

ETHNICITY, ETHNIC PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS - THE NIGERIAN PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract

This study is on ethnicity, ethnic problems and solutions - the Nigerian perspective. Ethnicity is a universal phenomenon which is present in every society no matter how simple. Every government has the duty of managing its ethnic components for the progress and unity of the polity. The objectives of the study include: to examine the emergence of ethnicity cum ethnic politics in Nigeria; to examine the effects of ethnicity on Nigeria as a nation-state; and to proffer solutions to ethnic problems in Nigeria. The problems spotlighted in the study include: military incursions into Nigerian politics from 1966 to 1999; coups and counter coups leading to political instability from 1966 to 1999; religious upheaval, political domination by the north; mistrust among leaders and citizens; emergence of ethnic militant groups; security challenges; secessionist agitations among others. The study concludes that Nigeria is sick politically, socially and economically. The study therefore recommended among other things; retention of federalism; rotational president; implementation of federal character principle in federal appointments; effective implementation of quota system in federal jobs; streamlining the national sports commission; re-orientation of the national youth service corps, establishment of more federal institutions in all the states; streamlining the anti-corruption agencies to make them nonpartisan and de-tribalistic; and government's moral and legal response to all security challenges/tribal wars including the killings by herdsmen and bringing culprits to book; joint religious interactions; youth empowerment and job creation; poverty eradication and national policy on education curriculum to be tailored in line with inculcating unity among the youth.

Keywords: Ethnicity, Cultural diversity, Ethnic politics, Rotational Presidency, Quota System

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Introduction

The amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Protectorates by Sir Fredrick Lugard in 1914 gave birth to the most populous country in Africa called Nigeria. Although Nigeria was a British creation, the entities making up Nigeria today had been in existence before the advent of the colonial masters (Ekwealor, 2015). Nigeria which is a country in West Africa, south of the Sahara Desert, has a population of about 200 million black men and women. She is the most populous country in Africa and one of the ten most populous countries in the world. She has the largest army in the region (Chukwuemezie, 2003).

The country is blessed with abundant human and material resources. There are professionals in abundance within Nigeria and overseas. Virtually all minerals (both solid and liquid) are found in Nigeria in exportable quantities with plenty of oil wells both off-shore and on-shore.

Nigeria has a very good vegetation and nature endowed her with a vast area of fertile soil. Eighty Seven percent of the 9,231,768 square kilometers of Nigerian soil is arable enough to produce food both for export and for consumption by the teeming population (Chukwuemezie, 2003). Today, Nigeria is inhabited by about 250 ethnic groups with distinct customs, traditions and language. The largest and politically dominated groups include the Igbo, Yoruba and the Hausa. Other groups include the Edo, Effik, Ibibio, Tiv, Nupe, Kanuri, jaw, Igala, Jukun, Itsekiri, Akoko, Bura, Longuda, Kataf, Idoma, Ishan, Kalabari, Agatu and so on. Each of these ethnic groups has its own language, traditional dress, facial marks, eating and drinking habits, music, politics, history and religion (Ekwealor, 2015).

There is no doubt that colonialism had provided us with common name- Nigeria, a common national capital city, a common official language and certain common institutions. In this way, it laid the foundation of Nigeria as a political unit. However, it should be noted that colonial politics were deliberately aimed at preventing national unity. The British from the on-set regarded Nigeria as Igbo, Yoruba, Hausa etc rather than a cohesive unit (Orjiakor, 1996). The political mistake of the British gave birth to regionalism (the East, West and North) and each region worked for advancement of their respective regions. The British used the method of 'divide and rule' and thus set the stage of ethnic rivalries which engulfed Nigeria in the later years of colonialism and uptil the present dispensation (Orjiakor, 1996). This paper therefore tries to examine the concept of ethnicity, ethnic problems and solutions with regard to Nigerian perspective.

Statement of the Problems

The entity that is Nigeria was prior to 1914 two distinct British Protectorates made up of Northern and Southern Protectorates. On 1st January, 1914 both the Northern and South Protectorates were amalgamated and Lord Lugard, the mistress of the first Governor-General, Lord Lugard, gave the name Nigeria. While the South was later split into East and West, the North was left unsplit. By creating three unequal regions, the seed of political disparity was sown by the British and a system of divide and rule held sway to serve the designs of Nigeria's imperial masters. Later the regions were abolished and states created but regional politics could not give way. It became difficult for a tripod stand with three unequal sides to stand firm. A political seed of discord was deliberately sowed into the Nigerian political arena. This situation gave birth to sectionalism, mistrust, tribalism, political instability due to coups and counter coups, leadership crisis, battle for ethnic supremacy, religious upheaval, hate speeches, emergence of ethnic militant groups, unequal development, vandalization of government installations, secessionist struggles, terrorist attacks, corruption and mismanagement of government funds as leaders see government positions as survival of the fittest, communal clashes/inter-tribal wars among others.

Objective of the study

The broad objective of this study is to look into the ethnic situation of Nigeria with its problems and solutions. Specifically, the study will seek to:

- Examine the emergence of ethnicity and ethnic politics in Nigeria.
- Determine the effects of ethnicity on Nigeria as a nation-state.
- Proffer solutions to ethnic problems in Nigeria.

Literature Review

The Concept of Ethnicity

Ethnicity or ethnic group is derived from the Greek word 'ethnos' meaning 'a people' and it denotes an unorganized group of related people in a national population that has distinct identity, cultural heritage, common language and social or ancestral experiences.

Cohen in Elebo (1996) defines ethnicity as a collectivity of people who share some patterns of normative behaviour and forming part of larger population, interacting with people from other collectivities within the framework of a social system. Fuck & Wag Nails

Encyclopaedia (1981) define ethnicity as a group of people inhabiting a specific territory and living according to common, central and social characteristics and abiding to common, legal and political authorities. One thing that is basic is that every ethnic group is a category of people who identify each other based on similarities, such as common ancestral, language, social, cultural or national experience. Unlike other social groups, ethnicity is often an inherited status based on the society (Akande 2018). The following types of ethnic groups can be identified:

- Ethno linguistic: Emphasizing shared language, dialect e.g. Igbos of Nigeria.
- Ethno-national: Emphasizing shared polity or sense of national identity.
- Ethno-racial: Emphasizing shared physical appearance based on genetic origins e.g. African Americans.
- Ethno- regional: Emphasizing a distinct local sense of belonging stemming from relative geographic isolation e.g. South Islanders.
- Ethno- religious: Emphasizing shared affiliation with a particular religion, denomination or sect e.g. Boko Haram Islamic sect.

In most cases, the above mentioned group identities mutually overlap from the above illustrations, it is therefore clear that a perceived sense of cultural distinctiveness from others is an attribute of ethnic group and which is believed to be culturally universal in every known plural society. In Australia for example, there are the Irish, Scots, English, Wales and the Aborigines (Elebo, 1996). The largest ethnic group in modern times comprises hundreds of millions of individuals while the smallest are limited to a few dozen of individuals. Larger ethnic groups may be subdivided into smaller sub-groups known variously as tribes or clans, which over time may become separate ethnic groups themselves due to endogamy or physical isolation from the parent group. On the other hand, formerly separate ethnicities can merge to form a pan-ethnicity, and may eventually merge into one single ethnicity. Whether through division or amalgamation, the formation of a separate ethnic identity is referred to as ethnogenesis (Doornbos, 1991).

Historical Development of Ethnicity

In early modern English and until the mid 19th century, 'ethnic' was used to mean heathen or pagan. The Greek term in early antiquity could refer to any large group, a host of men, a band of comrades as well as a swarm or flock of animals. In classical Greek, the term took on a meaning comparable to the concept now expressed by "ethnic group mostly translated as "nation", "people", only in Hellenistic Greek was the term narrowed to refer to foreign" or "barbarous' nations in particular (Whence the later meaning" heathen, pagan"). In the 19th century, the term came to be used in the sense of "peculiar to a race, people or nation", in return to the original Greek meaning. The sense of "different cultural groups", and in American English "racial, cultural or national minority groups" arises in the 1930s to 1940s, serving a replacement of the term race which had earlier taken this sense but now becoming deprecated due to its association with ideological racism. The term ethnic group was first recorded in 1935 and entered the Oxford English Dictionary in 1972 (Rotschild, 1981).

Theories/Approaches to the Study of Ethnicity

Different theories/approaches have been put forward by social scientists to the study of ethnicity. This paper will adopt the following:

- **‘Primordialism’**, holds that ethnicity has existed at all times of human history and that modern ethnic groups have historical continuity into the far past. For them, the idea of ethnicity is closely linked to the idea of nations and is rooted in the pre-Weber understanding of humanity as being divided into primordially existing groups rooted by kinship and biological heritage.
- **‘Essentialist Primordialism’** further holds that ethnicity is a priori fact of human existence: that ethnicity precedes any human social interaction and that it is basically unchanged by it. This theory sees ethnic groups as natural, not just as historical.
- **‘Kinship Primordialism’** holds that ethnic communities are extensions of kinship units, basically being derived by kinship or clan ties where the choices of cultural signs (language, religion, traditions) are made exactly to show this biological affinity. A problem with this view on ethnicity is that it is more often than not the case that mythic origins of specific ethnic groups directly contradict the known biological history of an ethnic community.
- **‘Geertz’s Primordialism’**, notably espoused by Clifford Geertz, argues that humans in general attribute an overwhelming power to primordial human “givens” such as

blood ties, language, territory, and cultural differences. In Geertz's opinion, ethnicity is not in itself primordial but humans perceive it as such because it is embedded in their experience of the world.

- **'Perennialism'**, an approach that is primarily concerned with nationhood but tends to see nations and ethnic communities as basically the same phenomena, holds that the nation, as a type of social and political organization, is of an immemorial or "perennial" character. Smith (1999) distinguishes two variants: "continuous perennialism", which claims that particular nations have existed for very long spans of time, and "recurrent perennialism", which focuses on the emergence, dissolution and reappearance of nations as a recurring aspect of human history.
- **'Perpetual Perennialism'**, holds that specific ethnic groups have existed continuously throughout history.
- **'Situational Perennialism'**, holds that nations and ethnic groups emerge, change and vanish through the course of history. This view holds that the concept of ethnicity is basically a tool used by political groups to manipulate resources such as wealth, power, territory or status in their particular groups' interests.
- **'Instrumentalist Perennialism'**, while seeing ethnicity primarily as a versatile tool that identifies different ethnic groups and limits through time, explains ethnicity as a mechanism of social stratification, meaning that ethnicity is the basis for a hierarchical arrangement of individuals. According to Donald Noel, a sociologist who developed a theory on the origin of ethnic stratification, ethnic stratification is a "system of stratification wherein some relatively fixed group membership (e.g., race, religion, or nationality) is utilized as a major criterion for assigning social positions". Ethnic stratification is one of many different types of social stratification, including stratification based on socio-economic status, race, or gender. According to Donald Noel, ethnic stratification will emerge only when specific ethnic groups are brought into contact with one another, and only when those groups are characterized by a high degree of ethnocentrism, competition, and differential power. Ethnocentrism is the tendency to look at the world primarily from the perspective of one's own culture, and to downgrade all other groups outside one's own culture.
- **'Constructivism'**, sees both primordialist and perennialist views as basically flawed, and rejects the notion of ethnicity as a basic human condition. It holds that ethnic

groups are only products of human social interaction, maintained only in so far as they are maintained as valid social constructs in societies.

- **‘Modernist Constructivism’**: correlates the emergence of ethnicity with the movement towards nation states beginning in the early modern period. Proponents of this theory, such as Eric Hobsbawm, argue that ethnicity and notions of ethnicity pride such as nationalism, are purely modern inventions, appearing only in the modern period of world history.
- **‘Ethnicity Theory’**: Ethnicity theory says that race is a social category and is but one of several factors in determining ethnicity. Some other criteria include: "religion, language, customs, nationality, and political identification. This theory was put forth by sociologist Robert E. Park in the 1920s. It is based on the notion of culture.

This theory was preceded by over a century where biological essentialism was the dominant paradigm on race. Biological essentialism is the belief that white European races are biologically superior and other non-white races are inherently inferior. This view arose as a very way to justify slavery of Africans and genocide of the Native Americans in a society which was supposedly founded on freedom for all. This was a notion that developed slowly and came to be a preoccupation of scientists, theologians, and the public. Ethnicity theory was based on the assimilation model. Park in his study outlined four steps to assimilation: contact, conflict, accommodation, and assimilation. Instead of explaining the marginalized status of people of colour in the United States an inherent biological inferiority, he maintained that it was a failure to assimilate into American culture that held people back. However, the number of theories/approaches discussed in this paper notwithstanding, this study adopts the ethnicity theory propounded by Robert E. Park, which based ethnicity on race, religion, language, customs, nationality and political identification because these criteria are the major factors that determine ethnic groups.

Factors that Influenced the Existence of Ethnicity in Nigeria.

There are many factors that influenced the existence of ethnicity in Nigeria. These factors are responsible for most of the problems in the country. They include:

1. Colonialism: The British rule has been frequently blamed for maintaining differences of ethnic groups in Nigeria. The colonial masters seized every available opportunity to spread the myth and propaganda that Nigerians were separated from one another by a great distance,

by differences of history and traditions and by ethnological, racial, tribal, political, social and religious barriers.

Sir Hugh Clifford in 1920 made it abundantly clear that:

"his administration would seek to secure to each separate people that right to maintain its identity, its individuality and its nationality, its chosen form of government and the peculiar political institutions which have been evolved for it, by the wisdom and the accumulated experience of generations of its forefathers".

This is a clear testimony of the colonial administration's calculated attempt to sow the seed of ethnicity in Nigeria which assisted the people to achieve their selfish interest. This metamorphosed into regionalization and indirect rule and indirectly preserved the indigenous, social and political units and the values associated with the regions (Nnoli, 1981). The colonial administration knew the outcome of the amalgamation of different people just for their own interest. The late Sir Ahmadu Bello in his book 'My Life' said:

"The colonial masters who ruled Nigeria introduced a system of unitary government not for the present or future unity or well being of all the indigenes of the country but for their own administrative conveniences. Lord Lugard and his amalgamation were far from popular amongst us that time".

In 1953 the Late Sir Abubakar Tafawa in a speech in the legislative council said:

"Since the amalgamation of the southern and northern provinces in 1914, Nigeria has existed on paper. It is far from being united. The country is inhabited by peoples and tribes who speak different languages, who have different religions, different customs and traditions and entirely different historical backgrounds."

Even where there were attempts to break the politicization of the ethnic groups, the colonial masters stopped it and tried in different ways to identify the ethnic differences. The same

effect was produced by the attempt of the colonialists to divide the people along communal lines, as a mechanism for maintaining domination over the polity. Sir Hugh Clifford is quoted to have said:

"I am entirely convinced of the right, for example, of the people of Egbaland, of any of the great Emirates of the North to maintain that each one of them is in a very real sense, a nation.... It is the task of the government of Nigeria to build and fortify these national institutions."

This was a clear manifestation of the colonial administration's intention to sow the seed of group differences in Nigeria.

2. Internal Nigerianized Political Behaviour: The political behaviour of Nigerians uptill the present time is another factor. Initially, the conflict between the members of the Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM) based on economic and journalistic interests helped to set the stage for events which propelled the country irretrievably into the politicization of ethnicity in Nigeria. Each time any of the nationalist lost a struggle for a post, his defeat will be attributed to ethnic prejudice against his ethnic group (Elebo, 1996). In 1941, there was a vacant seat in the Governor's Executive Council in which there ensued a struggle for replacement. Ernest Ikoli eventually emerged successful which did not go well with his business enemy, Dr. Azikiwe and neither with Akinsanya who was defeated in the struggle. Both, along with their respective Igbo and Ijebu- Yoruba supporters rationalized their defeat, as a manifestation of ethnic prejudice against Ijebu and Igbo people. Moreover, with the formation of three political parties between 1944-1952, notably the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon (NCNC), Northern People's Congress (NPC) and Action Group (AG), ethnic nationalism and regionalism triumphed over forces of unity in Nigeria. While the NCNC was seen as Igbo political party, the NPC was identified with the North and AG became associated with the Yoruba. The sectionalism created by this led to the emergence of natural leaders in the respective regions- Dr. Azikiwe for the Igbo, Sir Ahmadu Bello for the Hausa-Fulani, and Chief Awolowo for the Yoruba and one can infer from the following ethnocentric utterances credited to the founding fathers of Nigeria's political independence:

"Many Nigerians deceive themselves by thinking that Nigeria is one. I am sorry to say that this presence of unity

*is artificial and it ends in this chamber" - Abubakar Tafawa
Balewa*

In July 1948, the West African Pilot quoted Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe as saying that:

*"God has created the Igbo nation to lead the children of
Africa from the bondage of the ages (from which duty) the
Igbo nation cannot shirk its responsibility from this
manifest destiny."*

The last viewpoint did not go well with Chief Awolowo who in his reaction remarked that:

*"Azikiwe's policy was to corrode the self-respect of the
Yoruba people as a group to build up the Igbo as a master
race".*

Even with the abolition of regions and creation of states, right from Nigeria's Second Republic to the present dispensation, political activities such as participation, mobilization including the formation of political parties have been toed along ethnic line. The political parties such as NPP, APGA have been identified as Igbo (east) parties, NPN, GNPP, PRP, APP, ANPP, CPC represented Hausa-Fulani (north ideals) while the UPN, AD were identified with the Yoruba (west). Even the present APC- led government is dominated by the north and west. Appointments into government positions are not left out as one ethnic groups continued to dominate the polity notably the north against the rest of Nigerians. They fill all positions including the military, police and federal civil service. The present appointments by the incumbent President Buhari favoured the north most and partly the Yoruba against the Igbo and other ethnic groups.

3. Religious Factor: The place of religion as a divisive factor amongst Nigerians cannot be over-emphasized. The relevant distinction is between Muslims and Christians. Since as a result of ethnicity, the encounter of Islam and Christianity in Nigeria's political scene has been the source of national destructive differences and oppositions. A lot of religious upheavals leading to massive destruction of lives and properties had taken place in Nigeria and more are still taking place. This goes a long way in widening the ethnic differences.

Explaining further, it is of note to mention that Nigerians are naturally religious. The advent of both Christianity and Islamism in Nigeria diminished the worship of natural religion. Nigerians embraced these two religions, which taught their followers the worship of one God, otherwise known as monotheism, thus giving way to polytheism, the worship of many gods,

for which their fore fathers were known. Before the advent of the two religions there were no religious conflicts among nationalities that made up Nigeria. Supporting this view. Abraham Musa Ahmadu (1990) stated:

"The presence of oriental religions in Nigeria thrust a discordant note into this serene religious atmosphere. Throughout the history of their development Islam and Christianity have co-existed in mutual hostility. Though emerging from the same roots with almost identical literature and tenets, their strides for proselytization have often been marked by violence and intolerance".

The result is that while the Hausa-Fulani remain predominantly Muslims, the Igbos are predominantly Christians and Yorubas and Northern minorities are a hybrid of both religions (Chukwuemezie, 2003). Let us watch 2023 presidential election where APC- led government is projecting Muslim- Muslim candidates for president and vice president.

4. Social Factor: Another factor that is co-terminous with religious differences is pattern of social behaviour of the three major ethnic groups in Nigeria. The Igbo pattern of social behaviour idealized egalitarianism and independence of the will, leading to amassing of wealth. Every Igbo man is known for fierce individualistic struggle. The Hausa man exhibits idealized disciplined behaviour guided by respect for the collective arrangement of the social order. Emphasis was placed on winning the social and political favours and friendship of others particularly those of higher political status. Among the Yoruba, the pattern of their social behaviour combined elements from both the Igbo and Hausa features. The Yoruba conformed to the Igbo pattern of emphasis on occupational excellence and the Hausa pattern of putting premium on political spheres. Yoruba's are very diplomatic (Elebo 1996).

Consequences and Problems of Ethnicity in Nigeria

This study will at this juncture outline the major ethnic consequences and problems facing Nigeria. These include:

1. Coups and counter coups leading to political instability in Nigeria from 1966 to 1999.
2. Religious upheavals / religious fanaticism.

3. Political domination by the North with more states, more federal constituencies, more electoral wards and more local government areas.
4. Wrong perception of Nigeria by their leaders and citizens leading to mistrust among the citizenry.
5. Tribalism and sectionalism within the ethnic groups.
6. Emergence of insurgents and militant groups.
7. Security challenges.
8. Secessionist agitation by some ethnic group's notable the Igbos as a result of perceived marginalization.
9. Vandalization of government installations especially in the oil producing Niger Delta region as a result of neglect by the government.
10. Corruption and mismanagement of government funds by leaders who perceived government as survival of the fittest and share of national cake.
11. Hate speeches by one ethnic groups against the other.
12. Unequal development.
13. Development of ethnic political parties.
14. Marginalization of some ethnic groups in the scheme of things.
15. Unequal appointment into government positions.
16. Communal clashes/inter-tribal wars including killings by herdsmen in different quarters of the country and carrying dangerous AK-47 without being arrested.
17. Fears by the minority groups and oppression by the majority.
18. Military incursions into Nigeria politics from 1966 to 1999.

Conclusion

Colonialism is the direct political domination or oppression of one set of people by another. It is a domination imposed by a foreign minority over numerical majority.

No doubt October, 2021 marked Nigeria's Sixty two years of existence, yet the leaders and citizens are yet to perceive the country as one. Only the Igbos are investing, developing and building houses in every part of Nigeria. If Nigeria is united as a country, the citizens will enjoy a country that encourages and takes pride in the ethnic, religious and cultural diversities and the pluralistic nature of the country will help to make and keep it great. For the moment,

Nigeria is sick politically, socially and economically and some pills are required to cure the sickness.

Recommendations

The ethnic crisis in Nigeria has been attributed to lack of trust and sincerity on the part of the leaders and citizens. In order to inject and integrate that trust and sincerity and maintain the entity as "one loveable and united Nigeria", the following recommendations are put forward:

1. **Retention of Federalism:** The present federal structure should be retained in order to maintain unity in diversity. However, Nigeria should evolve a political system in which every citizen has a good chance of holding the highest office of the land if he is qualified and fit, regardless of his tribe or region. With this, true and ideal federalism will be ensured.
2. **Rotational President:** The presidential position in Nigeria should be rotated to create sense of belonging amongst the citizens. As at the moment of this write-up, an Igbo man has not been elected as the Executive President of Nigeria. This is purely political gang-up against the Igbos.
3. **Effective Implementation of Federal Character:** The federal character commission was established to ensure that every ethnic group is represented in all federal government appointments. Available records have shown that Hausa-Fulani and Yoruba occupy most of the federal jobs. Moreover in the present Buhari's administration most of the appointments and more especially lucrative posts are reserved for the Hausa- Fulani's. As a result, the establishment of the Federal Character Commission is on paper. Thus this paper recommends for effective implementation of federal character principle where every ethnic group is favourably represented in all federal appointments.
4. **Effective Implementation of Quota System in Federal Jobs:** This is the principle of maintaining equity in federal jobs. Most recruitments and appointments in the military, police, customs, prisons, immigration etc favour Hausa-Fulanis most and to a lesser extent Yorubas while the Igbos and minority areas in the south-south are neglected. This has raised a lot of bickerings and hate speeches amongst the concerned ethnic groups. There should be equitable distribution of jobs and recruitments in the polity.

5. **Streamlining the National Sports Commission:** In sports, Nigerians see themselves as one. Sports have been a unifying factor in the oneness of Nigeria. Policy makers should ensure that the commission is streamlined to ensure that the incessant conflicts in the election of officials into different arms of the commission are eradicated and equitable selection of players and athletes to represent the country in various competitions.
6. **Re-orientation of the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC):** The establishment of the NYSC where Nigerian graduates are made to serve in any part of the country for one year after leaving school is highly commendable and should be upheld. The federal government should ignore calls to scrap the scheme. However corps members should not be posted to war-torn and terrorist zones. Policy makers should re-orientate the youth on the scheme for free inter-mingling and to encourage ethnic inter-marriages.
7. **Establishment of More Federal Institutions in all States:** The federal government should intensify efforts to ensure that federal government institutions are established in all states of the federation such as unity schools, tertiary institutions, secretariat, medical centers etc. The ones established are not only inadequate but selective. These federal institutions such as federal government secondary schools will help to integrate the children from all over the country.
8. **Streamlining the Anti-Graft Agencies:** The anti-graft agencies established to fight corruption in Nigeria such the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), Independent Corrupt Practices and Related Offences Commission (ICPC) etc should be streamlined to make them non-partisan and detribalistic in the discharge of their functions. Selective or biased prosecution of culprits either based on ethnic group or political party affiliation is not acceptable. Moreover monthly publication of amount recovered from looters should be made public and well accounted for, probably by opening separate account for it.
9. All security challenges cum communal clashes/tribal wars should be well attended to, including the killings by herdsmen and culprits brought to book. Sentiments should not be built on major inter-tribal/communal conflicts especially the incessant killing

of indigenes by Fulani herdsmen. If not well handled it may lead not only to ethnic but civil war.

10. Joint religious interactions, visits and exchange of pleasantries between the Christians and Muslims should be encouraged and practised.
11. **Youth Empowerment and Job Creation:** This will help to keep the youth positively busy and to remove them away from nefarious activities.
12. Poverty eradication programme should be enhanced. Poverty is a disease and a hungry man is an angry man and also with bitterness in his mind. Government should fight to eradicate poverty plaguing the society. Basic necessities of life should be the focus of every administration in Nigeria.
13. The national policy on education should be fashioned in line with the objective of inculcating in the curriculum all the ingredients that foster national unity amongst the youth.

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