



NATIONAL OPEN UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA

FACULTY OF MANAGEMENT SCIENCES

COURSE CODE;PAD 841:

COURSE TITLE:NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

PAD 841:
NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

COURSE GUIDE

COURSE WRITER:

Mary D. Mai-Lafia
Department of Political Science,
Faculty of Social Sciences
University of Jos,
Jos – Nigeria.

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INTRODUCTION

The course Nigerian Government and Politics (PAD 841) is a core course which carries two (2) credit units. It is prepared and made available to all students who are taking the Masters in Public Administration (MPA) programme with specialization in Human Resource Management; a programme tenable in the School of Business and Human Resource Management. The course is a useful material to you in your academic pursuit as well as in your workplace as managers and administrators. This course will broaden your perspective on the contending issues in Nigerian government and politics and stimulate your interest in governance.

WHAT YOU WILL LEARN IN THE COURSE

This course is made up of eighteen units, covering areas such as the overview of Nigerian government and politics, historical analysis of the Nigerian state: pre-colonial, colonial era, pre-independence constitution, independence and post-independence constitutions such as republican constitution and presidential constitution. Contending issues in Nigerian government and politics such as military rule in Nigeria, revenue allocation, evolution of Nigerian federation state creation in Nigeria, ethnicity in Nigeria, religion and political instability, democracy and decentralization, public administration and the civil service and local government administration in Nigeria. Lastly local government reforms and Nigeria's foreign policy and relations are also discussed.

The course Guide is meant to provide you with the necessary information about the course, the nature of the materials you will be using and how to make the best use of the materials towards ensuring adequate success in your programme as well as the acquainting yourself with governance in Nigeria. Also included in this course guide are information on how to make use of your time and information on how to tackle the tutor-marked assignment (TMA) questions. There will be tutorial sessions during which your instructional facilitator will take you through your difficult areas and the same time you will have meaningful interaction with your fellow students.

COURSE AIMS

The overall aim of this course on Nigerian government and politics is to expose you to how the politics of Nigerian state started since from the pre-colonial era to date. The course also aims at acquainting you with the contending issues in Nigerian government and politics. The aims of the course will be achieved by:

- Familiarizing the learners with the historical background of the Nigerian state.
- Explaining the political and constitutional development of Nigeria
- Discussing the contending issues in Nigerian government and politics such as military rule, revenue control, ethnicity, religion and political instability, etc.
- Describing democracy and decentralization of governmental powers.
- Explaining the key concepts, peculiarities, structures and functions of local councils in Nigeria.

COURSE OBJECTIVES

To achieve the aims set out above, the course sets overall objectives. In addition, each unit also has specific objectives. The unit objectives are always included at the beginning of the unit. You are advised to refer to them as you study each unit both at the beginning and at the end to ensure that you check your progress and that you have done what is required of you by the unit.

Below are the broad objectives of the course as a whole. By meeting these objectives you should achieve the aims of the course as a whole.

On successful completion of this course, you should be able to:

appreciate the entity called Nigeria and how governance in Nigeria can be improved upon;
discuss the practice of federation in terms of allocation of power and resources in Nigeria;
trace the historical development in Nigeria in-terms of political development and the constitution;
comment on the contending issues in Nigeria government and politics in terms of public and local government
administration revenue allocation and Nigerian foreign policy and relations; and
discuss on the incursion of the military into politics and its impacts on public administration.

WORKING THROUGH THIS COURSE

To complete this course, you are required to read the study units and the recommended textbooks and explore more current materials on the internet. In this course, each unit consists of exercise self assessment exercises) or activities to test your understanding from time to time. At a point in your course, you are required to submit assignments for assessment purpose. At the end of the course is a final examination. Below you will find listed all the components of the course, what you have to do and how you should allocate time to each unit in order to complete the course successfully and on time too.

COURSE MATERIALS

Major components of the course are:-

- i. Course guide
- ii. study units
- iii. textbooks
- iv. assignment guide.

Everything is contained in each unit except the test books which you may have to acquire. You are advised to source current materials on the net and avail yourselves of newspaper and magazines and other publications on Nigerian government and political issues in the country. You may contact your facilitator where you run into problem about recommended textbooks.

STUDY UNITS

There are eighteen units in this course, which should be studied carefully. The units are as follows:-

- UNIT 1: Overview of Nigerian Government and Politics
- UNIT 2: Historical Analysis of the Nigerian State: Pre – Colonial Era
- UNIT 3: Historical Analysis of the Nigerian State: Colonial Era
- UNIT 4: Pre – Independence Constitutions or Constitutional Development in Nigeria I
- UNIT 5: Independence and Post – Independence Constitutions or Constitutional Development in Nigeria II
- UNIT 6: Republic Constitution
- UNIT 7: Presidential Constitution
- UNIT 8: Military Rule in Nigeria
- UNIT 9: Revenue Allocation in Nigeria
- UNIT 10: Origin and Evolution of Federation or Federalism in Nigeria
- UNIT 11: State Creation in Nigeria
- UNIT 12: Ethnicity in Nigeria
- UNIT 13: Religion and Political Instability in Nigeria
- UNIT 14: Democracy and Decentralization
- UNIT 15: Public Administration and the Civil Service
- UNIT 16: Local Government Administration in Nigeria
- UNIT 17: Local Government Reforms in Nigeria
- UNIT 18: Nigeria's Foreign Policy and Relations

The first unit simply presents the general overview of the subject matter of the course. The second unit is used to discuss the historical analysis of the Nigerian state with reference to the pre-colonial period. Unit three also discusses the historical analysis of the Nigerian state with reference to the colonial period. Unit four describes the pre-independence constitutions. Unit five explains the independence constitution. The next unit which also explains the republican constitution, unit seven discusses the presidential constitution. The Unit eight is used to throw light on the military rule in Nigeria. Unit nine discusses revenue allocation in Nigeria.

The next unit which is unit ten presents the origin and evolution of federalism in Nigeria. Unit eleven discusses the issue of ethnicity in Nigeria. Unit eleven also discusses the issue of religion and political instability in Nigeria, etc. Unit fourteen is used to throw light on democracy and decentralization of all government powers. To other tier of government. The next unit discusses public administration and the civil service. The next unit describes local

government administration in Nigeria. The next unit discusses local government reforms in Nigeria. The last unit which is unit eighteen (18) is used to throw light on Nigeria's foreign policy and relations.

Each study unit will take at least two hours, and it includes the introduction, objectives; main content, self-assessment exercises, conclusion, summary and tutor – marked assignment questions as well as references for further readings. Some of the self assessment exercises will necessitate contacting your facilitator or you visiting the internet.

There are also textbooks under the references and other resources for further reading. They are meant to give you additional information if only you can lay your hands on any of them. You are strongly advised to practice the self – assessment exercise and tutor – marked assignment questions for greater understanding of the course. While practicing the self – assessment exercises, you should not consult the answers until you have attempted the questions. You may sometimes observe that the answers provided give you more insight than may have been originally conveyed.

BOOKS

There is no compulsory textbook for this course. However, as you go through the course, you will observe that some textbooks are recommended often. This shows that it is crucial to a number of units. You are encouraged to consult these books. Moreover, each unit has its own assigned texts and document. You should also lay your hands of these texts for further understanding of the course.

ASSIGNMENT FILE

There are many assignments on this course and you are expected to do all of them following the schedules prescribed for them in terms of when to attempt them and submit same for grading by your facilitator.

COURSE ASSESSMENT

Your assessment for this course is made up of two components. They are:-

Tutor – marked Assignment

Final examination.

The self – assessment exercises are not part of your formal assessments but it is important to undertake all of them. If you do the self – assessments exercises, they will facilitate your understanding of the subject matter or unit and your tutor – marked assignments.

TUTOR – MARKED ASSIGNMENT.

Each unit in this course has two TMA attached to it. In doing the Tutor – Marked Assignment (TMA) you are to apply your transfer knowledge and what you have learnt in the contents of the study units. These assignments which are many in number, are expected to be

turned in to your facilitator for grading. These assignments constitute 30% of the total score for the course.

FINAL WRITTEN EXAMINATION

At the end of the course, you will write the final examination. This final examination will attract the remaining 70% and this makes the total final score to be 100%.

CONCLUSION

Nigerian Government and politics is an interesting course. The course exposes you to the contending issues in Nigerian government and politics. On the successful completion of this course, you would have been acquainted with theory and praxis of Nigerian federal system and a good grasp of the contentious issues such as distribution of federally desirable.

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SCHOOL OF BUSINESS AND HUMAN RESOURCES MANAGEMENT

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COURSE WRITER:

MARY D. MAI-LAFIA
UNIVERSITY OF JOS FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

COURSE EDITOR: Dr. A.N. Gambo
Department of Political Science
Faculty of Social Sciences
University of Jos

program me leader: Dr. O.J. Onwe
School of Business & Human Resources Management
National Open University of Nigeria
Victoria Island, Lagos.

Course Coordinator: Mrs. Martha Oruku
School of Business & Human Resources Management
National Open University of Nigeria
Victoria Island, Lagos.

PAD 841: NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

MAIN COURSE CONTENT

COURSE WRITER:

MARY D. MAI-LAFIA
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UNIT 1

OVERVIEW OF NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

In this unit, attempt is made to present to you a general overview of Nigerian government and politics. In this unit therefore, we are concerned with the historical background of Nigeria government and politics, an overview of political and constitutional development in Nigeria and contending issues in Nigerian government and politics.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

On completion of this unit, you should be able to:-

- i. Trace the historical background of Nigerian government and politics.
- ii. Comment on the political and constitutional development in Nigeria.
- iii. Explain the contending issues in Nigerian politics and governments in terms of public and local government administration, revenue allocation, etc.

3.0 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

The historical background of Nigerian government and politics involves the pre-colonial era and the colonial era in Nigeria. The pre-colonial era is the period before the coming of the colonial masters to Nigeria while the colonial era is the period that colonial administration was established in the country (Nigeria).

Before the advent of the European Colonial Masters on the coast of West Africa; there was established various system of government referred to as traditional political system in several parts of Nigeria and other parts of West Africa. These orderly advanced systems of government had all the organs of government established the principles of checks and characterizing some of them. Nigeria, prior to the imposition of the British colonial rule and carving the subsequent as a conglomeration of states, had about two hundred and fifty ethnic groups. Each of the ethnic groups maintained a different and independent system of administration. In this study, therefore, we shall limit our discussions to the three majority ethnic groups of Hausa – Fulani, Yoruba and Igbo in Nigeria. For example the system of government of the old Oyo Empire (Yoruba land) in the period before 1800 was like most other kingdoms and empires that existed in Africa. It was monarchical in nature, based on the not too easy to run principle of checks and balances. It is therefore, total fallacious and misleading the view expressed that Africans had no system of government before their invasion of the African continent.

The colonial era, was the period British held sway in Nigeria. The scramble for and the partitioning of West Africa by the European powers acted as the genesis of the establishment of the colonial administration in West Africa. A part from Liberia, the whole West African countries were under the rulership of Britain, France, Germany at some time and Portugal. These nations shared out West African countries as a result of its partitioning that took place during the Berlin Conference of 1884 and 1885.

In response to the call made at the 1890 Brussel Conference, the European nations that shared out West African countries, sent their officials to these territories for effective occupation and that was the commencement of the colonial rule or indirect rule in West Africa. Therefore, the period of 1885 to 1950s served as the period of indirect rule in West Africa. This period witnessed political and economic dehumanization for the people of West Africa. This explains why the colonial era has a great impact on the pattern of administration in Nigeria.

3.1 AN OVERVIEW OF POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA.

The years preceding Lugard's governorship though quite, it marked the emergence of a new class of Africans whose perspectives were wider. This group or class of people began to see themselves as Nigerians and not as their tribal or ethnic groups. In other words, they identified more with the Nigerian nation than their ethnic groups like Hausa – Fulani, Igbo, and Yoruba etc. It was this group, initially confined almost exclusively to Lagos because of their long contact with the Western civilization that fought and won independence for Nigeria in 1960. In between the two World Wars (1918 – 1939), there were not spectacular historical developments apart from a few administrative changes. But there was the slow but all important development of national consciousness among people of varying religious and cultural backgrounds.

At first, Nigerian nationalism was largely promoted by non Nigerian, and its focus was on Africa as a whole rather than on the political units artificially created by the European colonial powers. Those who were championing the struggle were men like Edward Blyden; P.J. Jackson and a host of others. These early struggles gave birth to the National Congress of British Africa which was founded in 1920 with the aim of fighting for the people of African decent to participate in the government of their own country.

It would be recalled that with the introduction of indirect rule or colonial rule in Nigeria, there was no provision for the absorption of the emerging educated elite since the indirect rule system encouraged the use of local chiefs and their political positions for political control. The educated class had no place in this type of administration.

After its inaugural conference in Accra led by a well known Gold Coast (Ghana) Lawyer by name Casely Hayford, and attended by the four British West African colonies namely Nigeria, Gold Coast (Ghana); Sierra Leone and Gambia. The Congress decided to send a delegation to the Secretary of State for Colonies in London to present the following demands:-

1. The creation of legislative council for each colony, with half of the members elected Africans.
2. Control of taxation by African members of the Legislative Council.
3. Appointment of and deposition of chiefs should be done by their own people.
4. Abolition of racial discrimination in the civil service.
5. Establishment of a University in West Africa.

Their demands were turned down by the Secretary of State, Lord Milner. The frustrated delegate returned home only to be severely insulted and criticized by the colonial Governors of Nigeria and the Gold Coast.

Particular mention must be made of Sir Hugh Clifford the new Governor General of Nigeria who took over from Lord Lugard. He accused the Nigerian members of the delegation not only of being unrepresentative of the Nigerian people but also of being ignorant of Nigerian conditions. He further asserted that the claims and pretensions of the delegation were at variance with the natural development of real independence which in his opinion, should be the ultimate goal of all true patriotic Nigerians.

Despite the contemptuous terms he used in describing the congress delegations, the turn out of evens clearly showed that Sir Hugh Clifford was becoming increasingly apprehensive of the tremendous influence that the national congress had begun to wield. In 1922, he abolished the Nigerian Council as well as the Legislative Council and replaced them with a new Legislative Council and an Executive Council. This action was in line with one of the demands made by the National Congress of British West Africa.

The author of this violent attack on the National Congress for British West Africa delegation's claim to participate in the determination of their own affairs was also the author of the 1922 constitution which for the first time in British West Africa provided for elected African members on a Legislative Council. This was no doubt, one of the stimuli to the growth of Nigerian nationalism in the inter war period. Sir Hugh Clifford's constitution provided for a new Legislative Council, which would consist of 46 members, 27 of them were officials, and 19 unofficial. Of these officials 3 members were to be elected by adult males in Lagos with a residential qualification of 12 months and a gross income of £100 per annum and 1 (one) elected member from Calabar. Clifford even went as far as to say that the introduction of the elective principle was but the first step towards self government and the extension of elections to the backward parts of the protectorate.

The Richards constitution of 1946 replaced the Clifford's constitution of 1922. It was as a result of the weaknesses of the Clifford constitution that made the Nigerian Nationalists to pressurize Sir Bernard Bourdillon, the Governor of Nigeria from 1935 to 1943, to give them a new befitting constitution. Some key features of Richard's constitution include the following:

- i. It established a single legislative council for the whole Nigeria. The south and the North were now united under one legislative council. The North was no longer isolated from the legislative council like in the Clifford's Constitution.
- ii. For the first time, it allowed majority unofficial members in the legislative council.
- iii. The principle of regionalism was formally entrenched in the constitution, recognized three regions – Eastern, Western and Northern Region.
- iv. It introduced Regional Council
- v. It introduced a House of Chiefs for the North

The memorandum issued by Sir Bernard Bourdillon on the future political development of Nigeria made useful proposals on the formulation of a constitution for Nigeria. Under Bernard Bourdillon in 1939, three regions each with a regional Assembly was set up. This was the beginning of Nigerian Federalism. It was Sir Bernard Bourdillon that laid the ground work for the inclusion of the regional system in the Richard's Constitution, when Sir Arthur Richard took over from him as the Governor of Nigeria.

After the Second World War, great pressure was brought to bear on the British to speed up constitutional development in all its colonies. As a result of these pressures, the British government took positive steps in all its West Africa territories to give each territory a new and more Liberal Constitution (Nigeria and Ghana 1946, Gambia 1947 and Sierra Leone 1951).

3.2 AN OVERVIEW OF CONTENDING ISSUES IN NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

There are various contending issues in Nigerian government and politics. These contending issues include the principles considered in the allocation of revenue in Nigeria. Revenue allocation refers to the sharing of federally generated revenue amongst the Federal, State and Local governments. The revenue and resources generated in the country are shared amongst these three tiers of government according to their constitutionally prescribed responsibilities. The internal autonomy granted to the regions under the Richard's Constitution of 1946 coupled with the sharing of Constitutional responsibilities raised the problem of revenue allocation in Nigeria to a contentious level.

Another contending issue in the Nigerian government and politics is the issue of ethnicity or cultural differences or existence of different ethnic groups in Nigeria which is as a result of different tribal and cultural backgrounds. Ethnicity creates polytechnic numerous problems for the central elite, a homogenous state has relatively less tasks than a multinational state. For our purposes, a polytechnic state refers to those states which have many small ethnic groups, none of which lays claim to sub-national autonomy enough to challenge the autonomy of the center by asserting its sub-national self-determination. No ethnic group in such states regards itself as a nation. Thus, Tanzania, Senegal, the Gambia, Guinea (Conakry), and (Brazzaville) illustrate polytechnic states in Africa. On the other hand, a multinational state comprises ethnic groups who not only vary in size but also in the distribution of power, influence and resources. Such a state is marked by aggressive ethnic nationalism as various groups push for the realization of their sub-national self-determination. Often their demands for sub-national self-determination directly challenge the centre's demand for national self-determination: Nigeria (Igbo, Yoruba and Hausa); Zaire (the Kongo, the Mongo, Luba and Kivu ethnic types); Ethiopia (The Galla and Tigre types); The Chad (The Arab and Sudanic types); and the Sudan (Arab and the various southern clusters) illustrate multinational states in Africa.

The contending issues in Nigerian government and politics also include the incursion of the military into the governance of Nigeria which has tremendous impact on public administration in Nigeria.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISES

1. State any three of the demands presented to the Secretary of States for colonies in London by the National delegates.
2. What system of governments existed in the cost of West Africa before the advent of the colonialists?
3. Who was the author of the violent attack on the National Congress for British West African delegation to participate in the determination of their own affairs?

4.0 CONCLUSION

The above analyses show that Nigeria is a multinational state which is characterized by the demands for national self-determination and this quest for self-determination by the various ethnic groups makes the nation very difficult to be governed.

The principles considered in the allocation of revenue and resources in Nigeria should also be looked into with a view to protecting the interest of the three governments in the country. Therefore, it is very essential for the government to be mindful of the multinational states and different up bringing of its people and get involved in the developmental programmes to ensure that the appropriate steps are taken to improve governance in Nigeria.

5.0 SUMMARY

The unit has thrown light on the historical background of Nigerian government and politics. An overview of the political and constitutional development in Nigeria is considered along with an overview of the contending issues in Nigerian government and politics. Issues like revenue allocation, ethnicity amongst others were highlighted and discussed.

ANSWERS T O SAES IN THIS UNIT

The demands presented include:

1. a. The creation of Legislative Council for each colony, with half of the members elected Africans.
b. Control of taxation by African members of the Legislative Council.
c. Abolition of racial discrimination in the civil service
2. There were established systems of governments referred to as traditional political system. E.g. the system of government of the Old Oyo Empire; it was monarchical in nature, based on the too easy to run and principle of checks and balances
3. Sir Hugh Clifford

6.0 TUTOR – MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Give a brief historical development of the Nigerian government and politics
2. Attempt the definition of a polyethnic state and give example of such state

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT 2

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF NIGERIAN STATE: PRE-COLONIAL ERA (WESTERN, EASTERN AND NORTHERN NIGERIA)

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

In West Africa before the invasion of the continent by the European nations, there was established system of government referred to as traditional political system in several parts of Nigeria. These advanced and orderly systems of government had all the principal organs of government with established principles of checks and balances characterizing some of them.

In Nigeria, prior to the coming of the Europeans and carving her out of a mixture of different states had about two hundred and fifty (250) ethnic groups. And each of the ethnic groups maintained a different and independent system of administration.

In this unit, therefore, we shall limit our discussions to the three majority ethnic groups of Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa – Fulani in Nigeria. The traditional political system of governments of these three ethnic groups is considered.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i. Discuss the pre-colonial traditional systems of Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa – Fulani ethnic groups in Nigeria.
- ii. Explain the pre-colonial traditional judicial administration of Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa-Fulani ethnic groups in Nigeria.
- iii. State the functions or roles of traditional rulers of Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa-Fulani ethnic groups in Nigeria.
- iv. Compare the pre-colonial traditional political system of Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa-Fulani ethnic groups in Nigeria.

3.0 HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF NIGERIAN STATE: PRE-COLONIAL ERA (WESTERN, EASTERN AND NORTHERN NIGERIA)

3.1 Pre-Colonial Political System in Yoruba Land

3.1.1 Historical Background

The Yorubas form a large group united more by language than culture. The Yorubas trace their origin to Oduduwa who was the founder of the Yoruba kingdom. Oduduwa had seven sons who later founded the first seven kingdoms of the Yoruba land and these kingdoms were united under a central leader known as Alaafin of Oyo. Hatred, jealousy, etc made the first seven kingdoms to split into fourteen new kingdoms and the central leadership now changed from the Alaafin of Oyo to Ooni of Ife who is the spiritual Head of the Yoruba. Oyo is regarded as the political headquarters of the Yoruba and was the most developed kingdom in the Yoruba traditional society and its administration is accepted as a model or a representation of the Yoruba. The king in Yoruba land is called Oba, the Yoruba kingdoms were headed by the Oba who must be a descendant of the Oduduwa.

The Yorubas regarded Oyo as their political headquarters, the Oba of the Kingdom has a special name known as the “Alaafin”

Political Administration

The political head of every Yoruba kingdom is Oba but that of the Oyo and Ife kingdoms are called "Alaafin" and "Ooni" respectively.

The Alaafin as the political head of the Oyo kingdom is assisted by his son called Aremo, who is not allowed to succeed him immediately he dies. Oyemesi is the seven king makers headed by the Bashorun. The Oyemesi is stronger than the Alaafin and can overrule any decision made by the Alaafin which is not acceptable to it.

The other officials apart from the Aremo include:

1. Ilari:- He is the permanent adviser to the Oba
2. Bashorun:- He is the Chief Minister or Prime Minister of the Kingdom.
3. Baale"- He is the village Head of the administration of the villages
4. Kakanfo:- he is the commander of the kingdom Armed Forces.

The chiefs or Obas and the baale are not appointed by the Alaafin even though they receive his blessings.

There are certain limitations or checks and balances to the power of the Alaafin. The limitations include:-

- i. If Alaafin disagrees with Oyemesi and Ilari, the only option open to him is to commit suicide
- ii. Oyemesi could authorize the Bashorun to send empty calabash to Alaafin symbolizing rejection by the people. Alaafin is not to commit suicide if this happens.
- iii. Disloyal army commander could revolt

The executive council members also formed the legislature. Laws made were executed by the Oba and his council of advisers.

The system of government in the traditional Yoruba society was a loose monarchical arrangement and highly democratic.

Judicial Administration

The Alaafin was the final court. Certain offences were regarded as serious offences, these include – murder, burglary,, land case, witchcraft, profaning the deities and homicide. This kind of offences that attract capital punishment is usually tried in the Oba's palace or court. Minor offences such as family quarrels, exchange of abusive words, owing of debt were hand from the family level to the level where the parties involved were satisfied with the justice they have obtained. This does not go beyond the Oba's court.

The age – grade usually referred to as the "Elegbe" has the responsibility of implementing the decisions reached in the Oba's court. For instance, if anybody is to be executed or imprisoned it is their duty to carry out the instruction or order to the last letter.

Official Religion

The Yoruba official religion was the traditional religion. The Oba was to perform sacrifice from time to time or as the need arises. The essence of the sacrifice is to appease the Oduduwa the founder, ancestors and deities. He usually performs the sacrifice through some priests. The performance of this sacrifice is very important because it is the source of the Oba's power, legitimacy, respect and the basis of unity, solidarity and the progress of the Yoruba people. For instance if the Oba fails to fulfill these religious obligations the deities, ancestors and the Oduduwa might be angry and will cause pestilence, epidemics, drought, famine and calamities among the Yoruba people. Therefore, to prevent the gods from becoming angry, the Oba usually performs these sacrifices. Kwara as one of the Yoruba kingdoms and some parts of Oyo were conquered by the Jihadist of Usman Dan Fodio and converted from the traditional religion to Islam.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1

Describe the political structure of the Yoruba pre-colonial political system.

3.2 PRE-COLONIAL POLITICAL SYSTEM IN IGBO LAND

3.2.1 Historical Background

The Igbos are republican by nature. They maintained a decentralized and a cephalous society. Igbo society was democratic and egalitarian. In Nigeria, the Igbos generally occupy the former Eastern Region and a part of the former Mid-Western region. The Igbo unlike the Yoruba and the Hausa – Fulani, had a complex and complicated system of administration in pre-colonial era. The Igbo, generally had no kings or chiefs. They operated a democratic system of government. The executive, legislative and judicial powers were vested in the Oha-na-eze, the council of elders; the Ofo title holders; the family; the Ozo title holders; the Age – Grades, the Umuada, and the “Ala” or the Earth's goddess represented by a Chief Priest.

3.2.2 Political Administration.

The structural organization of Igbo political system was based on the following:-

1. Village Administration:- A village is seen as inhabited by a group of related families. Each family head held the Ofo title and all of them put together formed the council of elder. The council governed the village.
2. The Age – Grade:- The age – grade are people of the same age group, they perform the following functions:-
 - i. Perform the public duties such as:- clearing the paths, construction of roads, and markets etc.
 - ii. They were involved in the administration of the villages
 - iii. They served as army for the defence of the villages against external enemy.
 - iv. They acted as the police force for the maintenance of law and order.

- v. They helped in the implementation of policies made by the council of elders.
 - vi. They assisted in checking abuse of powers by the paramount rulers and the council of elders.
 - vii. They also perform ceremonial and cultural functions during important ceremonies in the village or communities.
3. The affairs of the village are discussed from time to time by family head.
 4. The villagers make laws for themselves and even the age-grades can enact a law which the elders would accept.
 5. Succession to leadership position was not hereditary in Igbo political system.
 6. The political system was of a Republican one. Decisions were reached by consensus, different institutions played different important roles in the administration and powers were shared by them.
 7. Wealthy and influential men in the community or village are given the Ozo title holders. This title makes the holder to be recognized in the society and could then preside over meetings about issues affecting the community with elders.

3.2.3 Judicial Administration.

Minor disputes were settled by the family while major disputes were handled by the council of elders or “Amala”. The final adjudication of cases was done by the deities. The age – grades settled cases that are minor among themselves. The Earth goddess (Ala) plays a great role in judicial functions, for example, offences such as homicide, murder and birth of abnormal children are crimes against Ala.

The chief takes part in judicial settlement; the whole village may constitute itself into a court for the purpose of settling disputes. The native doctor called Dibia could also settle disputes amongst people.

3.2.4 Official Religion

The official religion practiced in pre-colonial Igbo land was the traditional religion. They had chief priests who performed sacrifice from time to time to appease the gods. The Igbos have great respect for the deities and the departed ancestors. The chief priests were the link between the people and the deities, as well as the departed ancestors. The Igbos believe in re-incarnation. Profaning of deities was a very serious offence among the Igbos. The religious lives of the Igbos were surrounded by mysticisms and superstitions.

SELF- ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 2

What role does the Ala play in judicial administration of pre-colonial political system in Igbo land?

3.3 PRE-COLONIAL POLITICAL SYSTEM IN HAUSA-FULANI LAND

3.3.1 Historical Background.

The Hausa land, before 1804, was made up of fourteen towns grouped into two. The first group of seven was called Hausa Bakwai while the other group of seven was called Banza Bakwai.

The Fulani took over the political leadership of the Hausa or Habe states in the early 19th century. The Jihad that preceded this occupation was seen as religious as well as political.

Othman Dan Fodio led the Fulani Jihad and took over the political leadership of the Hausa/Habe and established the Sokoto caliphate with outstanding centralized political system of government. He introduced a new system of selecting and appointing rulers described as Emirs to rule the caliphate. Each of the Emirs owed allegiance to Dan Fodio and his two representatives at Sokoto and Gwandu.

The Fulanis settled in Hausa land and intermarried with the Hausa people after conquering them and this was how the name Hausa-Fulani came about.

3.3.2 Political Administration

The Fulanis introduced centralized system of government after conquering the Hausa land. This gave rise to the Hausa-Fulani traditional or pre-colonial system being known as a centralized government.

The Caliphate was divided into emirates and each emirate was headed by an Emir. He had the responsibility of making laws, enforcing them and maintaining peace and order in his emirate. He was expected to administer the emirate in accordance with the provisions of the Islamic and sharia laws. He was believed to have the divine right to rule.

However, each emir was assisted in the administration of the emirate by a number of advisers. These were:-

1. Sarkin Fada:- The spokesman of the Emir and organizer of palace workers.
2. Waziri:- The Prime Minister of the Emirate
3. Galadima:- The Administrator of the capital city.
4. Madawaki:- The commander and Head of the Emirate Army.
5. Magaji:- Government Treasurer in-charge of the government treasury.
6. Sarkin Dan Doka:- Inspector General of Police Force Called Dan Doka.
7. Sarkin Ruwa:- Minister in-charge of Water Resources.
8. Sarkin Pawa:- Head of Chairman of Butchers at the Abattoirs
9. Yari:- Chief Superintendent of Prisons in the Emirate

3.3.3 Judicial Administration

The judicial administration of Hausa-Fulani was based on the Islamic legal system called Sharia. Sharia courts were established through out the Emirates and each was

headed by a trained Sharia Court Judge called Alkali. The Emir, despite this provision, remained the head who had the final say in deciding critical judgments.

The chief justice of the Sharia courts was called Grand Khadi. Village heads settled minor disputes in their villages but more serious and criminal cases were referred to the Emir for final and adequate settlement.

3.3.4 Official Religion

The Emir is the religious leader of his people, whose duty is to ensure that the commands of Allah are obeyed in his territory. This accounts for the great authority which was wielded by the Emirs and which made them such suitable rulers even under the British protectorate.

The official religion was Islam and Koran was used as the holy book where all the teachings of religion were contained. Mohammed was seen as the founder of the religion. Some teachings that were contained in the Koran before the coming of the colonial administration include:-

- i. A good Moslem must fight a Jihad at least once in his life time. If such a person dies in the process he would go to paradise.
- ii. It is mandatory for all Moslems to perform hajj or pilgrimage to Mecca the holy land at least once in the person's life time.
- iii. A good Moslem must not marry more than four wives.
- iv. A good Moslem must abstain from drinking alcohol
- v. A good Moslem must fast during Ramadan period.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 3

What was the other name of Hausa people before Othman Dan Fodio's Jihad?

3.4 THE ROLES OR FUNCTIONS OF TRADITIONAL RULERS (EMIR, OBA, OBI ETC IN THE PRE-COLONIAL POLITICAL SYSTEM)

1. They were involved in the maintenance of law and order in their domain.
2. They made laws, rules and regulations
3. They appointed subordinate chiefs to help in the administration.
4. The traditional rulers were involved in raising and spending of money
5. They served as political symbol of unity and power.
6. The traditional rulers were also involved in the allocation and sharing of communal wealth and resources, including war booties
7. Protection of his domain was done to safeguard the domain against external aggression. They also declare war and peace.
8. Some of these traditional rulers acted as the final court of appeal.
9. The traditional rulers planned for the progress and development of various communities.
10. They awarded traditional titles to deserving citizens.

3.5 COMPARISON OF THE PRE-COLONIAL POLITICAL SYSTEM OF YORUBA, IGBO AND HAUSA – FULANI ETHNIC GROUPS.

HAUSA – FULANI AND YORUBA	IGBO
1. Maintained centralized administration.	1. Maintained decentralized administration.
2. Emirs and Oba's were in-charge of the administration of the kingdoms.	2. Different institutions were involved in the administration of Igbo communities
3. legislative work was done by the Emir and Oba.	3. Legislative work was done by different traditional institutions e.g village assembly, council of elders, etc.
4. Local police was used to enforce obedience to laws in the communities.	4. Masquerades and age-grades etc were used to enforce laws in the communities.
5. There was the existence of a well built army to defend the kingdoms.	5. Younger Age-Grades were used in the defence of the communities.
6. Minor chiefs were appointed to help in the administration.	6. Special traditional institutions were used. There were no minor chiefs
7. Emirs and Obas dominated the judiciary	7. Kings did not exist in most areas of Igbo land. Village assembly, council of elders, etc settled disputes.

4.0 CONCLUSION

This unit has attempted the historical account and analysis of the pre-colonial state. We focused on the three majority ethnic groups in Nigeria (Hausa-Fulani, Yoruba and Igbo). Nigeria, before the advent of the European powers into the country, it had well organized institutions which some of them are still in place. For example, in the northern part of Nigeria, emirs are found in some parts of it. The Yoruba people still use the title of Oba, etc.

The country also had its executive, legislative and judiciary arms of government which had laid down rules and regulations for the citizens of various ethnic groups. Each ethnic group had its own religion. We should therefore, dismiss the idea that before the coming of the British, Africa or Nigeria had no system of government.

5.0 SUMMARY

This unit has thrown more light on history of Nigeria during the pre-colonial period. The issues discussed include – the pre-colonial political traditional systems of Yoruba Igbo and Hausa-Fulanis, their political administration, judicial administration, their official religion, the functions of the traditional rulers were dealt with. The comparison of these systems was also made.

ANSWERS TO SAES IN THIS UNIT

1. The political structure of Yoruba were:
 - Oba was the head of the Yoruba kingdom.
 - Oyo kingdom was headed by “Alaafin”
 - Ife kingdom was headed by “Ooni”
 - Aremo assisted Alaafin in his kingdom
 - Ilari is the permanent adviser to Oba
 - Bashorun is the Chief Minister
 - Baale is the village head of the village administration.
 - Kankafo is the commander of the kingdom armed forces
2. Ala is the Earth goddesses. Offence such a murder, homicide and birth of abnormal children are crimes against ‘Ala’
3. The other name for Hausa-Fulani before Othman Jihad is Habe

6.0 TUTOR – MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Describe the political administration of Hausa – Fulani pre-colonial political system.
2. Who are the age-grade? Discuss their roles in the traditional Igbo political system.

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UNIT 3

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF NIGERIAN STATE: COLONIAL ERA (INDIRECT RULE SYSTEM IN WESTERN, EASTERN AND NORTHERN NIGERIA)

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

In unit 2, we dealt with the historical analysis of Nigerian state in the pre-colonial era and we focused on the pre-colonial traditional political system of the three majority ethnic groups in Nigeria. For this unit, colonialism and main features of indirect rule system are identified, so also the activities of European adventurers in Nigeria and the impact of indirect rule system on public administration. In order to have a better understanding of this topic, the three majority ethnic groups (Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa-Fulanis) are considered

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i. Define colonialism, indirect rule and state the main features of indirect rule.
- ii. State the reasons for the adaptation of the indirect rule system
- iii. Explain why indirect rule system was adopted in Nigeria.
- iv. State the advantages and disadvantages of indirect rule system in Nigeria.

3.0 HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF NIGERIAN STATE: COLONIAL ERA (INDIRECT RULE SYSTEM IN WESTERN, EASTERN AND NORTHERN NIGERIA).

3.1 COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION/INDIRECT RULE SYSTEM IN WEST AFRICA.

3.1.1 Historical Background

The term 'colonialism' means an imposition of a more developed culture over a less developed one, backed up by expansionist and economic adventurism. Before the 1880s, Europe had gone ahead of the rest of the world in science and technology.

Europe of 19th century because the workshop of the world with growing desire for raw materials for their industries. Britain, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy etc. were all involved in this race.

So, the competitive search for markets and sources of raw materials for the industrial consumption of the western world motivated the scramble for and partition of Africa among some European powers. By the late 19th century, the concern about sourcing raw materials and markets had become a serious issue in most European countries.

The scramble for Africa, by these European powers led to the partitioning of Africa after the Berlin Conference of 1884 – 85. Britain colonized Nigeria, Ghana, the Gambia and Sierra – Leone in West Africa.

As from 1898, the British government sought to establish and maintain a colonial state in Nigeria. To achieve this, a number of measures were to be taken, for example, removal of all visible opposition to the imposition of colonial rule,

expansion and consolidation of British authority over the territory later known as Nigeria.

In 1906, the first step was taken towards unifying the distinct entities which constituted Nigeria at the dawn of the twentieth century.

In January 1914, Lord Lugard the then Governor – General amalgamated Lagos colony and Southern protectorate with Northern protectorate to form a single colony called protectorate of Nigeria. Britain, therefore, governed Nigeria by means of a system popularly referred to as “Indirect Rule”.

Indirect rule is a system of administration in which the British colonial government adopted as its colonial policy in dealing with the people by using the traditional rulers, the traditional political institutions – administrative, cultural and judicial structures – as intermediaries while the British officials mainly advised and where necessary, enforced colonial regulations.

Britain claimed that the system involved not governing the people directly, through their local traditional rulers and chiefs. It was alleged that the wife of Lord Lugard formed the name ‘Nigeria’ after the amalgamation. Lugard later became the first Governor – General of Nigeria. He was referred to as the Father of Indirect Rule System.

3.1.2 Features of Indirect Rule

- i. Traditional rulers and chiefs were used in governing the people;
- ii. The traditional political system of government in place was utilized;
- iii. The customs and traditions of the people played a significant role in the administration;
- iv. The cultural values of the people were respected by the British officials;
- v. The British officials were to guide and where need be, enforce colonial regulation. For instance, resident and district officers;
- vi. The traditional rulers were respected and given exalted positions in the administration which made it easy for the colonialist to operate and rule;
- vii. The cost of administration was not high because those involved were paid peanuts. The traditional rulers and chiefs were poorly remunerated;
- viii. The whites made use of natural agricultural produce in the collection of taxes;
- ix. Native courts were used for administration of justice;
- x. Native police and prisons were utilized in the system;
- xi. Officers or chiefs were appointed where there were no traditional chiefs or rulers and
- xii. The system did not disrupt the existing traditional system of administration and political order.

3.1.3 Reasons for the Adoption of Indirect Rule System

1. Lack of Personnel: Lack of British personnel was one of the reasons that forced Lord Lugard to introduce or adopt the indirect rule system in Nigeria.

2. Its success in other Countries: Lord Lugard thought it wise to use the system because of the significant success the system recorded in countries like India, Uganda, etc. where it was first introduced.
3. Lack of Fund: Lack of adequate fund was one of the reasons that forced Lugard to adopt the indirect rule system.
4. To Preserve Traditions and Customs: The indirect rule system was established by Lugard in order to preserve the traditions and customs of the people of Nigeria. In the opinion of Lord Lugard, the British system of Indirect rule. In Nigeria, was to maintain her cultural status quo.
5. To Involve Traditional Rulers: The indirect rule system was established because Lord Lugard wanted to bring the traditional rulers into the art of governance. He thought it wise that any system of government that isolates the people being governed will not succeed.
6. It's Cheapness: The indirect rule system was adopted in Nigeria because economically, it was not expensive.
7. Favourable Political Atmosphere: The political atmosphere in Northern Nigeria at that period was favourable for the introduction of the system. The method of traditional administration at that time was very difficult for British to displace the Emirs from their position so abruptly. The Emirs were respected by their people and the British did not want to attract the hatred of the people of Northern Nigeria by destroying the premier position occupied by the Emirs.
8. Language difficulties: The indirect rule system was adopted in Nigeria by Lord Lugard in order to reduce the problems posed by language. Lugard was aware that the people of Nigeria at that time did not speak nor understand English Language, and therefore going through traditional rulers and chiefs to govern them would reduce the language problems.
9. Vast areas involved: The large areas of Nigeria especially the Northern Nigeria where the system was first introduced, contributed to the adoption of the system of indirect rule.
10. Poor Transport and Communication System: Lack of roads, airports, postal systems, etc prevented Britain from adopting direct rule system, instead they opted for indirect rule system.
11. Poor Climate: Poor climatic condition also aggravated the situation. Many British citizens refused coming down to Africa to be involved in administration due to poor climate and the presents of mosquitoes. Africa was nicknamed "the white man's grave", as a result of these factors.
12. To satisfy their economic needs: The colonialists wanted to create markets for their goods and to encourage West Africans to produce those raw materials.

3.1.4 Reasons for Involving African Traditional Rulers in the Colonial Administration of West Africa.

1. The Status of the Traditional Rulers: The British encounter with the chiefs during the period of occupation proved to them that the chiefs were powerful and were also highly respected by their people.
2. Maintenance of Law and Order: As the custodian of the people's culture the traditional rulers were found useful in the maintenance of law and order in the colonies.

3. Collection of Taxes: The traditional rulers were found useful in the collection of taxes and rates.
4. Political Stability: The British felt that, the presence of the local chiefs in the administration would bring about political stability.
5. They were easily Manipulated: The chiefs were used as tools instead of the educated elites because they were easily manipulated.

SELF – ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1

What is Colonialism? State any four features of indirect rule.

3.2 INDIRECT RULE SYSTEM IN NORTHERN NIGERIA

One of the reasons for the adoption of indirect rule was for the purpose of local government, along traditional lines. The system rested upon Native Courts authority ordinances.

The protectorate of Northern Nigeria was divided into six provinces and each province was under British official known as Residents. Each province was then subdivided into districts and placed under District Commissioners.

The functions of the Residents and the District Commissioners include the following:-

- i. They have the authority to retain and use native treasuries in the emirates.
- ii. They also retained both the traditional executive official of emirates and the law courts of the Muslim parts of Nigeria.
- iii. They were to advise and guide the emirs and their officials, educating them to their duties and functions under the new British system, to propel them gradually towards new and better ways of government and administration.
- iv To enforce through them all the laws of the High Commissioner of the protectorate of Northern Nigeria. These laws involve the supervision of courts, assessment of taxes, native authority expenditure and the maintenance of law and order.
- v To ensure that tax revenue was shared between the colonial government and the province.
- vi They should provide intelligence, political, military or civil reports on which the colonial government could act in making policies.

3.2.1 Reasons for the Success of Indirect Rule in Northern Nigeria

The factors that led to the success of indirect rule in Northern Nigeria include:

- i. Because of the already existing basic traditional administrative system which Lugard admired (i.e. the centralized system).
- ii. Because most of the traditional powers of the emirs were not removed hence, they had no cause to oppose the system.
- iii. Because the Hausa – Fulanis had already been used to the system of hierarchy of official, so, the system caused them no embarrassment.
- iv. Because of the submissive nature of the Northerners to the emirs.

- v. Because of the preservation and respect for the culture of the northern people by the British.

3.3 INDIRECT RULE IN WESTERN NIGERIA

Unlike the North, there was no absolute centralized authority and systematic taxation in Yoruba land. The Oba had no absolute authority over his subjects because he was responsible to his senior chiefs in administering his kingdom.

If he tried to wield too much power to rule at the expense of the wishes and interest of his senior chiefs, he would be made to commit suicide.

The position of Oba as a leader without absolute power over his subjects coupled with the virtue of his position as spiritual head which could not allow him to appear publicly always made it difficult for him to be a successful head of the administration.

3.3.1 Reasons for the Partial Failure of Indirect Rule in Western Nigeria.

Indirect Rule was a partial failure in the Western part of Nigeria because of the following reasons:-

1. The limited powers of Obas and their subjects were not submissive to them.
2. The level of education in the Western region made the people to detest colonial rule.
3. Restoring Authority in the Alaafin of Oyo: It is believed that the attempt made by Lugard to restore authority in Yoruba land to Alaafin of Oyo instead of Ooni of Ife contributed to the partial failure of the indirect rule in the west.
4. Absence of highly centralized administration contributed to the partial success of the system of indirect rule in the west.
5. The absence of well organized system of taxation made it difficult to raise money for the administration to thrive well since British government was not ready to involve heavily in financial responsibilities in its colonies.
6. Christianity was the dominant religion in the west and its is more democratic than the Islamic religion. People detest authoritarianism.
7. Lugard's mistake of trying to make Ibadan which had been recognized as a Yoruba state in the 1890s a subordinate to Oyo contributed to the failure of the system of indirect rule in the western region, etc.

3.4 INDIRECT RULE IN EASTERN NIGERIA.

While the system of indirect rule succeeded in the Northern region, metropolitans in the West, and it failed completely in the Eastern Nigeria. If with the Igbos had no centralized traditional system of administration like the Hausa – Fulani emirate system.

When indirect rule system was introduced in the Eastern region, there were no real people of local influence and authority like the emirs and Obas in the Northern and Western regions. In a bid to solve this problem of single ruler Lugard and his British cohorts without consideration for the customs of the people made the mistake of

appointing traditional rulers called "Warrant Chiefs". These people that were appointed as chiefs by the British without due regard for their status and the families they came from were violently rejected.

The use of these unpopular chiefs and the system of taxation that was introduced in an effort to raise funds for the prosecution of indirect rule led to among other disturbances, the famous Aba women riots of 1929.

3.4.1 Reasons why Indirect Rule Failed in Eastern or Nigeria

The indirect rule failed among the Igbo and in the East because of the following reasons:-

- i. The Igbo had no centralized system of government.
- ii. The creation of warrant chiefs to perform the functions of the paramount chiefs and emirs as found in the West and North, created confusion and instability in the Igbo land.
- iii. The system of taxation was not known in the East and when the warrant chiefs tried to impose taxes, it thus resulted in riots, e.g. Aba women riot of 1929.
- iv. The early education which the Christian churches brought to the East helped to give the Igbo educated ones, the weapons to fight against the indirect rule and the British colonial politics

3.5 ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF INDIRECT RULE SYSTEM

3.5.1 Advantages or Merits of Indirect Rule.

The advantages of the indirect rule are:-

1. Respect for the people's traditions and culture
2. The use of the traditional rulers and chiefs in the administration made it less costly.
3. Indirect rule administration was a fertile ground for the training of traditional rulers and chiefs especially, in the area of local administration.
4. Indirect rule system was more accommodating than the French direct administration in West Africa. The former allowed the formation of political parties but the latter did not.
5. The indirect rule system helped to put a stop to some evil practices in some parts of the country. E.g. in the Eastern Nigeria, giving birth to twins were seen as an abomination. Also, human sacrifices were stopped.
6. Traditional institutions, native courts, etc were developed, making it more effective and durable.
7. It helped in introducing a new method of collecting taxes.
8. The political system was stable especially in the north, where the traditional rulers had the over-whelming support of the people.

3.5.2 Disadvantages or Demerits of Indirect Rule

1. The greatest defect of the system was that it had little or no place for the educated elements who were not chiefs in the system.
2. The experiment of appointing artificial rulers where none traditionally existed, failed because it ran counter to the peoples' customs. It also resulted in terrible abuses of power by such artificial chiefs.
3. The native rulers were deprived of effective power to defend the interests of their people against the British overlord.
4. Indirect rule was a system imposed on the people. Therefore the system was an imposition.
5. The democratic rights of the people were abused. People were denied of their rights.
6. Most of the traditional rulers were involved in evil practices and the system could not prosecute them.
7. Progress and development were relatively very low especially in northern Nigeria. So development was retarded.
8. The system had no universal application because it could not be applied to all environments.
9. The system encouraged tribalism and sectionalism at the expense of national consciousness. That was why other parts of Nigeria did not want independence while others were clamouring for it.
10. Above all, the system failed to prepare the people for modern representative government or to develop in them a new sense of national unity, as Nigerians, Ashanians, etc.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 2

Give any three reasons why indirect rule failed in Eastern Nigeria.

4.0 CONCLUSION

In this unit, you had the historical analysis of Nigerian state during the colonial era. You were informed that the democratic rights of people were abused and that the success of indirect rule system in other countries made Lugard to introduce same in Nigeria.

The indirect rule system succeeded in some parts of Nigeria and did not success in other parts. The reason was that the areas that had centralized political structures were easier to govern by the colonial masters, than those areas which had decentralized political structures.

5.0 SUMMARY

You have learnt that colonialism is an imposition of a more developed culture over a less developed one, backed up by expansionist and economic adventurism.

The unit has thrown light on the activities of some European powers in some countries of West Africa including Nigeria. The reasons for introducing or adopting the system of indirect rule, reasons for the involvement of the traditional rulers in the

system, the reasons why the system failed and succeeded in other parts of the country were also highlighted and discussed.

In the next unit, you will be taken through the discussion on the pre-independence constitution or constitutional development in Nigeria and the impact of the indirect rule system on Nigerian government and politics.

ANSWERS TO SAES IN THIS UNIT

1. a. Colonialism is an imposition of a more developed culture on a less developed one.
 - b. - Traditional rulers
 - Traditional Political System
 - Customs and traditions
 - Cultural Values.
2. - No Centralized system of government.
 - The system of taxation
 - The creation of Warrant Chiefs

6.0 TUTOR – MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Identify and explain fully, reasons for the adoption of indirect rule.
2. State the reasons for the success of indirect rule system in Northern Nigeria.
- 3.

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UNIT 4

PRE-INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION OR CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA I

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1.0 INTRODUCTION.

In the last unit, we discussed at length on colonial administration in West Africa and we focused on the issue of indirect rule system in Northern, Western and Eastern Nigeria. This unit, our discussion is focused on the pre-independence constitution or constitutional development in Nigeria I.

Since the amalgamation of Northern and Southern protectorates into one nation, by Lord Lugard in 1914, Nigeria has operated many constitutions. In this unit, Clifford Constitution, Richard Constitution, McPherson Constitution and Lyttleton Constitution are considered. Here, emphasis is on the main features, strengths and weaknesses of each constitution, the features of the colonial administration in the crown colonies of British West Africa, the Nigerian Council of Lord Lugard and the National Congress of British West Africa are discussed. This represents a critical starting point in the history of Constitutional development in Nigeria.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

On completion of this unit, you should be able to:-

- i. Give a historical background of constitutional development or pre-independence constitution in Nigeria.
- ii. State the main features of the Clifford, Richard, McPherson and Lyttleton Constitutions.
- iii. Explain the strengths of the Clifford, Richard, McPherson and Lyttleton Constitution.
- iv. State the weaknesses of the Clifford, Richard, McPherson and Lyttleton Constitution.

3.0 PRE-INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTIONS OR CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA I.

The British colonial rule in West Africa started towards the end of 1898. Lagos was annexed and made a colony in 1861, Gold Coast in 1821, Freetown became a colony in 1808. As from this period, the British government sought to establish and maintain a colonial state in Nigeria. To achieve this, therefore, a number of measures were to be taken, for example, removal of the all opposition expansion and consolidation of British authority over the territory that was later known as Nigeria. The British were also, to gradually amalgamate the three different administrative units – the colony of Lagos, the protectorate of Southern Nigeria and the protectorate of Northern Nigeria.

Each of the units, had its own government and administration. In May 1906, Lagos colony and protectorate of Southern Nigeria were joined together to form Lagos colony and protectorate of Southern Nigeria. Similarly, in 1914, Lagos colony and protectorate of Southern Nigeria were amalgamated with northern protectorate to form a single colony known as the protectorate of Nigeria.

In Britain, the Minister responsible to the parliament for administration of colonies was the Secretary of State for the colonies. He was equally responsible for

administration of British colonial office. He appointed colonial governors on behalf of the home government.

3.1 FEATURES OF COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION IN THE CROWN COLONIES OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

1. The Governor:

- i. The administration was headed by a governor
- ii. The governor was appointed from London and was responsible only to the Secretary of the State for the colonies.
- iii. The governor had veto and certification powers.
- iv. The governor was the chairman of the executive and legislative councils.

2. The Executive Council:

- i. The executive council was responsible to the crown colony. Each crown colony was made up of officials who were mostly whites.
- ii. The executive council was to advise the governor who had the power to accept or reject such advice
- iii. All the official members of the executive council were departmental heads.

3. The Legislative Council:

- i. The legislative council had official majority, for example, the governor, members of the executive council were all European officials.
- ii. It had not legislative power, its role was purely advisory.
- iii. The unofficial and the official members for example, European merchants, African chiefs, educated Africans, etc were appointed by the governor.

3.1.1 The Nigerian Council of Lord Lugard

After the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorates in 1914, Lord Lugard established the Nigerian council which existed side by side with the small legislative council of the colony of Lagos. The establishment of the council marked a milestone in the constitutional development of Nigeria. The council consisted of 36 members made up of 23 European officials, and 13 non – official members of which 7 of them were Europeans and 6 Nigerian. The 7 European non – official members were appointed to represent various commercial interests like the chambers of commerce, shipping, banking and mining businesses. The 6 Nigerian non – official members that were appointed to represent chieftaincy interests included; two Emirs from the North, the Alaafin of Oyo and one member each from Calabar, Lagos and Benin-Warri area.

The council which acted as an advisory body had no executive authority and its resolutions had no force of law. Its meetings were irregular and attendance very poor. The Nigerian chiefs, Lugard had thought would have represented their people were mainly illiterates and didn't show much interest in the affairs of the council. The council which had the main significance of being the first body that brought Nigerians

from different parts together to discuss the affairs of a United Nigeria, gingered the spirit of nationalism.

3.1.2 The National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA)

In 1920, the National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA) was formed in Accra, Gold Coast (Ghana). Joseph Casely Hayford and Dr. Akinwande Savage of Nigeria were instrumental to its formation. One of the major demands of this body was the issue of granting elective principle. After the congress was constituted, it sent a delegation to London, to present a petition stating its demands to the then Secretary of State, Lord Miler. The journey to London was an exercise in futility.

The members were accused of self-centeredness and that they represented no one but the educated class. The Colonial Office also argued that West Africans are not yet ripe for representative institutions and it would amount to foolhardiness allowing them this. However, Clifford when setting up the Legislative Council made a recommendation for granting of elective representation and this was granted by the new Secretary of State for the colonies; Winston Churchill. Nigeria, then became the first country to this principle.

3.2 The Clifford Constitution of 1922.

The Clifford constitution adopted in 1922 derived its name from the then governor of Nigeria, Sir Hugh Clifford who took over from former governor Lord Frederick Lugard. The constitution introduced a new Legislative Council and Executive Council which replaced the abolished old Legislative Council for Lagos colony and the ~~Nigerian~~ ^{Nigeria}. The constitution introduced elective principle which increased political agitation and awakened the spirit of nationalism in Nigeria. The Northern Nigeria was not represented in the new Legislative council; the Governor General retained the power to legislate for the North.

The new Legislative Council composed of 46 members of which 27 of the British members including the Governor were official members and 19 others were non-official members, 15 of the non-official members were nominated by the Governor to represent commercial and mining interests. Of the 19 non-official members 10 were Nigerians, 4 of which were elected of which 3 represented Lagos and 1 represented Calabar. Only male adults who had resided in the area for 12 months and earned gross income of £100 per annum constituted the electorate. The constitution gave rise to formation of political parties and establishment of newspapers. As a result, the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) founded by a Nigerian engineer, Herbert Macaulay in 1923 became the first political party in Nigeria (NNDP) aided by its newspaper – the Lagos Daily New launched in 1925 dominated and won all the 3 seats allocated to Lagos in 1923, 1928 and 1933 to the Legislative council.

An executive council was established by the constitution. It was just an advisory body to the Governor. It consisted of 10 ex-official members who were principal officials of government. The Governor was empowered to nominate other official members as well. The Governor was vested with wide powers. He had veto and reserved power over any legislative bill.

3.2.1 Main Features of Clifford Constitution

The main features of Clifford Constitution include:

- i. The introduction of elective principle into Nigerian politics.
- ii. A Legislative Council was set up with 46 members out of which 27 were official members while 19 were unofficial members
- iii. There was an executive council composed mainly the officials
- iv. The legislative council legislated only for the Southern provinces.
- v. Laws for the North were made by Governor's proclamation.
- vi. There were not Africans in the executive council.
- vii. Voting was introduced as a means of taking decisions in the legislative council.
- viii. The Executive Council wielded more power by advising the Governor on policy and initiating money resolutions with the Governor.

3.2.2 The Strengths and Weakness of Clifford Constitution.

The strengths of the Clifford constitution include:

- i. The introduction of the first principle. The introduction of this principle led to the growth of political parties in Nigeria.
- ii. The introduction of a single legislative council for the colony of Lagos and the protectorate of Southern Nigeria.
- iii. The introduction of the elective principles also led to the formation of the first polity party (NNDP) in Nigeria in 1923.

The Weaknesses of the Constitution.

The weaknesses of the Clifford Constitution include:-

- i. The isolation of the North from the legislative council. The Northern province was not represented in the legislative council which aptly demonstrates how hesitant the British were, allowing indigenous people have more say in the governance of their own nation.
- ii. The exclusion of the Africans from the Executive Council.
- iii. The power of the legislative council was effectively checked by the executive council, which was composed of only Europeans and which wielded enormous powers.
- iv. The introduction of the British policy of Divide and Rule which laid the foundation for the birth and development of ethnicity and tribalism in Nigeria.
- v. The enfranchisement of the people based on 12 months residence and the possession of a gross income of £100 per annum was not in the interest of Nigerians. Hence, they never participated fully in the electioneering process.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1

Who was the first governor of Nigeria and who took over from him?

3.3 THE RICHARD'S CONSTITUTION OF 1946

The criticisms of the Clifford's Constitution of 1922 led to the introduction of the Richard's Constitution in 1946. It was as a result of the weaknesses of the Clifford's Constitution that made the Nigerian nationalists to pressurize Sir Bernard Bourdillon, the Governor of Nigeria from 1935 to 1943, to give them a new befitting constitution. It was Sir Bourdillon who split Nigeria into three regions of North, East and West in 1939.

The memorandum issued by Bourdillon on the future political development of Nigeria made useful proposals on the formulation of another constitution for Nigeria. These proposals formed the basis of the Richard's Constitution of 1946 named after Sir Bernard Bourdillon's successor, Sir Arthur Richards who was called Lord Milverton.

The draft constitution which Governor Richards presented to the Legislative Council of Nigeria on March 6, 1946, became a new constitution, on August 2, 1946 and came into force on January 1, 1947. The main aims of Richards constitution were to:

- i. Promote national unity.
- ii. Allow or secure greater participation for Africans in the discussion of their own affairs..
- iii. Select and send their regional representatives to the central legislative council in Lagos.
- iv. Clear for the social and political differences within the units in the country.
- v. Evolve a constitutional framework to cover all parts of the country
- vi. Create constitutional and political links between the naïve authorities and the legislative council.

3.3.1 The Main Features of Richards Constitution.

The main features of Richard's Constitution include the following:-

- i. The constitution established a single legislative council for the whole Nigeria. The South and the were now united under one legislative council.
- ii. The constitution allowed majority unofficial members in the legislative council. And this the first time in the history of the country.
- iii. The constitution introduced regional council.
- iv. It also introduced the house of chiefs for the North.
- v. The principle of regionalism was formally entrenched in constitution, recognized three the regions – Northern, Southern and Western.

3.3.2 The Strengths and Weaknesses of the Richard's Constitution.

The strengths of the Richard's constitution include the following.

- i. More power and participation were released to the regions as against the Clifford's Constitution of 1922 which made no provision for them.
- ii. The requirement for the exercise of franchise was reduced
- iii. More political parties and cultural groups emerged to act at the check against colonial rule in the country.

- iv. It brought together for the very first time since 1923, North and southern Nigeria, making for the unity of the country.
- v. Regional assemblies later became the body, that is, electoral college for electing representatives into the central legislative.
- vi. The full blown federal structure of 1954 was laid down by this constitution.
- vii. The north and south were brought together for legislation.

The weakness of the Richard's constitution include the following:-

- i. The majority of the members of the central legislative were appointed.
- ii. The regional councils were not allow to possess legislative power, thus making them to be rubber – stamp institutions.
- iii. The power of the Executive Council was not curtailed.
- iv. The constitution bred mutual distrust between the North and the South and West.

3.4 MCPHERSON CONSTITUTION OF 1951.

The Richard's Constitution was severely criticized by the Nationalists, because it was imposed on Nigerians without any prior consultation. In order to express the criticisms, the nationalists of the National council for Nigeria and Cameroons (NCNC) ~~Herbert~~ Herbert Macaulay and Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe toured important towns in the country, educated the people on the political issues at stake and collected donations to send a protest delegation to London.

It was partly because of this protest that, the Richard's constitution which originally was intended to last for nine years, was replaced in 1951 by the McPherson constitution. Its author, Sir John McPherson, who succeeded Sir, Athur Richard as Governor, was sensitive to the criticisms that the Richard's constitution had not been based on prior consultation with the Nigerians. He therefore allowed three years, from 1948 to 1951, for public opinion on his proposals to be expressed at district, provincial and regional levels. The various recommendations were considered and many of them included in the final version of the new constitution.

3.4.1 The Main Features of McPherson Constitution.

The basic features of McPherson are:

- i. The constitution ensured the reliance of the region on the central government. For instance, the lieutenant – Governor could only exercise his reserved power of legislation with the agreement of the Governor at the centre. Also, the central legislature could withdraw or add any matter from the legislative list.
- ii. The central legislature was empowered to legislate in all the federation and had powers to veto proposed legislation.
- iii. In the North, the legislative powers were exercised but the House Assembly and the House of chiefs. Likewise in the West. However, the power was exercised by only the House of Assembly in the East. In the Northern Assembly, 90 members were elected 10 were not elected. In the

Western Region, 80 members were elected 7 were not elected. In the Eastern Region, 80 members were elected while 8 others were appointed.

- iv. The Regional House of Assembly were empowered to legislate on certain matters. However such legislation was not exclusive as it could be upturned by the Governor.
- v. The constitution made provision for revenue allocation to the region.

3.4.2 The Strengths and Weaknesses of McPherson Constitution.

The strengths of the constitution include the following:-

- i. The constitution introduced a new central law – making body called the House of Representatives.
- ii. Each region was represented in the House of Representatives. For example, North had 68 seats, East and West had 34 seats each.
- iii. The regions were given more powers and made autonomous.
- iv. Both the North and West now had bicameral legislature, for example, House of Assembly and Chiefs.
- v. The motion was moved in the House of Representatives and discussed at 1953's London Constitutional Conference. It laid the foundation for the process of decolonization of Nigeria.
- vi. Powers were shared between the regions and the central government. The constitution defined their powers, making the regions subordinate to the central government.
- vii. For the first time, Nigerians took part in the making of the constitution, through constitutional conferences.
- viii. It stimulated the formation and development of political parties

The Weaknesses of the Constitution.

The weaknesses of the constitution include the following:-

- i. The existence of Regional/Ethnic politics which succeeded in weakening the central legislative, for example, the representative at the centre were more loyal to their regions.
- ii. There was no responsible government at the centre, for example, ministers were not given portfolios, but could initiate discussion of policy in the council.
- iii. The exclusion of Nnamdi Azikiwe from the central legislature led to the crisis in the Eastern House of Assembly.
- iv. Chief Anthony Enahoro in 1953, moved the motion in the House of Representatives requesting for self-government for Nigeria in 1956. The motion was rejected by Northern politicians and it caused bad blood between Northern and Southern politicians.
- v. The Kano riot of 1953, this riot demonstrated the weakness and failure of McPherson constitution.
- vi. The constitution provided for an all powerful governor with veto power to legislate on any matter in the country.
- vii. The three major political parties the NCNC NPC, and AG were all regional parties. Infact, none of them commanded a nation –wide support.

- viii. In 1953, crisis erupted with the NCNC as a party and the out come of this was the expulsion of some party members. The expelled members formed a new party called United Independent Party (UIP).
- ix. There was no provision for the office of a Prime Minister as the head of government in the country and premiers of the regions; whereas the offices of Council of Ministers and regional executive council were created at the central and regional levels of government respectively.
- x. The Lieutenant – Governors of the regions were member of both the regional legislature and the House of Representatives.
- xi. The constitution encouraged ethnic nationalism and the emergence of political parties along tribal lines for example, NPC and A.G.

3.4.3 The Constitutional Conference of 1953.

As we all know, if your house is on fire, you don't wait till the house collapses before you start salvaging it. That is why the two political parties in the South. NCNC and AG called upon the British authorities to do something about the crisis and tensions generated by the crises. This led to the constitutional conference of 1953 where each of the regions were represented by six persons.

Parts of their recommendations were:

- i. That legislative power should be shared between the centre and the federating regions. Also residual powers are to be in the region.
- ii. That a regional administration be extended to Cameroon if the people so desired in a referendum
- iii. That Lagos should be ostracized from the Western Region and be a neutral entity.
- iv. That self government be granted to the region in 1956.

In 1954, the Lagos Conference was convened to reconsider outstanding issues in the 1953 conference. Part of the recommendations made were:-

- i. The regionalization of public service and judiciary
- ii. That autonomy be granted to Southern Cameroon.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 2

Why was the Richard's Constitution criticized by the Nationalists?

3.5 THE LYTTLETON CONSTITUTION OF 1954

The Lyttleton constitution of 1954 was complementary in nature, it is so, because it only effected certain changes in the structure and it also effected substantial changes in the 1953 and 1954 constitutional conferences. And it will be true if one asserts that the decisions of the two conferences were embodied in the Lyttleton's Constitution. The constitution was revised through 1953 London and 1954 Lagos Constitutional Conferences. The product of this revision exercise was the Lyttleton Constitution.

3.5.1 Main Feature of Lyttleton Constitution

- i. The Governor became known as the Governor – General of the Federation of Nigeria and the Lieutenant – General became Governors of their respective region.
- ii. The offices of the speaker and the deputy speaker were created to preside over regional legislatures with the exception of the North.
- iii. The establishment of regional premiers who headed regional executive councils and appointed ministers to take care of government departments.
- iv. The regionalization of the judiciary and the public service or the civil service.
- v. A reduction in the number of official members and appointed members in the central and regional legislatures as well as in the executive councils. The proportion of elected members was substantially increased.
- vi. A revised division of powers between the central and regional governments.
- vii. The central legislature was unicameral
- viii. Each region had three ministers in the council of ministers at the federal level.
- ix. There was no provision for the office of a Prime Minister at the centre.

3.5.2 The Strengths and Weaknesses of Lyttleton Constitution

The strengths of the constitution includes the following:-

- i. The constitution marked the beginning of direct elections to both the federal and regional legislatures in Nigeria.
- ii. Nigerians were for the first time appointed ministers with portfolios (for example, Heads of Department).
- iii. The constitution introduced the posts of permanent secretaries and parliamentary secretaries in Nigeria.
- iv. The constitution moved Nigeria nearer to independence
- v. The process of decision – making was also made more efficient by the involvement of the council of ministers.

The weaknesses of the constitution include the following:

- i. There was no Bicameral legislature at the center.
- ii. At a time when the call for independence was rife, the veto – power of the Governor – General was a big minus.
- iii. The constitution did not provide for a uniform electoral system in Nigeria, in face of allegations, of partiality by the oppositions.
- iv. The constitution could not successfully prevent regional allegiance by the ministers which was dangerous to decision – making process and national unity.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 3

Give any two of the recommendations made at the 1953 London Constitutional Conference.

4.0 CONCLUSION

Based on the analyses made in this unit, therefore, it could be deduced that the pre-independence constitution or the constitutional development phase one in Nigeria, complements earlier effort in promoting national unity. This development introduced more flexibility into the decision – making process in the country.

5.0 SUMMARY

A summary of this unit can be made as follows:

- The pre-independence constitution allowed the Nigerians to contribute to their own development through participating into the politics of their nation.
- The constitutions aided the educated elites to fight for independence for Nigeria.
- It guided the leaders towards national unity

ANSWERS TO SAES IN THIS UNIT

1. Lord Frederick Lugard was the first Governor of Nigeria. Sir Hugh Clifford took over from him.
2. Richard's Constitution was criticized because it was imposed on Nigerian without prior consultations.
3. a. That the legislative power be shared between the centre and the federating regions, while residual powers are to be in the region.
b. Lagos should be ostracized from the Western region and be a neutral entity.

6.0 TUTOR – MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. State and discuss the strengths and weaknesses of Clifford Constitution of 1922.
2. Discuss the main features of Lyttleton Constitution of 1954

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UNIT 5

INDEPENDENCE AND POST-INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTIONS OR CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA II

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

In the last unit which is unit 4, you were taken through the ~~possibilities~~ constitutional development in Nigeria I. These are constitutions drafted by European colonialists. You have learnt the strengths and weaknesses of all of them and the struggles of the Nationalists for independence in Nigeria.

In this unit, therefore, our discussion is focused on the first indigenous constitution in Nigeria. A constitution which was not an imposition of the colonialists on Nigerians. A constitution that does not provide for Europeans sitting in our parliament and deciding issues that borders on the development of the people about which the Europeans know little or nothing about. A constitution which is democratic, the first ever to be so democratic because the peoples' representatives made it and there was no reserved power for any leader.

The 1960 constitution conferred full independence on the entire country. It came into effect on 1st October, 1960 the date Nigeria attained the status of an independent country and remained in operation until 1st October, 1963 when Nigerian became a republic. The independence constitution made Nigeria full – fledged sovereign state within the Commonwealth of Nations.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of the unit; you should be able to:-

- i. Give a historical background to independence and post-independence constitution.
- ii. State and discuss the main features of independence and post-independence constitutions.
- iii. Discuss the strengths and weaknesses of the independence and post-independence constitutions.
- iv. Identify the reasons for political instability in post-independence.

3.0 INDEPENDENCE AND POST – INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTIONS OR CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA II.

3.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The conference which became the last constitutional conference held before the attainment of Independence in 1960, also took place in London from September 29 to October 27, 1958. The resumed constitutional conference of 1958 was the Nigerian constitutional conference held before the attainment of Independence in 1960. It was convened to consider the report of the Willink's commission on the minority the conference resolved among other issues, that the Northern part of Nigeria should be self-governing by 1959 and that if a resolution was passed by parliament asking for independence, in 1960, then her majesty government would propose a bill of independence in 1960.

In December, 1959, a nationwide general election was held into the Federal House of Representatives. In the election, no single party won an overall majority as was the

case in 1954, while in September, 1960, the parliament has enacted a law on Nigeria's independence.

3.2 MAIN FEATURES OF INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION OF 1960

The main features of independence constitution include the following:-

- i. The constitution provided for a democratic parliamentary system of government.
- ii. A federal system of government was retained.
- iii. The Governor – General was the ceremonial Head of State, representing the Queen of England.
- iv. The Head of government and administration was the Prime Minister
- v. The constitution provided for a bi-cameral legislature at the center, namely, the Senate and House of Representatives.
- vi. Each of the three regions had a House of Assembly and a House of Chiefs.
- vii. The 1960 constitution provided for a premier as the Head of Executive for each of the regions. Also provision was made for a ceremonial governor for each of the regions.
- viii. The fundamental human rights of the citizens were entrenched in the constitution.
- ix. The final court of Appeal was the Privy Council in London
- x. The constitution defined who a citizen was and how to acquire citizenship
- xi. The constitution contained the procedure for amendment. The 1960 constitution was rigid.
- xii. It laid down the procedure for creating new regions, for example, Mid-Western region was created in 1963.
- xiii. The federal government was given the power to declare a state of emergency in any part of the country. If there were crises or war. However, resolution would be passed by the House of Representatives with a two – third majority supporting it.
- xiv. The constitution divided the legislative powers of government into three – exclusive, concurrent and residual lists. For example, only the central government could make laws (through the parliament) on issues listed. Under exclusive legislative list: (currency, power, defence, external affairs etc).
- xv. Judges of the Supreme and High Courts were appointed on the advice of judicial service commission consisting of the judges.

3.3 THE STRENGTHS OF THE INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION

The strengths of the independence constitution includes the following:

- i. The Nigerians for the first time were given full fundamental human rights.
- ii. The discussion of Nigeria's affairs were left almost entirely in the hands of Nigerians.
- iii. The constitution of Nigeria was no longer amended by the British authorities but by Nigerian.
- iv. For the first time, a Nigerian became a Governor – General and Prime Minister.
- v. For the first time, Nigeria had a Bicameral legislature

3.4 THE WEAKNESSES OF INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION

The weaknesses of the independence constitution include the following:

- i. The minorities issues were not addressed as it did not recommend the creation of new regions to pacify the minorities.
- ii. The Northern Region was allowed to retain its big size which was bigger than the Eastern and Western Regions put together. This made the other regions to struggle always to form a coalition government with the Northern Region. The struggle always led to electoral crisis; e.g. 1964, general election in Nigeria.
- iii. The Queen of England remained the political head of Nigeria and the Governor – General of Nigeria signed bills and carried out functions on behalf of the Queen of England.
- iv. The big sizes of the regions and their extensive powers over natural resources formed a major weakness of the federal government which under the arrangement was weaker than the federating regions.
- v. The privy council in London remained the highest judicial court of Nigeria. Cases were referred to it for the final adjudication.
- vi. The constitution was drafted in London by the imperialists for Nigeria.

3.5 REASONS FOR POLITICAL INSTABILITY POST INDEPENDENCE IN NIGERIA.

The reasons for political instability in post independence Nigeria includes:-

- i. Economic Mismanagement: The politicians embarked on prestigious and economically unviable projects which did not benefit the citizens.
- ii. Embezzlement and Mismanagement: There was embezzlement and misappropriation of public funds by different regimes.
- iii. Election Irregularities: Election rigging and persecution of political opponents remain the order of the day.
- iv. Disregard for the Constitution: there was complete disregard for the constitution and the rule of law.
- v. Tribalism and Nepotism: there was tribalism and nepotism, particularly in the appointment of public officers and in the distribution of amenities
- vi. Disagreement over of Revenue Sharing: There was political interference in military affairs.
- vii. Religious Intolerance: There was widespread religious intolerance and violence which retarded national unity.
- viii. Bribery and Corruption: Politicians engaged in large – scale bribery and corruption.
- ix. Effect of Coups: The initial psychological impact of coups in neighbouring African states also led to instability in Nigeria.
- x. Sit-tight Leaders: the desire of political leaders to stay long in power is also responsible for the instability.
- xi. Census Figures: Figures from head counts were inflated by the component regions or states that make up the country.
- xii. Economic Hardship: There was economic hardship caused by inflation and unemployment.

- xiii. Foreign Interference: External influence from big nations and institutions also promoted instability in the country.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

State any four of the main features of the independence constitution of 1960.

4.0 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the independence constitution of 1960 came to salvage Nigerians from the colonial rule. The constitution of 1960 is a significant aspect of constitutional development in Nigeria. It freed Nigerians from the fetters of colonialism. It was the ultimate gain of nearly four decades of agitation and protest. More than ever before, the constitution gave Nigerians a significant part of their demands even though in the 1960s, the Queen of England remained the political head of Nigeria and the Governor – General of Nigeria signed bills and carried out functions on behalf of the Queen of England, but we were better off than the pre-independence constitution period.

5.0 SUMMARY

In our discussion, we have described how the conference of 1958 helped in accelerating the process of decolonization in 1960. The unit has thrown light on the 1960 constitution and that the constitution has not only removed 'veto power' from the Nigerian political scene, but it also contained far-reaching features on human rights, citizenship, federalism and amendment procedure, among others. We also argued that the constitution of 1960 met a substantial amount of the nationalists' demands.

ANSWER TO SAE IN THIS UNIT.

Main features of independence constitution of 1960

- a. A federal system for government was retained.
- b. The Governor – General was the ceremonial Head of State representing the Queen of England.
- c. The final court of Appeal was the privy council in London
- d. The fundamental human rights of the citizens were entrenched in the constitution.

6.0 TUTOR – MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Identify and discuss any ten reasons for political instability in Nigeria after independence.
2. examine the disadvantages of the independence constitution of 1960.

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UNIT 6

THE REPUBLICAN CONSTITUTION OF 1963

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

As we discussed in the last unit that though the independence constitution of 1960 gave substantial power to Nigerians, it did not satisfy all the needs and aspirations of Nigerians. It was partial independence because the Britons were still interfering in the internal affairs of our country the Queen of England was still the political head of Nigeria at independence.

In this unit, our focus on why the Republican constitution came into effect on October 1st, 1963; the date on which Nigeria became a Republic. The 1963 constitution was an indigenous one as it came about as a result of law enacted by the ~~Nigerian~~ government. The main features of the constitution, the strengths and weaknesses of the constitution are discussed.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

It is expected that at the end of the unit, you should be able to:-

- i. State a brief historical development of the Republican Constitution of 1963
- ii. Identify the major features of Republican Constitution of 1963
- iii. State the strengths of the Constitution
- iv. Discuss the weaknesses of the Republican Constitution of 1963

3.0 THE REPUBLICAN CONSTITUTION OF 1963

3.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE REPUBLICAN CONSTITUTION OF 1963.

Following the independence of Nigeria in 1960, the Nigerian leaders started ruling the country on the basis of the independence constitution of 1960. The first three years of independence afforded the leaders the opportunity of identifying the short comings of the 1960 constitution. It is well said that experience is the best teacher. Having been in power for sometimes, the leaders of Nigeria now considered themselves experienced enough to carry out far reaching changes which has direct impact on the live of Nigerians. Also, the practice by which the judicial committee of the Privy Council was the final arbiter and was disgusting and as such, there was urgent need to effect changes.

The Prime Minister and regional premiers met in May 1963 in order to discuss and settle constitutional issues. So, the conference of heads of government of Nigeria agreed to summon an all – party constitutional conference in Lagos to suggest to it, important changes in the constitution. The all – party conference met in July, 1963 and agreed that Nigeria should become a republic and that the president of the republic should have the same powers and functions as the Governor – General had under the Independence Constitution. So, a constitutional conference was held in Lagos between July 25 and 26, 1963. It was the first indigenous constitutional conference by Nigerians and the first constitution ever to be drafted by Nigerians for Nigerians.

MAIN FEATURES OF THE REPUBLICAN CONSTITUTION OF 1963

The following are the salient characteristics or features of the Republican Constitution of 1963.

- i. Nigeria became a republic within the Commonwealth and the Queen of England ceased to be the Head of State of Nigeria.
- ii. The President who was a ceremonial Head of State replaced the Governor – General who represented the Queen of England
- iii. The President was to be selected and could be removed by the parliament
- iv. The Supreme Court of Nigeria became the highest court in the country. Appeal cases stopped going to the Privy Council in London, but rather to the Supreme Court of Nigeria.
- v. It abolished the Judicial service commission and the president was vested with the powers to appoint, transfer and promote the judges.
- vi. A federal judge could be removed from office by two-third majority of the parliament i.e. House of Representatives and the Senate.
- vii. The Director of Public Prosecution (DPP) was brought under the political control of the Attorney General of the Federation
- viii. The process of creating new regions and the formula for revenue allocation were campaign input into the constitution
- ix. All the other features of the Independence constitution remained except for those that subjugated Nigeria to Britain.
- x. Fundamental Human Rights were guaranteed by the constitution.

STRENGTHS OF THE REPUBLICAN CONSTITUTION OF 1963

The advantages or strengths of the Republican Constitution of 1963 are as follows:-

- i. Nigeria became a Republic and was accorded full political independence since the Queen was no longer the Head of State.
- ii. The Supreme Court in Nigeria became the highest court in the country, that is, the Privy Council was no longer the highest court.
- iii. Emergency powers conferred on the Federal Government were retained.
- iv. Fundamental Human Rights were protected, that is, the liberty of the citizens.
- v. The constitution provided an acceptable revenue allocation formula.
- vi. The constitution provided the process for creation of more states.

THE WEAKNESSES OF REPUBLICAN CONSTITUTION OF 1963

The weaknesses of the Republican Constitution of 1963 are as follows:

- i. The constitution did not provide for the independence of the Judiciary
- ii. There was no complete separation of powers among the organs of government but fusion of powers.

- iii. The emergency power granted to the Federal Government curtailed the personal liberty of the citizens, that is, their fundamental human rights
- iv. A major weakness of the constitution was that it did not allow for checks and balances on the part of the executive and legislature as the constitution was parliamentary. The fusion of power did not encourage accountability and moderation on the part of the politicians.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Identify any two of the merits and one of the demerits of the Republican Constitution.

4.0 CONCLUSION

The Republican Constitution of 1963 was so significant because it made Nigeria to become an independent nation. Though some politicians argued that the constitution was promulgated in order to prevent the emergence of an unfavourable candidate to the NPC government at the centre to become the premier of western region, the fact still remained however, that it was time for Nigeria to assert her sovereignty and it happened. We must commend the architects of the constitution for their sound reasoning or innovation on the issues of the civil service, public finance, police, judicial service, etc.

5.0 SUMMARY

This unit has thrown light on the Republican Constitution of 1963. It was the one that concluded the unfinished constitutional changes of 1960, the constitution was so significant because it erased the last vestige of colonialism from the Nigerian institutions. Even though the colonial mentality is still in our blood but it is less than the independence period.

The constitution made provision for constitutional amendment, fundamental Human Rights and Citizenship. It gave five years term to the president, who henceforth ceased to be called governor – General and the Supreme Court of Nigeria in Lagos became the final court of Appeal. The constitution also contained the process for the creation of new regions and for the alteration of the existing regional boundaries. It was because of this provision that the mid western region was created in 1963.

ANSWERS TO SAES IN THIS UNIT

Merits

- i. Nigeria became a Republic and was accorded full political independence since the Queen was no longer the Head of State.
- ii. Fundamental Human Rights were protected, i.e. the liberty of citizens.

Demerits

- The Constitution did not provide for the independence of the judiciary

6.0 TUTOR – MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Discuss the main features or the characteristics of the Republican Constitution of 1963
2. Identify and explain the strengths and weaknesses of the Republican Constitution of 1963

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UNIT 7

THE PRESIDENTIAL CONSTITUTION OF 1979

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1.0 INTRODUCTION.

Generally, the process of constitution drafting is geared towards continuity, development, peace and stability of political system. Sometimes, new constitutions are outcomes of political upheavals while some other times, it comes out based on the agreement of the parties involved. Constitutions have come to be associated with open governance.

A constitution could be written or unwritten, rigid or flexible. It could be presidential or parliamentary, it could be federal or unitary. The presidential constitution of 1979 federal, constitution, it was written and was a rigid constitution.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i. Give a historical background to the Presidential Constitution of 1979
- ii. Identify the main features of the Presidential Constitution of 1979
- iii. State the functions of the president under Presidential Constitution of 1979
- iv. Discuss the strengths and weaknesses of the Presidential Constitution of 1979

3.0 THE PRESIDENTIAL CONSTITUTION OF 1979

3.1 Historical Background of the Presidential Constitution of 1979

The military intervention of January 1966 brought an end to the operation of the republican constitution of 1963. General Murtala Mohammed who took over the control of government on July, 29, 1975, inaugurated a Constitution Drafting Committee (CDC) on October 18, 1975 and charged it to produce a new constitution for Nigeria which would, as much as possible, eliminate the constitutional problems experienced in Nigeria. The committee visited several countries and studied the various constitutions in operation in different countries of the world. The draft of the committee was studied and reviewed by a Constituent Assembly (CA).

General Murtala Mohammed did not live to fulfill the promise but it was his successor Lt. – General Olusegun Obasanjo who made the promise a reality. This started with the establishment in 1975 of the Constitution Drafting Committee (CDC). This proposed 50 members Committee which finally consisted of 49 members as a result of the fact that Chief Obafemi Awolowo opted out because he was not duly informed, was chaired by Chief Rotimi Williams, a guru in constitutional law.

The establishment of a Constituent Assembly in 1976 followed later. The 190 member assembly under the chairmanship of Justice Udo Udoma was made up of 190 indirectly elected and 40 Federal Military Government appointed members. The assembly was mainly to examine and ratify the draft constitution by the C.D.C. The constitution was finally promulgated after about 17 minor amendments were made and it came into effect on October 1, 1979. when Alhaji Shehu Shagari became the first Executive President of Nigeria.

3.2 MAIN FEATURES OF THE PRESIDENTIAL CONSTITUTION OF 1979

The following are the main features of the presidential constitution of 1979.

1. The constitution jettisoned the parliamentary system of government and introduced the presidential system similar to that of the United State of America.
2. The presidential system of government was headed by an executive president who acted as both the head of state and head of government.
3. The president was directly elected by the electorate in a general election.
4. He appointed his Ministers outside the legislature subject to the confirmation by the Senate and they were responsible to him.
5. At least one Minister must come from each of the states of the federation.
6. There was vice – president who acted as the running mate of the president in the election.
7. The president and vice – president can be removed from office by impeachment.
8. There was the principle of separation of powers among the three organs of government.
9. There was a constitutional provision for institutionalized opposition as was done in parliamentary system.
10. A Governor who acted as the Chief Executive with a Deputy Governor with other members of the executive appointed by the Governor called commissioners existed in each state of the federation.
11. The president was empowered by the constitution to appoint his political advisers and 19 liaison officers who were responsible to him. The governor was also allowed to appoint special advisers.
12. The president and the governor were to hold office for four years of not more than two terms if re-elected.
13. The national Assembly was bicameral which consisted of the Senate and House of Representatives. The Senate was made up of 95 members of which 5 came from each state and one from Abuja. While House of Representatives had 450 members and the states had unicameral legislature.
14. The president was also made the commander in chief of the armed forces.
15. Lobbying was allowed while cross-carpeting was disallowed by the constitution.
16. A council of state was created by the constitution which comprised the president, Vice – president, the former Heads of state, former chief justices, senate president, the speaker of the House of Representatives, all the state Governors, the Attorney – General and one paramount chief from each state. The council was empowered to advise the president on important national issues.
17. Another body known as the National Economic Council chaired by the Vice – President with all state Governors and the Governor of the central bank as members was also created by the presidential constitution of 1979.

18. The Judiciary was empowered by the constitution to interpret the law and judicial review power granted to it while the legislature was given among other functions and powers the approval of presidential nominations for high political offices; removal of the chief executive through impeachment, etc.
19. The inclusion of the principle of federal character

3.3 FUNCTIONS OF THE PRESIDENT UNDER THE PRESIDENTIAL CONSTITUTION OF 1979

1. He was both the Head of State and the Chief Executive of the government. In this position, he performed all state functions.
2. He signed bilateral agreements with other nations after such agreements had received the approval of the National Assembly.
3. He authorized the withdrawal of money from the state consolidated funds.
4. He signed into law bill passed by the National Assembly. He can also refuse to endorse some of the bills.
5. He prepared and presented the annual budget and estimates to the National Assembly for approval.
6. He was the commander – in – chief of the Nigerian Armed Forces.
7. He exercised veto power over bills already passed by the National Assembly and had the prerogative powers to pardon offenders.
8. Under emergency situation, the president proclaimed state of emergency in any part of the country with the approval of the National Assembly.
9. He formulated and implemented government policies and could send bills for debate and approval to the National Assembly.
10. He recruited his staff while in government e.g. Ministers, Secretaries, advisers, etc.

3.4 THE STRENGTHS OF THE PRESIDENTIAL CONSTITUTION OF 1979

The strengths/merits of the Presidential Constitution include the following:-

- i. A new federal capital territory was provided for by the constitution.
- ii. There is separation of powers as members of the executive are not members of the legislature. This promoted effectiveness of the there if government organs and the freedom and liberty of the citizens.
- iii. The President had a free hand when selecting his ministers.
- iv. The President is above his political parties. The party does not have control over him since he is popularly elected by the electorates and he is responsible to the electorates.
- v. The President appoints his ministers. He can direct and check their activities as they are individually responsible to him.
- vi. Fundamental Human Rights were fully elaborated and guaranteed.
- vii. The constitution was supreme and as such must be obeyed and respected by all authorities and citizens.
- viii. It fixed the tenure of office of the political office holders thus, it prevents the tendency of any leader or party from perpetuating itself in power.

3.5 THE WEAKNESSES OR DEMERITS OF THE PRESIDENTIAL CONSTITUTION OF 1979.

The weaknesses of the presidential constitution of 1979 include the following:-

- i. It is expensive to operate as functions are duplicated.
- ii. The law – makers can use the impeachment clause indiscriminately and to victimize a political opponent.
- iii. Due to separation of powers, there can be delay in the execution of government programme.
- iv. There is concentration of powers in the hands of the president since the combines the functions of the Head of State and government
- v There is the possibility of problems coming up between the executive and the legislature especially when the ruling party is not maintaining the majority in the legislature.
- v. The appointments of people into federal establishments may not reflect federal character. This is because some sections of the country would still feel neglected.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1

Identify any three of the functions of the president under the Presidential Constitution of 1979.

3.6 COMPARISON OF THE REPUBLICAN CONSTITUTION OF 1963 AND THE PRESIDENTIAL CONSTITUTION OF 1979.

S/no	The Republican Constitution of 1963	The Presidential Constitution of 1979	
1	It was a replica of the British type of parliamentary or cabinet system of government	It was based on the American Presidential system of government	type of
2.	The Prime Minister was the Head of Government and the President, ceremonial Head of State	The Executive President was both the Head of State and Government	
3	The Prime Minister was the leader of the party that won majority of seats in parliament.	The President might not be from the party that won the majority for seats in the parliament.	in the
4	The Prime Minister was not directly elected but was chosen from elected legislators in parliament	The President was elected through election by the electorate in a general election.	direct general
5	The Prime Minister appointed his ministers from his party members in the parliament.	The Executive President appointed his ministers outside the parliament. He was not restricted to his party only for the appointment.	his was for the
6	A Minister was a member of the parliament as well as the executive.	A Minister was not a member of the parliament. He belonged only to the executive arm of government.	of the
7	There was a fusion of power.	There was a clear separation of powers each	

	legislature and the executive fused.	were organ exercised it functions distinctly.
8	There was officially a legally recognized opposition party.	There was no such recognition in the 1979 constitution.
9	There was collective responsibility of Minister (Principle of collective responsibility).	There was individual responsibility of the Ministers
10	The Prime Minister could be removed from office, if a vote of no confidence was passed on him	The Executive President could be removed from office through impeachment.
11	There was parliamentary supremacy. There	was the supremacy of the constitution.

3.7 REASONS FOR FREQUENT CHANGES IN NIGERIA'S CONSTITUTION

The following are some of the reasons of frequent changes in Nigeria's constitution.

- i. No section of the country is willing or prepared to concede her interests to maintain the stability of the country.
- ii. All the ethnic groups suspect one another and the fear of domination still remains very strong in the politics of Nigeria
- iii. Corruption is highly condoned in Nigeria and people view public office as a quick avenue to wealth. They then urge for constitution changes to suit their desires.
- iv. Poverty is rampant in Nigeria and there are few openings for acquiring wealth. People regard government connections as the ultimate means and so compete for them.
- v. Frequent military intervention in the politics of Nigeria and the change of government always resulted in the suspension of some section of the constitution or outright cancellation of the existing constitution.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 2

Discuss any two of the differences between republican constitution of 1963 and presidential constitution of 1979.

4.0 CONCLUSION

The above analyses show that parts of the reasons for the adoption of a presidential constitution was because of the belief that it will aid political stability, that turned out a pipe dream. The politicians of the second republic were deeply observed with corruption, fraud, mismanagement and prebendalism. The simple thing that Nigerians should know is that constitution has never been our problem in Nigeria, rather our problem had always been the quality of our successive leadership and the level of poverty that is in the country.

5.0 SUMMARY

This unit has thrown light on the presidential constitution of 1979. we discussed that this constitution was unique because it was the first constitution that was drafted by

the Nigerian. You were also told that the assassinated Head of State – General Murtala Mohammed was the one that started the process of returning the country to a civil rule but did not live to fulfill the process. That his successor Lt. – General Olusegun Obasanjo was the one that made the promise a reality.

The presidential constitution of 1979 was characterized by the principle of separation of power, code of conduct, executive leadership, local governance, fundamental human rights of citizens, supremacy, etc.

ANSWERS TO SAES IN THIS UNIT.

- 1a. He authorized the withdrawal of money from the state consolidated funds.
- a. He was the Commander-in-chief of the Nigerian Armed Forces
- b. He formulated and implemented government policies and could send bills for debate and approval to the National Assembly
- 2a. -In the republican constitution of 1963, a minister was a member of the parliament as well as the executive. While in the presidential constitution of 1979, a minister was not a member of the parliament. He belonged only to the executive arm of government
- b. In the republican constitution of 1963, there was officially a legally recognized opposition party. While in the presidential constitution of 1979, there was no such recognition in the constitution.

6.0 TUTOR – MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Discuss the reasons for the frequent changes in Nigerian constitution.
2. Explain the functions of the president under the presidential constitution of 1979.

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UNIT 8

MILITARY RULE IN NIGERIA

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

The military is one of the security apparatuses of the state under the control of the Executive arm of government which is charged with the defence of the country from external and internal invasions. A military government is formed when some members of the Armed Forces of a nation seize the existing machinery of government from the politicians. A military government or Military Rule is established after a successful over-throw of the existing government in a country in a coup. Military coups can be either bloody or bloodless, depending on their nature.

A bloody military coup eliminates many government officials including the Head of State himself. A bloodless coup does not involve the loss of any life. Military coup d'état can be against an existing military or civilian government. And this was what the Nigerian Army did on January 1966 thus opening a chain of events and pattern in the history of Nigeria, the end of which nobody could predict.

2.0 OBJECTIVES.

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i. Give a historical background to military rule in Nigeria.
- ii. Describe the characteristics of military rule in Nigeria.
- iii. Discuss the reasons for military intervention in Nigeria.
- iv. Define ways of preventing military intervention in Nigeria and suggest ways of returning to civilian rule.

3.0 MILITARY RULE IN NIGERIA

3.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The first military coup d'état that took place in Nigeria occurred on January 15, 1966, when the civilian government of Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa was ousted from power by some five young majors of the Nigerian Army led by Major Chukwuma Nzeogwu. The coup was bloody because the Head of Government, Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, some of his ministers and two regional premiers lost their lives in the exercise. Between January 1966 and November 1993, Nigeria witnessed seven military coups, six successful and one unsuccessful.

On January 15, 1966, the civilian government of Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa was ousted in a bloody coup led by Major Chukwuma Nzeogwu. On July 29, 1966, the military government of Major – General Aguiyi Ironsi was overthrown in a bloody coup staged by young Northern Regional Army Officers led by Lt. Col. T.Y. Danjuma was overthrown by General Murtala Mohammed in a bloodless coup. The coup took place while Gowon was attending the O.A.U summit in Kampala, Uganda. On February 13, 1976, an aborted military coup was staged by Lt. Col. D.S. Dimka. It was bloody, General Murtala Mohammed was killed in the exercise. On December 31, 1983, the civilian government of the first Executive President of Nigeria Alhaji Shehu Shagari was overthrown by the duo of Generals Muhammadu Buhari and Tunde Idiagbon. It was bloodless.

On August 27, 1985, the military government of Generals, Buhari and Idiagbon was ousted from power by General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida in a bloodless coup. On November 17, 1993, a palace coup was organized by General Sani Abacha to oust the Interim National Government of Chief Ernest Shonekan.

Military governments are not democratic governments. They are not constitutional and they rule by decrees – which are all the time viewed as draconian. The military ruled Nigeria for thirty years between 1960 and 1999.

3.2 FEATURES/CHARACTERISTICS OF MILITARY RULE IN NIGERIA

The Armed Forces have features or characteristics which distinguish them from other groups in all political systems. These features or characteristics include the following:-

1. The suspension and modification of some sections of constitution to be in line with the military rule.
2. Dictatorial form of government.
3. A highly centralized system of government
4. Rule with decrees.
5. Absence of all forms of opposition.
6. Fusion of the legislative and the executive arms of government.
7. Inclusion of civilians in the administration
8. The use of coercion in the implementation of policies.
9. Absence of elections
10. Closure of the country's borders, sea and airports when the military come to power
11. Imposition of dusk to dawn curfew whenever the military take over power in a country.
12. The military anywhere in the world monopolies the chief instruments of violence in the political system

3.3 REASONS FOR MILITARY INTERVENTION IN NIGERIA.

The following are some of the reasons for military intervention in Nigerian politics.

1. Tribal Loyalty:- This is a great problem facing Nigeria as a nation. Tribal loyalty takes precedence over loyalty to the central government.
2. Regional Differences:- Differences among the regions were so acute as to direct assumption of power.
3. Regional /State Based Political Parties:- Political parties of the First Republic were all regional political parties. There was no one of them that commanded a nation – wide support. For example, NPC was for the North, NCNC was for the East and A.G. was for the West. This polarization of political parties can cause friction among them and of course does not make for unity.
4. Politicization of the Army:- The army or military of the first republic maintained her core values and thereafter became politicized. Appointments and promotions were based on tribal and political sentiments and not on seniority or merit.

5. Dispute over the Census Result: - Another reason for military involvement in politics in Nigeria was because of the 1962 and 1963 census results. The 1962 census figures was rejected as many people claimed the result was falsified and that the figures were inflated. Also, the 1963 census result was rejected on the same grounds. The essence of population census cannot be ignored and this explains why most of the results were inflated. For example, it is needed for revenue allocation, constituency delimitation, boundary adjustments, allocation of seats in parliament, etc.
6. The Action Group Crisis of 1962:- The crisis came as a result of serious conflict within the party and differences of opinion and personality clash between Chief Obafemi Awalowo, the party leader and his deputy Chief S.L Akintola. The situation was so serious that, the federal government had to intervene by declaring a state of emergency in the region.
7. General Election Crises of 1964:- The election was held in 1964 but the result was seriously disputed. The election witnessed party alliances major and minor political parties merging to contest for seats in the House of Representatives. There was alleged massive rigging in the election. Nigeria was on the verge of anarchy and reign of terror and so the army had to come to salvage situation.
8. Western Nigeria's Election Crisis of 1965:- This was another election crisis that drew the attention of the military to the political process. It was the election into the Western Nigeria House of Assembly where two parties rivals were contesting – NNDP led by Chief S. L. Akintola and UPGA led by Chief Adegbenro. There was rigging in the elections, there was chaos and uncertainty, events remained at standstill. The federal government was at the crossroad and could not restore sanity and so the army had to come in.
9. Allegation of Corruption, Nepotism, Sectionalism, etc:- This led to the military intervention in Nigeria. Many politicians were so rich that, they were making a public display of their wealth. Nepotism and sectionalism played major role in appointment, promotion, etc especially in the civil and public services.
10. Low Level of Economic Development:- this was one of the reasons for military intervention in Nigeria. Some individuals were so rich and have succeeded in developing their towns and villages at the expense of the development of the country. How did this influence the military?
11. Absence of Honest and Reliable Leadership:- This had eluded the country ever since independence. Many of the rulers were dishonest and not reliable. They have actually refused to move the country forward.
12. Mismanagement of Public Funds:- The extent to which money meant for development was diverted into other projects and even into private accounts was enough reason for military intervention. Politicians of the first and second republics and even some military leaders had displayed while in power.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1

When was the first military coup in Nigeria?

3.4 THE STRUCTURE OF MILITARY GOVERNMENT IN NIGERIA

The military government of Nigeria is mainly divided into two levels of the Federal Military Government and the State Military Government with the following organs or structures.

1. **The Head of State/President:** The Head of State sometimes called the president is also the commander – in – chief of the Nigerian Armed Forces. He presides over the meetings of the AFRC, the council of states and the council of Ministers. He appoints and dismisses Ministers, Ambassadors, High Commissioners, Chief Justice, Judges of the Supreme Court, High Court Judges, etc all of these were subject to the approval of the AFRC.
2. **Supreme Military Council/Armed Forces Ruling Council:** The Supreme Military Council (SMC) with the new nomenclature of the Armed Forces Ruling Council (AFRC) was the highest legislative organ of the military government in Nigeria. It is composed of the Head of State or President and the commander-in- chief of the Armed Forces who was the chairman, the Chief of General Staff, the Chief of Defence Staff and Chairman joint chiefs of staff, the Heads of Army, Navy, and the Air Force, popularly called the service chiefs, Inspector General of Police, Justice Minister, Secretary to the Federal Military Government and the high ranking military officers.
3. **The Council of States:** This organ advised the Head of State or President on important national issues. It was made up of Head of State or president as the chairman, the Chief of General Staff, former Heads of State and all state military governors.
4. **National Council of Ministers:** This was the organ that implemented the decisions and policies made by the AFRC. It was headed by the Head of State or President and assisted by the Chief of General State with all federal ministers as members.
5. **The State Military Governor:** A State Military Governor is the chief Executive and the Head of the State Military Government and the representative of the Head of State in the State. He performed both the executive and legislative functions. He was the chairman of the state Executive Council. He appointed the state commissioners and other state officials.
6. **The State Executive Council:-** This was responsible for the formulation and execution of the state military government's decisions and policies, maintenance of law and order in the state. it was headed by the military govern or with the commander of the army unit in the state, the state commissioner of police, the secretary to the state military government, state commissioners, etc, as members.

3.5 STRENGTHS OR ACHIEVEMENTS OF MILITARY RULE IN NIGERIA

The achievements of military government in Nigeria are as follow:-

- i. The army succeeded in keeping or defending the sovereignty and unity of the country during the civil war.
 - ii. At the end of the civil war, the army embarked on the policy of reconstruction, rehabilitation and reconciliation, which have healed the wounds and aftermath of the war.
 - iii. The army successfully created more states in the country e.g. they created 12 states in 1967, 19 states in 1976, and 21 states in 1987, 30 states in 1991, and 36 in 1996.
 - iv. The army introduced a uniform and single tier system of local government in the country in 1976.
 - v. The army provided modern infrastructures in the country especially in the rural areas e.g. they built more roads, seaports, airports, hospitals, electricity etc.
 - vi. The army revolutionalized the agricultural system in the country through the introduction of the Land Use Decree, Operation Feed the Nation and DFRRRI.
 - vii. The army made a big progress in the field of education e.g they established more post primary institutions and introduced the Universal Primary Education (UPE).
 - viii. The army evolved an articulate and dynamic foreign policy for the country which made Nigeria to become the giant of Africa.
 - ix. The army revived the ailing or distressed economy of the country through their various policies of Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) e.g. the introduction of Second Tier Foreign Exchange Market (SFEM) and the Foreign Exchange Market (FEM).
 - x. The army took the decision to relocate the Federal Capital Territory away from Lagos to Abuja.
 - xi. The introduction of the indigenization policy or decrees in 1976. This policy helped to nationalize most foreign companies in Nigeria.
 - xii. Ban on importation of certain commodities and thus encouraged local production of commodities and thus encouraged the growth of local industries.
- i. The army successfully handed over government to the civilians in 1979 and introduced a new constitution for the country and a presidential system of government.
 - ii. The army reduced the scale of corruption and indiscipline in the country through the public execution of armed robbers, killing of drug publishers, trial of people who embezzled public funds and the launching of War Against Indiscipline (WAI).

3.6 WEAKNESSES OR FAILURES OF MILITARY IN NIGERIA.

The weaknesses or failures of military includes:-

- i. The military regime was constituted by military personnel who lacked both administrative and political experience to govern.
- ii. The military regime did not tolerate criticism and therefore hostile to criticisms and intolerant of public opinions.

- iii. All military administrations were dictatorial. They ruled by decrees and edicts that may not be challenged in any court of law.
- iv. The independence of the judiciary was sometimes not guaranteed and many of their decrees contain to ouster clauses that rendered the judiciary powerless.
- v. The military rule was responsible for the civil war that claimed millions of lives. The war was between 1967 and 1970.
- vi. There was widespread corruption among those in the corridors of power. Many of these military men acquired their ill-gotten wealth with impunity.
- vii. The military mismanaged and wasted the public funds, through massive importation of cement, fuel, rice etc.
- viii. Military rule was mostly noted for violating of the fundamental human rights. People were detained without trial.
- ix. Some have accused the military men of aiding and abetting crime in the country.
- x. Military administration was undemocratic. Leaders were not chosen through the ballot.
- xi. Since the military rule was without a constitution, respect for the rule of law may not be possible.
- xii. Laws are made through issuing of decrees. Most of these decrees were made by a few and imposed on the majority of Nigerians.
- xiii. Failure to conduct reliable and acceptable census.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

State any two of the achievements of military government in Nigeria.

3.7 HOW TO PREVENT MILITARY INTERVENTION IN NIGERIA.

The following are measures of preventing military intervention in Nigeria.

- i. Military intervention should be outlawed by the constitution of Nigeria.
- ii. There should be accountability on the part of the politicians who are in government or planning to be in government.
- iii. The game of politics should be played according to the laid down rules and regulations.
- iv. Ethnic politics should be avoided by the politicians
- v. There should be good leadership on the part of all elected officials who are to serve in different areas of government.
- vi. Mismanagement of public funds should be avoided by the politicians and the ruling elites.
- vii. There should be free and fair election in the country
- viii. The elected government should be responsive to the yearnings of the people
- ix. The military should be depoliticized. In other words, the military should be completely separated from politics.
- x. The people should resist military intervention through peaceful mass disobedience.
- xi. There should be independence of the judiciary so that cases can be judged impartially.
- xii. The masses should be given political education. Many people are ignorant of their rights.

xiii. Fundamental human rights should be respected by everybody in the society including the military.

3.8 PROCESS OF RETURN TO CIVILIAN RULE IN NIGERIA

The following processes can be observed in returning a state to civil rule.

- i. New Constitution: The making of a new constitution commences with the setting up of a constitution Drafting Committee (CDC) to propose a draft constitution.
- ii. Appointment of Electoral Commission An Electoral Commission is established or instituted and charged with responsibilities of delimitation of constituencies, registration of voters, registration of political parties etc.
- iii. Lifting the ban on political activities: This is one of the steps to handing over to a civilian government.
- iv. Elections: The conduct of a free, fair and democratic elections is one of the last steps to user in new civilian leaders. This usually starts with the election of local government chairmen and councilors.
- v. The announcement of election results and swearing-in or inauguration of elected representatives should be announced by the electoral commission and a time table prepared for he inauguration of the elected representatives.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 3

Suggest two ways on how military intervention can be discouraged in Nigeria.

4.0 CONCLUSION

The above analyses show that military rule in Nigeria has acted as a catalyst for state building in the country. The military also jump-started the process of national Integration. The cursor y question is how successful is integration when the people are ostracized and alienated. The analyses show that the military did not encourage inputs from the society. It has been argued that integration could not be forced on people from above or else it will be short lived. Human beings are dynamic they need to be carried along in matters that concern them.

Military is charged with the defence of the country from external and ~~internal~~ ^{invasion} but not to overthrow civilian government. The military should know that a country can never be developed with an authoritarian government. If your look at other countries very well you will observe that democracy and true federalism, as opposed to authoritarianism and veiled federalism of the military (which came to be because of the military command structure) are the greatest catalysts of development, stability and integration. For this country to be well developed, the military should keep off for the politics and face their constitutional responsibility.

5.0 SUMMARY

The unit has shed light on the historical background of military rule in Nigeria. The military administrations in the country made efforts to encourage national unity but what military could not understand is that you cannot unite a country under

dictatorship. Ironsi believed that only a unitary system of government could unify Nigeria. Gowon carried far reaching policies in this area, he prosecuted a civil war to a logical conclusion, declared a policy of “no victor” “no vanquished” and established the NYSC scheme. General Murtala Mohammed in addition to the twelve states created additional seven states. The question is, have we achieved integration. The answer is no. the relationship between the various ethnic groups in Nigeria is still not cordial. What Nigeria needs now is that the old politicians should step aside and allow the new ones to come up with new ideas for a better development of Nigeria.

ANSWERS TO THE SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISES IN THIS UNIT.

1. The first military coup in Nigeria took place on January 15, 1966.
2. a. One of the advantages of the military rule in Nigeria is that the army succeeded in keeping or defending the sovereignty and unity of the country during the civil war.
- b. The army also introduced a uniform and single tier system of local government in the country in 1979.
3. The following measures could be taken to prevent military intervention in Nigeria
 - a. The game of politics should be played according to the laid down rules and regulations.
 - b. Ethnic politics should be avoided by politicians etc.

6.0 TUTOR – MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Describe the structure of military government in Nigeria.
2. Give any 10 of the reasons for military intervention into politics in Nigeria.

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UNIT 9

REVENUE ALLOCATION IN NIGERIA

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

The Nigerian state has witnessed series of problems and changes in terms of fiscal units and revenue sharing.

Part of the National Question is the continuing demand for a more credible, just, equall and constitutional revenue allocation principle in Nigeria. The main concern of such demand is to make sure that the three tiers of government in Nigeria have adequate financial resource for effective development of their respective functions. Under a constitutional government, the National Revenue Mobilization Allocation and Fiscal Commission is saddled with the responsibility of periodic review of revenue allocation principles and formula such that would minimize short political pressure is also to prescribe revenue allocation formula subject to the approval of the President of Nigeria and to ensure full compliance with such formula.

Revenue sharing in Nigeria is bedeviled with a number of problems, these problems basically arises from the fact that states in Nigeria lack the authority, either to raise fund or to collect taxes or how the proceeds should be shared.

Consequent upon this, the primary motivation of revenue sharing reflects to a greater extent, the political power of incumbency, in addition to this, the fact that majority of the states in the country are economically very weak to fund their activities operations. In order to solve this basic problem of revenue sharing among the three tiers of government, a number of commissions and committees have been set up at different times.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of the unit, you should be able to:-

- i. Examine the principle of revenue allocation in Nigeria.
- ii. Acquaint yourselves with the various revenue allocation commissions set up in the country since 1946 to date.
- iii. Access the recommendations of each commission.
- iv. Find out if the problems of revenue sharing have been resolved

3.0 REVENUE ALLOCATION IN NIGERIA.

3.1 Revenue Allocation Principles

Nigeria has used about eight revenue allocation formula at one point in time or the other. These formula are:

- i. Population
- ii. Even development
- iii. Continuity of services
- iv. Maintenance of minimum responsibilities
- v. Equality
- vi. Land mass and terrain
- vii. Internal revenue efforts, and

viii. Derivation.

- i. Population:- Population is one of the principles that was in use since the colonial time. This principle presupposes that the population strength of a particular state is taken into consideration when allocating financial resources to such state.
- ii. Even Development:- In a federal state like Nigeria, one of the goals of government is to ensure that no state or part of the country develops at the expense of others, at least via the fiscal allocation. In keeping with the ideals of federalism therefore, the revenue allocation principle of even development has been consistently applied in Nigeria.
- iii. Continuity of Services: Continuity of services means that in allocating resources, the projects of government at all levels are considered so as not to impair the execution of those projects.
- iv. Maintenance of Minimum Responsibility: Responsibilities of each tier of government is juxtaposed with the revenue accruing to it so as to ensure that the government performs effectively. Activities in a number of states in Nigeria has come to a halt due to the wage bills of the states and local governments. In this case, emphasis should be laid on the principle of maintenance of minimum responsibilities as it should be used in determining the revenue accruing to the other tiers of government.
- v. Equality: Equality as a principle of revenue allocation is used with the understanding that no state is greater than the other in sharing the wealth of the country. So, this allows a sense of belonging even by the poorest states in the country.
- vi. Land Mass and Terrain: Land mass and terrain principle allows for a special percentage calculated according to the land mass and terrain of states. Some states have difficult terrain and vast Landmass that may massive resources to transform them.
- vii. Internal Revenue Efforts: The strive of states to internally generated revenue are also often rewarded by reflecting it in federal revenue allocation formula.
- viii. Derivation: Derivation principle is applied based on the fact that relatively a substantial amount of money out of the material resources from a particular area are recycled in form of revenue to aid development and reduce the effect of environmental and other forms of degradation in the area.

3.2 Revenue Allocation Commission

Nigeria have has a number of revenue allocation commissions and committees in order to resolve the problem of revenue sharing in Nigeria. These commissions and committees are as follows.

3.2.1 Philipson Commission of 1946

Richard's constitution of 1946 created the need to formulate proposals to enable the newly created regions i.e. East, North and West to perform their new responsibilities. The Philipson commission was to formulate financial and administrative procedures to be adopted under the new constitution. This commission divided the regional revenue into two categories and named them as "declared and non-declared".

The declared revenue include those locally collected by the regional authorities, such as direct taxes (personal income tax) licenses fees, income from property, rent etc.

The non-declared revenue include those revenue collected by the central government. Here, the central government is to determine what portion of the revenue is to be shared among the other regions. Philipson considered, derivation, even progress and population principles in sharing out of the non-declared revenue among the regions.

3.2.2 Hicks – Philipson Commission of 1951

McPherson engaged in some changes in his constitution of 1951, so, the changes envisaged by the McPherson constitution and the dissatisfaction with the scheme used by Philipson in the revenue sharing, led to the appointment of Prof. John Hicks and Sir Sidney Philipson to develop a new scheme that will achieve a more equitable sharing of revenue. The Hicks – Philipson commission proposed that the revenue should be shared on the principle of derivation; need and national interest.

3.2.3 Chicks Commission of 1953

The London Constitutional Conference of 1953 gave the opportunity for the review of the previous allocation scheme. Sir Louis Chick was appointed to ensure that the total revenue available was allocated in such a way that the principle of derivation was used to the fullest and compatible with the needs of the central and that of the regional governments.

Chicks expanded the allocation scheme to include the import and excise duties, export duties, mining, rent and royalties and personal income taxes.

3.2.4 Raisman Commission of 1958

The Raisman commission was appointed to review the tax jurisdiction as well as the allocation of revenue from these taxes such that the regions would have the maximum possible proportion of the revenue within their exclusive competence.

In order to facilitate the sharing of some of the federally collected revenue the commission created a Distributable Pool Account. The principles of derivation and need were followed in the sharing of the total revenue to the regions.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1

What led to the introduction of Philipson commission of 1946 and what was the principle he used in sharing the non-declared revenue among the regions.

3.2.5 Binns Commission of 1964

The Binns commission was set up under section 164 of the Republican Constitution of 1963. The terms of reference given to the commission were to review and make recommendations with respect to the allocation of mining, rent and royalties and the

distribution of funds in the distributable pool account among the regions. Binns applied the principle of financial comparability in sharing out the revenue to the affected regions which some what of a hybrid between the principles of need and even development.

3.2.6 Military Rule from 1967 to 1975

The period between 1967 to 1975 was characterized by series of decrees. During this period, decrees were used in solving the problem of revenue allocation to regions. Decree No.15 of 1967 resolved the problem of revenue sharing by allocating the percentage that belonged to the Northern region among the six newly created states of that region, and that of the East and West was shared based on the principle of population.

3.2.7 Dina Interim Revenue Allocation Review Committee of 1968

This committee was appointed in 1968 to look into and suggest ways or any change in the existing system of revenue allocation as a whole. And also, to suggest new sources of revenue both for the federal and state governments. The committee recommended the “distribution Pool Account” into “State Joint Account”, established a special grants accounts and recommended a permanent planning and fiscal commission to administer the special grants account and to undertake a continuous study and review of revenue allocation s and schemes.

The report by this committee was rejected by the federal military government. The federal military government used Decree No.13, of 1970 and adopted a two factor formula, population and equality of state while Decree No. 99 of 1971 gave the Federal Military Government absolute power and right to revenue from off – shore rent and royalties. Decree No.6, of 1975 emphasized that all revenues to be shared by the states had to pass through to distribution post account except 20% of the on-shore mining rents and royalties due to the states of origin on the principle of derivation.

3.2.8 Aboyade Technical Committee of 1977

This committee was appointed in 1977 to review the existing revenue allocation scheme. The committee recommended that all federally collected revenue without distinction should be paid into the federal account and that the proceeds of the account be shared among federal, state and local governments as follows:

i. Federal Government	60%
ii. State Government	30%
iii. Local Government	10%

A special grants account (3% from the federal government share) was set aside by the committee to be administered by the federal military government to care for the mineral producing states, rehabilitation of other areas, emergencies and disasters. The sharing principles among the states were built on five factor formula which include equality of access to development opportunities, national minimum standards, absorptive capacity, independent revenue and tax effort, and fiscal efficiency.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 2

The period between 1967 and 1975 was characterized by series of decrees. What decree will be used in solving the problem of revenue allocation to the regions?

3.2.9 Okigbo Commission of 1979

This commission was given the terms of reference to devise a scheme of revenue allocation that would be understood and widely accepted as equitable. The committee deliberated on the issue and concluded that receipts from payments of loans, sale of government capital assets and reimbursement cannot be regarded as revenue and therefore should not form part of the federation account or the total revenue of the federal government.

The Federal Capital Territory came into force on 1st October, 1979 and was regarded as a state and was also entitled to participate in the sharing from the federation.

Section 149 of the 1979 constitution provided that all revenue collected by the federal government should be paid into the federation account except from the proceeds of personal income tax of the personnel of the Armed Forces, the Nigerian Police Force, the Ministry of External Affairs and the residents of the Federal capital Territory.

The commission recommended that the proceeds of the federation account be shared among federal, state and local government as follows:-

- i. Federal Government 53%
- ii. State Government 30%
- iii. Local Government 10%
- iv. Special Fund 7%

They also recommended that the 7% of the special funds should be applied as follows:-

- i. Initial development of the Federal Capital Territory 2.5%
- ii. Special problems of Mineral producing states or areas 2.0%
- iii. Ecological and similar problems e.g flood, erosion etc 1.0%
- iv. Revenue equalization fund 1.5%

The commission further recommended the use of four factor formula for revenue allocation among the state government with the following weights:-

- i. Minimum responsibility of government 40%
- ii. Political 40%
- iii. Social development factor: direct primary school enrollment 11.25%. inverse primary school enrollment 3.75%
- iv. Internal revenue effort 5%

Prior to General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida regime and mid-way into the regime proceeds of the federation account were shared among the three tiers of government as follows:-

- i. Federal Government 55%
- ii. State Government 35%
- iii. Local Government 10%

The 25% accruing to the state which is paid into “State Joint Local Government Account” is in-turn shared as listed here under:

- i. Direct to state 30.5%
- ii. Mineral producing area on derivation basis 2.0%
- iii. Amelioration of ecological problems 1.0%
- iv. Development of oil producing areas 1.5%

The respective share of the various governments accounts is known as “statutory allocation”. Babangida in his speech on the event of his fourth year in office, announced a new revenue allocation formula approved by the Armed Forces Ruling Council (AFRC) as listed here under:

- i. Federal Government 50%
- ii. State Government 30%
- iii. Local Government 15%
- iv. Special Funds 5%

The Armed Forces Ruling Council (AFRC) decided that any surplus arising from the sale of gas and petroleum should be separately accounted for, and for the purpose of payment into the federation account.

3.2.10 National Revenue Mobilization Allocation and Fiscal Commission of 1989

This commission was headed by Lt. General T.Y. Danjuma (rtd). The commission was established in 1989 as a permanent revenue allocation body in the country. It was also charged with the responsibility of regular review of revenue allocation formula. The commission came out with the following:-

- i. Federal Government 48.5%
- ii. State Government 24.0%
- iii. Local Government 20.0%
- iv. Special Funds 7.5%

The 7.5% of the special fund is shared as follows:-

- v. Ecological problems 2.0%
- vi. Emergency problems 2.5%
- vii. Mineral producing areas 3.0%

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 3

On what basis was the Okigbo commission established?

4.0 CONCLUSION

The nature of the Nigerian state has made the issue of revenue allocation sensitive. It is obvious from our discussions that the successive revenue allocation principles in Nigeria were not the reflection of the popular majority opinions. But rather, they are the aggregation of the view of individuals in the country. As of today, a derivation principle of 13% is being paid all to producing states.

This however, has not stopped the agitation for enhanced revenue allocation formula which reflect true federalism, fairness, and equity. For fair distribution of material resources in the country among the three tiers of government, the civil society should be carried along.

5.0 SUMMARY

This unit has shed light on the issue of revenue allocation in Nigeria. The problems of revenue allocation in the country are numerous. This is due to the fact that the state governments in the country are not allowed or do not possess the authority to raise funds or collect taxes and proceeds and share them. This has contributed to the failure of the commissions set up for formulation of the revenue sharing system in the country. In our discussion, we discussed that the issue of an equitable revenue sharing formula has become part of the national question in the country. The federal government should carry the civil society along in the process of formulating revenue allocation principles in the country in order to resolve the problem of revenue sharing once and for all.

ANSWERS TO SAES IN THIS UNIT

1. a. The changes made in Richard's constitution created the need to formulate proposals to enable newly created regions perform the new responsibilities.
b. Philipson followed the principles derivation, even – progress and population in sharing out of the non-declared revenue among the regions.
2. Decree No.15, of 1967 was used to resolve the problem of revenue sharing. This was done by allocating percentages that belong to the regions to cover the newly created states in that region.
3. The Okigbo commission was established on November 23, 1979 to device a scheme of revenue stood, and widely accepted as equitable to the nation as a whole.

6.0 TUTOR – MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. State and explain the principles of revenue allocation formula Nigeria experimented since 1946 to date.
2. Examine the Performance of the National Revenue Mobilization Allocation and Fiscal Commission in Nigeria.

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UNIT 10

ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF NIGERIAN FEDERATION OR FEDERALISM

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

The term power has several meanings but for this context, it is the ability to control people or things. Our focus is on the political control of a country or an area. Power could be centralized or concentrated in one unit or it could be divided among various units in the system. Where power or authority is centralized, it is called a unitary system like it is in Britain. However, when power is divided or shared among various units, it is known as federalism, that is what is practiced in Nigeria.

In this unit, therefore, the concept of federalism, origin and evolution of federalism, main features of federalism, structure of the Nigerian federalism among others are considered.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i. Define the concept of federalism
- ii. Describe the origin and evolution of Nigerian federalism
- iii. State the features of Nigerian federalism
- iv. Identify the problems of Nigerian federalism.

3.0 ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF NIGERIAN FEDERATION OR FEDERALISM

3.1 Concept of Federalism

Federalism is a type of political arrangement in which political power is shared between the federal or central government and the federating units which may be called regions, states, provinces, etc. Nigeria became a federation of three regions in 1954 while today it is a federation of thirty – six states. The United States is a federation of fifty states.

In Nigeria, there are three levels or units or tiers of government which work together, coordinate and interact with one another and each of them has its powers and jurisdiction. The powers of these levels or units are from the same source which is the Nigerian constitution. The federal government exercises powers and functions in the exclusive list which includes currency defence, external Affairs, Aviation, Customs, Mining, etc.

The Federal and State Governments exercise the concurrent list at the same time. These items include health, education, roads, communication, etc. The state or regional or local governments exercise powers and functions that are residual, these include those items which are neither in the exclusive nor in the concurrent list e.g. chieftaincy affairs, etc.

3.2 Historical Background of Nigerian Federalism

The origin and evolution of Nigerian federalism could be traced to the division of the country into three provinces i.e. Northern, Eastern and Western provinces in 1939.

before Governor Bourdillon left office, he recommended for the introduction of regions to replace the existing provinces. In 1946, Richard's constitution introduced regionalism into the Nigerian political system. Northern, Eastern and Western regions then replaced the former provinces. The introduction of a federal structure in 1954 was the idea of Richard's constitution of 1946. In 1953 McPherson's constitution improved on Richard's by creating House of Representatives with powers to make laws for the country and Regional House of Assembly also to make laws for the regions on specific matters.

Federalism is identified with power sharing and this was what actually happened with McPherson constitution. In the same vein, the Lyttleton constitution of 1954 came with a federal system of government for the country. It was as a result of the 1953 London Constitutional Conference, where it was decided that Nigeria should be made a federal state. federalism, involves the sharing of powers between the general government and other subordinate unit or units, e.g. local government and states or region. In 1954, we had two tiers of government – the centre and regions, both had their powers defined and shared by the constitution.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1.

What is Federalism?

3.3 Main Features of Nigerian Federalism.

The main features of Nigerian federalism includes the following:-

- i. Division and sharing of governmental powers between the federal and regional or state governments.
- ii. The different governments in Nigeria derive their powers from the constitution.
- iii. Duplication of organs of government in all governments of Nigeria.
- iv. Adoption of a written and rigid constitution.
- v. The supremacy of the constitution
- vi. The supremacy of the federal government
- vii. Existence of bicameral legislature in Nigeria
- viii. Existence of supreme court for judicial interpretation and review.
- ix. Constitutional republication of secession
- x. The division of Nigeria into unequal regions or state.

3.4 Factors Responsible for Nigeria's Federalism.

The factors responsible for Nigeria's federalism includes:-

- i. Cultural Diversity:- It is argued that cultural diversity among ethnic groups in Nigeria makes the operation of the federal system possible.
- ii. British colonial policy: Britain imposed a federal structure by dividing the territory into regions and ruling them separately. It was the Constitution that formally introduced a federal system in 1954
- iii. Size of the Country:- Nigeria is a large country both in population and territory, and so federalism is a better option preferred model.

- iv. Availability of human and natural resources: Nigeria has enough of these resources to run a federal system.
- v. Geographical Factor: Different component units are geographically near to one another, making it easier for the adoption of a federal system.
- vi. For effective Administration: Federalism makes for duplication of functions creating the atmosphere for an enduring and effective administration.
- vii. Bringing Government to the Grass-roots: Federalism makes the people to be involved in governance and also be involved in the policy.
- viii. The rights of the minorities and other interest groups: Minority rights are recognized and protected in a federal system.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 2

State any two of the main features of federalism in Nigeria.

3.5 Structure of Nigerian Federalism

Although the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorates of Nigeria in 1914 imposed a sort of unitary system of government on the country as a result of the concentration of too much powers in the central government, the recognition of Northern and Southern provinces as near autonomous entities gave the country the colouration of federalism.

The structures of Nigerian federalism has three tiers of government which include, the federal government, state government and the local government. The federal government is the first tier, the state government is the second tier, and the local government is the third tier. The three tiers of government perform independent and coordinate functions.

However, in practice the powers of the federal government tends to supersede the powers of the other tiers of government. Nigeria was a federalism of three regions in 1954, four regions in 1963, 12 states in 1967, 19 states in 1976, 21 states in 1987, 30 states in 1991 and 36 states in 1996.

At the federal level, the Head of State or President and commander-in-chief of the armed Forces wield the highest power. At the state and the local government levels, the Governor and the Chairman wield the highest power respectively.

3.6 Problems of Nigerian Federalism

The following are some of the problems of Nigerian Federalism:-

- i. It is always difficult to select and to accept leadership at the federal level. Each of the federating units always wants to produce the president of the federation.
- ii. Fear of domination is always nursed by the minority ethnic groups as they fear being marginalized or submerged by the majority ethnic groups.
- iii. The demand for the creation of states and local government councils has been a constant problem bugging the federation.
- iv. The issue of revenue allocation has remained a nagging problem as the federating units continue hold a bigger percentage of the federally generated

- revenue while starving the units of funds to discharge their functions to the masses.
- v. Sectional political parties and associations always operate because each unit wants to have a share of power at the centre. Truly national political parties are always absent.
 - vi. Corruption, nepotism and favouritism remain major problems of the federation. Leaders at the centre or even at the units levels try to favour their areas of the federation more than others.
 - vii. The threat of secession has always remained a bane of the Nigerian Federalism e.g. the attempt by the Eastern Region to secede from the rest of the federation in 1967.
 - viii. The federating units have constant boundary disputes between them e.g. Anambra and Enugu states Anambra and Kogi states, etc.
 - ix. Census problem has continued to persist in Nigeria because census figures are used for national planning. Each unit wants to be on top hence the continuous struggle over census figures.
 - x. Power sharing in the federation between the components has remained a serious problem. Quantification of the powers of the federal, state and local governments has remained a source of argument and disagreement in the federation.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 3

Describe the structure of the Nigerian Federalism.

4.0 CONCLUSION

The above analyses show that population is very vital for a federal system. Nigeria is a multi-ethnic nation and has a very large area or geographical size. The best form of government for it and the one it can adequately meet the welfare of its citizens is a democratic federal system. This is because a federal system allows for the sharing of power among coordinate units which interrelate together to form a Nigeria. Nigerians should learn from the United States of America, their units are more than ours but yet they run a successful federal system.

5.0 SUMMARY

The unit has thrown light on the origin and evolution of Nigerian federation federalism. The concept of federalism, historical background, main features of Nigerian federalism, factors responsible for Nigerian federalism, structures and problems of Nigerian federalism were discussed.

In the next study unit, you will be taken through the discussion on the state creation in Nigeria.

ANSWERS TO SAES IN THIS UNIT

1. Federalism involves the sharing of powers between the central of federal government and other subordinate unit(s) i.e. state and local governments.

2. Features of Nigerian federalism include:-

- a. The different governments in Nigeria drive their powers from the constitution of the country.
- b. The adoption of written and rigid constitution
3. the structure of Nigerian federalism has three tiers of government which include: federal, state and local governments

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Discuss the factors responsible for Nigerian Federalism
2. state and explain the features of Nigerian Federalism

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS.

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UNIT 11

STATE CREATION IN NIGERIA

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

In the last unit, we discussed the issue of Nigerian federalism and we established the necessity of the component units that make up a federation. We also state that power must be shared between the central government and these component units in a way that none is subordinate to the other. These component units were referred to as states and local governments. Here, we can say that since states are component units that make up a federation, states are therefore very important to the success of a federation and if indeed federalism is about ensuring that government is able to reach the grassroots in its business of allocating scarce resources, the existence of more states appears to be a welcome idea on the side of the government.

The nature of the Nigerian state made it necessary for her to adopt the federal system of government and with this adoption came agitations for creation of states. Because of the multi-ethnic nations in Nigeria, the issue of state creation has indeed dominated the Nigerian political scene. Nigeria has witnessed a lot of structural rearrangement since independence from three regions at independence to 36 states.

2.0 OBJECTIVES.

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i. Discuss the nature of the Nigerian state
- ii. Trace the historical development of state creation in Nigeria
- iii. Explain state creation and national integration in Nigeria
- iv. Identify the reasons for the continuous demand for creation of more state in Nigeria

3.0 STATE CREATION IN NIGERIA.

3.1 The Nature of the Nigerian State

The nature of the Nigerian state is reflected in the people who inhabit the country. The Nigerian state came to being through colonialism, that is, it came as a result of the partitioning which took place during the Berlin Conference of 1884 – 1885. West Africa was partitioned without recourse to differences in language tradition, culture, religion etc. This makes West African States a forced states. The colonial adventures divided the country into three zone and three major ethnic groups but in reality there are about two hundred and fifty (250) ethnic groups in the country (Nigeria). Hence, Nigeria is referred to as a polyglot nation. The Nigerian people with their different culture, language, religion, orientations, system of government etc. came together as one country not because they agreed to be together but because the colonialists should be together.

At independence, the nationalists only came together to fight the colonialists but after the vacation of the colonial masters from the country, the nationalists pitched their tents differently with their ethnic groups. This is only obvious in the formation of political parties, the political party for the Northern people was the NPC, the NCNC was mainly for the Eastern part of the country while the AG was for the Western people.

The Nigerian state is a developing country which has a weak economy, the wealth of the country is in the hands of the few individuals and majority of the people are living below poverty line. The Nigerian state is thus an instrument of oppression of the poor in the hands of the rich.

The issue of minority and states creation will continue in Nigeria till the Lord comes. The reason is that, the three major ethnic groups in Nigeria are the Hausa – Fulani, the Igbo and the Yoruba. All the other ethnic groups are classified under the minority groups. The minority ethnic groups are distributed in the former three regions, Eastern, Northern and Western regions. All the minority ethnic groups are marginalized in the regions they found themselves and as a result have continued to demand for their own regions or state singly or in groups.

3.2 History of State Creation in Nigeria

The multi-ethnic nature of Nigeria brought about the issue of minorities which has constituted a major problem militating against the development of the country. Nigeria has three major ethnic groups of Hausa – Fulani, Igbo and Yoruba and a multiplicity of minor ethnic groups. Since the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorates till the present day there has been fear of domination of the minority ethnic groups by their majority counterparts. In order to allay this fear, Sir Henry Willink commission was set up in 1957 to look into among other issues, the fears of domination of the minorities.

There were political agitations for creation of states by minority ethnic groups especially those in the Mid-Western Region, the Middle Belt, the South East and Ogoja, the Niger Delta and the Eastern Region as a panacea to domination of the minorities. The commission in its reports did not think that the creation of new states would solve the problem and as a result did not recommend for the creation of more states but recommended constitutional provisions to allay fear of ethnic domination of the minorities.

The continuation of demand for the creation of more states in the country after independence led to the creation of mid- Western region in August 1963 out of the western region. The creation of Mid-Western region increased the demand of other minorities for the creation of their own states. It was such demands that compelled the then Lt. Col Gowon to create twelve states out of the four regions on May 27, 1967. General Murtala Mohammed increased the number of states to nineteen when he announced on February 3, 1976 the creation of additional seven states based on the recommendation of the Justice Ayo Irikefe panel on state creation. The General Ibrahim Babangida administration added two more states of Katsina and Akwa-Ibom in August 1987 and nine more states in August 1991 thereby bringing the total number of states in Nigeria to thirty (30). General Sani Abacha further increased the number of states in Nigeria to thirty – six (36) on October 1, 1996. In spite of all these the demand for more states seems to be growing.

3.3 State Creation and National Integration in Nigeria.

The Advanced Learner's Dictionary Defines integration thus: "the act or process of mixing people who have previously been separated, usually because of colour, race,

religion etc". This definition reveals to us that state creation and national integration are interrelated, this is to say the more the number of states, the more the people of that nation or country integrated. Integration refers to the process of bringing together (or mixing together) cultural and socially discrete groups into a single territorial unit and the establishment of national unity.

Therefore, national integration is the process whereby people transfer commitment and loyalty from small tribes, clans, villages or petty principalities to a larger central political system. The question is, can the people of Nigeria commit themselves to a larger central political system? The answer is never. The two hundred and fifty (250) ethnic groups in Nigeria hold each other in great distrusts, this explains why political activities and offices are contested on ethnic and other primordial lines.

Apart from political activities, the states or regions show more respect to themselves than to the central government. If Nigerian people despite their inherent differences decide to commit themselves to a broad based entity, national integration will be high. Creation of more states in Nigeria would not solve the problems in Nigeria, but all the ethnic groups should transfer their commitment and loyalties from primordial to entities to the central political system, if Nigeria wants to grow.

3.4 Reasons for the Continuous Demand for Creation of States in Nigeria.

- i. Nigeria has about two hundred and fifty (250) ethnic groups. As a result there exists cultural and religious differences among the groups. Creation of states would allow the continuity of autonomy of the various groups in their culture and religion.
- ii. Some communities allege economic discrimination e.g. denial of job opportunities and social amenities. This is the case with the oil producing state of Nigeria and it makes them demand and for their own states.
- iii. Creation of States brings the government nearer to the people and the people begin to get the feeling of government more than ever before.
- iv. The Minority ethnic groups also nurse the fear that their languages and culture would be submerged by the majority ethnic groups if they continue to stay under the government controlled by the majority ethnic groups. Therefore, they want to protect their language and culture by demanding for states.
- v. Political stability is enhanced by creation of states as many people receive political education more.
- vi. Minority ethnic groups accuse the majority ethnic groups of maladministration and political victimization and as such demand for states creation to favour them.
- vii. The need for various units to get their fair share of the federally generated revenue and income creates the urge to demand for state creation.
- viii. The quest for even economic and social development by the people makes them to demand for states creation which they believe would enhance greater opportunities for economic and social development for their areas.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 2

Give any two reasons for the continuous demand for creation of states in Nigeria.

4.0 CONCLUSION

The above analyses show that despite the increase from three regions to thirty – six states, the Nigerian people are yet to be integrated. In spite of all these states that are created, the agitation for the creation of more states in Nigeria is endless. This is so, because none of the three major ethnic groups wants to concede the leadership of the country to the other because they are aware that whoever gets political power first, all other things shall be added onto them. Nigerian leaders seem to have contacted the colonialists misnormal of the state partitioning with little or no recourse to the people. Though state creation hitherto unites tribes, cultures, religions, etc. Nigerian people are more divided than they were about forty – nine years ago.

5.0 SUMMARY

Let us recall the major things we have talked about in this unit. The multi-ethnic nature of the Nigerian state makes it necessary for Nigeria to adopt the federal system of government and with this adoption came agitations for creation of states.

The multi-ethnic nature of Nigeria brought about the issue of minorities which has constituted a major problem militating against the development of the country. National integration is the process whereby people transfer commitment and loyalties from small tribes, clans, villages or petty principalities to a large central political system.

ANSWERS TO SAES IN THIS UNIT

1. The multi-ethnic nature of the Nigerians state has brought about the issue of minorities which has constituted a major problem militating against the development of the country.
2. a. Creation of states brings the government nearer to the people and the people and the people begin to get the feeling of government more than ever before.
b. Minority ethnic – groups accused the majority ethnic groups of maladministration and political victimization and as such demand for states creation for favour them.

6.0 TUTOR – MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Give reason for the continuous demand for creation of states in Nigeria.
2. Discuss the issue of state creation, national integration and development in Nigeria.

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UNIT 12

ETHNICITY IN NIGERIA.

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Ethnicity is a threat to the political stability and development of Nigeria. Ethnicity of Nigeria is so vivid that there is no definition of a Nigerian beyond that of some who live within the borders of the country. The boundaries of the formerly English colony were drawn to serve commercial interest, largely without regard for the territorial claims of the indigenous people.

As a result, about two hundred and fifty ethnic groups comprise the population of Nigeria, and the country's unity has been consistently under siege: eight attempts at secession threatened national unity between 1914 and 1977. the Biafran War was the last of the secessionist movements within this period.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of the unit, you should be able to:

- i. Define ethnicity
- ii. State the major ethnic groups in Nigeria
- iii. Explain the difference between poverty and self-determination
- iv. Identify the causes and effects of ethnicity in Nigeria

3.0 ETHNICITY IN NIGERIA.

3.1 The Concept of ethnicity requires definition. An ethnic group is a group of people having a common language and cultural values. These common factors are emphasized by frequent interaction among the people in the group. In Nigeria, the ethnic groups are occasionally fusions created by intermarriage, intermingling and/or assimilation. In such fusions, the groups of which they are composed maintain a limited individual identity. The groups are thus composed of smaller groups, but there is as much difference between even the small groups.

The account of two hundred and fifty ethnic groups cited above overwhelmingly enumerates ethnic minority groups, those which do not comprise a majority in the region in which they live. These groups usually do not have a political voice, nor do they have access to resources or the technology needed to develop and modernize economically. They therefore often consider themselves discriminated against, neglected, or oppressed. There are only three ethnic groups which have attained ethnic majority status in their respective regions: the Hausa – Fulani in the North, the Igbo in the South East and the Yoruba in the South West.

The Hausa – Fulani are an example of a fused ethnic group; as they are actually made up of two groups, now surprisingly called Hausa and the Fulani. The Hausa are themselves a fusion, a collection of Sudanese peoples that were assimilated, long ago, into the population inhabiting what is now considered Hausa land. They believe in the religion of Islam. Their origin is a matter of dispute: legends trace them back to Canaan, Palestine, Libya, Mecca and Baghdad, while ethnologists hold them to be from the Southern Sahara or the Chad Basin. Once they arrived in Hausa land they became known for setting up seven small states centered on “Birni”, or walled cities. In these states the Hausa developed techniques of efficient government, including a

carefully organized fiscal system and a highly learned judiciary, that gave them a reputation of integrity and ability in administering Islamic law.

The Fulani are also Muslims, and, like the Hausa, their origin is more or less an open question. Once a nomadic people, they believe themselves to be descended from the gypsies, Roman soldiers who became lost in the desert, a lost 'tribe' of Israel, or other groups such as the relatives of the Britons or the Tuaregs, who inhabit the Southern edge of the Sahara in Central Africa. Scholars claim that the Fulani are related to the Phoenicians, or place their origin in Shepherds of Mauritania that were looking for new pastures. Whatever their origin, the Fulani are known to have arrived in the Hausa state in the early 13th century. Since then they have inter married with the Hausa, and have mostly adopted the latter's customs and language, although some Fulani decided to stay 'pure' by retaining a nomadic life and animist beliefs. The Fulani are most distractively known for a dispute that developed between them and the local king of Gobir, a spate which developed into a religious war or Jihad ended with a Fulani conquest of the Hausa states.

The second majority ethnic group is Igbo, who like the Hausa – Fulani are a synthesis of smaller ethnic groups. In this case the smaller groups are the Onitsha Igbo, the Western Igbo, the Cross River Igbo, and the North – Eastern Igbo. Their origins are completely unknown, as they claim to be from about nineteen different places. They do maintain an 'indigenous home', however: the belt of forest in the country to the east of the Niger valley. This home was established to avoid the Fulani's annual slave raids, which were conducted on cavalry that was unable to explore very deeply in the forest. The Igbo thus generally inhabited inaccessible areas, although during the 19th century they began to assert ancestral claims to Nri town, "the heart of the Igbo nationality".

The third ethnic majority group, the Yoruba, like the others are made up of numerous smaller collections of people. Those who are identified as Yoruba consider themselves to be members of the Oyo, Egba, Ijebu, Ife, Ilesha, Ekiti or Owu people. They Yoruba are united, however, by their common belief in the town of Ife as their place of origin, and the Oni of Ife as their spiritual leader. Their mythology holds that "Oduduwa", created the earth; and represented royal houses of the Yoruba kingdoms. They trace their ancestry back to "Oduduwa", while members of the Yoruba people maintain that they are descended from his sons. Yoruba society is organized into kingdoms, the greatest of which was called Oyo and extended as far as Ghana in the West and the banks of the Niger to the east. The Oyo empire collapsed in 1830 when Afonja, an ambitious governor of the state of Ilorin broke away but lost his territory to the hired mercenaries of the Fulani. Despite the fact that this event occurred in close temporal proximity to the Fulani Jihad, it was not associated with it.

These three groups comprise only fifty – seven percent of the population of Nigeria. The remainder of the people are members of the ethnic minority groups, which include such peoples as the Kanuri, the Nupe, and the Tiv in the North, the Efik/Ibibio, the Ejaw, and the Ekoi in the East, and the Edo and Urhobo/Isoko other groups that differ widely in language, culture and even physique. The specific groups mentioned above are distinct in that they were found, in the 1953 census, to have over one hundred thousand members. As the population of Nigeria has doubled to over seventy – eight

million people in 1982 from approximately thirty – one million in 1953, it is safe to assume that these groups are now much larger.

We close with a comparison that attempts to portray the difficulties of successfully governing such an incredible variety of people. Nigeria is an area the size of the state of Texas in which over two hundred and fifty different languages are spoken, and in the same number of separate cultures desperately try to retain their identity. You can only imagine the ensuing chaos.

3.2 CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF ETHNICITY IN NIGERIA

3.2.1 Poverty

One such factor, the most powerful, is the over – increasing level of poverty – typified in joblessness, deteriorating infrastructures, etc. All these problems are due to the fundamental crisis of underdevelopment; widespread poverty and this gives rise to a scramble for limited resources. Most of these communities are no better than slums. Industries are shutting down with the attendant consequences of job losses; most families find it difficult to feed themselves. There is no potable water, no good roads, proper medical facilities, schools. Environments such as these generate fear, distrust, hatred, anger, frustrations, etc. Under such circumstances, they feel rejected by the society and they easily become tools for the political elites to be used in executing diabolical ethnic agenda.

3.2.2 Manipulations

These factors provide classic hot beds for ethnic clashes. Recognizing this the ruling class consciously exploits the poisons of ethnicism as a means of keeping the working class permanently divided and diverting their attention away from the real problem confronting them, the crisis of Nigerian capitalism. Nor is this policy of “divide and rule” an exclusive phenomenon. It is the resort of the ruling class internationally. The manipulation of ethnic differences reflects the fear of the ruling class of the potentials of the Nigerian working class and its capacity for unity – a unity that cuts across ethnic lines. The conscious manipulation of ethnic consciousness under the terrible social conditions give rise to periodic explosion of ethnic clashes.

3.2.3 Self Determination

The Aguleri – Umuleri internecine war is being waged by communities with the same history, culture, language, etc. who live and farm together and answer the same name. They are culturally homogeneous. Had Biafra been a reality they would have occupied the same nation.

The same holds true for the Ife – Modakeke war. They, too, would have been part of an Oduduwa, a republic. Yet, these “brother” communities have been waging wars of extermination for years now. This is only one of the complex aspects of the demands for self-determination.

Another is the integration of various ethnic groups. People are no longer living in homogenous regions. They are not separate from the other by a “Great Wall of

China". Diverse ethnic groups are dispersed all over of Nigeria, absorbed in the workforce, commercial activities, owning houses and business in these places inter-marrying, etc.

These population movements have further given the national question a complex character.. consequently, the issue of self-determination should be handled cautiously. How, for instance does one link the various riverside shanties ~~Aj~~Ajegunle, Arogbo, Warri, etc. into an Ijaw republic? This idea is untenable under the present condition, i.e. under capitalism. Attempts at self – determination will only lead to ethnic cleansing of horrendous proportions, if it is confined within the narrow limit of capitalist society

3.2.4 Illiteracy

Ignorance could cause a lot of problems to the society and to the ignorant person(s). an ignorant person easily believes all sort of lies. And most Nigerians are illiterates who cannot read or write, who cannot see or reason beyond their ethnic group and could easily be incited against the other

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1

How many ethnic groups are there in Nigeria? Identify the majority ethnic groups and some of the minority ethnic groups in Nigeria.

3.2.5 Over – Centralization

On paper, Nigeria is a federal state but in reality, Nigeria runs a unitary state. Why? There is too much resources (material), too much power, too much structures. But all these are concentrated at the centre. And because these things are concentrated at the centre, the political elites are attracted. Each ethnic group sees the election of its own into an important position as an opportunity to better the lots of the ethnic people and not the interest of the nation as a whole.

3.2.6 Colonial Policies

The colonialists divided Nigeria only for administrative convenience and economic gains. They had no political interest for merging the north and the south together, their problem was to get what they were after. So, the division of the country into three unequal regions by the colonialists is part of the problems we are facing now in the country.

3.2.7 Military Rule

The successive military governments in Nigeria is one of the major effect of ethnicity in Nigeria. The military institution does not allow for collectivity but ensured that ethnic animosities become aggravated. For example, the local governments created by General Abacha in Osun and Delta states resulted in violent ethnic clashes. The stratification policy (Sabongari) as practiced in the country also promotes and encourages ethnic tension and a feeling of inferiority and superiority complex.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 2

What percentage of the population of Nigeria does the majority ethnic groups comprise?

4.0 CONCLUSION

The above analyses show that Nigeria is composed of over two hundred and fifty different ethnic groups. Most of them share a wide range of similarities and face the same challenges – the challenge of growth and development. It takes the grace of God for some ethnic groups to assume any sensitive position in the country and our saviour may be from there. It is believed that a bold restructuring on the part of the government and the willingness of the ethnic groups in Nigeria to live and work together will lead to political stability which will in-turn lead to rapid development in the country.

5.0 SUMMARY

The unit has thrown light on the concept of ethnicity as not necessarily a negative attribute but that the ethnocentrism of the various ethnic groups has perpetuated acrimonious relationship among the different ethnic groups in Nigeria. ~~Discussed~~ **Discussed** include causes and effects of ethnicity in Nigeria – poverty, manipulations, self – determination, illiteracy, over-centralization, colonial policies and military rule.

ANSWERS TO SAES IN THIS UNIT.

1. a. There are over two hundred and fifty ethnic groups in Nigeria.
 - b. The majority ethnic groups in Nigeria are the Hausa – Fulani, the Igbo and the Yoruba.
 - c. The minority ethnic groups in Nigeria are the Kanuri, the Nupe, the Tiv, the Efik/Ibibio, the Ejaw, the Ekoi, the Edo, Urhobo/Isoko etc.
2. The three majority ethnic groups comprised only fifty – seven percent of the population of Nigeria.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Explain the concept of ethnicity.
2. Identify and discuss the causes and effects of ethnicity in Nigeria.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

Amuwu, K. et al (1998). (ed). Federalism and Political Restructuring in Nigeria. Ibadan. Spectrum Books, Ltd.

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UNIT 13

RELIGION AND POLITICAL INSTABILITY IN NIGERIA

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

In this unit, attempt is made to present the issue of religion and political instability in Nigeria. We cannot discuss Nigerian government and politics without considering the religions aspect of it. Religion is a factor in the politics of this country that has generated so much heat, crises, controversies, and contradictions. More often than not, one finds it difficult to differentiate the one from the other.

Rather than acting as a catalyst for responsible governance, probity and accountability, religion has come to entrench and engender the direct opposite of these ideas. Religion has become a tool in the hands of the elites in order to manipulate the masses to their biddings. The government uses it to legitimize their excesses while religions leaders share their duties on social responsibility, they themselves being the beneficiaries of the status-quo.

Politics is a rough game in which greed, cunningness, and endurance are often necessary for success.

2.0 OBJECTIVES.

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i. Define politics and religion
- ii. Discuss the concepts of politics and religion
- iii. Given an overview of religion and political instability in Nigeria
- iv. Cite cases of religion and political crises in Nigeria

3.0 RELIGION AND POLITICAL INSTABILITY IN NIGERIA

3.1 The Concept of Religion and Politics

When we observe the life of men around us, we cannot fail to be struck by two facts as a rule, every man desires to have his own way to think and act as he likes; and at the same time everyone cannot have his own way, because he lives in society. One man's desires conflict with those of another. The relations of individual members of society with one another, therefore, need regulation by government and religions leaders. When a body of people is clearly organized as a unit for purposes of government, then it is said to be politically organized and may be called a body politics or state – a society politically organized.

Religion is understood to mean the efforts of man to establish and maintain relationship with God. On the other hand, political stability is a state of relative peace which allows for accelerated growth and development in a polity. Because of the esoteric and emotional attachment of the citizens to religion, it usually has strong influence on politics. People have observed that religion offers explanations for certain phenomenon empirically and because of this, it has become a major source of influence. It has been harnessed as a tool of political instability in some of the developing countries including Nigeria – Benin (during Archbishop Osofisan's transition programme), Poland (during communist rule), and South Africa (during struggle against apartheid) Sudan (on-going civil war).

Elections, it is important to note, are not only meant to ensure, confirm or re-affirm the legitimacy of the governors or political office holders through a regular consent, but also to provide a fertile ground for democracy to thrive. However, rather than being a political asset and a legitimate force, since independence, elections in Nigeria have become a religious and political liability, a source of instability and decay. The various experiences with competitive electoral politics in Nigeria have brought the worst in political thuggery and brigandage, unmediated and unrestrained violence. If anything, the present situation only reveals how mistaken it is to assume that 'leaders' can be moral when they get into power via immoral means-rigged elections.

3.2 An Overview of Religion and Political Instability in Nigeria.

Today, in Nigeria, religious factor often takes pre-eminence in the distribution of government positions. Though there are so many religions that exist in Nigeria today the prominent religions are Christianity and Islam. Political largesse are distributed or shared along Christianity and Islam lines since the adherents of the two religions form the majority. The international divisibility of the two religions has not prevented them from teaming together to fight for their respective interests.

Though Nigeria professes, and is supposed to be a secular state, the biasness of inherent in government recognition of certain religion tends to give a lie to this stance.

3.2.1 Sharia

As we all know, the first major controversy over Sharia broke out in 1978, though there had been a mild debate on the issue in the 1950. However, this developed into a major crises in November 1999 when the then Governor Ahmed Sani of Zamfara state extended its application to criminal law in his state. Presently, the criminal aspect of the Sharia law poses a big threat to national unity though its proponents have argued that it was enacted in accordance with the wishes of majority of Muslims. Ever since 1999, the sharia has generated violent demonstrations in states like Kano, Kaduna, Bauchi etc and it has also tainted Nigeria's international integrity and image because of the passage of verdicts of capital punishment for offences that were not criminal. Thank God the sharia issue is dying a natural dead.

3.2.2 Communal Clashes

There has been numerous communal clashes with religions colouration in Nigeria most at times they often occur in the Northern part of the country. They are born out of deep-seated mutual suspicions between the Hausa – Fulani and the minority ethnic groups. Such clashes include the 1987 clashes in Kafanchan and Lere and the 1992 clashes between the Zango and the Katafs both in Kaduna State. Similarly, the 2001 crises in Jos between Hausa – Fulani and the other ethnic groups, this extended to Wase, Langtang North and Langtang South, Shendam etc all in Plateau state. the most recent crises in Jos of 2008 between Hausa – Fulani and other ethnic groups.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1 Start Here

Where and when was the sharia law first introduced in Nigeria?

3.2.3 Secularism

Secularism is being undermined by the respective religions on the strength that these two religions are ways of life but not religions as people may view it. They argued that Christianity and Islam have to do with the way of life of their adherents. And this has generated more religious tensions in Nigeria's democracy.

3.2.4 Fundamentalism

Fundamentalism is a major problem of certain religions groups in Nigeria today. Fundamentalism abhors peaceful settlement of religions crises as such a move is seen as compromise. Fundamentalists hate to see other religions exist and tolerance is not in their dictionaries at all. They often build mountain out of trivial political issues and make them look very bad. For example, the issue of Boko Haram which claimed so many lives in some parts of the North – East zone of the country in 2009.

3.2.5 Illusions

Illusion is another major factor in religious instability in Nigeria. "Illusions" here means the feelings of mutual suspicious which are not based at all on substance among the various religious sector. Most at times, Muslim leaders express concern over what they consider to be dominant Christian culture in Nigeria. While on the other hand, Christian leaders rant over what they feel is an emerging Islamization of the polity. Muslims today believe that the observation of Sunday as a work – free – day demonstrate, the dominance of the Christian culture in Nigeria.

On top of all these points is the need for the civil society to take active interest in the affairs of the country move ahead as part of the. As citizens, in whose government is supposed to exist, the civil society must always check government to ensure that it does the rightly all the time, bearing in mind the thesis that Democracy, anywhere is never given, but always taken in the face of determined resistance and struggle. The preponderance of civil society organizations in the country will help the cause of the people in asserting their rights especially if they could collaborate on common matters that deeply democratic ethos and practices.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 2

What are the roots of religions crises and clashes in the country.

4.0 CONCLUSION

The above analyses show that religious and politics are very vital in political stability in Nigeria. We discussed that the struggle over the effective control of the Nigerian religions space is growing tense by the year. And that every strategy – both fair and foul – are being explored by the various religions in the battle for supremacy. A

sharia which fails to take cognizance of peoples fundamental human rights could only be destructive. Thank God the sharia issue died a natural dead and I pray that issue of Boko Haram should also die a natural dead. Therefore the government cannot continue to be a spectator all in the name of secularism.

However, there is the need for the civil society to develop active interest in the democratic project order to make life free and meaningful to the people.

5.0 SUMMARY

Having gone through this unit, we can summarize the main issues as follows:-

- One man's desires conflict with those of the other
- Though Nigeria professes, and is supposed to be a secular state, the crises of legitimation inherent in government recognition of certain religion tends to give a lie to this stance.
- Sharia law tainted Nigeria's international image because of the passage of verdict of capital punishment for offences that were not criminal
- Almost all the communal crises in Nigeria facilitated full religious crises
- Fundamentalists hate to see other religion exist and mutual tolerance is not in their dictionaries
- Illusions can also cause religion and political instability in Nigeria.

ANSWRS TO SAES IN THIS UNIT

1. Sharia law was introduced in Zamfara State by the then Governor Ahmed Sani in 1999.
2. The roots of religion crises and sometimes communal clashes are born out of deep – seated mutual suspicious between Christianity and Islam

6.0 TUTOR – MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Define religion and state its relationship with political instability in Nigeria.
2. Write notes on the following:-
 - i. Sharia
 - ii. Communal clashes
 - iii. Secularism
 - iv. Illusion(s)

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UNIT 14

DEMOCRACY AND DECENTRALIZATION

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Democracy has been described as government by persons freely chosen by the governed who also hold them accountable and responsible for their actions while in government. A democratic system is one where rulers are held accountable to the ruled by means of a variety of political arrangements. Such arrangements include but are not necessarily coterminous with, competitive multi-party elections held at regular intervals. However, the main attribute of democracy is that those holding political offices do not have automatic security of tenure but can be challenged and even displaced in accordance with the will of the people through a wide range of constitutional mechanisms.

Democratic struggle has, over the last few years, become a notable feature of African contemporary history. In particular, the last two decades have witnessed remarkable progress in the clamour for democracy in Nigeria because it has become the only legitimate and viable alternative to authoritarianism of any kind. State powers have to be shared between two or more levels of government e.g. as in a federal system of government. The sharing of powers between these levels of government is what is called decentralization.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of the unit, you should be able to:-

- i. Define democracy and decentralization
- ii. State the characteristics of democracy
- iii. Discuss the conditions necessary for the effective operation of democracy in a state.
- iv. Explain the reasons for the adoption of decentralization.

3.0 DEMOCRACY AND DECENTRALIZATION

3.1 The Concept of Democracy.

The term democracy is derived from two Greek words *demo* and *krations* which means people's rule. In ancient Greece, every adult male citizen participated in the process of reaching decisions for the governance of the community. The practice then was called direct democracy which implied that every adult male citizen must be physically present to participate in taking decisions over things that affect him and his community.

Modern societies are larger and more complex than societies in Ancient Greece. The practice of direct democracy is therefore rendered impracticable as it would be very cumbersome to be applied in modern day government. The alternative form called Representative Democracy is applied to reduce the disadvantages of direct democracy and consequently promote its advantages. Representative democracy implies a situation where the people elect people in a periodic, free and fair election to represent them in government. Modern democracy spells out various rights for the individual in the state e.g. freedom of expression of ideas, thoughts, etc.

Democracy has many definitions. It could be defined as government in accordance with the principles of popular sovereignty, political equality, popular consultation and majority rule. It can also be defined as a system of government where people exercise power of governing the state through representatives popularly elected by the people themselves.

Abraham Lincoln, a one – time President of the United States of America (USA), defined democracy as “Government of the people, by the people and for the people”. The definition is simplistic and emphasizes popular participation by the people in the process of government.

3.1.1 Characteristics of Democracy

The Characteristics or features of democracy are as follows:-

- i. Periodic free and fair elections are organized to enable the electorate to vote into government good leaders and vote out bad ones.
- ii. The rule of law must apply equally to the citizens to guarantee the existence of the fundamental human rights.
- iii. All government actions must be open to criticisms and must be according to the decision, wishes and aspirations of majority of the people.
- iv. Citizens have equal rights politically and economically
- v. There must be freedom of expression of opinion by the people
- vi. The government should be accountable to the people who voted it into power.
- vii. The judiciary must be independent to protect the rule of law
- viii. Government officials and government staff have fixed tenure of office.
- ix. There must always be room for opposition party or parties in the state or in government.

3.1.2 Conditions Necessary for the Effective Operation of Democracy in a State.

For democracy to be successfully operated in a country certain conditions must be available, some of the conditions that should be there include:-

- i. The leaderships in the country must be good and acceptable to the people. He or she must not force on the people but must be seen by the people to be their choice. He or she must therefore be elected by the people.
- ii. The rule of law must not only be accepted by the leaders and the people but must be respected by all and sundry.
- iii. The activities of the government must be open for the people governed to understand them and to raise questions where possible.
- iv. The generality of the people must show willingness and great desire to accept and practice democracy and its ideals.
- v. The populace should be well educated, enlightened and well informed about the processes of democracy and the need for effective popular participation.
- vi. Tolerance for one another's views and actions despite political affiliations and differences must be allowed to exist among the people and in the government processes.

- vii. Opposition must exist in the governance of the country. The government in power must not only allow it but must not attempt any form of intimidation on opposition. No attempt should be made to ban opposition in the legislature and in government.
- viii. The judiciary must be independent so as to discharge its functions without fear or favour to the people and to uphold the principles of the rule of law and equality of individuals before the law.
- ix. Elections of government officials and functionaries must not only be periodically done but must be free and fair. This gives the people the opportunity to always have their choices of government functionaries in government.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1

What is Democracy?

3.2 The Concept of Decentralization

Decentralization has to do with the sharing of power between the central government and other constituent unit, within a political system. Powers are therefore, distributed to these different units, thereby creating many centres of power. For example, in a decentralized political system, powers are constitutionally shared between the central government and other constituent units, e.g. state and local governments. If you could remember our discussion on Nigerian federalism, you will see what we are saying here.

3.2.1 Types of Decentralization

There are two types of decentralization and they are:-

- a. Decentralization:- Decentralization is the giving out of government powers to subordinates bodies by the central government e.g. in Nigeria, Federal government gives over some governmental powers to the states and local governments.
- b. Devolution:- Devolution is the giving out of government powers to semi-autonomous units like corporations and states and parastatals. The central government does not exercise any unwarranted control over them.

3.2.2 Reasons for the Adoption of Decentralization.

1. Nearness of the federating units: If the component units making up the system are very near to each other e.g. states or regions, decentralization can emerge.
2. Size of the country: If the size of the country is too large, this may hinder the effective control from the centre. Therefore, decentralization is the best bet.
3. Fears of the minorities: The minorities in the country may have the fear of being dominated by the majority group.
4. Security: Some Countries adopt a federal system in order to have military might or power to fight a common external enemy.

5. Diversities in cultures: The recognition of the diversities in cultures, religious beliefs and languages, e.g. Nigeria, may allow for the adoption of a federal and decentralized system of government.
6. Common Historical Background: For example, Britain imposed a federal system on Nigeria by dividing the territory into regions and ruled them separately.
7. Economic factor: The need to pool resources together to form a stronger economy, for example, Nigeria and United States of America.
8. Geographical contiguity: It is advantageous for states which are to form a federation not to be widely separated geographically. The nearness of such states to one another can bring about the desire for a union. This can be effective through the sharing of the state powers between the components units.
9. Common political association: A long period of historical and political association among people living in contiguous state is conducive for a federal union. For example, the experience of people in the former British and French colonies in Africa is a good example.

3.2.3 Advantages or Merits of Decentralization

The advantages or merits of decentralization are:-

- i. Quick development: Quick development is achieved in a decentralized system because in this system there is opportunity for development even faster than others.
- ii. Competition among units in terms of development: In a federal state there is competition among various units resulting in some states developing much faster than others.
- iii. It brings government nearer to the people: This is a credit to decentralization. Government is brought nearer to the people at the grassroots.
- iv. Absence of dictatorship: Supremacy of constitution and the application of the rule of law removes the tendency for a dictatorial government.
- v. Fear of domination: The fears of the minority are removed from the domination by the majority.
- vi. Wider consultation: Decentralization encourages wider consultation. No section of the country is neglected in the decision making process.
- vii. Political unity: Political unity is achieved because the system integrates many ethnic groups within the same system.
- viii. Matters of local interest: With the division of functions made possible, matters of local interest can be allocated to the local areas.
- ix. Decentralization increases efficiency of government.
- x. It reduces the work load of central government, thereby increasing its efficiency.
- xi. It affords the leaders opportunity for leadership training e.g. leaders graduate from regional to central government position.

3.2.4 Disadvantages or Demerits of Decentralization

The disadvantages or demerits of decentralization include the following:-

- i. Costly to operate: This system is costly to operate, because, many functions are created within the same system.
- ii. Delay in taking quick-decisions: The need for a wider consultation, in decision – making process, equally, makes for a delay in taking decision.
- iii. Differences in the level of development: the system does not make for even development since some units develop faster and better than others.
- iv. Weak centre: The centre is weak because of the autonomy of the various units.
- v. Duplication of positions in government. Functions of government are duplicated requiring too many hands in the process.
- vi. Sectionalism: Decentralization can breed sectionalism since the country is composed of different units, interest groups, beliefs, etc.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 2

Identify any two reasons for the adoption of decentralization.

4.0 CONCLUSION

The above analyses show that for democracy to thrive and for Nigeria to continue to enjoy international legitimacy, the state powers must be shared between all the component units of government, and the value orientation of the political elite must change. The ideological and philosophical bases of our political parties rooted in ethnicity and religious sentiments must be altered positively and the psychological non-transition individuals must be adequately mobilized for the sustenance of the country's hard won democracy. Election must no longer be seen as the end of everything. While the majority always have their ways, the right of the minority must be protected.

5.0 SUMMARY

The unit has thrown light on conditions that are necessary for the effective operation of democracy in a state. In a democratic set up and in a federal state, there is constitutional division of powers among different levels or three tiers of government (federal, state/region, local governments). This is to encourage wider consultation in all the units or section of the country. The reasons for the adoption of decentralization system of government were also highlighted and discussed.

In the next study unit, you will be taken through the discussion on the public administration and the civil service.

ANSWERS TO SAES IN THIS UNIT

1. Democracy is a system of government where people exercise power of governing the state through representatives popularly and periodically elected by the people themselves.
2. a. If the size of the country is too large, this may hinder the effective control from the centre. Therefore decentralization is the best bet.
b. The minorities in the country may have the fear of being dominated by the majority group

6.0 TUTOR – MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. State and discuss the characteristics of a democratic government.
2. identify and explain any merits of decentralization in governance.

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UNIT 15

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND THE CIVIL SERVICE

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

In this unit, our focus is on public administration and civil service. There is no way you talk of public administration and civil service that you don't mention bureaucracy. The advent of legal rational authority necessitated the existence of bureaucracy. Bureaucracy is a bulwark of administration which ensures efficiency and effectiveness. It is often said that government comes and goes but the bureaucrats or civil servants remain to give continuity to governance and to aid political stability.

Bureaucratic organizations are recognized by their adoption of impersonal laws, complexity, accountability, size, sophistry in organization and so on. In Nigeria, the bureaucratic organization that ensures political continuity and execute governmental policies is the Nigerian civil service. The state and the local governments also have their own civil service. Each of them is supervised by the commissions that are saddled with the responsibility to do so. The civil service work began in Nigeria in 1900 when the British government formally established its authority over certain parts of the country. However, the British civil service did not develop the country. It was corruption that was imported into Nigeria's body politic.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of the unit, you should be able to:

- i. Describe the structure and organization of public administration
- ii. Define public administration and the civil service
- iii. Give the historical development of the Nigerian civil service
- iv. Identify the problems of the Nigerian civil service and suggest ways for its improvement.

3.0 PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND ORGANIZATION OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

3.1 The Structure and Organization of Public Administration

By the structure of public administration, we mean the institutional framework or administrative machinery within which the work of government is carried out. What is public administration? Public administration is the management of affairs of the government at all levels – national, state and local. The structure of public administration in the modern state comprises the ministries departments, advisory governmental bodies, administrative tribunals, quasi – ministerial agencies, and autonomous governmental agencies. Usually, the machinery of public administration at the centre is the most visible, but there are important governmental activities that are carried out within non-central administrative structures, such as the state and local government. It is very important to mention that the administrative organization of government work takes place not only at the headquarters, but also outside the headquarters. The latter is called field administration.

The term that is most commonly used as the synonym of the administrative machinery of the civil service. In Britain and other commonwealth countries, the term civil service is used into two ways. The first way connotes the body of

permanent officials, whose responsibility it is, to assist the political executive in the formulation and implementation of public policies. These officials are known as civil servants. Again, the term refers to the ministries and departments within which public administration takes place, excluding the local government.

However, the term that is more encompassing than civil service is public service. It is used to refer to the totality of services that are organized under public authority. The public service comprises local government, the military and other security forces, the judiciary, the parastatals and other government or quasi-governmental agencies.

3.2 The Civil Service

Like every other term in public administration, the concept of civil service has many definitions. The civil service can be defined as a body of permanent, full-time public officials in a professional, non-political and who are not members of either of the judiciary or the armed forces.

The civil service remains a vital instrument for rapid socio-economic development of any nation. This is more so in developing countries such as Nigeria where, over the years, the government occupies a significant position as a dominant instrument of change. For instance, government has over the years, assumed responsibility for funding education, establishing industries, provision of social infrastructure, providing employment, among others. It is very difficult, if not impossible, for any government to perform these enormous tasks without the assistance and cooperation of the civil service.

An efficient civil service, trained in the specialist task of carrying out the broad decision of the government is a necessity, if the government is to fulfill the functions the public expects from it, and that no modern state is able to exist without a highly complex and professional civil service organization. The civil service consists of ministries, departments, and extra-ministerial departments headed by Ministers (federal) and commissioners (state).

3.3 The Origin and Growth of the Nigerian Civil Service.

The origin of the Nigerian civil service can be traced to the colonial civil service established by the British to govern Nigeria as a colonial territory.

Between 1946 and 1951, that is, during the period when Richards' constitution was in operation, Nigeria was served by one civil service. With the introduction of the MacPherson constitution of 1955, Nigeria became a federation, with a federal government at the centre, and regional governments for each of the three regions. This led to the creation of federal civil service for the centre, regional civil service for each of the three regions, and corresponding establishment of public service commissions for each tier of government. The federal public service commission was granted full powers to appoint, promote, dismiss, and discipline junior civil servants. At Independence on October 1, 1960, the powers of the renamed federal civil service commission were extended to cover all civil service grades.

From 1954, when the federal constitution was inaugurated, to 1966, when the old federal system was destroyed by the emergence of the military in the Nigerian process, the federal and regional state civil services exhibited certain common features. Firstly, there was a commitment to devolution of administrative power from the expatriate to indigenous personnel (a process referred to as Nigerianization).

Secondly, all civil services had comparable pay and salary structure. This was the outcome of the report of the commission on public services of the government of the federal republic of Nigeria 1954 – 55 (popularly known as the Gorsuch Report). The policy lasted up to 1997 when it was abandoned by the federal government, and each state was required to establish its own salary structure on the basis of its ability to pay.

Finally, following the British tradition, all the civil services continued to be characterized more or less, by permanence, anonymity, impartiality and neutrality. However, adherence to these attributes among civil servants varied according to the regime in power. For example, whereas these attributes were maintained in all the civil services (both federal and state) during the first civilian rule (1960 – 1966) because the civil services operated under the protective shield of the politicians; they were greatly eroded during the first military regime of General Gowon (1967-1975), when the higher civil servants dominated the policy process. However, between 1975 – 79, the attributes of political neutrality, anonymity and impartiality were observed to a reasonable extent.

It is important to mention that the creation of states in Nigeria which started in 1967, led to increase in civil services, from 4 in 1954 to 13 in 1967, and now 36. This contributed to significant increase in the number of civil servants. In addition, the increase in oil revenue coupled with the drive towards increased representativeness also contributed to the phenomenal growth of the civil service.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1

What is Public Administration? Describe the structure of public administration in a modern state.

3.4 Functions of the Nigerian Civil Service

The Nigerian civil service performs the following functions:-

1. Policy Formulation /Advice: The federal and state civil servants play an important role in policy formulation and policy advice. They play a major role in the initiation of major economic, social and educational objectives of both the federal and state governments. Civil servants provide the machinery and data needed for the formulation of the various national development plans in Nigeria.
2. Information: The civil service performs an information function. The civil servants gather or collect statistical information for the activities of the government. Senior civil servants also have to inform the public

about the achievements, activities, and problems facing the government.

3. Policy Implementation: The primary responsibility of the civil service is policy implementation. Both the federal and state civil servants help in the execution of national development plans. They help to close the gap between statement of intention as represented by national development plans, and their actual accomplishment.
4. Investigation and Regulatory Functions: The civil servants engage in investigation and regulatory functions. For instance members of the internal revenue board investigate cases to tax evasion, and assess members of the public for purposes of taxation. Building inspectors inspect new houses to ensure that they are built according to government specification.
5. Education/Continuity Function: The civil service is a store of knowledge of past government decisions and procedures. Thus, it plays an educative role by assisting professional, military and political executives, especially the new ones, to adapt themselves to the realities of their offices.

3.5 The Problems of the Nigerian Civil Service

The problems of the Nigerian Civil service include the following:-

1. Ethnicity and Indiscipline:- This set of twin problems is very rampant in the Nigerian civil service. Patron – client relationship exists in the Nigerian civil service. It leads to recruitment of mediocre and incompetent people. Promotion, training, recruitment in the civil service now is based on who you know and not what you know or merit. If this persists, the civil service will gradually cease to be innovative, goal setting and problem solving. Indiscipline in the Nigerian civil service caused partly by patron – client relationship as practiced in the lower cadre of the service. An awareness on the part of subordinates that have “godfathers” who will protect them at all times, leads to a disturbing growth of insubordination and disobedience in carrying out lawful instructions or directive of supervisors who are not well placed in the hierarchy or ministry of department, etc.
2. The Nature of Political Competition in the Nigerian Environment: The Nigerian civil service has been transformed into the theater for sharing the national cake among the major ethnic and sub-ethnic groups, a factor responsible for the unending demand for fragmentation of government structure despite the obvious difficulties in sustaining the existing ones.
3. Poor Remuneration of civil servants: The Nigerian civil servants are poorly remunerated when compared with some of their counterparts working in certain private organizations. Wages and salaries in private manufacturing are, for example, much higher than those in the public sector.
4. Politicization of the Civil Service:- The 1985 civil service reforms formally recognized the politicization of the upper echelon of the civil

- service. A scholar rightly points out “politicization of the top civil service in an environment of high political instability and high turnover of officials has not only been wasteful of personnel, it has also led to a weakened role for the civil service in the development process.
5. Corruption:- This problem militates against the ability of the civil service to perform its role as an instrument of change. Senior administrators, in particular, have always colluded with politicians to loot the national treasury.
 6. The Issue of Representativeness: The 1979 constitution of Nigeria and other subsequent ones have made provisions for fair representation of all states and ethnic groups in the federal civil service. It is referred to as the “federal character” principle. The application of the federal character principle undermines meritocracy and excellence in the civil service.
 7. The Conflictual Relationship between Politicians and Administrators:- The administrators tend to assume an air of superiority and self-importance and often look down on politicians many of whom they perceive as uneducated and ignorant of public service procedures. The politicians on the other hand, have always felt threatened by the amount of influence and power wielded by administrators in government.
 8. Acrimony between Generalist Administrators and Professionals:- This problem dates back to colonial era, when professionals occupied top management positions in the departments and the change to the parliamentary system in 1948, when these positions were taken by generalists as in Britain. Instead of the relationship of these officers to be characterized by cooperative national action, it is marked by distrust. And the strained relationship between them leads to delay, concentration of authority, and reluctance to delegate responsibility.
 9. Lack of Flexibility among Bureaucrats: The Nigerian bureaucracy is characterized by inflexibility. Inflexibility here, means the tendency of the bureaucrats to cling tenaciously to routine, well established procedures for doing things or what some people refer to as ~~the~~ **red-tapism**. Inflexibility not only stifles innovation, but leads to waste of time or delay in implementation of public policies. Innovative behaviour requires a certain amount of flexibility and willingness to bend formal procedures to meet the task at hand.
 10. Social distance existing between the senior civil servants and the masses: In most cases the most senior civil servants have little or no contact with the masses and therefore, do not experience their problems. Consequently, they fail to take into consideration the interest of the masses whenever they advise the government on development policy choices

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 2

State and explain any two of the functions of the Nigerian civil service.

3.6 Suggestions for Improving the Civil Service.

The suggestions listed here under will help improve the Nigerian civil service:-

- i. The need to define objectives: Departments and agencies of government need to give conscious attention to aims, goals and targets. One of the modern management techniques, Management By Objective (MBO), should become the aim of policy in all government departments.
- ii. Use of delegation: Some factors producing inefficiency in the public service can be traced to the lack of delegation of duties on the part of heads of departments and divisional heads or sectional heads. There is too much dependence on hierarchy, and some hierarchies are too long to make for quick decision – making and efficiency in management .
- iii. Constant review of programmes: For efficiency to be ensured and maintained, it is necessary that departmental programmes, procedure and processes should be regularly reviewed. The procedures and processes should similarly be reviewed. Some processes and procedure may be outdated or indeed no longer necessary.
- iv. Optimum use of talent and ability: An individual should be fixed or given the tasks for which they are most suited by training, experience and temperament etc.

4.0 CONCLUSION

Our analyses in this unit show that Nigerian public service has contributed to Nigeria's development ever since the amalgamation of 1914 to date. Though it has witnessed successes and crises but it is still relevant to our development in the 1st century. Some of the programmes or methods being used in the civil service now are outdated. It is therefore the work or task of the government to review such programmes etc.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit, we looked at the structure and organization of public administration. The structure of public administration means the institutional framework or administrative machinery within which the work of government is carried out.

The unit traced the origin and growth of the Nigerian civil service. It described the structure and organization of government ministries and departments. The functions of the Nigerian civil service were discussed.

We also identified and discussed the problems of the Nigerian civil service and the suggestions for improving the civil service in Nigeria.

ANSWERS T O SAES IN THIS UNIT

1. a. Public administration is the management of affairs of the government at all levels – federal, state and local government
- b. The structure of public administration in the modern state comprises the ministries, departments, advisory governmental bodies, administrative tribunals, quasi – ministerial agencies and autonomous governmental agencies

2. a. The civil service performs information function.
- b. The civil servants play a role in policy formulation and advice.

6.0 TUTOR – MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Identify and discuss the functions of Nigerian civil service
2. Examine the problems of Nigerian civil service

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UNIT 16

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION IN NIGERIA

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Local government is a product of decentralized administration. Government at local level exercised through representative council established by law to exercise specific powers within defined areas. Nations of the world today saline political power or authority among different levels of government to ensure adequate and effective coverage of government's objectives and policies. Every nation contains smaller groups who exhibit differences in population, customs, language, and needs, the needs differ from one group to the other.

Therefore, there is great need for decentralization of governmental powers in order to accommodate the smaller communities and interests. This can only be achieved by setting up small units of government to take charge of the local administration in the country. The smaller units of administration are called local government in Nigeria. However, since there exists different forms of local government the concept of the local government has also been seen from various view points.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of the unit, you should be able to:

- i. Define local government.
- ii. Discuss the theories of local government
- iii. State the reasons for creating local governments
- iv. Explain how to enhance the local government revenue base.

3.0 LOCAL GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION IN NIGERIA.

3.1 The Concept of Local Government

Local government is government at the grassroots level set up by the government and charged with the responsibilities of dealing with governmental matters at the local level. Local government in Nigeria is the third-tier government. The creation of local government is based on the awareness that no central government can satisfactorily conduct administration wholly from the capital through the civil servants based at the headquarters.

The 1976 local government reforms in Nigeria attempted to solve the problem of size by specifying population limits for an area of local government. In order to achieve sufficiently large scale of operations to be able to perform all types of functions reasonably economically, while remaining sufficiently local, local government should, as far as possible, serve local population of between 150,000 and 800,000 provided that these limits may not be varied in exceptional geographical circumstances and provided further that there should be no upper limit to the size of local government covering major towns so as to ensure that such town is within a single unit.

3.2 Theories of Local Government

The theories of local government are as follows:-

1. Democratic – Participatory Theory:- The proponents of this theory contend that local government functions to bring about democracy and to afford opportunities for political participation to the citizen as well as to educate and socialize on politically. They argue that local government is superior to other levels of government since it is at the level of the municipality the city state – that the individual can really participate in his or her own government, and so government is truly democratic. That local government creates opportunity for political education, providing training for democracy and by acting as an essential element for establishing a stable and harmonious national state.
2. The Efficiency – Services School: The proponents of this school justified the existence of local government on the ground that it is an efficient agent for providing services that are local in character. This school argues that because of its closeness to an area, local government can provide certain services for more efficiently than the central government. This school believes that local government is a veritable instrument for efficient services delivery at the grassroots.
3. The Development School: One of the major interests of the developing nation is how to achieve a reasonable level of economic development and political integration in societies that are culturally plural, and in many cases, culturally diffused. The proponents of this school contend that far more than in developed western countries, local government in developing nations can and should have the function of helping to reduce the congestion at the centre. This it can do at the local level by being involved in implementing socio-economic programmes that attempt to reconstruct the infrastructure necessary for an improved way of life.
4. The Public Choice Theory: The main proposition of the public choice theorists is that the market is the optimal mechanism for allocating goods and making decisions. The public choice theory contends that the existing democratic arrangements are very poor predictors of citizens preferences and demands. The failure of representative democracy and public bureaucracies create inbuilt tendencies for local government to be wasteful, inefficient and to overspend
5. State and Marxist Theory: The Marxist theory views local government as predominantly an instrument of the state and, as such, is either a direct means of securing legitimacy for the ruling class or securing proletarian compliance through repression.

3.3 Structure of Local Government

The structure of local government means the institutional framework within which the local government exists. It may also encompass the following the unit or tier system, the organizational component, population and geographical size. The structure of local government could be all purpose, single – tier system does not share

responsibilities. It takes care of all the functions and powers assigned to local government alone. On the other hand, the multi-tier structural framework is arranged in layers or strata called tiers. Each stratum or layer is assigned specific powers and functions.

3.4 Reasons for Creating Local government

The reasons for creating local government are as follows:

- i. To bring the government nearer to the people at the grassroots level because the country's too large for only one level of government to operate effectively.
- ii. To provide opportunities for local participation in politics by the rural dwellers.
- iii. To mobilize the people and thus create opportunities for even development of all parts of the country
- iv. To train the local people in the art of governance and leadership
- v. Establishing link between the people at the local, state and the central government levels.
- vi. Providing employment at the local level for the people
- vii. Providing opportunity for local participation in community development projects.
- viii. Seeing to the preservation of local customs, history and traditions of people.
- ix. Giving the people at the local level a very real degree of control over their local affairs.
- x. Stimulating economic growth and development by attracting business concerns to their areas of jurisdiction.
- xi. Complementing the efforts of the state and central government in the provision of essential amenities to the local people.
- xii. Acting as an agent of the central government implementation of government policies e.g. maintenance of law and order at the local level.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1

Describe the structure of local government.

3.5 Functions of Local Government

The functions of local government are as follows:-

- i. Establishment and maintenance of: cemeteries and homes for the destitute.
- ii. Collection of rates, radio and television licenses
- iii. Licensing of bicycles, trucks, canoes, wheel barrows and carts.
- iv. Establishment and maintenance and regulation of markets, motor parks and public conveniences.
- v. Construction and maintenance of roads, streets, drains and other public highways parks, open spaces or such public facilities as may be prescribed from time to time by the House of Assembly of a state.

- vi. Registration – local governments are involved in the registration of births, deaths and marriages in their areas of authority.
- vii. Assessment of privately owned houses – or tenements for the purpose of levying such rates.
- viii. Control and regulation of:
 - a. out – door advertising and hoardings.
 - b. Movement and keeping of pets of all description
 - c. Shops and kiosks
 - d. Restaurants and other places for sale of food to the public
 - e. laundries
- ix. Also to participate in:
 - a. the provision and maintenance of primary education
 - b. development of agriculture and natural resources
 - c. the provision and maintenance of health services
- x. Naming of streets: They are involved in naming of streets, roads and to number houses.

3.6 Local Government Revenue

There is no institution that can perform effectively without the financial ability. In the same way, for the local governments to perform their functions effectively, there is the need for adequate financing. To this extent, finance in local government are got from:

- i. The National Assembly: The National Assembly makes provisions for statutory allocation of public revenue to local government councils.
- ii. House of Assembly of a State: House of Assembly makes provisions for statutory allocation of public revenue to local government councils
- iii. Grants: Another source of finance is the special grants they receive from both the central and state governments. However, in most cases, these grants are for specific projects.
- iv. Collection of rates: Revenue is equally generated through collection of rates on radio and television licenses, market shops and stalls, etc.
- v. Commercial Ventures: In recent times, some local governments were involved in commercial ventures like, transportation, etc.
- vi. Payment of Fines: Fines are paid by those that have disobeyed the rules and regulations, and it form part of the local government revenue.

3.7 Problems of Local Government

The problems of local government include:-

- i. Shortage of trained personnel:- Acute shortage of trained and experienced personnel affect the efficiency of local governments.
- ii. Acute shortage of fund:- Most local governments do not have enough funds to operate.
- iii. Political Interference:- Political leaders have at different times interfered in the activities of local governments
- iv. Bribery and Corruption: Some officials demand and even take bribe before performing their normal functions.

- v. Diversion of public fund:- Some officials involved in revenue collection, embezzle part of the fund for their own selfish ends.
- vi. Granting of undue favour: Some local government officials use their positions to give undue favour to their friends, e.g. in the award of contracts.
- vii. Tribalism, nepotism and favouritism. These are mainly observed in the areas of appointment, transfer, discipline and promotion of staff.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 2

Mention any three functions of local government.

3.8 How to Enhance Local Government Revenue Base

The local government, being the government nearest to the rural populace, has much need for money to discharge services to the people. The statutory allocation from the federation account is grossly inadequate and something needs to be done to enhance revenue generation. The following are some measures for enhancing the revenue profile of local government.

- i. Grants from the federal and state governments should be increased.
- ii. The officials of local governments should be more efficient and honest in the collection local government tolls and levies i.e. all money collected on behalf of the local government should be properly paid into the local government treasury.
- iii. Local governments should engage in more profitable economic ventures to boost their economic base.
- iv. Regular auditing of local governments accounts should be done to check and detect early fraud and embezzlement of funds belonging to the local government by the officials.
- v. Efforts must be made to improve the relationship of the local governments with the communities so as to always receive full moral and financial support from them.
- vi. Public enlightenment must be mounted to educate the citizens on the need to fulfill their civic obligations to the local government e.g. payment of development rates and levies is and when due.
- vii. Decisive actions should be taken against any local government staff found guilty of mismanaging or embezzling local governments funds to forestall such actions by others.
- viii. More efforts should be put in by the local government staff in charge of revenue collection to collect all revenue accruable to the local government e.g. property, education, development rates and levies.

4.0 CONCLUSION

The above analyses show that local government is very vital in managing the affairs of the grassroots. This is so because local government is government at the grassroots level set up by the central government and charged with the responsibilities of dealing with government matters at the local levels. In our discussion, we saw local government as the grassroots government nearest to the people and also provides services needed to such people.

The theories of local government, structure of local government, reasons for creating local government, functions of local government, how to enhance local government revenue base among others, all these, be improved to better the lives of the rural people.

5.0 SUMMARY

The unit has thrown light on the meaning and concept of local government. Local government is the third tier of government in Nigeria which provides for ~~services~~ services. More so, it is established by law and hence statutorily based. Local government is therefore needed because of its activities to the people. There are 774 local government country in Nigeria today. These local governments need to be protected by enhancing their revenue base as discussed above.

ANSWERS T O SAES IN THIS UNIT

1. The Structure of local government encompasses the unit or tier system, the organizational component, population and geographical size.
2. a. Collection of rates, radio and television license
b. Licensing of bicycles, trucks, canoes wheel barrows and carts.
c. Establishment and maintenance of commentaries and homes for the destitute etc.

6.0 TUTOR – MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Define local government and give at least five reasons for creating local government in Nigeria.
2. how can the revenue base of the local governments be enhanced?

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UNIT 17

LOCAL GOVERNMENT REFORMS IN NIGERIA

TABLE OF CONTENT

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2.0 Objectives
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3.1.1 Main Features of 1976 Local Government Reforms in Nigeria
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3.4 1991 Local Government Reforms
4.0 Conclusion
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6.0 Tutor – Marked Assignment
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1.0 INTRODUCTION

In the last unit, we defined local government as government at the grassroots level set up by the central government and charged with the responsibilities of dealing with development issues at the local levels. The structure of local government encompasses the unit or tier system, the organizational component, population and geographical size.

However, the structure and administrative style of local governments in Nigeria have been going through some changes in order to improve its level of functioning and to ensure maximum operations. This brought about several reforms to local government. In this unit, therefore, these major local government reforms in Nigeria are analyzed.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i. Analyze the local government reforms in Nigeria.
- ii. Discuss the reasons for reviewing the local government systems in Nigeria.

3.0 LOCAL GOVERNMENT REFORMS IN NIGERIA

3.1 The 1976 Local Government Reforms

The structure of the 1976 reforms of local government changed the multiple system of local government councils the third – tier of government to a single – tier all purpose local government. All the local governments after the central were and state governments.

The 1976 reforms of local government was done as a result of the different problems faced by local governments and it was carried out under the ~~Mginnata~~ Obasanjo

The reforms established the local governments in the country a multipurpose single – tier institution. Hence giving the local government a third tier position in the Nigerian federal structure, in this respect, they were autonomous bodies. The reforms also require a local government to serve a local population of between 150,000 and 800,000, moreover, that the local governments were given statutory powers and were recognized by law. Prior to this time, local governments were seen merely as native authorities.

Also, the 1976 local government reforms made the political office holders of the local government council to be predominantly elected from local communities ~~regulation~~ made by the state government. The tenure of the chairman was 3 years and 25 percent of each council membership to be nominated by the state government. The reforms also established two union committees namely the Finance and General Purpose Committee (F & GPC) and the Education Committee (EC).

The Local Government Service Board was to set up a combined local government service for the more highly trained cadres. All posts in local government were

graded. The Local Government Service responsible to all employment, discipline, etc of all members of the local governments and the local government staff was transferred and seconded to local government service.

The 1976 of local government reforms established the ministry of local government in each state to monitor how provision was made for statutory allocation to local government by the reforms, it also allows for property rating.

There was also the creation of a police committee in each local government in order to enforce law. It gave the local government secondary and primary functions.

The major aspects of the 1976 reforms of local government were written in the 1979 constitution.

3.1.1 Main Features of 1976 Local Government Reforms in Nigeria.

- i. Uniform system of local government: There was the introduction of a uniform system of local government through out the country
- ii. Federal government involvement: The federal government became directly involved in local government administration.
- iii. Service board/commission: There was the introduction of local government service board/commission in all the states.
- iv. Statutory functions: The local governments were given specific statutory functions to perform.
- v. Single tier: All the local governments were made all – purpose single – tier local government.
- vi. Appointment: There was the appointment of full – time chairmen and supervisory councilors.
- vii. Condition of service: The condition of service of local government staff was unified with that of their counter – parts in state and federal civil service.
- viii. Grants: Federal and state governments were made to give grants to local government.
- ix. Key committees: Each council was mandated to have certain key committees like the finance and general purpose committee and any other two committees.
- x. Term of office: The majority of local government councilors were to be elected on a three year basis.
- xi. Exclusion of traditional rulers: The traditional rulers were excluded from local government councils.
- xii. Traditional/Emirate Council: The reforms brought in the establishment of traditional/emirate councils.

The 1984/85 Reforms

However, in spite of the changes, the 1976 reforms of local government did not last due to political instability in the country.

In order to solve the varying problems of the local government, the Buhari/Idiagbon regime set up a 20 – man committee led by Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki to review the local government administration. Also, 10 percent of state internality generated revenues (IGR) are to be shared among local governments in each state. It also set up a

management audit committee to guide against embezzlement. There was also provision of a local government staff pension scheme and pension fund. The reforms also made provision for a local government staff regulation.

The 1984/85 reforms or the Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki committee attempted to improve the situation of local government in the country but could not because it was not able to tackle all the problems of the local governments. Hence the need for another reforms with the aim of improving the local government system in Nigeria.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1

Why was the 1976 reforms of the local government introduced in Nigeria?

3.3 The 1988 Local Government Reforms

In order to improve the well being of the rural populace. General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida carried out reforms of local government in 1988. The 1988 reforms of local government made provision for the establishment of two main departments: personnel department and finance, supplies, planning research and statistics department.

The reforms made provision also for the appointment of Director of local government Audit and the local government chairman became the accounting officer and chief executive officer. The reforms also made provision for the establishment of a junior staff management committee which was responsible for the appointment of officers within grade level 01 – 06 and the reforms also provided for a local government audit alarm committee. The 1988 reforms of local government could not solve all the problems of local government and there was yet another demand for a different

3.4 The 1991 Local Government Reforms

The Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida, in trying to make life better for the local government populace, carried out another reforms of local government in 1991 to improve local government councils in Nigeria.

Decree No.23 of 1991 introduced the presidential system to local governments and were given full administrative autonomy. By introducing the presidential system of government in the country, the executive was headed by the local government chairman while the legislative arm is under the leaders. The council chairman was to appoint local government secretary and three to five supervisory councilors and as councilor appointed a supervisor is to vacate his or her seat and a bye – election will be conducted for such vacant seat.

The local government was also responsible for the payment of salaries, allowances and pensions of teaching and non-teaching staff of primary schools. The reforms of local government really improved on the quality of services local government provides for the people. This was because local governments were given

political, financial and administrative autonomy. However, despite these reforms, local governments in Nigeria still face a lot of problems.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Account for the achievements of the 1988 local government reforms.

4.0 CONCLUSION

Our analyses in this unit show that since man is dynamic, the environment he lives in is also dynamic. The various changing phases of local government administration in Nigeria have pointed to affect that local government is dynamic. This is so, because the person who handles the affairs of the local government is dynamic too.

However, we could see that despite the different reforms, the local governments in Nigeria are still underdeveloped. Since man is not static the society he lives in is not static too. The truth of the matter is that the flaw in any reform policy may not be noticed until when it is put into operation. Therefore, local governments administration in Nigeria will still be subjected to further reforms.

5.0 SUMMARY

The unit has thrown light on the various reforms of local government in Nigeria. The local government system in Nigeria has undergone different reforms starting from the 1976 reforms by the Murtala/ Obasanjo regime to the 1991 reforms by Babangida regime. We have seen that the reforms of local governments are needed in order to improve the operations of the local government and to be able to meet up with the challenges of providing services for the people living in the rural areas.

ANSWERS T O SAES IN THIS UNIT

1. The 1976 reforms of local government in Nigeria was done as a result of the different problems that the local government were facing in the country.
2. a. Two departments were established
 - i. Personnel department and
 - ii. Finance and supplies, planning research and statistics department
- b. The appointment of the director of local government Audit
- c. The chairman of the local government council became the accounting and chief executive officer of the local government.
- d. The establishment of the junior staff management committee for the appointment of officers on grade level 02 – 06 respectively
- e. A provision of local government audit alarm committee.

6.0 TUTOR – MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Identify and discuss any 8 main features of 1976 local government reforms.
2. state and explain the recommendations of the Dasuki committee on local government of 1984/85

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UNIT 18

NIGERIA'S FOREIGN POLICY AND RELATIONS

TABLE OF CONTENT

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

In our discussion, we may define foreign policy as a strategy or a planned course of action developed by the decision makers of a country aimed at manipulating the international environment in order to achieve certain national objectives. Foreign policy therefore has to do with the actions of a country towards the international environment or actions such a country takes relationship with other nations in the international political and economic spheres.

The primary task of all those involved in foreign policy formulation is to articulate the country's national interests and to relate such interests to those of other nations within the international system. The main target of foreign policy is to influence the policies and actions of other nations and other actors in the international system.

To understand the foreign policy of a country, it is very important that its domestic policy has been properly understood. This because foreign policy means nothing but the promotion of national interest at international level.

Foreign policy therefore remains a reflection of domestic policy. It is very important that in formulating foreign policy a nation's national interests are clearly defined. There is no general consensus as to what constitutes the national interests of a country.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

On completion of this unit, you should be able to:

- i. Define foreign policy
- ii. Describe the major features of Nigeria's foreign policy
- iii. Identify and explain the determinants of Nigeria's foreign policy
- iv. Discuss the instruments of Nigeria's foreign policy

3.0 NIGERIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

3.1 Aims and Objectives of Nigeria's Foreign Policy

The aims and objectives of Nigeria's foreign policy include the following:-

- i. The promotion of the national interest of Nigeria
- ii. Friendship and cooperation with all nations of the world which recognize and respect Nigeria's sovereignty
- iii. Non – alignment to any power bloc.
- iv. Assistance to African states in search of solutions to their problems and encouragement of the development of common ties among all African states to foster cooperation among countries of Africa in so far as it is compatible with Nigeria's national interest.
- v. Respect for the sovereign equality of all nations as well as non-intervention in the international affairs of their state.
- vi. Unimpeded decolonization
- vii. The defence of Nigeria sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity

- viii. The defence and promotion of world peace
- ix. The promotion and defence of justice and respect for human dignity, especially the dignity of the black man.
- x. The promotion of equality and self-reliance in Africa and the rest of the developing world.
- xi. The creation of necessary political and economic conditions in Africa and the rest of the world which will facilitate the defence of the independence and territorial integrity of all African countries while at the same time fostering national self-reliance and rapid economic development.

3.2 Major Features of Nigeria's Foreign Policy

The major features of Nigeria's foreign policy are as follows:-

- i. Friendship and Cooperation: The country maintains friendship and cooperation with other nations of the world that respect her sovereignty.
- ii. Non-alignment: To remain non-aligned with any of the power blocs, i.e. Western or Eastern blocs. West representing capitalism and East, communism
- iii. Clear and Practical Policies: Adoption of clear and practical policies regarding Africa with a view to bringing about cooperation and progress to all independent African States.
- iv. Independence of African States: Helping non-independent African States to achieve total independence, confirming the statement that Africa is the centerpiece of Nigeria's foreign policy.
- v. Respect for territorial integrity: Nigeria has respect for other states in Africa based on the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states.
- vi. Peaceful resolution of crises: Joining other states to find peaceful resolution to crisis as in ECOMOG troops in Liberia, Sierra – Leone etc.
- vii. Eradication of colonialism in Africa and also apartheid in South Africa as well as giving financial or moral support to liberation movements e.g. SWAPO, etc in Southern Africa.

3.3 Determinants of Nigeria's Foreign Policy

The determinants of Nigeria's foreign policy are the basic issues that influence the foreign policy decisions of the Nigerian government. The internal factors are those confined within the borders of Nigeria while the external factors are the ones without the confines of our borders.

3.3.1 Internal Determinants

The international determinants includes:-

- i. The size of a country
- ii. The military capability
- iii. Political system/stability
- iv. Demographic factor (quality and quantity of population)
- v. Geo – political location
- vi. Economic situation; and
- vii. Leadership

3.3.2 External Determinants

The external determinants are:-

- i. The prevailing world order
- ii. Perception of a country by other countries.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1

Discuss any three of the aims and objectives of Nigeria's foreign policy.

3.4 Instruments of Nigeria's Foreign Policy

The instruments of Nigeria's foreign policy are the mechanisms employed by states in going about their relations with other states. They include diplomacy, propaganda, sanctions, cultural influence and war.

3.4.1 Propaganda

Propaganda is the act of manipulating and distorting information by a state against the other's interests. It involves the extensive use of the prints and electronics media.

3.4.2 Diplomacy

Diplomacy is the most peaceful instrument of conducting foreign policy. It is the conduct of foreign policy through interaction and negotiation. Nigeria in 2002 negotiated freedom for her citizens who were illegally detained by Cameroonian gendarmes.

3.4.3 Sanction

Sanction is the act of imposing stringent and uncomfortable economic and military restriction on a country or countries by others. Sanction is a relatively effective instrument of foreign policy because it compels conformity to minimum standards of civilization. As an aftermath of the gulf war of 1990, economic sanction was imposed on Iraq to dissuade her from acquiring biological weapons.

3.4.4 Cultural Influence

Cultural influence is a contemporary instrument of conducting foreign relations. It is often used to protect a country's collective interest. Cultural ties could be cut in order to send a strong and powerful message across to the world. In 1976, Nigeria led other members of OAU to boycott the Montreal Olympic games to protect against continued apartheid in Southern Africa.

3.4.5 War

A scholar once reported that all wars are continuation of diplomacy in another form. The truism in his assertion is hinged on the fact it is an instrument to

protect a country's interests, through it must be the last resort. Ethiopia and Eritrea were involved in a war between 1990 and 1999 over their common borders.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 2

What is propaganda and why is it important in foreign policy?

4.0 CONCLUSION

The above analysis shows that there would be no significant change in Nigeria's foreign policy objectives and principles in the nearest future. Rather, the bias of successive government is the major issue that will continue to generate widespread debates on. However, in a world that is gradually globalizing and aggressively so, Nigeria should not relent in her effort at encouraging both sub-regional and regional economic integration on the West Africa economic integration on the West Africa.

5.0 SUMMARY

The unit has thrown light on the meaning of foreign policy. The aims and objectives of Nigeria's foreign policy were analyzed. The determinants of Nigeria's foreign policy which includes propaganda, diplomacy, sanction and cultural influence were also highlighted and discussed.

ANSWERS TO SAES IN THIS UNIT

Questions:

1. a. Respect for the sovereign equality of all nations as well as non-intervention in the international affairs of their state.
 - b. The defence of our sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity.
 - c. The defence and promotion of world peace etc.
2. a. Propaganda is the act of manipulating and distorting information by a state against the other's interests.
 - b. It is a very important mechanism employed by states in going about their relations with other state

6.0 TUTOR – MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. What is foreign policy and what are the determinants of Nigeria's Foreign Policy?
2. Identify and explain the major features of Nigeria's foreign policy

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BLURB.

MPA 841: Nigerian Government and Politics is a core course which carries two (2) credit units. The course is prepared and made available to all students who are taking the Masters in Public Administration (MPA) programme with specialization in Human Resource Management, a programme tenable in the school of Business and Human Resource Management at the National Open University of Nigeria. The course is made up of eighteen study units and a course guide. The course guide throws light on what the students will be using in the course.

The course is to expose the students of Public Administration to the contending issues in governance. It also broadens the students' perspective on the contending issues in Nigerian Government and politics. It is also to stimulate the students' interest in governance.