job performance (Singer, 1990). Jones and George (2006) noted that training primarily focuses on teaching organizational members how to accomplish a given task and helping them to acquire the knowledge and skills they need to be effective performers. Development focuses on building the knowledge and skills of members of a given organization so they are prepared to take on new responsibilities and challenges (Jones and George, 2006; (Nickels and McHugh, 2005; and (Armstrong, 2006). Capacity Building is much more than training and includes the following:

- Human resource development, the process of equipping individuals with the understanding, skills and access to information, knowledge and training that enables them to perform effectively. This corresponds with Adamu, Kirfi & Aliyu, (2013) in their commentary of the application of cybernetics in the public sector. Organizational development pertains to the elaboration of management structures, processes and procedures, not only within organizations but also the management of relationships between the different organizations and sectors public, private and community (Abdulsalam and Kirfi, 2013)..
- Institutional and legal framework development, making legal and regulatory changes to enable organizations, institutions and agencies at all levels and in all sectors to enhance their capacities.

## 2.6 Theoretical Framework

Theory acts as guide, more especially when the theory is social science in nature. This paper adopts a "Pluralist theory in guiding the analysis of the work. The proponents of the theory include scholars such as

Nozick, Raverz, Tiebout and Ashcroft among others. The major trust of the pluralist theory seeks to promote unity in diversity by encouraging federal states to adopt decentralization as a method in the state administration. The theory maintained that, the essence of a federation is to promote democracy and good governance. That decentralization allows states to become laboratories of democracy from which other states can learn a variety ways through which they respond to problems. The theory see power dispenser among states of a federation as protection against dangerous aggregation and abuse of power at the federal (Tiebout, 1956).

## III. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research design employed in the study is exploratory method. Data was basically secondary. The study used both primary and secondary sources. The researcher adopted content analysis in assessing/analyzing scholarly opinions on the topic of study and interview responses obtained from informants.

## IV. DATA ANALYSIS

Accordingly, the issue of restructuring Nigeria has on one hand plunged all - the Nigerian state authorities, the elites and the general public into a dilemma. This is because there has not been any format, consensus, harmony and or common ground on what, where, when and by whom to restructure Nigeria. Rather, what obtains is a fraternized Nigeria in which its peoples, elites and state authorities have different perspectives, view and consider the restructuring in relatively opposing and conflicting directions with mainly ethno-religious, sectional, geo-regional and other personal interests over and above the Nigeria and her national interests of unity, cohesion and development; and also rhetoric (Farayibi and Opadere, 2017). For the people of the Middle Belt/Central Nigeria, for example, restructuring Nigeria would mean separating them from the majority Hausa/Fulani/Muslim north, liberating them from centuries of domination, the freedom to create an Christian enclave and practice Christianity, and uplift the minority and mainly Christian tribes from the area. This restructuring is therefore seen by them as the end and success of their struggles to break away from the

larger northern Nigeria and hegemony of the Hausa/Fulani and Islam which they have been resisting for centuries.

For the Igbo South-East Nigeria, restructuring is an opportunity to even if not actualise their dream of Biafran state, have the opportunity of accessing national political power which they have not since the Ironsi regime was overthrown in 1966, and also exercise domineering power over the South-Eastern part of Nigeria with over-riding economic power. For the South-South/ oil rich Niger-Delta, it is an opportunity to have full (100%) control of oil resource (Adetunberu & Bello, 2018). For the North, it is viewed as a threat to the existence of Nigeria as one entity, especially with the anticipated devolution of powers, creation of state police, loss of oil revenue share, etc. To the South West Yoruba, restructuring is viewed with regionalism, greater regional autonomy/true federalism and economic/resource control in loose federation/weak central and strong regional governments/confederation or any other decentralized arrangement, etc.

Furthermore, 63% of the interview responses affirmed that federalism in Nigeria has a political undertone. This is confirmed by Verjee (2017) and Kwanga, et.al (2013). that „anyone who claims to understand Nigeria is either deluded, or a liar“. While the calls for restructuring, adoption of true/fiscal federalism, etc., have been on for long in Nigeria, such have been mainly coming from those who are in the opposition, lost out in the political merchandise or disadvantaged/marginalised in political power and resource sharing and control; and the elites who seek their selfish class interests; while the others, including state authorities resist and turn away from the calls/agitations, except where pushed to the wall. The various regimes while in power had hardly supported the restructuring, but only play gimmicks game and pass on to subsequent incoming regimes. Many of the agitations are also partly dominated by few elites who are more concerned with popularity, politics of accommodation and interested in acquisition, control and consolidation of the state political and economic powers and resources. For the common man, it has remained the same, the various regimes have been the same with little differences and impact on the lives of

the ordinary and the down trodden, except in some few cases.

Othman, (1984) reiterated that “in any struggle for power and its spoils, there is usually a thin line between one’s moral position and one’s concrete material interests”. As for the leaders/elites, although they differ in interests, ideology and have weaknesses and strength, their own is to sit in the political studio, produce, direct, control, follow up and watch over the actions, while the commoners are there on the field/square acting for them, in their interests and on their behalf. Class interest and the quest for and consolidation of political and economic power and resources, and relevance are major factors influencing not only the restructuring agitations in Nigeria, but also the also the actions and reactions of the elites/political class globally (Braji, et al. 2014). Therefore, Momoh and Adejumbi (2017) see the restructuring, sovereign national conference, etc., not as the views or meaningful to the toiling people, but the elites and intellectuals feeling about toiling the people. Like many other past regimes with both lukewarm and reluctant attitudes to the calls, agitations and clamour for the restructuring, in the 2018 New Year broadcast to the nation, Nigeria’s President, Muhammadu Buhari (as cited in Blueprint, January 1, 2018) depicts that Nigerians are so impatient that they want to move faster than it is possible when it has to take time before a system develops and mature. (Abubakar & Kirfi (2014) further observed that just like the banking sector, Nigeria’s problems are more of process than the much-agitated restructuring.

## V. DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

From the above, the study found out that the dominant conceptual and legal foundation for Nigerian internal political geography is federalism. The system was expected to be instrumental for forgoing national unity out of the plural society and at the same time in preserving the separate social identities cherished by its component parts. Rivalry fundamentally instigated by ethnic mutual suspicion increasingly weakens the fabrics of Nigerian sovereignty. Fifty five years after independence, Nigeria still battles with one of the major fall-out of federalism, the politics of trying to appease all sections of the polity. This has become

necessary because success to national positions and resources are limited at the individual level. This is a result of the multi-ethnic nature of the society. Therefore, there have been accusations and counter accusations from all sections of the polity, as to how powers and resources are being distributed or how they ought to be distributed. The study also revealed that the objectivity of the clamor for restructuring is doubtful as its sincerity and feasibility is highly vague. This is so because the elites whose supports are required to make disintegration possible are strongly united because the unity of the country seems to be fetching them serious fortunes through corruption and injustice at the expense of the ordinary citizens. Also, the autonomy expected to be the property of the Local Councils have turned out to be more of a paper narration than what is obtained in the practical sense. This concurs with Kirfi, & Aliyu,(2014) while stressing on the relevance of grassroot authorities in the management of social security policies such as pension.

#### CONCLUSION

Federalism as a system is confirmed as a panacea to centralization of power, more especially in heterogeneous society like Nigeria. It is also established that there are issues that threatened the peaceful coexistence of the Nigeria's federalism, which calls for restructuring. The issues include the lack true federalism and highly politicized nature of the system which systematically open the doors for allegations ranging from marginalization by the Fulani's, lop-sided and imbalance nature of Nigeria's federal practice degenerating into national challenges symptomized by perpetual domination of minority by the majority ethnic groups, ethnic rivalry, unequal distribution of national wealth, islamization agenda by the North, politicization of the ranching system to favor herders, to uprisings such as the "End SARS" campaign (which turned out to be an ethnic disaster leading to the deaths of many Northerners in the Southeast, and Southerners in the North) plunging the nation into unsummed fracas.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

- i. That the existing structure of thirty-six (36) States should be maintained. This is supported by Section

14 (3) of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria which emphasized on composition of the government of federalism in Nigeria must be upheld. Similarly, Section 14 (4) which provide for State, local government council or any agency shall carried out in such a manner as to recognize the diversity of the people and to promote a sense of belonging, loyalty amongst all the people of the federation must be enforce. Resource control should be de-emphasized while the current derivation formular should be maintained. Rule of law must be supreme and effective for the sustainability of federalism. There should be home grown approach to national issues, such as the political and economic policies. Role of judiciary should be effective. Finally, the government should have a robust and interactive feedback channel where citizens can make inputs to better improve on the Nigeria's federalism.

- ii. Having identified the critical issues in the agitated restructuring, for Nigeria to achieve a sustained unity, stability and integration, and a successful restructuring by whatever conditions, approach, time and circumstances, there have to be an extensive, intensive, focused and genuine exploration, agreement, consensus, sacrifices and compromises on the critical issues raised in this study. In addition to those, good governance at all levels; capacity building for human capital, inclusiveness of all Nigerians irrespective of differences; ethnic and religious tolerance among the parts of the federation; sound socio-economic and environmental policies; determined fight against poverty and corruption, unemployment and national loyalty and patriotism; and re-allocation of the constitutional powers are indispensable to the continuity, integration and development of the Nigerian state and federalism.

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