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Federalism and Challenges of National Integration in Nigeria, 2020-2025

Dr. Okonkwo, Clement Nwafor^{1*} & Chinyere Ikeh PhD²

¹Department of Political Science, Madonna University Nigeria, Okija Campus

²Department of Public Administration, Madonna University Nigeria, Okija Campus



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Corresponding author:

Dr. Okonkwo, Clement
Nwafor

Department of Political Science,
Madonna University Nigeria,
Okija Campus



Abstract

The study observed that Nigeria adopted federal system of government to ensure coordination and independent administration of the component regions and interrogated the nexus between federalism and national integration in Nigeria between 2020 and 2025. Expost facto research design was adopted, secondary data were collected through documental method of data collection and the collected data were analyzed using content analysis. Theoretically, the study utilized the Marxian Theory of social production and reproduction of material value. The theory asserted among others that the primary need of man is economic and the efforts for actualization of the needs are always social in nature, where the participants are always selfish in pursuing the production goal. Therefore, the selfish nature of the regions in satisfaction of their needs made them to invoke ethnic, religious and some other sentiments to thwart the common goal of national integration in the country. However, the study suggested that multi-principles of revenue derivation and political re-orientation to help redirect the needs for proper management of ethnic and religious differences in the country to enhance national integration in Nigeria.

Keywords: Ethnic Group, Federalism, National Integration, Nepotism and Religious Crises

Introduction

The emergence cum migration of Nigeria to a politically organized entity was not by chance rather, a deal that was struck with intentions of conglomeration of people of varied cultural, ethnic, social, political and religion backgrounds under one and indivisible body, which materialized through trial and errors to what is known today as a state. Essentially, the organization of men under an umbrella known as government has clear arrangements that defines the theories and principles governing the power relationships between the government and the people, which could be either horizontal or vertical. A horizontal connotation defines the roles of the arms/organs of the government (Legislature, Executive and Legislature), where the legislature makes law, executive implements same while the judiciary interprets the law (Obikeze & Obi, 2003). Vertical arrangement reveals the theories and practices of power relationships between the federal government, state government and local government. When the federal government has powers to determine what happens in the component states, it becomes unitarism, if the component states has right to contribute to the centre, it implies confederalist. But when the constitution defines the rights and duties of the levels of government, it answers federalism.

Indeed, under federalism the constitution enshrined the jurisdictions of the levels of government into, exclusive list, concurrent list and residual matters. In exclusive list, the federal government wields the exclusive right of making law on the matters relating to aviation, minting and printing of currency, security, external affairs etc. the concurrent list gave both the federal and state government the rights to make laws on the issues concerning education and some other matters under the list. Worthy of note at this point is that whenever there is a clash between the federal laws and state laws under the concurrent list, the former prevails to the extent of regarding the latter as null and void, unconstitutional, ultra vires and of no effect. Also, the residual matters are exclusively reserved for the state government to make laws on issues pertaining to local government administration, collections local taxes and rates etc. Nigeria as a politically organized entity initiated the move for federalism in 1946, through the instrumentality of Richards Constitution. The welcomed development and initiative finally materialized in 1954, under the cloak of the Lyttleton Constitution (Okonkwo, 2022).

The reasons for the projection of the federalism is Nigeria include but not restricted to the management of ethnic groups, linguistic differences, and religious diversities. To prevent the domination of one region by others, and protect minority interests. It was designed to maintain unity while allowing for regional autonomy, administrative efficiency, and even development across the vast territory. The central point of the above described reasons for adoption of federalism in Nigerian psychological and structural maintenance of national integration in the country. National integration implies observation and keeping the bonds that held the nations together. In recent times, we observed that there are centrifugal and centripetal forces in the socio-political system of Nigeria are militating against the national integration of the country (Okonkwo & Ononihu, 2020). As a result, the study is devised to interrogate the roles of federalism in sustaining the national integration in Nigeria within the period under investigation. In our bid to unravel the problematic, we anchored the study under the following paradigms: clarification of federalism, national integration demystified, methodological compass, theoretical

nexus, etymology of federalism in Nigeria, federalism and national integration in Nigeria, conclusion and recommendation.

Methodological Compass

The study adopted Ex-Post-Facto research design, which tries to burnravel the relationships between two variables by identifying the condition of a phenomenon and investigates the factors that necessitated it. According to Kerlinger (1986), it seeks to establish causal relationships between events. By so doing, it explores the cause of certain occurrences, which is realized by juxtaposing the circumstance surrounding the observed effects and noting the factors present in the instances where a given effect occurs and where it does not occur. Therefore, it is characterized by two measurement such as pre- and post-measurements with the following symbols:

O₁ O₂ O₃ O₄ X O₅ O₆ O₇ O₈

It records varied tests as in pre- and post-measurement order, however, the change between **O₄** and **O₅** is the major point for measuring the effect of the quasi-experimental observations, which are needed for the establishment of the cause-effect relationship between variables under investigation. Specifically, we measured the level of national integration in Nigeria as a result of adoption of federalism in the country. This method seems to be helpful in the study because the federalism has been adopted and it is ongoing; therefore, **O₁ O₂ O₃ O₄** are the pre-measurement symbols, whereas **O₅ O₆ O₇ O₈** are the post-observation signs.

With the pre-and post-measurements efforts, the change between **O₄** and **O₅** is the principal focus to measure the effect of the quasi-experimental treatment, that is, the independent variable (x) federalism (y) which also represents the national integration in Nigeria the design, despite its lack of control group, to overcome a wide variety of threats to internal validity, the principal threat to the design is history. However, the series of pre-observations from **O₁ to O₃** and post-observations from **O₆ to O₈** will be used to control the interactive effects of history.

Documentary method of data collection is used to gather information from secondary sources such as books, book chapter, journal articles, and newspapers, periodical and internet sources to support or guide my views on the issue under investigation. Also, the generated data were analyzed using Content analysis. More so, we also used the Content analysis method in analyzing data generated from the secondary sources in order to make systematic and logical deductions from them. Content analysis, according to Holsti, (1969, cited in Stemler, 2001), is a technique of making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages. This method therefore, helped us read through the secondary sources of data and be able to extract important data and systematically reduce them into logical and meaningful information that will be useful to this research and others.

Theoretical Nexus

Theoretical link is quite essential for social science research therefore, the study is anchored under the Marxian Theory of Social Relations of Production and Reproduction of Material Value as a theoretical framework of analysis. It includes the gamut of co-operations, antagonisms and contradictions between individuals and/or parties in the production process. Axiomatically, no product of material value can be produced without the involvement of two or more parties. This

is the more reason Okonkwo (2016) intoned that a producer of shoes can get the raw material from a tanner or a person who bought the animal skin from the tanner. In other words, a producer of rice must get the implement and material inputs from another party and/or he may hire a laborer during the production process.

Therefore, social relations of production are the relationships between individuals in the production process. For instance, social relation of production is the relation between the ruling classes and the subordinate class (Ake, 1981). The theory studies the basis of the development of human society from the perspective of the specific relation of people in the production process. Also the approach recognizes the unequal relations between the social classes in the process of production of material values in the society. Marxian approach is adapted to the analysis of different social systems in terms of historical development of various structures of state and their interrelationships (Gilpin, 1987). Essentially, as people engage and /or relate in the production process, their individual motives are satisfaction of their individual needs.

Indeed, social production and reproduction of material value according to Ogban-Iyam (2005), among other things involves the following propositions:

- The fundamental concern of human beings and perhaps of other living things is survival and security.
- For the human beings to survive and have security, he/she must produce and reproduce human needs including production and reproduction of human kind.
- Each human being endeavors/struggles to attain and remain in a favorable position in the social production process so that his needs can be met.
- It is in this struggle for survival and security that human beings find and/or define allies and opponents, be it within or outside their family, clan, tribe, nation, class or profession etc. It is in the course of the struggle for personal interest that clashes or conflict of interest occur in a social relationship.
- This struggles to change, improve, or retain/preserve one's position in the scheme of things is the direct and indirect basis of virtually all social behavior such as cooperation, conflicts, violence, allies, and alliance, friendships, enmities, within, between and across classes, families, clans, tribes, nation, ethnic groups, race, religious, and occupational groups in fact, in all social groups.
- People rarely knowingly make choices against themselves or against their own interests. The more collective the discussions and decisions on what to produce, how, where, and when, by who, for who within an entity, the more the needs of those involved in the collective discussion and decisions in the entity are produced and met by that entity and the less the conflict and violence within that entity.

Explicating further, Okolie (2011) outlined the propositions of social production and reproduction of material value as follows:

- The fundamental interest of man (all living things) is security and survival.
- In order to survive or be secured, man must produce and reproduce himself; this social production and reproduction give character to other human values; the social activities are in part or full related to pains, pleasure, security, violence, development, underdevelopment, poverty, riches etc.

- In every social production process there must be someone that makes binding decision; those who make decisions also use it to their favor;
- Every man struggles to remain in a favorable position in social production and reproduction processes; those who are satisfied with the production system struggle to retain the system while those that are not satisfied struggle to alter the system.

By a way of application, the central and propelling motive of individuals to venture into any activity on earth is to avoid pains and enjoy pleasure, and the fundamental source of this pleasure in our terrestrial existence is the satisfaction of human economic needs. These inherent engagements for the satisfaction of human needs are not done in isolation because the activities and the corresponding processes are social in nature. Hence, federalism as a system of government that allows unity in diversity is in line with the social production arrangement, with the sole aim of enhancing national integration. In this social parlance, the parties/or the component units are obviously selfish in the pursuance of their needs. By implication, the states utilize religious sentiments and ethnic coloration to jeopardize the integration motives of adopting federalism.

By extension, the adoption of federalism in Nigeria is purely a strategy to accommodate the differences in religion and culture of the people, which is geared towards national integration. In pursuance of the noble objective, Nigeria has adopted some policies and programs such as National Youth Service Corp (NYSC) and the Federal Character Principle, but the selfishness of individual in the production process manifests in their ploys to appropriate the resources of the federal government to satisfy the selfish needs of the states thereby meddling with the bond that held the nations together under an umbrella known as Nigeria. This ugly development goes a long way in destabilizing the efforts of the country to ensure national integration. Be that as it may, the more the principles of federalism are maintained, the more the component units exercise their freedom and the more national integration is enhanced in the country.

Clarification of Federalism

As one of the main variables in this discourse, federalism needs to be clarified. To begin with, the concept of federalism was coined from a Latin word 'Feodus', which means 'treaty', 'covenant', 'league', or 'compact' (Ogudiyah & Abdullahi, 2012). Friedrich (1963) sees federalism as a union of group united by one or more common objectives but retaining their distinctive group being for other purpose expatiating further, he insisted that the reason behind the unionism is because of some common objectives they intend to which ordinarily they would not have achieved it in isolation or have a common social benefits; that is the reason for the cooperation and after that, they part away to settle individual state related problem, that is why federalism in Nigeria has not yielded the expected result since it is taking for comparative advantage purpose. According to Jordan (1978), federalism is a form of government with bi-levels of commands existing side by side, sharing powers and responsibilities dependently or sometimes independently between the central and state government. In the view of Kapur (1986), it is a dual government where powers are distributed by the constitution between the central and regional or state government.

For Ayode (1998), federalism is a political ideology that allows divisions of governmental powers, functions and authorities between

the central government and other constituent units that form the government, which may be the states, province, or regions depending on the tiers of government in the country. Ricker (2006) defined federalism as a political organization whereby the powers and functions of government are shared between the regional and central government whereby each level of government has a peculiar function to perform concerning issues affecting its jurisdiction. Takan (2011) conceived federalism as a system of government whereby the component units of the system participate in powers and functions sharing in a coordinated way through the combined forces of ethnic pluralism and cultural diversity. Jackson and Jackson (2012) contended that it is a division of jurisdiction and authority between at least two levels of government. Federalism is a systematic arrangement which is guided by rules of engagements, which clearly specify how powers, resources, and functions are to be shared and where decisions are to be carried out jointly or separately (Abubakar, 2020). However, it is observable from the above definitions that federalism cannot exist where there is a level of government rather, where there is two or more levels, and there is some modicums of dependency and interdependency among the units. There is also differences in ethnic groups, tribes, religion and most importantly, the central government is always supreme.

National Integration Demystified

The term “national integration is made up of two words such as nation and integration. By nation we mean country with a unified socio-economic and political structure. It denotes a body of people who have a feeling of oneness, built on the basis of common history, society, culture and values. This feeling of oneness binds the people together into a nation. On the other hand, the world integration has been vigorously defined by many scholars. According to Phillip and Tenue (1964), it is a relationship of community among people within the same political entity, a state of mind or disposition to be cohesive, to act together to be committed to mutual programs. In the same vein, Morrison et al (1972) see it as a process by which members of a social system (citizens, for our purpose) 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 behavior. In this process, members of the social system develop an escalating sequence of contact, cooperation, consensus and community. In its simplest term, integration denotes the act or process of uniting different people from different races, in an attempt to give people equal rights.

However, national integration according to Weiner (1967) is a process of creating a sense of territorial nationality, which eliminates parochial and subordinate loyalties. For Montgomery et al (1969), it involves primarily the cohesion of different social, economic, religious, ethnic and geographic elements into a single nation state. In the view of Chime (1971), it is a process of amalgamation of two or more social groups, whereby these groups come together to form a political whole, the growth of obedience and loyalty to its parts and the emergence of shared national values. Similarly, Ojo (2009) contended that national is a process of unifying a society, which tends to make it a harmonious entity, based upon an order its members regard as equitably harmonious. National integration entails building up solidarity and breaking down antagonism among the people in a political system (Okonkwo & Aniebo, 2023). Thus, this conceptualization implies social equality of citizens. In general, national integration is the awareness of a common identity amongst the citizens of a country. It means that though the individuals belong to

different communities, castes, religions, cultures and speak different languages, all of them recognize the fact that they are one. This kind of integration is very important in the building of a strong and prosperous nation.

Etymology of Federalism in Nigeria

Historically, Nigeria was discovered as a geographical enclave around 1900 by the British explorers. By 1906, different areas of the geographical unit were brought together for administrative convenience, which heralded the political status of the people. Therefore, Nigeria as a country came into existence in the year 1914 following the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorates by the British colonial governor, Sir Fredrick Lord Lugard. The process of unification was undermined by the persistence of different regional perspectives on governance between the Northern and Southern provinces as well the Nigerian nationalists in Lagos. In 1922, the Clifford’s constitution provided a legislative council for the colony and southern protectorate, while the Northern region was excluded from the council. However, its decision could be applied to the North by the governor general. The elective principle, which the constitution introduced led to the formation of political parties and raised political consciousness in the southern part of Nigeria (Okonkwo & Ononihu, 2020).

Progressing further, the 1946 Richard’s Constitution provided the ground work for the take-off of the federal constitution in the country by introducing regionalism in the political landscape of the country. This was done through the division of the country into three regions such as the North, the East, and the West. Unfortunately, however, there was no constitutional division of powers between the centre and the regions. By a way of ameliorating the lapses of the constitution, the Macpherson Constitution of 1951 added more flavor to the federal posture of the country, by letting the region that was mostly affected by a law to discuss it first before submitting for the approval of the central government. This effort succeeded in landing the political setting of Nigeria into a quasi-federalism. It was regarded as ‘quasi’ because it contained both elements of unitarism and federalism, a configuration Awolowo (1947) termed ‘a wretched compromise between unitarism and federalism’ (Obikeze & Obi, 2003).

Finally, The Oliver Lyttleton Constitution of 1954 introduced proper federalism in the country by clearly defining the constitutional division of legislative powers into exclusive list, concurrent list and residual matters between the central and regional governments, where the issues under the exclusive list were exclusively reserved to the federal government, and matters under the concurrent list were at the jurisdictions of the federal and state governments, while the residual matters were exclusively reserved for the state government. The constitution provided the appointment of premiers to head the regions. Over the years, Nigeria federal system has evolved through the following arrangements as indicated on the table 1 below:

Table 1: State Creation in Nigerian Federalism

S/N	Governors / Presidents	Years	Periods	No. of Regions/States
1	Governor Oliver Lyttleton	1954	1954-1963	3 Regions
2	General Yakubu Gowon	1963	1963-1967	4 Regions

3	General Yakubu Gowon	1967	1967-1976	12 States
4	General Murtala Mohammed	1976	1976-1987	19 States
5	General Ibrahim Babangida	1987	1987-1991	21 States
6	General Ibrahim Babangida	1991	1992-1996	30 States
7	General Sani Abacha	1996	1996 till date	36 States

Source: improvised by the Author from Obikeze and Obi (2003)

Decipherable from Table 1 above is that Nigeria federalism started with formal recognitions of the 3 regions with legal powers in the year 1954 Lyttleton Constitution. It was increased to 4 regions in 1963 by General Gowon's regime who later made 12 states in 1967. General Murtala Muhammed in 1976 created 7 states, making it 19 states. By 1987, General Ibrahim Babangida added 2 states and in 1991 created another 9 states making it a total of 30 states. General Sani Abacha on his part added more 6 states to have the current 36 states in Nigeria.

Federalism and National Integration in Nigeria

This segment of the study is focused on interrogation of the relationship between federalism and national integration in general and specifically, it is fashioned to unravel how federalism makes or mars the national integration in Nigeria. To start with, Nigeria is a conglomeration of people of different cultural, religious and ethnic backgrounds, which was merged together by the colonial master for administrative convenience. In this socio-political and cultural configuration, adoption of unitary system of government, where the central government will wield enormous powers over the component units would breed domination of one culture by another. Similarly, confederalism as a system of government that is constituted with a weak centre, could manifest an unhealthy competition that would negate national unity. Therefore, federalism that encourages unity in diversity became the only and best option for Nigeria because it has a common goal of national unity while according the component units the leverage to observe and maintain their cultural, religious, and ethnic differences.

Regrettably, the national integration motive for adoption of federalism was marred by the following reasons:

1) The Revenue sharing formula: this is one of the most critical problems of Nigerian federalism that reared its ugly head against national integration, this has brought about several debate on the formular to be used in sharing of the national wealth, which includes population, derivation, even development, natural disasters, needs, etc. Yet, some states are not satisfied with adoption of any of the formula, for instance, the Niger Delta people or the littoral zones are clamoring that the percentage allocated to them through derivation principle are not enough to guarantee their survival and development. Giving the fact that their lands are no more fertile for agriculture, no portable drinking water, fishing in the area is not possible, and their forest have been damaged by fire all in the name of oil exploration. So they believe they have no fair share of the national income. Indeed, the oil region in Nigeria seems to be a warp, with little or no real change since oil was discovered for over 50 years ago. Away from the main towns,

there is no real development, no roads, no electricity, no running water and no telephone (Whittington, 2001).

On the other hand, the North is also claiming that prior to the discovering of oil in Nigeria the revenue from the export of groundnut and cotton was used to finance all capital projects of the country. Going further, they boast of their population size and use it as comparative advantages to acquire more allocations, based on that, they clamour for the principle of population. Inversely, other states believe that the population of the North is a false figure, that the figures were initially increased to augment their allocation quota so for political reasons, by creating more constituencies, polling zones and wards. This also causes another debate over the workability of the principle of population for resource allocation.

2) Religious crisis: this is another factor that has inhibited the success to national integration in the country, for instance, the religious crisis in Kaduna and plateau states which claimed many lives and lots of properties, has divided people on the basis of religion and promoted hatred between the two major religions, Islam and Christianity. According to Usman (2004) on the 7th of September 2001, over 1000 lives were lost, about 1,000 people injured and property worth millions of naira destroyed in a clash between Christians and Hausa/Fulani Muslims in Jos, Plateau state and several others as occurred since from then and till date.

3) Ethnic crisis: this is also serious issue that jeopardized natinal integration, which has led to high level of ethnocentrism among people of the different ethnic groups, especially among the three major ethnic group in Nigeria (Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba) and the other minor ethnic groups. Minority ethnic groups believe that the three major ethnic groups usually share the national resources and offices among themselves to their own detriments. This has no doubt created serious problem towards attainment of national integration in Nigeria.

4) Boundary disputes: this is another problem among several states and communities in Nigeria that affects national integration, for instance, there have been serious communal clashes between the people of Ife and Modekeke, Offa and Arin- ile and also within Ekit local government area. By extension, the issue is also experienced in the following states: Taraba, Maiduguri, Cross river, Ebonyi, and more recently in Gombe state.

5) Clamours for succession: this is a contentious issue which resulted to 1967-1970 Nigerian civil war and also till date. On this, the Igbos in the South East threatened for secession from the country. This problem of succession led the country to a quagmire because the Arewa Youth Movement retaliated by giving the Igbo's living in the Northern Nigeria an ultimatum of some days to leave the North. The looming danger when noticed, was given attention and redressed with federal might. Also a group from the Western region by name, "Afenefere" was also clamoring for restructuring by emphasizing that they are also marginalized by the Northern region.

6) The issue of mediocrity: this is another problem confronting Nigerian federalism and the corresponding national integration, the principle of federal character always provide the appointment of non-qualified civil servant since the principle for appointment is based on equality but not on merit and each state is given equal number of appointment, which will latter have effect on efficiency, effectiveness and goals of the ministries, departments and agencies MDGs. In consonant with the above postulations, Harry Kranz (1976) stressed

that appointment and promotion in civil service in pursuit of the federal character and quota provide a platform for nepotism, tribalism and a massive decline in standard of performance.

7) Supremacy of elite power: this is also a factor hindering the success of national integration in Nigeria. There has been tussle for power between the elite from different parts of the country so as to climb and control the mantle of leadership in order to provide policies that will serve and protect their cultural or ethnic interest. This has generated

bitter politics and each ethnic group uses different strategy to gain power without looking at its consequences on the entire nation. 8) Mutual suspicion: this is another problem that causes a serious threat to national integration because there is no more trust among the diverse tribes, ethnic groups and religion groups now living every group not to be their brothers keepers having in mind that each one envies another's success and prefers his group more than any other notwithstanding the fact that we claim to be one nation.

Table 2: Factors Affecting National Integration in Nigeria

S/N	Factors	Main Indicators
1	The revenue sharing formula	The oil states clamour for increase in percentage of derivation, the North suggests population while the East and West aspire for national development
2	Religious crisis	On the 7th of September 2001, over 1000 lives were lost, about 1,000 people were injured and property worth millions of naira destroyed in a clash between Christians and Hausa/Fulani Muslims in Jos, Plateau state.
3	Ethnic crisis	The minority ethnic groups believe that the three major ethnic groups (Igbo, Hausa and Yoruba) usually share the national resources and offices among themselves to their own detriments.
4	Boundary disputes	There have been serious communal clashes between the people of Ife and Modekeke, Offa and Arin- ile and also within Ekit local government area. And in states like Taraba, Maiduguri, Cross river, Ebonyi, and more recently in Gombe state
5	Clamours for succession	The Igbos in the South East threatened for secession. The Arewa Youth Movement retaliated by giving the Igbo's living in the Northern Nigeria an ultimatum to leave the North. Also a group from the Western region "Afenefere" was also clamoring for restructuring.
6	The issue of mediocrity	The principle of federal character provide the appointment of non-qualified civil servant, which will latter have effect on efficiency, effectiveness and goals of the ministries, departments and agencies MDGs
7	Supremacy of elite power	There has been tussle for power between the elite from different parts of the country so as to climb and control the mantle of leadership in order to provide policies that will serve and protect their cultural or ethnic interest
8	Mutual suspicion	There is no more trust among the diverse tribes, ethnic groups and religious groups now living every group not to be their brothers keepers having in mind that each one envies another's success and prefers his group more than any others notwithstanding the fact that we claim to be one nation.

Source: Adapted by the Author from Okonkwo, (2022)

The table two above explained the factors that brought about challenges to national integration in Nigeria and at the same time disclosed the main indicators of the challenges. Observable from the table is that we have eight interconnected factors that in spite of our claim of unity in diversity as envisaged by federalism, that still poss challenges. Those factors included: revenue sharing formular, religious crises, ethnic crises, boundary disputes, clamor for succession, issue of mediocrity, supremacy of elites, and mutual suspicion. Empirically, the table illustrated how the challenges manifested in the political terrain of the country and affected the national integration efforts of the leadership of the country.

Conclusion and Prognoses

The seemingly marriage of convenience unleashed on the Nigerian political melieu by the colonial overlords needed constitutional ratification for its effectiveness. This became pertinent for the purpose of creating a strong bond to hold the conglomerated entities (nations) of varied cultures and ethnic backgrounds together. This situation necessitated adoption of federalism as a system of government that gives room for accommodation and freedom. In other words, federalism allows for unity in diversity, where the component regions will have things in common at the centre while retaining and maintaining their cultural heritage in their regions. In their bid to maintain the national integration, the extant governments have adopted policies and programs, such as National Youth Service Corp (NYSC),

which made it compulsory that every graduate of the country must serve in a state other than his or her own for one year. Within the service year, the person will learn the cultures of other ethnic groups. Adopted also for the national integration in the country is the Federal Character Principle (FCP) that governs the employments and appointments to federal ministries and parastatals. This principle maintained that all the states in the federation must be considered in the employments and appointment of personnel in those sectors.

Nevertheless, the study found that in spite of the efforts of the past leaders to enhance national integration through the adoption of federal system of government, there exist some challenges that militate against actualization of the national integration, which range from revenue sharing formular, religious crises, ethnic crises, boundary disputes, clamor for succession, issue of mediocrity, supremacy of elites, and mutual suspicion. In order to solve the problems, we suggest as follows:

1. Adoption of multi-revenue sharing formula: in order to solve the problem of revenue sharing formular in the country, we suggest that Nigeria should adopt derivation principle, even development and national interest to ensure national integration in the country. The derivation will settle the issue of environmental degradation caused by oil exploration, even development will help to ensure all round development in the country while the national interest will catter for other

intervening variables that may hinder the goal of national cohesion in the country.

2. Political re-orientation: the issues of ethnic and religious crises in the country are motivated by political sentiments and coloration, which portrays some people as being marginalized in the political equation of the country. As a result, political reorientation is needed to inform the citizens that Nigeria is one indivisible element that needs to sustain the indivisibility of the country through overt efforts for national integration.

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