MANAGING NATIONAL INTEGRATION IN A FEDERAL STATE: A CASE OF NIGERIA

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Abstract: The page examined the challenges of attaining national integration within a federal state, with a focus on the Nigerian federation. It identifies the challenges in integration efforts in Nigeria as including the colonial rule, and the impact of corruption, lack of good governance, the problem of Nigeria allocation and control, state fragility among others. It concludes that the National integration efforts can be attained through implementation of good governance, constitutionalism, decentralised local system, social mobilisation and effective decentralisation of powers.
Keywords: Nation, National Integration, Federal, Federation, State.

Introduction

Nigeria once a country occupying an enviable position is now faced with inexorable slide from a country with the most promising development prospect in Sub-Sahara Africa to virtually the status of a failed state. This is due to plethora of political, economic and socio-cultural factors. These factors are epitomised by fiscal indiscipline manifested in unstable fiscal profile, pervasive corruption in all sectors of the national economy, gross disregard for the rule of law and due process, a systematic culture of impunity occasioned by the militarisation of the political space and abject poverty of the majority of the citizenry (Bello Imam 2010). The consequence has been a march towards disintegration of the country.

In fact, the aforementioned maladies necessitated the need for a strong drive towards national integration in the country. In a sense, the administration of national integration in Nigeria refers to the processes of bringing the various ethnic groups to cohere on a continuous basis (Frank 2003). Unfortunately, Nigeria's efforts to achieving national integration have remained largely unrealised. Thus, the integration crisis facing Nigeria manifest in the minority question, religious fundamentalism, conflicts, ethnic politics, indigene settler dialectic, resource control, youth restiveness and militancy and the clamour for national conference or conversation of about the terms of the nation's continued unified (Onifade 2013). Hence this research work focuses on the challenges of national integration in the country and suggest strategies to overcome the problem organisation of the paper: Section 1: Introduces the paper, section 2, concentrates on the clarification of concepts, section 3 dwells on theoretical frameworks of analysis, section 4 explains the challenges facing national integration in Nigeria and suggest strategies to overcome such challenges, while section 5, concludes the paper.

Conceptual Clarification
National Integration

Karl Deutsch et al (1966), conceptualized integration as the attainment, within a territory of a sense of community of institutions and practices strong enough and wide spread enough to assure for a long time, dependable expectations of a peaceful community. He adds that national integration is the process of creating a homogenous political community. It is the increasing promotion or emergence of peace through the breaking down of cultural and regional divides in the process of evolving a United States. National integration involve two processes; which political integration which refers to the progressive bridging of the elite-mass gap in the vertical plan and territory integration which is the process of creating a homogenous territorial community.(Coleman and Robert (1964). Ojo (2009) conceptualised national integration from international perspective when he argued that it is a process by which members of a social system (citizens) develop linkages and location so that the boundaries of the system persist over time and the boundaries of sub-systems become less consequential in affecting behaviour. It is a process through which members of the social system develop an escalating sequence of contact, cooperation, consensus and community. Etizioni (1985), posits that a community can only be considered to be cohesive when it meets the following touch stones. It has effective control of the use of the means of violence. It has a centre of decision making capacity of effecting the allocation of resources and reward. It is a dominant focus of political identification for a large majority of politically aware citizens.

Hence, national integration is the processes in which the different people in a state transfer primordial allegiance to one central authority, which becomes the representative of the people It also indicate the various processes by the central authority which the corporate social group to cohere and regard one another as member in the same stake with obligation towards one another (Frank et al 2013). It is seen as a process that produces an omnibus of initiatives put in place by a state, its representatives or institutions guided by respect for the unique tradition and cultural backgrounds of ethnicities sharing the same polity with the goal of harmonizing all interests through a form of dialogue and representation and addressing differences that may be divisive and conflictual using the instrument of fairness, justice and equity in the sharing, benefits opportunities, and responsibilities in order to guarantee stability, longevity and prosperity of the polity (Onifade 2013).

The Federal State

According to Wheare (1964), federalism is the principle, the method of dividing powers so that general and regional governments are each within a space, coordinate and independent. To him, it is a principle of organisation and practice whose ultimate test is, how federal system operates. In his own view, Elaigwu (2013), posits that federalism provides for shared powers among levels, order or tiers of governments as well as providing for self-rule or autonomy for substantial units. According to him, some characteristics of a federal system of government may be identified. They include the existence of two or more levels or orders of government.

a.   A written constitution which distributes powers and responsibilities among orders or levels of governments while providing sources of revenues for them to carry out these functions.

b.   Adequate representation of the views and members of sub-national groups in policy making institutions at the centre, such as house of representatives or a second legislative chamber in some countries.

c.   Independent and impartial judiciary to interpret the constitution and play the role of an important umpire.

d.   The establishment of institutions and processes to facilitate effective intergovernmental relations or collaboration in shared area of responsibilities.

Elaigwu (2013), concludes the federal systems from one country to another. The particular political colour that a country's federal system takes, is often reflective of its historical experiences, its political cultural, social and economic environment and the disposition of its people at a particular point in time.

Watts (1999), notes that federations have varied and continue to vary in many ways, in the character and significance of the underlying economic and the degree of symmetry and asymmetry in the size, resource and constitutional status, in the scope of the allocation of legislative, executive, and expenditure responsibilities, in the allocation of taxing power and resources, in the character of federal government institution and the degree of regional input to federal policy making, in the procedure for resolving conflict and facilitating collaboration between independent governments and in the procedures for formal and informal adaptation and changes. He adds: even where similar institutions are adopted, different circumstances may make them operate differently. An example is the operation of the similar formal constitutional amendment procedures in Switzerland and in Australia whereby both involve referendums for ratification of constitutional amendment requiring double majorities. Since 1986, Switzerland have secured three-quarters of their referendum while Australia was able to pass 42 amendments.

The Nigerian state joined the leagues of nations that adopted federal system of government in 1954, handled by the then British colonial power.

Otitis (2010), declared that "before our official National birthday on October 1, 1960 the colony and the southern and Northern protectorate had been amalgamated under Lord Luggard in 1914, Nigeria thus had many socio-cultural and social historical possess not on the part as one people and it is a big jigsaw with several socio-cultural patches. He further observes that "it is absolutely necessary to chain the diverse people together under changing constitutions by the British colonial government and the constitutional development actually made Nigeria to come into being". Presently, Nigeria is by far the largest country in Africa and among the ten most populous countries in the world and one out of about five black Africans are Nigerians. The country has a solitary combination of human and national resources to help it overcome the vicious cycle of poverty and autocracy that has become all too prevalent in Africa. Anticipating this breakthrough for the last thirty-five years of independence has become a source of considerable pessimism for Nigeria as well as for all of Africa (Agbaje 1996). The unfortunate situation has negatively impacted on national integration efforts in Nigeria.

While assessing the Nigerian policy environment, Jinadu (2011), held that an electric mixture of social liberalism, liberal conservatism, lingered internationalism and Pan Africanism provides the sources of the constitutional jurisprudence and of the political ideas, from which successive generations of Nigeria political leadership have drawn their competing visions of and frame their debates in democracy development and security. Beautiful as they are, they have not helped the integration efforts in Nigeria.

Elsewhere, Eliagwu (2005), opines that federal pendulum may swing in the direction of centripetal or centrifugal force. Centrifugal forces in the context of intense suspicion among component groups. In this case, the centre is likely to be weak. This is the case in

Nigeria where the country is faced with diverse problems such ethnic as military, social and economic neglect, infrastructural decay and inter-ethnic rivalry have impeded the achievement of the enviable national integration in Nigeria.

Theoretical Framework: Structural- Functional Theory
According to Beur (2011), a structure is an arrangement of different elements that have a particular and ensuring pattern. It is an institutional approach that sees such institution as a normative pattern of social relations and that the normative pattern are carried in people's mind but have their separate existence, acting on individuals to create expected model of action.

Structural – functional analysis is based on the concept of political system and it originated in the sphere of social anthropology in the writings of Radcliff Brown and Melinowsk. It was developed in the field of sociology by Talcolt parson, Robert Melow and MarionLevinand Gabriel Almond and his associates developed it into a tool of political analysis (Gauba 2007), Gabriel J.S. Coleman (1960), identified four characteristics of the political system. They includes:

(i)   all political systems have structures
(ii)   The same functions are performed in all political systems with different frequencies.
(iii)   All political systems are multifunctional
(iv)   All political systems are mixed systems in the cultural sense,this means that they are based in a culture which is always a mixture of the modern and the traditional

Almond and his associate discerned four functions which include political socialization, interest articulation, interest aggregations and political communication. All these four roles are performed by both government and non-governmental institutions in the security. Output functions are rule making, rule application and rule adjudication performed by the governmental institution. Almond sought to look at those functions that must be perform by identifiable structure so that the political system will survive. He restructured and modified the approach and presented four functions of the political system. They include capacity function: How the political handles pressures from the society through the use of the extractive capability, regulating ability, distributive capacity and symbolic capacity. Secondly, conversion functions through the import-output system. Thirdly, communication functions through the sharing of information (Nwaogwu 2002). Almond has been criticized that his analysis centres on systems survival,hence it is ideologically inclined. In convergence to this Gauba 2007 posits that Almond's analysis, that it liberal democratic system as a pattern of institution building.

This research work is contextualized with the structural-functional theory because of its emphasis on structures and the roles they perform in the society. Such roles are carried out by both government and non-governmental institutions in a bid to ensure the survival of the social system.Structural function sees society as a complex system whose part work together to promote solidarity and stability. It equally states that social lives are guided by social structures which are relatively stable patterns of social behaviour (Macionis 1991). Hence, the poor and abysmal performance of duties in Nigeria by our social institutions owing to greed, corruption and other unethical behaviour which serve as a draw back to the drive to achieve national integration in the country.

Assessing Factors that have Impeded National Integration Efforts in Nigeria

Firstly, the challenge of colonial rule over the country persists till date in the affairs of the country as the bane of national integration has been located in the extant colonial rule order of the country. Akinsanya (2015) argues that Nigeria is closer to being a failed state that it has ever been with various sections of the country being at war with each other. According to him, while economic dissatisfaction plays a role in bringing political alienation to a head, the constitutional settlement at flag independence sowed the seeds of future crisis from which Nigeria is yet to recover. Not only has the colonial project including 1914, amalgamation conceived to serve patently British economic interest has been a mitigated disaster, of the 1931 and 1959 census counts and the December 1959 federal elections have only deepened and institutionalized Nigeria social cleavages. Akinsanya, concluded that the artificiality of colonial independence settlement makes likely, a power struggle to rectify structural, political imbalances in the politics of independence and that economic problem bedevilling post-independence in Nigeria contain in-built frustration threatening government and political instability.

Odubajo (2012), equally acknowledged the colonial heritage that pummelled the chances of political stability by setting the stage for conflicts and confrontation in the arrangement between the various groups in Nigeria. According to him, the colonists had initially created a technically flawed architectural design for the large expense that later became Nigeria. The parochial interests of the colonizers as evidenced in the miserly management of such member of variegated groups under a single political arrangement was faulty and thus created the incongruities that exist centuries after the mistake of history has been made. Hence, colonial rule laid an unbalanced structure that has continued to hunt the country's desire for an enduring national integration.

Secondly, lack of good governance that has characterised African States, of which Nigeria is a part constitutes another challenge to building National integration in Nigeria. In the view of Bell-Imam (2004), bad governance is characterised by ugly problems such as pervasive corruption, lack of public accountability and the capture of public service by elites among others. He adds: that or when these negative features occur together, they create an environment that is hostile to development. In such circumstances, the authority of government over their citizenry tends to be progressively eroded and undermined. This reduces compliance with decisions and regulations as a result of the hopelessness in government and government tends to respond through popular measures or as in some authoritarian regimes, the resort to coercion Nigeria attained political independence in 1960 and she had immense potential for sustainable development. Thus optimism was predicted on a number of positive indicators of the time amongst which were abundant natural resources, substantial human resources, endowment, the existence of a competent bureaucracy, favourable growth rates and one of the Africa's most educated elite. Unfortunately, contemporary evidence shows that these potentials have not been realized essentially because of good governance (Bello-Imam and Obadan 2004).

In a situation of bad governance (as the case in Nigeria), the spirit of nationalism wanes and personal survival takes over. These, coupled with the diversion and under-utilization of resources and order vices of corruption such as undermining of industrial policy consequently, affect economic growth and social development. As the people lose interest in their government, economic sections and suspension, including benefitting from

desirable capital flows, becomes the rider of the day. The last few years before the present democracy dispensation demonstrated right features (Tella 2004).

Thirdly, Corruption also constitutes a great impediment to national indignation in Nigeria. Bureaucratic corruption usually takes place within the content of the implementation and politics and this is daily encountered by citizens in place like hospitals, local government offices, licensing officers, police, tax, officers, government ministries and parastatals (Adetoye, 2004). The practice of corruption has also been described as favouritism and nepotism. Nepotism is a mechanism of power abuse implying a highly biased distribution of the resources while the favouritism is a form corrupt practices in which an office holder prefers his/her kinfolk member. This is a common practice in Nigeria, a situation whereby one is exempted from the application of certain laws or regulation or given undue preference in the allocation of scarce resources (Adetoye 2004).

Building on Adetoye thesis, Agagu (2004), posits that corruption takes multifarious forms including using official materials, time and labour for private purposes, tempering with record, kickbacks, demanding sex from female applicants, misuse of overseas tours, election malpractices and inflation of contracts among others. He stressed that the magnitude and prevalence of corruption and lack in the country is the common affiliation that creates the crisis of legitimacy and weakness many leadership regimes in Nigeria. He concluded that the race for political post is due to corrupt gains expected from such posits.

Adediji (2009), believes that political leaders cold attitude to accountability accentuates corrupt practices in the country. He identified anti-accountability culture that has its root in the cultural practice of the pre-colonial era where Africa leaders have absolute power to command obedience to laws made by. This situation becomes the experience of the colonial rule. The economic imperatives deriving from outrages spending to secure political-posts and the need to recoup the expenses, coupled with the winning of fortune and prestige through the distribution of socio-economic advantages inform of employment, market stalls licences. The mode of acquiring power that involves bribing of voters, rigging of elections. He concluded that the multi-ethnic, multi-lingual nature of the country also led to rivalries for elections success between the principal ethnic groups of the country who wanted to control natural resources in order to enjoy the resultant socio-economic advantages.

Fourthly, state and institutional fragility is another important challenge thwarting national integration efforts in Nigeria. As Khan (2004), notes, fragile states are characterised by weak, ineffective and unstable political and democratic institutions processes, bad governance conducive to loss of state autonomy, absence of rule of law, personal and exclusionary rule, including tenure elongation, weak local government and poor service delivery. Equally noticeable is the lack of capacity to enforce rules and regulations and exercise effective jurisdiction over its territory to defeat/control opposition groups, militant rebel forces, warlords, urban groups and the likes.

Osaghae (2010), contends that, it is obvious that while most states may have one element of fragility or the other, those in Africa (Nigeria inclusive) and other parts of the third world are the most fragile, to the extent that they represents the full face of the worst indications of fragility in terms of both capacity and performance. He adds: with these characteristics, specially the stress of governance and poverty as well as violent contestations of citizenships and statistical which specially produce civil war, armed conflict, population displacement, refugee and humanitarian, problems, fragile states muddle through at best,

buckle when confronted with internal and external shocks and constantly, face the threat of collapse break-up or dis-integration.

Osaghae concluded that tenure elongation, struggle, politics of exclusion and inclusive election in the case of Nigeria have often pushed the state to the brink of collapse from which is many cases they have had to be saved by external interventions. Noting that, the drama of fragility ranges from government being held to ransom and social life being paralysed by prolonged workers strikes, violent demonstration and brazen acts of lawlessness, to the case with which warlords, militants, rebel forces, religious fundamentalists, private armies, criminal gangs and robbers have defeated state forces to the inability to execute effective control over national resources by checking the activities of smugglers, black marketers and resources which provides lifelines for the state.

Indeed, the situation in Nigeria at present pose danger because of renewed insurgency by the militants in the Niger Delta Area taking place after a prolong battle with the Boko-Haram armed group that had nearly cripple the nation. This state of unending armed conflicts hinders the desire for national integration in Nigeria.

Kolawole (2014), affirmed that the Nigerian state has since independence remained a fragile state and therefore is experiencing a fragile democracy. According to him, fragility implies the inability to withstand combat or repel centrifugal and centripetal forces evidences are about in Nigeria political history since independence. These include: The political crises of the western region 1962 – 64, were avoidable or at least resolvable except for external forces of disunity that wanted to profit from such crisis. Secondly, the role of coup d'etat as manifested in January 1966, July 1975, December 1983, August 1985, November 1993 and of course many attempted coup d'etat in between the military always came with a messianic message of wanting to rescue the people only for them to constitute worst oppressions. Thirdly, there was the civil war of 1967 – 70 the civil war was more of an elite competition for power within the military hierarchy which was sown in embroidery of national interest. Apart from the cost on human and material resources, the memory of the war still engenders especially in the 1960 people a distrust if not a dictator to the Nigerian project. Fourthly, this is the instability in the electoral politics. The history of elections and our usual reactions to their outcome is indicative of the fragility of our democracy and lack of democratic ethics in our leaders. One can look back to the disputations that attended election of 1964, 1929, 1999 and 2013. Losers always lack the courage in accepting electoral rejection from the people who entrusted them with political power in the first place. They often failed to realize a reality of life that those who appoint can also disappoint. The electorates appoint and they have the right to disappoint when disappointed. The unending crises in the polity since independence, various crises have retarded the development and sense of belonging, of the Nigerian State. In this category are; crisis on religious intolerance, crisis of ethnic rationalism, and crisis of resource control. He concluded that the evolutionary process of democracy and social economy, development by crisis and since crisis contribute to the fragility of our democratic experiment and the drive for national integration.

Fifthly, the problem of resource allocation and control constitutes another problem of national integration in Nigeria. According to Orubu (2004), the changing fiscal fortune of the oil producing states formed the nucleus of the resource allocation problem in Nigeria. He posits that observation about intergovernmental fiscal relations in Nigeria is that the principles that have been in used for the allocation of revenue between the different regions

and states in Nigeria since political independence has progressively denied lower tiers of government substantial amount of revenue that should have enhance their statutory ability to provide public goods and facilities (roads, hospital) to the people in their localities. He continues that over the years, the situation has been compounded by the imposition of statutory limitations on the powers of state and local governments to generate revenue on their own and this is because the system has been characterised by a high level of fiscal centralization.

Orubu stressed that while the situation in which the federal government exercises absolute financial superiority over the other tier of government has been generally found objectionable, the highly discriminatory network in which federal grants (particularly during the military era) were disbursed to favour some states against others was even that objectionable. In most cases, such grant-in-and were arbitrarily given to state governments the "good books of the federal government without regard for the rules while the federal governments itself had put in and this attracted substantial resentment from non-favoured state. He adds the political economy of revenue allocation in Nigeria has been broadly characterised by rentier nature of oil revenue, which had led to several open contradictions. The contradiction exist in between the federal and state-governments, between the federal government and governments of oil producing state between oil-producing states and non-oil producing states who are not comfortable with proposals for a high weighed for derivation in the horizontal allocation of revenue. Orubu (2004), concluded that after more than three decades of helping to the national economy through petroleum derived – revenue, the oil producing state of Nigeria still rank relative low with respect to social measures of economy and social progress. Infrastructure in these states are still conspicuously in a poor states, poverty incidence and unemployment are visible) while environmental diseconomies have unquestionably distorted the ecological, material and resource equilibra. This state of neglect has invariably led to the development of youth militancy and terrorist groups in Nigeria. Youth militancy was first incubated in the Ijaw ethnic group. This is partly because of its size as the largest ethnic group in the region and consequently a large base of unemployed and educated youths and set of anger, bitterness and hostility, resulting from pervasive poverty, neglect and marginalization. Youth militia groups have been very vociferous, militant and violent in their methods are ordeal in the articulation of the Niger Delta issues. They have also been behind the very extensive and highly mobilized direct actions and insurrections in the region (Walter 2010).

The Niger Delta multi-level conflict involving confrontation between the local communities and oil companies, confrontation between local communities and confrontation between some local communities themselves (Imobighe 2004) the ecological, material and resource equlibria. Another example of military is a region consisting of peaceful and fun-looking people until the 1980s when the youth of the region took on militancy act and sporadic attacks on state infrastructures and high rate of kidnapping (Ikporukpo 2016). The rise of federal societies which have fractured structurally (such as Nigeria) ,and where the laid down mechanism for dealing with such pluralism has failed or is in the process of failing (Akinyemi, 2003). The militia and insurgency groups such as Boko Haram and those in the south – south threatens integration efforts in Nigeria.

Sixthly, Nigeria equally faced with leadership problem which tends to continuously hamstring the drive towards national integration. Yagboyaju (2006) contends that the quest

for the right leadership is, perhaps, the most prominent issue that Nigeria and its people have grappled with since 1960 when the country attained political independence. According to him, the collapse of the first republic, occasioned by the military coup of 1966 was faulted on some grounds. It was nothing but dissatisfaction with the political leaders. Of course, successive regimes especially the military between the mid-1980s and the late 1990's, exhibited some disturbing personalised and egoistic characteristics that are not surprising that money bag, election campaign financier and political Godfathers whose influence became most profound since the ill-fated third republic under General Babangida dominated the process of the reintroduced civil rule that culminated in the fourth republic since 1999. He concluded that the followership that has over the years pilloried into deeper poverty, is also dangerously pushed into sycophantic behaviour at some levels and more criminal activities in others.

In his views Agbaje (2003), argues that leadership has been the bane of Nigeria, pursuing dangerous policies, postures and statements to the utmost limits of national safety, survival and stability. According to him, the rise and resilience of the tradition of political brinkmanship involving threats and counts – threats of introduction of rule-induced and system – supportive behaviour in contexts of etched by the tendency of the political elite to prefer fission to fusion, coming apart rather than sticking together at moments of great national arises. Agbaje further notes that to suggest that brinkmanship is part of the Nigerian political tradition is to state the obvious. This is because it origin in 1950 triggered off attempt by the colonial authorities in conjunction with the local elites, to negotiate guiding principles for centre-region and region-region relations, including over relations in the recent federal set up. This process began in an atmosphere in which regional boundaries were assuming geo-ethnic importance and regional imbalances had already become quite visible.

Agbaje (2004) equally is of the view that political leaders created the problem of communalism in public life. This, he argued can be traced to the departed British colonialists who implanted cleavage conflict in the areas now known as Nigeria which tends to occur more within, rather than between geographical zones, occupied by ethno-regional constituencies now considered to be culturally united and homogenous entities. In other-words, the intensity of division within such group is strong if not stronger plan, than between them. Thus, ethnic identity was regularised and manipulated to invest tribes boundaries and division with colonial historiography selectively emphasising inter-tribal rather than "intra-tribal conflict. To him, the colonialists invented a tradition of inter-ethnic schism and upgrading cleavages as a dominant mode of group mobilisation for political and social action, during and after colonial rule to the neglect of less sectional cleavages of trade, education, profession and production. He concluded that the communalisation of public life has been entrenched after independence by several factors including the readiness of the elite and non-elite to fall back on sectional symbols in their search for advantage as well as regional imbalances in the Nigerian federation, the tendency for ethno-sectional are political cleavages to coincide, and die general absence of cross cutting cleavages.

Strategies for Managing National Integration in Nigeria
Firstly, the implementation of good governance procedure in the governmental process in Nigeria Ani (2011), contends that good governance is seen as the competent management

of a country's resources and affairs in a manner that is open, transparent, accountable, equitable and responsive to people's needs. It is a situation in which the masses have access to social amenities such as good drinking water, health care, good roads, security, employment opportunities, good and affordable education.

He further notes that good governance creates an environment that promotes and sustains the process of development, solving the problems and challenges of reducing poverty and achieving the millennium development goals, which invariably will promote national integration. Ani concluded that good governance is a tool in the achievement of this citizenship happiness and welfare, part of which is to include the people in policy design, implementation, monitoring and impact assessment. Noting that, this is the only way that good governance can generate the dividends of both democracy and development for Africans and reduce the long storyline of poverty being daily plotted by the poor and help the continent to achieve millennium development goals. Building on Ani's thesis, Laako, et al (1996), posit that Africa (Nigeria inclusive) need to promote social equity, a minimum state of human welfare, a viable economy and a clear character of citizens' rights which aims to promote civil liberties and human rights, political and electoral policy and effective public institutions especially in the areas of education, health and the administration of justice, health and the administration of justice ought to be more fully recognised as urgent and brought closer to the centre stage of national political and policy discourse. They concluded that a relatively strong and democratic state apparatus is a necessity in Africa, (Nigeria inclusive), if the current social crisis is to be tackled and for national integration to be achieved.

Iwara (2004), pointed out the fact that government in Nigeria should not only stick to the avowed principles of democracy, but also to embrace the principle of the rule of law and a sense of justice that sometimes goes beyond formal legality. He stressed further that the contemporary political state (Nigeria) must intervene in society sufficiency to moderate cultural attributes that are in democratic and to offer political options that eliminate security threat to the minority groups.

On his part, Ajetomobi (2004), declares that the hope of the reconfiguring Africa (Nigeria inclusive) lies in promoting the logic and principles of constitutionalism through which democratic principles and values may be engineered and good governance and values may be engineered and good governance evolved. This would help to ensure predictable ways of life, orderly process of leadership selection and change, laid down organisation and procedure in public interactions, a reform of the state and its institutions and the protection of civil liberties and political rights. He concluded that, if these were achieved through constitutionalism then Africa would certainly be in the right to promoting good governance and a new culture of democracy on the continent. The rightful application of the logic of constitutionalism in governance practices will unequivocally enhance national integration in Nigeria.

On his part, Johnson (2005), notes that managing national identity in a pluralistic society like Nigeria is essential and paramount to guarantee continuous existence of the states through effective leadership. According to him, the issue of ethnic identity is a very sore and emotive one in Nigeria politics. Nigeria obviously needs a unifying leader cast in the mould of Nkrumah or Mandela to stem and blunt the rather sharp edges of the crisis of national identity in the country. This is because the crisis of national identity arose due to elite manipulation of popular identities, be it ethnic class or religious identities .Politicians

have always tended to take refuge in the support of their co-ethics by mobilizing them for electoral purposes.

In the same vein, Ajetumobi (2005), posits that negotiating space and stability (a key to nation building will require reconceptualising citizenship from a group to a national or universal perspective. According to him, citizenship is destructive of the social and political processes of a political community when conceived from the in group terms, as it undermines national identity and attenuates the loyal and commitment of the citizens to the state, an affront to steps toward national integration. Ajetumobi recommended policy changes in two major areas. They include an enhancement of liberal democratic norms like elections, political participation, rule of law and the right of association and expression which could provide the basis for the expression of citizenry in its substantive form. The second priority, in this case, involved a redefinition of the normative dimension of citizenship, that is, a definition of who qualifies to be a citizens and who does not? Noting that, national identity needs to be forged above sub-national and group identities. The direction of policy is to ensure that the state affect the life-chances of the citizens; in a just and equitable manner, such that the state affect the life-chances of the citizens in a just and equitable manner, such that subordinates identities do not context the legitimacy of the state in society; this will unequivocally promote national integration.

Secondly, properly decentralized fiscal system has been advocated to enhance integration. According to Ogisi (2004), decentralization is a political and administrative arrangement that entails the transfer of authority (to plan, perform functions and manage public fluid) from the central government to subordinate organisations, agencies or units of government, either geographically or units of governments, either geographically, or structurally. He stressed that given the physical and institutional distance between the government and the people in developing countries like Nigeria, a decentralized fiscal relationship between the central and other tiers of government will ensure a more equitable allocation of revenue and it is a positive and statistically significant factor in determining the rate of growth, including the gross domestic product per capital in the country. He further notes that decentralization of functions must go simultaneously with decentralization of revenue collection and allocation. Allocation in this case as a compromise needs to be reached between centralization and decentralization in the promotion of public goods for economic welfare. The central should concentrates on providing national public goods while the lower should concentrates on local public goods and this invariably enhance national integration in the country.

Thirdly, reconstruction of the state institutions has been advocated as a required step to national integration. Fawole (2005) notes that the quest for democratic nationhood can only begin to produce positive fruits in Nigeria and West Africa sub-region when certain irreducible minimum conditions are met. These, in his view include, a deliberate reform of critical institutions of the state especially the armed forces, police and service and the judiciary, in line with the demands and challenges of dividends and challenges of democratic rule, the delivery of democracy dividends which will help the people to accept that democracy is the best form of government and playing the game of politics in accordance with agreed democratic norms and principles, coupled with the dismantling of existing structures and institution of oppression that are only loyal to and serve the personal interests of the leaders at the corridors of powers in Nigeria capacity building as equally being seen as a key to promoting national integration in Nigeria.

Oshionebo (2004), observes that about three decades of successive opaque military dictatorship led to a continued state of underdevelopment and indicate a state of underdevelopment indicated by low rates of economic growth, mass poverty among the people, distortion in the allocation of scarce resources, weak production structures a poor and discouraging investment climate, lack of transparency and accountability, widespread of systematic corruption etc. Hence there is need for capacity building, both human and institutional aspect of national capacity. Oshionebo adds that it involves not only human capital but also institutions and practices that are necessary for sustainable growth and development in the country. According to him, capacity building will include the reform and strengthening of individual public sector institutions and the entire public service as an entity, the investment in human resources through framing and development and the adoption of best management practices in the federation for the public sector. Also a much broader range of institutional reforms that reinforces the values of democratic governance and promotes good governance agenda so as to establish and maintain private sector confidence and thereby lay the basis for sustains growth in the country. He concluded that what is crucial to any nation is therefore the capacity not only for policy analysis but also for managing development process. Noting that if Nigeria is to break the paradox of being rich but populace by an impoverished "citizenry, it is crucially important that it builds the capacities of its people, civil societies the administrative machinery and democratic institutions among others. This is the best way of galvanising the energies and abilities of society and placing people and their needs as the centre of the development process, he opined.

Ogundiya (2009), explicated the need for legitimate mass mobilization of the citizenry as vehicle for promoting national integration. According to her, mass mobilization has its core objective, to create a supportive base for government. This is because legitimate mobilization became necessary because of the perception of government, culminating in widespread and antipathy to them. She contends that most mobilization programmes in Nigeria are not only institutional inspired but products of the country historical experiences. Hence, successive governments embarked on mobilization programmes to respond to exigencies and crisis of their time. She concluded the good governance, political accountability, due regard for the rule of law, protection of human rights, security of life and property and other democratic ingredients are the sine qua non for the state and political leaders to enjoy support that will enhance right to rule and national integration moves.

Lalude (2005) canvassed appropriate and proper devolution of power as key to achieving national integration in Nigeria. According to him, a principle of federalism centres on the division of power and functions between the centre and the federations units and such decentralization of power must be guaranteed in a constitution. That is why the constitution made provision for exclusive and concurrent list with the residue, namely, items falling outside the two lists, being last to the regional or state government. But in the 1999 constitution, the federating states are made to be dependent and even subservient to the federal government and in fact, in all the thirty items contained in the concurrent list enumerated in part II of the second schedule to the constitution, the dependence was made obvious. Indeed, item I on the concurrent list of the 1999 constitution states that subject to this constitution, the National Assembly may by an act make provisions for (a) the division of public revenue (b) grants or loan from and the imposition of charges upon the public funds of the federations. He stressed that this undoubtedly negates the federal principles

which states that a governed is not federal of the power of the regional government are specified and the residue is left for the general government. He argues that a true federal state in the legal sense is one in which there is not one division but also that the division is made in such a way that neither the general nor regional government is subordinate the other.

Conclusion

From the foregoing, it is glaringly clear that Nigeria is faced with challenges of national integration. The challenge is multifaceted. These range from fiscal, political, social, economical to institutional failure and have manifested in the outbreak of ethnic militia, insurgencies, mutual suspicion and fear access the country. This situation necessitates a programme and sustainable steps towards national integration. We concur with Zaun (2013), that the country needs to seriously embark on state building in the vertical and horizontal dimensions. The vertical dimension of state include strengthening of the state capacity, democratic accountability of state institutions and the character of the hierarchical state society relationship embedded in social contract. The horizontal dimension of state building such as ensuring power balance in the society and managing relations between different social groups. The embracement of the two dimensions of the state building help to explain why some states despite limited capability tend to provide their citizens with public services and responsive to their needs and are very resilient and have not succumbed to violence and state collapse. We equally advanced Frank (2013), prescriptions as means of ensuring a result-oriented national integration in Nigeria. They include;

The establishment of a norm which would guarantee access to all the citadel of political offices in the state that is an arrangement to ensure that each integrated group would have their turn to produce president, governor, chairman of local government respectively. This will certainly reinforce the interest in the integrity units towards, national integration in Nigeria.

A genuine commitment to anti-corruption war and the due process principles would be a confidence-building measure towards national integration. This would curb tax-evasion and financial mismanagement which will does generate enormous resources to the government.

There is an urgent need for leadership which understands the dynamics of integration and incorporates it into its budgets and judiciously implementing the same. This will go a long way to build the confidence needed among the people for integration.

The need for a redress of fiscal imbalance using pigous thesis which posited that the cost imposed on one section of the community by another should be the basis of a tax on the beneficiary and this could be redistributed to compensate those suffering the costs.

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