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FEDERALISM, DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE AND THE ISSUES OF RESTRUCTURING IN NIGERIA

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Abstract
Nigeria has a long history of federal-democratic experience in Africa faced with many challenges such as prevalent insecurity, economic downturns, ethnic rivalry, corruption, minority outcry, as well as poor state of governance, which are duty bound on government to act swiftly and manage. Therefore, restructuring the federal system in the country is a reality check, in which the need for its call could be used to make a point in order to address the many factors that pose threat to the practice of democratic governance and sustenance of federal system of government in Nigeria's Fourth Republic. The objective of this paper is to interrogate the issues of restructuring federalism and justify its inevitability in the country. The theory of government which seeks to explain government as institutional activity is adopted as the framework of analysis. Documentary sources of data collection in which information are sourced from books, journals and government publications including constitution are employed. Thematic analysis is adopted in the paper and found out the unanswered questions which make issues of restructuring contentious in the country. It concludes that restructuring federalism in Nigeria is a timely exercise for the survival of the country as an indivisible political entity and recommends for the culture of patriotism on 'Country first' as imbibed and institutionalized in developed and some developing countries should be introduced and practiced in the country. Therefore, for having 'Nigeria first' in all ramifications – political, social, economic and administrative spheres would help to manage conflict, promote national integration and enhanced the practiced of democratic governance. By so doing, Nigeria will be a better place for Nigerians and the future generations.
Keywords: Democratic governance; Federalism; Government; Nigeria; Restructuring.

Introduction and Problem Statement

Nigeria has a long history of federal-democratic experience with many challenges and prospects in its first, second, defunct third and fourth republics. The country is a multi-ethnic and multicultural society and got its name from the River Niger. It is the most populous country in Africa with an estimated population of 216, 805,562 based on projections of the latest United Nations data as reported by the World Population Review (2022). It has a total of 932,768 square kilometers, of which 910,768 is landmass and 13,000 is water as well as, having a population growth of 2.7 percent; fertility rate of 5.42; infant mortality of 57.7 and life expectancy of 55-75 years.

The country is known as the 'Giant of Africa', because it has the second biggest economy in the continent, the third largest military power and the biggest oil and gas producer in Africa as well as the largest cereal and meat producer in West Africa and the fifteenth oil

producer in the world. Nigeria is situated on the Southern Coast of West Africa; shares borders with Niger Republic to the North, Cameroon and Chad to the East and Benin Republic to the West. Given that one out of every four Africans is a Nigerian (Gate Way Africa, 2012).

The people of Nigeria have more than 300 identifiable ethnic groups and over 400 lingo-cultural groups as well as 52 percent Muslims, 47 percent Christians and 1 percent traditionalists/unspecified as reported by Congressional Research Service (CRS, 2018). These have made the country one of the world's most ethnically diverse societies. There are three large ethno-linguistic groups, namely, the Hausa-Fulani in the north, the Yoruba in the west, and the Igbo in the east. English is used as the official language but the major languages of the Nigerian people are Hausa, Yoruba, and Ibo (Elaigwu, 2006). Additionally, Nigeria is one of oldest surviving federation in Africa. It is made up of three tiers of government, a federal government, 36 states and 774 local governments.

By federalism, it means a system of government where powers, functions and responsibilities are divided and shared between and/or among the central government and component units- states and local governments, so as to accommodate the diverse elements that made the union. This means that federalism is concerned with increasing and promoting unity while preserving diversity. Similarly, Nigeria and many other countries of the world including India, South Africa, Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Switzerland, the United States of America, just to mention but a few, practiced federal system of government.

Ordinarily, in the context of federalism, restructuring in whatever forms, political, economic, social and administrative is targeted at addressing peculiar challenges bedeviling a particular country practicing federal system of government. This is because federalism is dynamic and as such, expected to undergo restructuring from time to time.

Experience has shown that, despite the agitations for restructuring federalism in Nigeria coupled with the existence of consecutive succession of democratic governance which provided the ground through constitutional provision the legitimacy for both the executives and legislative arms of government to formulate and execute policy reforms geared toward making the operation of federalism better. Yet, such issues generate controversy in the country. Consequently, the need to provide answers to the questions below, informed this study. The questions are: (a) Why issues about restructuring federalism in Nigeria are contentious? (b) What are the salient factors that justify the need for restructuring in Nigeria? (c) What is to be considered to improve and sustain the practice of federalism in Nigeria?

The paper argues that restructuring knows no border and it is inevitable. This is because there is a consensus opinion among all sections of the country that something is wrong with the operation of federalism in Nigeria. But, where to bring the change (restructuring) makes it contentious. Sarki (2020) corroborates that, no system of government be it federal, unitary or confederal has fully settled to the complete satisfaction of its members across the world. From the United States of America, Nigeria, India, Australia, Switzerland, Canada to South Africa and the rest of Africa where federalism is in practiced, are faced with many problems to settle. For that reason, federalism remains a work in progress and restructuring it, becomes inevitable.

Finally, the paper is structured into six parts. The first part introduced the paper. Explanations on the concepts relevant to the topic of the paper were provided in part two. Theoretical exposition was explained in part three. Part four examined the reasons that make issues about restructuring federalism in Nigeria contentious. In part five, the salient factors that justify the need for restructuring federalism in Nigeria's Fourth Republic are discussed. Concluding remarks are provided in the last part of the paper.

Explanation on Concepts

Some key concepts that form the bases for the paper are explained according to the perspective of the paper as thus:

Government

Government like the air we breathe has a controlling influence over our lives. This is because, it is the unique institution that has legitimacy to regulate human behaviour, provide services and manage conflict. Therefore, government is the only institution responsible to address the fundamental political questions that political scientists often asked whenever people think about government and its roles in an organized society. The questions that usually come to mind include:

a. Why government?
b. Is government necessary?
c. Is it possible to live without government?
d. Why do governments exist all over the world?
e. Why people all over the world are so critical of government?

Answers to those questions above, reflect contemporary thinking about basic human values which only government pursue and defend. They include freedom, order, equality, economic prosperity, national security, morality and ethics, equity, fairness and justice.

Lenz and Holman (2013, p.2) define government as the institutions and processes that make and implement authoritative decisions for a society. The decisions include laws, regulations and other public policies, are authoritative in the sense that individuals and organizations are legally obligated to obey decisions or face some kind of sanction. Simply put, government is an institution that creates and implements the policy and laws that guide the conduct of a state and its citizens.

According to Harrison and Harris (2011) government perform a variety of essential functions. They provide for the national defence, preserve order and stability, establish and maintain a legal system, distribute services, raise and spend money, and socialize new generations of citizens.

Generally, government refers to a group of people mandated with constitutional powers, force or traditions to govern or control a country. This group of authority under democratic dispensation includes the executive, legislature, bureaucracy and judiciary.

Federalism

The word federal is derived from the Latin word ‘foedus’ which literally can be interpreted in English as meaning ‘covenant’, ‘league’, ‘agreement’ ‘compact’, ‘trust’, ‘bind’ ‘treaty’ ‘pact’, an agreement or union. Elazar (1987 cited in Kalu and Bing, 2016, p.53) interrogates further that the etymology of federalism is beyond the Latin ‘foedus’ by tracing further the root of ‘foedus’ to the Hebrew term ‘b’rit’, which means covenant of alliances between political entities.

In the word of Arora (2012) federalism is define as the system in which the power to govern is shared between the national and the state governments. A federation according to Mahajan (2012) is a union of states and it is generally the result of two kinds of forces, namely; centripetal (i.e. strong units and weak centre) and centrifugal (i.e. a strong centre and weak outlying units). Montes (2006) also consider federalism as a tool to evade disintegration or secession by providing constitutional means of conflict management and self-determination.

Similarly, Dare (1979, p. 27) viewed a federal society as one with a plurality of ethnic groups with different historical, cultural, and linguistic background but in which each ethnic group occupies a marked and distinct geographical location from the others. Accordingly, federalism becomes a device for comprising unity and diversity.

Federalism is seen in this paper as a political system where the powers of government are shared between the central and component units. Each level of government has certain authority to exercise over the same territory with people and a constitution which outlines how each level of government's exercise powers and prohibitions with the aim of promoting unity in diversity, harmonious working relationships among the levels of government as well as improve economic growth, development and good governance.

Restructuring

Ordinarily, restructuring means to change the way things operate. In Nigeria for example, it is a misnomer concept used by politicians and secessionists for purposes of political and media attention in order to achieve political goals but they did nothing to advance such goals when they get into power. That, politicians used restructuring as a campaign message by expressing grievances to poor state of governance in order attract voters' votes whereas, for the secessionists as a means for breaking away from the federal arrangement.

Jega (2022, p. 36-37) provides a comprehensive definition of restructuring to mean any or a combination of the following:

1. A return to "true federalism" described as re-establishing the regional structure of 1960 - 1966, with the division of powers and allocation of resources as defined in the independence and republican Constitutions of that period.
2. Creation of 6 regions similar to the so-called 6 geopolitical zones, to replace the current 36 state structure.
3. A return to the 12 states structure, similar to what existed between 1967 and 1976.
4. 'Resources control', whether in a new regional structure or under the current states structure granting subnational units absolute control of all resources under, or above, their geographical territories or in their territorial waters even in the continental shelf.
5. Equitable redistribution of power and resources from the federal government to subnational governments units (i.e. from the federal government to state governments to LGAs).
6. Replacement of the federal system with a confederation.
7. Opportunity for any subnational unit or groupings of subnational units to withdraw from the Nigerian federation and assert their sovereignty on the basis of a (essentially fabricated) ethnic identity.
8. Creation of a total of 42 states to equalize and bring to 7 the total number of states in each of the 6 geopolitical zones.

Democratic Governance

Democratic governance combines the idea of "democracy" with "governance". Etymologically, democracy is derived from the two Ancient Greek words – "demo" which means "people" and "kratia" which means "rule of or by". Whereas, "governance" is from the interpretation of modern Chinese language - "Zhili" which means "to rule and put things in order" and sometimes as "Guanzhi" which means "to control and rule" (Qian, nd: 187). Consequently putting the two terms together (i.e. the adjective democratic and noun governance) democratic governance is framed (Gambo, 2019).

Democratic governance is governance within a constitutional framework and based on the rule of law, as well as circumscribed by universal rights and freedoms. Essentially, democratic governance according to Human Development Report (HDR 2002) means that:

1. People's Human Rights and fundamental freedoms are respected, allowing them to live with dignity;
2. People have a say in decisions that affect their lives;
3. People can hold decision makers accountable;
4. Inclusive and fair rules, institutions and practices govern social interactions;
5. Women are equal partners with men in private and public spheres of life and decision-making;
6. People are free from discrimination based on race, ethnicity, class, gender or any other attribute;
7. The need of future generations are reflected in current policies;
8. Economic and social policies are responsive to people's needs and aspirations; and,
9. Economic and social policies are aimed at eradicating poverty and expanding the choices that all people have their lives.

Generally, democratic governance requires that people have ways of knowing what their elected representatives are doing on their behalf. This means that democratic governance makes government not only representative but also responsible to the yarning and aspirations of the people that give them mandate to govern.

Theoretical Exposition

A theory is an intellectual tool of analysis that scholars used to describe, explain, analyze and if possible, predict a given phenomenon. It is a tool for explaining reality. Therefore, the paper adopts theory of government otherwise known as institutional theory in the examination and analysis of the issues that make restructuring federalism in Nigeria contentious and justify its necessity. The proponents of the theory include John Locke, John Milton, Charles Louis de Secondat, Baron de La Brede et de Montesquieu, generally referred to as Montesquieu, Madison, Thomas Dye, John Meyer, Brian Rowan, etc.

Institutional theorists assumed that government is an institutional activity that focused on formal institution of governments in its operations. Institutions are also governance structures, whose purpose is to solve human disputes and conflict and enforce the solution of such conflict. That, groups and organizations conforming to these rules are accorded legitimacy, a condition contributing to their survival.

Keleman (2003) in his contribution to the theory of government states that federalism is an institutional arrangement in which (a) public authority is divided between state governments and a central government; (b) each level of government has some issues on which it makes final decisions; and (c) a high federal court (supreme court in Nigeria) adjudicates disputes concerning federalism. Hence, the activities of individuals and groups are generally directed toward governmental institutions such as legislature, executive, bureaucracy and judiciary to manage.

The theory is relevant to the paper because:

1. It helps to create a system of institutional separation of powers and checks and balances designed to control governmental powers and functions as well as promote harmonious working relationship among the tiers and organs of government. The 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria makes provisions to that effect.

2. That, it helps to make federalism as an institutional activity that creates a governance system where the states can serve as laboratories of experimentation.
3. That, strict adherence of the provisions of constitution by the tiers of government- local, state and federal will help to manage conflict that may likely arise over jurisdictional exercise of powers, functions and responsibilities among the organs and tiers of government.
4. That, the theory will help to justify that it is only government as an institution of the state that has the legitimacy to make and execute laws as well as punish law breakers. The existed institutions function to manage human activities and prohibit people to take law into their hands.
5. The theory will also help to grants autonomy or freedom to the tiers of government. Therefore, when each level of government is doing the work as provided for by the constitution, then efficiency and productivity will be increased and it will help to generate more revenue which can be used for expansion of economic growth and development in the country.

Contentious Issues about Restructuring Federalism in Nigeria

The paper identifies three unanswered questions that make restructuring federalism contentious in Nigeria. The fundamental questions are:

1. Whose interest is restructuring about?

This question creates confusion between sectional elites and the politicians alike on what restructuring is all about. It is a misnomer concept perceived differently by the sectional elites in Nigeria. Thus, the failure to address the question of whose interest and benefit is restructuring in Nigeria, have breed some form of conflict of interest between the South and the North without regard to the general interest of the country for addressing the problems associated with operation of federalism.

2. Where to restructure?

A number of restructuring proposal documents has been produced and several recommendations passed in Nigeria's Fourth Republic but from where to start with, remain the major challenges. In the reports produced by the All Progressives Congress (APC) committee on true federalism headed by El-Rufa'i (2017, p.6), justified that restructuring of federalism in Nigeria is a controversial issue, debatable and as such, described by whatever name or phrases as reduced into twelve contentious issues follows:

1. Creation or merger of states and the framework and guidelines for achieving that;
2. Derivation principle, bordering on what percentage of federal collectible revenues from mining should be given back to the sub-national from which the commodities are extracted;
3. Devolution of powers: what items on the exclusive legislative list should be transferred to the recurrent list, especially state and community police, prisons, etc.;
4. Federating units: should be based on regions or zones or retain the 36 states structure?;
5. Fiscal federalism and revenue allocation;
6. Form of government – (parliamentary or president?);
7. Independent candidacy;
8. Land tenure system;
9. Local government autonomy;
10. Power sharing and rotation of political offices;
11. Resource control;
12. Type of legislature – part time or full time, unicameral or bicameral?

3. How committed is the government to the issue of restructuring?

The issue of restructuring is more political than developmental or people - based. This is because, politicians within or outside the corridor of power use restructuring to achieve political goals. For example, the All Progressives Congress (APC) used restructuring in their electioneering campaigns in 2015 to canvass vote from the electorates but when they formed the government the idea died down. In the true sense of the matter, restructuring federalism is supposed to be a national issue in which bringing changes into the operation of federalism should be tabled before the floor of the National Assembly and, as such, despite the agitations for restructuring in the country nothing is done from either the side of the executive or legislative arms of government. Hence, government's commitment towards restructuring is questionable.

Salient Factors that Justify the Need for Restructuring Federalism in Nigeria

Many factors necessitate the call for the need to restructure the federal system in Nigeria but the salient ones as far as this paper identified include:

The Constitution

The 1999 Constitution of the federal Republic of Nigeria as amended is one of the main reasons for the call for restructuring, national sovereign conference, referendum, etc. in Nigeria. This is because the constitution was drafted by the military while preparing for a hand over to civilian administration to mark the beginning of Nigeria's fourth republic without consultation of the all the stakeholders but restricted to selected few to decide. Although, the constitution begins with the preamble "We the people of the Federal Republic of Nigeria" and Section 2(2) states that Nigeria shall be a federation consisting of 36 states and a federal capital territory, dividing powers between the central and subnational units. This preamble purports to show that its drafters consulted the people of Nigeria, whereas it was a document wholly grafted by a military regime that failed to consult people – a situation that makes the claim contradictory and at best laughable (Aziegbe, 2014).

Thus, where the provision of the constitution is contradictory, the issues of constitutionalism must be ineffective and to a large extent a mirage in the country. Hence, federalism needs to be restructured.

Strong Centre and Weak Component Units

The central government exercises more governmental powers and functions than the other components unit – states and local government to the extent that the component units remain at the mercy of the federal government. For instance, the exclusive legislative list of the constitution contains 68 items on which the federal just make laws and raises revenue while there are only 12 items on the concurrent list giving more power in favour of the federal government.

Egwaikhide, Aiyede, Benjamin, Dlakwa and Ikelegbe (2004, p.115) reaffirmed that:

> The dominance by the federal government over the subnational units is derived directly from the enormous taxing powers over mining rates and royalties, petroleum profit tax, import and export duty tax, capital gains tax, among others. On the other hand, the states have taxing powers over the less lucrative sources of revenue such as land tax, stamp duty, gift tax, personal income tax, betting tax, among others. Likewise, the local government councils are limited to generate revenue from equally less lucrative sources such as poll tax, entertainment tax, motor parks, markets, and property tax.

Revenue Allocation Formula

This is another critical and recurrent factor necessitating the call for restructuring of federalism in many federal countries, including Nigeria. Nigeria is facing a challenge of how to device a formula of allocating revenue among the tiers of government which will be fair, equitable, satisfactory and acceptable to all the tiers of government – federal, states and local governments. Therefore, government cannot be run without funds allocated to the tiers of government. Olu and Goldpin (2017, p.16) corroborate that, the various commissions, laws and decrees on revenue allocation had arisen because of the contentious disagreement of sections of the country with way the natural resources were divided. Thus, allocations of the funds in a federal arrangement with a mono-cultural economy pose a challenge and as such, generated disagreement over acceptable revenue formula.

The above statement revealed that the federal government has financial leverage over the other subnational units not because it engages in more productive ventures, but because it has relative advantage over subnational governments in respect of the more lucrative sources of revenue assigned to it by the constitution. Whatever is generated as revenue into the federation account by the federal government, by virtue of exercising its powers on items in the exclusive list, must be seen as common pool resources held out on trust for all levels of government, and not exclusively belonging to the federal government. Seen from this perspective it can be validly concluded that all the three tiers of government; federal, states and local governments, are heavily dependent on statutory revenue allocation. This impliedly makes states and local governments rely on the federal government for their existence as is presently the case. Hence, the powers and revenue accruing to the federal government are awesome and displayed lopsided relationship between federal government and components unit (Dlakwa 2004, p.115).

The provision of the 1999 Constitution and the decree of the military are the same to the fact that they created an all-powerful federal government with lion share of the revenue accruing to the federal while the powers of the states were drastically diminished and financially weakened to the extent that none of them could survive or discharge its constitutional responsibilities adequately under the existing constitutional and revenue sharing arrangements (Nwokedi (2003).

Poor State of Governance

This factor resulted to poor leadership and its antecedent challenges such as unemployment, poverty, corruption and protest at a large scale. This is to say that, poor leadership as a result to bad governance at all levels of government in Nigeria pose challenge to the existence and survival of federal government as a single political entity. The poor state of governance is fundamentally promoted by corruption and corrupt practice of doing things. Sote (2022) reports that concerned Nigerians have argued that, corruption robbed Nigerians of security, developmental projects like roads, bridges and railways, and social goods like education, hospitals, and housing. He further corroborates that 4.85trillion naira allocated to the military under president Buhari administration watch was cost to unabated corruption and probably lost the half-hearted anti-corruption war. Lugga (2022) describes the ugly scenario of corruption in Nigeria that:

> Corruption is fighting back so much, that the peoples' suffering is steadily translating into loss of confidence in the government they fought tooth-and-nail to install. President Buhari's recent presidential pardon on 14th April 2022 to two States Governors who were arrested by the EFCC for corruption, investigated for corruption, found guilty of corruption to the tunes of billions of Naira and jailed by the Courts of Competent Jurisdiction for Corruption; has certainly proven beyond

> any reasonable doubts that president has once lost his fight against Nigerian corruption (Lugga 2022, p. 48).

The poor state of governance in the country has devastated effect as Ugwu (2023) reported the view of German Chancellor, Olaf Scholz in the Pan African Reviews that, in Nigeria, the government's failure to tackle the issue of high-level corruption in the corridor of power and improve governance of public resources for the greater good has given rise to mass discontent, agitations, armed conflicts and, most notably, threat of secession.

Ethnic Rivalry

Use of ethnicity and religious mobilization to get political support during campaigns as well as, on national issues are given ethnic and tribal interpretations. Loyalty to the country is attached to region and tribal kinsmen, even to who will contest and be elected president for the country. This case is heightened especially whenever general elections is approaching, the polity becomes overheated with tribal sentiments as if that would be the end of the country as one political entity.

Similarly, Premium Times (2022) reports the views of a socio-cultural pressure group named the Hilltop Club 1972, that a Nigerian president of South-east in 2023 is pragmatic and founded on the fact that of all the major ethnic groups in Nigeria, the South-Easterners have since been marginalized from occupying the position. The group in the same reports, clarified that, since the return of the country to civilian rule in 1979, Nigeria has had three Presidents from the North (Shehu Shagari, Shehu Musa Yar' Adua and Muhammadu Buhari); one South-West President (Olusegun Obasanjo) as well as Mr. Ernest Shonekan, leader of the Civilian Interim Government of Nigeria; one South-South President (Goodluck Ebele Jonathan) and no president of South-East extraction.

Security Challenges

Insecurity of lives and property in Nigeria which resulted by farmers/herders conflict, Boko Haram insurgency, kidnapping, banditry, and the threat of secession by some parts of the country pose a serious challenge to Nigeria and its corporate existence as indivisible federal arrangement. This is because; it is a contentious issue in federal-state relations in Nigeria. While the state governor is the chief security officer of the state, in operational terms it is the commissioner of police in the state that makes decisions pertaining to security. Incidentally, the governor does not have direct control over the police, which is exclusively under the jurisdiction of the federal government. It is in this light that some state governors, especially in the southern zones, had advocated for proper devolution of authority to the states to enable them create their own police force.

Odinkalu (2022) reports that Boko Haram terrorists group due to insecurity bedeviling Nigeria have attacked 276 students of the Government Girls Secondary School (GGSS) Chibok, in Borno State on April 14, 2014. He further reports the latest cascade of insecurity in Nigeria's Federal Capital began with the attacked on Kuje Medium Security Prison in the capital city on July 5, in which the Islamic State of West Africa Province (ISWAP) killed at least one security personnel and liberated over 900 of the most dangerous terrorists held or convicted by Nigeria in an operation that reportedly lasted for over three hours.

The extent of insecurity in Nigeria has exposed the Nigerian state to a sleeping leviathan. For instance, the killing of about 40 worshippers in a Catholic church in Owo, Ondo State, killing and abduction of the Abuja – Kaduna bound train passengers and kidnap of high school pupils in Niger State as well as the shutdown of public schools in the Federal Capital of Nigeria (Abuja) by the minister of education due to insecurity and the failure of the government

to do the needful in protecting the lives and properties of the Nigerian citizens. In fact, insecurity is one of the major factors calling for the need of restructuring federalism in Nigeria.

Cost of Governance

The cost of governance in Nigeria is high to the extent that huge amount of money are budgeted and spent on administrative expenditure. Thus, the government spent over 70 percent of the budget on recurrent expenditure and less that 30 percent on capital expenditure. For example, budget allocations to the National Assembly, between 125bn and 150bn naira annually, which amount to over 15 percent of the annual combined budgets for education and health for 200 million Nigerians. This implies that Members of National Assembly – Senate and House of Representatives in Nigeria who are not as productive and visionary than their counterparts in other countries with federal democratic experience earned about 450,000 dollars per annum in which over two and half times the 174, 000 dollars per annum than that of senators in the United States of America (Otti, 2021).

Concluding Remarks

Nigeria is one of the oldest surviving Federations in the continent of Africa. Yet, many factors such as leadership failure, ethnic rivalry, insecurity, corruption, unemployment, high cost of governance just to mention a few, have necessitated the call for restructuring federalism in the country.

Accordingly, government at all levels is expected to create an enabling environment that will build trust and confidence as well as facilitate interactions and harmonious working relationship among the diverse ethnic groups based on national integration. This will facilitate healthy intergovernmental relations among the tiers of government; promote the spirit of togetherness, and enhance economic growth and development in the country.

Finally, the paper recommends the culture of patriotism on 'Country first' as imbibed and institutionalized in developed countries should be introduced and practiced in the country. Therefore, for having 'Nigeria first' in all ramifications – political, social, economic and administrative spheres would help to manage conflict, promote national integration and enhanced the practiced of democratic governance. By so doing, Nigeria will be a better place for Nigerians and the future generations.

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