FEDERALISM, INSECURITY, AND THE PERSISTENT AGITATIONS AMONG ETHNIC GROUPS IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC: ANY WAY FORWARD?

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ABSTRACT
The paper examined rationales behind persistent agitations among ethnic groups in Nigerian federalism leading to various degrees of insecurity situations. Federalism have been largely accepted as the better form of government in a heterogeneous society such as Nigeria, however, the kind of federal system operating in Nigeria has created many problems because diverse ethnic and religious groups are unceremoniously brought together under one umbrella. The paper made used of qualitative approach and adopted group and frustration-aggression theories as its theoretical framework. Data were obtained through official publications, journals, textbooks, newspapers and reports. Findings revealed that the current pseudo-federal setup in Nigeria is indeed a major contributory factor to persistent ethnic agitations which have led to diverse insecurity cases in the fourth republic. Colonial policy and legacy further put Nigeria in a precarious position with ethnic groups suspecting one another, thus, making unity in diversity a herculean task. Also, the imperfections in the military bequeathed constitution which concentrated power on a particular tier of government and making resource control by the subordinating units difficult. The paper recommended among others a rejig of 1999 constitution to accommodate all ethnic groups and proper arrangement of political positions in the country. The need for dialoguing as a means of carrying ethnic groups (especially the minorities) along with a view of critically addressing issues that is germane to them. To ameliorate tensions that bring about agitations in Nigerian

federalism, equality and justice in power and resource allocation among ethnic groups must be prioritised.

Introduction

Globally, federalism has emerged as one of the most preferred forms of government based on its integrative capability to approximate the heterogeneous political life of multi-ethnic and multi-linguistic societies (Abiodun, Agunbiade, Aina, & Ajobiewe. 2019). With federalism, it is believed that different units or regions of a state cooperate to achieve common goals as in the case of United States of America in her pre-independence struggle. This is also applicable to most countries in the Sub-Saharan Africa prior to their political independence from colonial rule. Meanwhile, the heterogeneous nature of these countries has in no small measure affected the peaceful co-existence of ethnic groups brought together by colonialists. Evidence across the continent provide indications of the debilitating impact of the exploitation of these diversities by political elites and ethic entrepreneurs as clearly seen in Liberia, Somalia and Sudan (Nosiri, 2018; Abdulmalik & Isyhaku, 2021).

Nigeria is a federal state with diverse ethnic conglomeration consisting of over 350 ethnic groupings (Italoye, 2019; Ezeobi, 2021), three (3) of which are known as majority groups consisting of larger percentage of the country's population. The Hausa/Fulani (with not less than 67 million people); the Yoruba (with not less than 40 million; and the Igbo (with not less than 32 million native speakers) (Yaqub, 2016; WorldAtlas, 2022) are arguably bigger in size individually than Benin Republic, Burkina Faso, Chad, Ghana, Guinea, Mozambique, Niger Republic, Rwanda, Sierra-Leone, South Sudan, Zambia, and Zimbabwe among others politically independent countries in the African continent. The centri-fugal forces which characterised the Nigeria's federalism have made it difficult for many ethnic groups to get a fair share in the federation. Thus, bringing about various agitations which can be dated back to the colonial days when federal system was introduced.

Different insecurity situations have been ravaging Nigeria since the return of democracy in 1999 across the six (6) geo-political zones as each ethnic groups struggle for recognitions in the country. Ethnic militia groups namely: the O'odua People Congress (OPC), Bakassi Boys, Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), Movement for Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), Egbesu boys, Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force (NDPVF), Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP), Arewa People's Congress (APC), and Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) among others have engaged in nefarious activities capable of threatening the unity of country on several occasions. Thousands of lives have been lost to various crises emanated from the activities of these ethnic militias. Between January and July, 2022, over 7,222 lives were lost to different degrees of insecurity in Nigeria (Odeniyi, 2022).

Odukoya and Ashiru (2007) posited that a mere presence of a federal arrangement of governmental powers and political structures does not suggest that federalism has taken root. It must among other things, be able to guarantee and allow for the preservation of regional autonomy and the right to self-rule without foreclosing the possibilities of shared rule. Isumonah (2005) averred that the problem of federalism in Nigeria is motivated by the preponderance of hegemonic politics of the ethnic majority over the minority ethnic groups especially, the oil producing areas. Failure to properly manage diverse groups in a federation will lead to irreconcilable conflicts (Lafenwa, 2016) of different magnitude capable of truncating the unity of the country as witness since 1999 from the federating units leading to different agitations and acrimonious relationship among ethnic groups. Thus, the lack of proper handling of the Nigeria's federalism have led to different insecurity issues as a result of agitations for identification in the federation.

Several studies by Fashina (1998), Eteng (2004), Ekeh (2004), Oyedele (2004), Odukoya and Ashiru (2007), Ugoh (2011), Lemun and Erunke (2013), Ayoade (2015), Yaqub (2016), Ekpo and Abwaku (2017), Amah (2017), Bamgboye (2018), Nosiri (2018), Abiodun et al (2019), Emmanuel and Godwin (2020), Abdulmalik and Isyhaku (2021), Abiodun (2022) among others have concentrated on the workings of federalism from different perspectives with issues of agitations from regions and groups re-occurring. However,

rationale for the agitations which has in recent years in Nigeria took a new dimension of kidnapping, banditry, violence destruction of government properties and institutions, calls for restructuring and even ethnic crisis between and among different ethnic groups are yet to be unraveled in order to place a lasting possible solution to federalism crises in the country.

Owing from the foregoing, this paper attempts to interrogate factors making Nigerian federalism a breeding space for different ethnic militia groups, the implications on security of life and property and ways of finding common ground for federating units for the overall development of the country.

Conceptual Clarification

Understanding Concepts of Federalism, Ethnicity and Insecurity

Central to our discussion are federalism, ethnicity and insecurity which are seen to be the basis and consequence of continuous agitations among the numerous ethnic groups in Nigeria today. It is therefore germane to understand them.

The concept of federalism originated from a Latin word "foedus" which is interpreted as covenant, agreement or consensus. Federalism as a concept is traceable to the ancient twelve tribes of Israel and the league of Greek City States (Amah, 2017). As a political arrangement federalism has faced serious crises of conceptualisation. This is because there have been several varieties of political arrangement to which the term has been applied (Elazar, 1994). The term is also applicable in multi-ethnic States across the globe. This is mainly to prevent a single group- defined in racial, class or linguistic terms from dominating the other and monopolizing the consumption of public goods (Jinadu, 1979). What seems to be popularly accepted definition of Federalism was given by the man referred to as the father of federalism, K. C. Wheare.

Two levels of government are in existence in what Wheare, described in his Federal Principle as "general" and "regional" government. These two governments are autonomous, each has control over its sphere of power. In his seminar titled Federal Government, Wheare while explaining Federalism posited that "by the federal principle, I mean the method of dividing powers so that general and regional governments are each within a sphere, coordinate and independent"(Wheare 1963:10 cited in Abiodun et al, 2019). It's obvious here, that in a Federal state there exist different groups that works independently and at same time co-operatively for the benefits of all. Thus, Ewa (1976) averred that federalism involves cooperation, bargaining and conflict. This further reinforces the submission of Dainel Elazar on federalism. Stressing the centri-petal forces, Elazar acknowledged diversity among the component units and believe that their coming together must be on the basis of their willingness and voluntarism rather than imposition of the arrangement on the people. Elazar (1994) also mention the inevitability of strains groups' relation and therefore the need for compromise and reconciliation. Out of the different scholarly definitions of federalism, we in this study adopts the definition given by Adele Jinadu where he defined federalism as a form of governmental and institutional structure, deliberately designed by political architects to cope with the twin but difficult task of maintaining unity while also preserving diversity (Jinadu, 1983). This definition relates closely with the Nigerian situation in her operation of federal system where over four hundred (400) ethnic groups were made to an entity by the colonial power.

Stephen (1999) cited in Ashindrobe, (2019) identified three (3) types of federalism; first is the "coming together" federalism, which is the voluntary union of previously independent states with a common culture. Second is the "holding together" federalism, which is multi-ethnic federation is formed through a process of democratic bargaining. The third is the "putting together" federalism, which is established through a strong coercive effort by a non-democratic centralizing power to put together a multinational state. Nigeria's federal system fit into the third type as the union was brought together in the first place through force by the British colonial masters after the balkanization of Africa in 1885.

Any attempt to conceptualise insecurity should necessarily begin with the understanding the concept of security. Security in its traditional conception means absence of physical threats (Saliu, 1997 cited in Saliu & Omotola, 2006). In the words of Dunmoye (2021),

> *"The meaning of security is beyond Westphalia conceptualization in terms of external attack to encompass security of individuals and their*

property; respect for basic human needs – access to education, potable water, decent housing, healthy environment among others" (Dunmoye, 2021: 9).

Nwolise (2006) averred that for a nation to be really secured, it must have a strong military force; strong and buoyant economy; a contended and happy people; and a good government is ran by a patriotic and democratic leadership. Security has to do with freedom from danger or with threats to a nation's ability to protect and develop itself, promote its cherished values and legitimate interests and enhance the wellbeing of its people (Abdulmalik & Isyhaku (2021). Where these conditions for security are lacking in a state, peaceful co-existence becomes threatened. Thus, insecurity of lives and property which ought to be germane onus of the government, comes in when different ethnic groups struggling to be fairly treated in a federal arrangement. This struggle has been there since the inception of the entity called Nigeria in 1914. However, the level of insecurity in the fourth republic has becomes worrisome for a nation with diverse ethnic groups. Evidence that gives credence to the fact that security situation is nose-diving in Nigeria can be found in the 2010 survey report published by the Business Environment in Nigeria. It is argued that the 2017 survey rated national security in Nigeria at 02.69 per cent as against 49.49 per cent in 2010 report. This represents a significant fall in the security of the country. It is common knowledge that major causes of internal insecurity in Nigeria are: bad governance, corruption, poverty, inequality, mass unemployment, etc. (Alhassan & Akindapo, 2019). Statistics from the Nigeria Security Tracker (NST) shows that 41,659 people lost their lives in 2021 and in the first seven months of 2022, 7,222 lives were lost to different security issues across the federation which further shows the level insecurity in Nigeria (Gavin, 2022; Odeniyi, 2022).

Theoretical Framework

This paper adopted group and frustration-aggression theories. Group theory was proposed by Arthur Bentley (1908). The theory is based on the doctrine of pluralism. The basic assumption of the theory is that politics is mainly a competition among groups, where each interest group pursue its own policy preferences but where all interests are represented. Bentley's group theory explains the process of interaction among groups in the society and the importance of group in politics. However, it has been argued that groups could exist in a society and still work together as a team. Thus, it not in all cases that groups compete with themselves. The theory is relevant to the peculiar nature of Nigeria's federalism as the country is one of the most culturally diverse nations in the globe with more than 250 ethnic groups, some of which are larger than several sovereign states of modern Africa (Ojo, 2009). Thus, what separates potential groups from latent groups in a given society is their interest. Different ethnic groups in Nigeria have shown diverse forms of interest in their quest for attention and allocation in the national cake.

Frustration-Aggression theory was proposed by Dollard, Neal, Mower and Sears (1939). It attempts to give an explanation for the cause of conflictual relationship in a society. That is, it explains the outbreak of armed conflict, and act of aggression or terrorism as the function of neglect, deprivation and frustration. The theory cites aggression as the outcome of frustration, and that in a situation where the desires of an individual or group are denied either directly or by the indirect consequence of the way the society is structured, the feeling of disappointment may lead such a person or group of persons to express anger through violence (Leonard, 1969). A major criticism to the assumption of this theory is that, not all aggression should be shown with the use of violent attack capable of disrupting the peace of the society.

Nigeria is a country with many ethnic groups where inequality and marginalization among them have in most cases lead to frustration and different forms of agitation from these group. While political agitations are not in themselves uncommon, perennial occasions of ethnic group agitations for inclusion are different in consideration because they are signs of cracks in the fabric of a country and lessons from history point to how such could pose some challenges to the socio-economic growth of the country.

Historical antecedent of Federalism and ethnic agitations in Nigeria

The journey to Nigeria's federalism started with the Berlin Conference of 1884 to 1885 where African colonies were Balkanized. This division and realignment of different entities in the pre-colonial era were brought together within same territory. At the inception of formal

colonial rule in 1900, the British colonial masters after bringing together the Colony of Lagos and Southern protectorate in 1906 further amalgamates the Northern and Southern protectorate in 1914 to form the protectorate of Nigeria. Prior to 1900 different ethnic groups that culminated to form Nigeria were in small autonomous villages/communities in different geographical locations without any feelings of animosity (Ologbenla, 2017).

What seems to be the bedrock of agitations in the Nigerian Federal system was the division of the country into three unequal parts by Governor Bernard Bourdillon in 1939. He divided the Southern protectorate into two (West and east) leaving the north untouched. This was later legalized by Sir Arthur Richard's government in 1946 by transforming the three provinces hitherto created by Bourdillion into region with the northern region having more representations. The regions (North, West and East) were allowed to have their legislative council (though, more or less like a toothless bulldog) and a Central Legislative Council at the centre. Thus, the foundation of Nigerian Federalism was laid. The Macpherson constitution of 1951 gave further strengthened the foundation laid by Richard's constitution, the constitution appointed lieutenant Governors to head the three regions, granted some legislative powers to the legislative councils and a new executive councils was established at each region. The constitution though with some restrictions on the regional government on issues of legislation and implementation of programmes, gave a Quasi-Federal status to Nigeria. Full-fledge Federalism was however given to Nigeria with the provisions of the Sir Oliver Lyttleton's constitution of 1954 which removed the final shade of a unitary system of government from Nigeria (Abiodun et al, 2019).

Since Nigeria became a federal state in 1954, the struggle for ethnic development and dominance over the other started along regional divides. Precisely, the "minority groups-struggle" surfaced. This was one of the germane reasons for the creation of Sir Henry Willincks commission in 1957 before independence in 1960. Agitations among ethnic groups continued after independence and subsequent attainment of sovereignty in 1963. The result of this agitation as averred by Suberu (2001) and (Ozoigbo, 2008) manifested in the creation of Mid-western region in 1963 with its headquarters in Benin; twelve (12) states in 1967; nineteen (19) states in 1976; twenty-one (21) states in 1987; thirty (30) States in 1991 and thirty-six(36) States in 1996 mostly by the military juntas. This agitation also trickles down to local government creations from 1979 when uniformity in the structure and functions of the tier of government was made bringing total number of local government in the country today to 774.

The above notwithstanding, the quest for more inclusion in the federal arrangement still continues in Nigeria and recently taking more dangerous approach as threat to lives and property of Nigerians are seen on a daily basis from the six (6) geopolitical zones of the country. Different ethnic groups want to get identified at the centre. This is mainly so because of the military policy of 1966 under the leadership of Major General Aguiyi Ironsi, a policy which truncated true federalism that was bequeathed to us by the British colonial masters at independence. This made the central/federal government to be more powerful as more powers are concentrated at the centre. The Presidential constitutions of 1979 and 1999 further compounded bane of federalism on Nigeria, reasons for this is not far-fetched as the military juntas' fingerprints are all over the constitutions. For instance, the second schedule of the 1999 constitution gave more juicy items to the central government to legislate on. Thus, the incessant quest to be at the centre by these ethnic groups, and failure to achieve this has in no small measures cost the country different security breaches. In the first seven months of year 2022, not less than 7,222 individuals have been killed across Nigeria due different security issues (Odeniyi, 2022).

Salient Issues that lead to ethnic agitations in the Nigerian Federal system

There are a lot of issues that have led to group agitations in the Nigeria's federal system. Salient among which are the colonial policy, political representation, resource control, marginalization, state creation and minority protection. These issues have in no small measures contributed to the bane distrust among ethnic groups in the Nigerian federation, thus, breeding all forms of insecurity. We shall further discuss these issues below.

Colonial Policy and Legacy:

The entity Nigeria as earlier mentioned was not together until the 1884/1885 Berlin Conference, followed by the historical take-over in 1900 and the subsequent amalgamation of the northern and southern protectorates to form a single protectorate of Nigeria. it is germane to reiterate on the policy adopted by the British colonial master which from different scholarly positions successfully placed Nigeria on a lopsided political arrangement (see Asanebi, Theo-Iruo & Odoh, 2021; Okafor & Udalla, 2018; Isuomah, 2005; Osaghae, 2002). This forceful amalgamation and the subsequent policy of indirect rule adopted by the British colonisers widened the gap of disparity between the northern and southern ethnic groups. Okolo (2014) observed that what the British colonial masters started in term of federalism which culminated with the 1954 Lyttleton constitution only gave rise to true structure of federalism in Nigeria but failed to unite the people with their various ethnic colorations.

Hence, the colonial policies of indirect rule, divide and rule and the unequal division of the country further polarlise the people along both ethnic and socio-political line with chrisitain and western educationally disposed south while the north was shielded from possible contamination from the south (Osifeso, 2011; Kayode, 2015). This legacy of the colonial master has not in small measures affects negatively the inter-ethnic relationship majorly between the north and southern region of Nigeria from 1954 to date. For instance, the independence motion of 1953 that was truncated by northern parliamentarians mainly because of their numbers on the floor of the House of Representatives and the approval by the Britons to the conditions for remaining as part of Nigeria after the 1956 famous Kano riot. This gave more political and economic advantages to the northern region before and after political independence.

Political Representation:

This is another salient area where continuous agitations among ethnic groups in the Nigerian federal system have been a bane to the growth, development and security of the country. One of the germane principles of federalism as asserted by K. C. Wheare is equal opportunities by federating units in a federal state. This is also a merit of in representative democracy. However, the political arrangements of the Nigerian federalism have not only made political representation to be lopsided, it has cost a lot of acrimonious relationship between and among ethnic groups in the country, especially between the majority and minority ethnic groups leading to different forms of agitations when it comes to political appointments and election into political offices. For instance, the issues of zoning arrangement adopted by political parties have not in small measures affected the peaceful co-existence of ethnic groups when it comes to party politics as the number of available positions is lesser compared to the people jostling for same. Another crucial dimension of agitations for political representation is the incessant calls from the youths who are seen to have be marginalized in the political activities of the country. Thus, agitations for representations at the decision-making level of Nigeria have been a re-occurrence dilemma for Nigerian federalism.

Federal Character Principle:

One of the steps taking in the past by our leaders to nip the issue of agitations was the introduction of federal character principle where it was assumed that different groups in the Nigerian federation will have a "place and say" in the process of discussing and evaluating issues of the country. Section 14(3) of the 1999 Constitution (as amended) states as follows:

> *"The composition of the Government of the Federation or any of its agencies and the conduct of its affairs shall be carried out in such a manner as to reflect the federal character of Nigeria and the need to promote national unity, and also to command national loyalty, thereby ensuring that there shall be no predominance of persons from a few states or from a few ethnic or other sectional groups in that Government or in any of its agencies." (CFRN, 1999).*

Okeke (2019) explains that the federal character principle was originally created as means of containing the fear of the minority ethnic groups in order to ensure aleast a cooperative federal system and prevent the domination of few ethnic groups on others. This have been marred by poor implementation and or politicking on the part of politicians and even bureaucrats in the public sector (Abiodun, 2022). Representation of states, ethnic or any other

sectional group especially religious groups in the composition of federal bureaucracy has, thus, superseded recruitment on the basis of knowledge and technical qualification as determined through a competitive examination (Eme & Okeke, 2017). For instance, qualified candidates from micro-minority ethnic groups have been denied employment into the civil service mainly because of slots allocated to the group (which are often low) have been filled and groups with lesser qualified candidates but has larger population gets more slots even when those to be appointed are not qualified.

Similarly, President Muhammadu Buhari's appointments of Security Service Chiefs and other aides as shown in table 1, in recent time have raised dust from different quarters of the country as it largely focused on a particular section of the country (Ibeh, 2015; Fasan, 2020; Ayodele, 2021 & Ede, 2021), pitching majorly the North-South region against each other.

Table 1:

Heads of Security Agencies Appointed by President Buhari (2015-2023)

S/N	Names Officers	Office/Portfolio	State of Origin	Geopolitical Zone
1.	Leo Irabor	Chief of Defence Staff	Delta	South-South
2.	Farouk Yahaya	Chief of Army Staff	Kaduna	North-West
3.	Isiaka Amao	Chief of Air Staff	Osun	South-West
4.	Awwal Gambo	Chief of Naval Staff	Kano	North-West
5.	Usman Baba	Inspector-General of Police	Yobe	North-East
6.	Yusuf Bichi	Director-General, Department of State Security	Kano	North-West
7.	Ahmed Rufai	Director-General, National Intelligence Agency	Kastina	North-West
8.	John Mrabure	Acting Comptoller-General, Nigeria Correctional Service	Delta	South-South
9.	Muhammed Babandede	Comptroller-General (rtd), Nigeria Immigration Service	Jigawa	North-West
10.	Hameed Ali	Comptroller-General, Nigeria Custom Service	Bauchi	North-East
11.	Ahmed Audi	Commandant-General, Nigeria Secuirty and Civil Defence Corps	Nassarawa	North-Central
12.	Boboye Oyeyemi	Corps Marshal (rtd), Federal Road Safety Corps	Kwara	North-Central
13.	Liman Ibrahim	Controller-General, Federal Fire Service	Nigeri	North-Central
14.	Abdulrasheed Bawa	Chairman, Economic and Financial Crime Commision	Kebbi	North-West
15.	Bolaji Owasanoye	Chairman, Independent Corrupts Practices and other related Offences Commission	Ondo	South-West
16.	Buba Marwa	Chairman, National Drugs and Law Enforcement Agency	Adamawa	North-Central

17.	Babagana Monguno	National Secuirty Adviser	Borno	North-East

Source: Shehu, (2021); International Centre for Investigative Reporting (2022).

The lopsided appointments made by President Muhammadu Buhari have raised more agitations, especially from the Southern part of the country. An instance was in June 2020 when some Southern leaders dragged him before the Abuja Division of the Federal High Court over allegaed marginalization in appointments made by his administration since 2015 (Enumah, 2020).

Resource Control and Revenue Allocation:

Another germane issue that has caused continuous agitations among groups in the Nigerian federal system is the twin issues of resource control and revenue allocation. At the inception of federalism in Nigeria, the 1954 constitution provided for regional control of natural resources domicile in them. Then, the Northern region was known for groundnut and cotton, the eastern region for palm oil and the western region was famous in the production of cocoa, rubber, and other cash crops. The independent and republican constitutions of 1960 and 1963 respectively also upheld this provision until the 1966 when the military juntas who took over the administration of the country after the first coup d'etat of January 15, 1966 initiated the unification decree No. 34. This truncated the true federalism arrangement hitherto in place. The struggle for the control of the nation's resources according to Ikeji (2011) has been based on the regional "cleavages" and entangled with political conflict. Resource control has thus been associated with political considerations with the purpose of influencing wealth allocation from federation account.

Many principles have been unsatisfactorily adopted, and the hope of striking a balance and equilibrium among subordinate units in the country has been an exercise in futility. Some of these principles include derivation, fiscal autonomy, national interest, even development, equality of state, population, social development, landmass and absorptive capacity (Phillips, 1971; Mbanefoh & Egwaikhide, 2000; Ojo, 2004; Ugoh, 2011). Each of these principles has attracted many criticisms from the economists, political scientists, social analysts and the general public.

An unending debate as regards the principle to be used in sharing revenue has been very intense, bringing about different theoretical and political positions. As shown in table 2 below, different commissions and panels have been set-up by successive government before and after political independence in 1960 with their recommendations on the way forward, but, the hydra problems of group controlling their resources, issue of marginalization and fairness in sharing of revenue from federation's account still mitigates against peaceful co-existence in Nigeria.

Table 2:
Revenue allocation Commission/Committee in Nigeria

s/n	Commission/Comm.	Year	Recommendation
1.	Phillipson	1946	Derivation and even development
2.	Hicks-Phillipson	1951	Derivations, Fiscal Autonomy, need, and national interest
3.	Chicks Commission	1953	Derivation
4.	Raisman	1957	Need, balanced development, minimum responsibility. It also recommended 40%, 31% and 24% to the north, east and west respectively. While 5% to southern Cameroon.
5.	Binn	1964	Regional comparability. Also recommended 43%, 30% and 20% to the north, east and west respectively. While 8% to Mid-west.
6.	Dianna	1968	Derivation, Need, National minimum standards, and balanced development.

7.	Aboyade Technical Committee	1977	National minimum standards. 57% , 30% and 10% to federal, state and local government respectively. While 3% to a special fund.
8.	Okigbo	1980	Population 40%, National minimum standard 40%, Social development 15% and 5% to Internal revenue effort.
9.	Danjuma	1988	Equality 40%, Population 40%, Social development 15% and Internal revenue 5%.
10.	Revenue Mobilization Allocation and Fiscal Commission (RMAFC)	1999	Latest recommendation: Federal 52.68%, State 26.72% and Local Government 20.60%

Source: Edet, (2021); Ugoh, (2011); Revenue Mobilization Allocation and Fiscal Commission (RMAFC), (2021)

All the above developed and proffered solutions have not ameliorated the agitations from different quarters of the country. While the northerners were agitating for more allocation the southerners were calling for the total control of the resource (Adegbami, 2013; Jideofor, 2017). thus, the call for restructuring the country remains at the front burner of most ethnic groups today.

Implications on Security of Nigeria

The lopsided federal arrangement in Nigeria has made the issue of security of life and property to be a herculean task for the government. It is a known fact that the nation comprises of different nationalities. The unity in diversity which the framers of multi-ethnic federalism postulated has in many ways eluded the Nigerian version of Federalism (Ojo, 2017). In other climes such as Russian, Swiss federations where true federalism are in place, the subordinate units control their resources and pays royalties to the centre. However, in the case of Nigeria, ethnic rivalry has taken vintage position in virtually all spheres of the country. Political elites in most cases only speak for their ethnic groups. Greed becomes the order and what looks like the Hobbesian state of nature beclouded the country's survival.

The implications of the foregoing on Nigerian federalism are enormous. An average Nigerian today lives in fear of an eventuality, inter-ethnic rivalry at all levels and the different forms of socio-political violence ranging from mob actions, kidnapping, banditry, terrorism, separatists' movement to outright challenge of state security apparatus by armed ethnic group militias among other. For instance, the continuous attacks from the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) in the eastern part, Separatist movement in the West and of course, the Boko Haram and Islamic States of West African Provinces (ISWAP) has cost the country a lot of fortunes in the fourth republic.

Statements from Political gladiators and public personalities of different divides have not also help in any way as these statements in most cases instigate and aggravate tensions instead of reducing it. Hate speeches by gladiators capable of truncating peaceful co-existence in Nigeria are shown in table 3 below.

Table 3:
Selected Hate Speeches capable of Scuttling Security in Nigeria (2010-2021)

S/N	Date	Hate Speaker	Hate Speech
1.	2010	Alhaji Lawan Kaita (former Governor of the old Kaduna State)	The North would make the country ungovernable if President Goodluck Jonathan wins the 2011 polls… Anything short of a Northern President is tantamount to stealing our presidency.
2.	14th May, 2011	Major-General Muhammadu Buhari (rtd)	If what happened in 2011 (alleged election rigging) by the grace of God, the dog and the baboon would be soaked in blood.
3.	5th May, 2013	Alhaji Lai Mohammed (then National publicity Secretary of APC)	Jonathan administration is anchored on a transformation agenda. But the only transformation that we can see is the one from a democratically-elected President to and Emperor, a despot.
4.	10th November, 2013	Chief Bisi Akande (former interim National Chairman of APC)	He called President Goodluck Jonathan a kindergarten President. What the country needs is a thinking leader not a kindergarten President with no solution to the myriad of problems plaguing the nation.
5.	15th October, 2014	Chief Bisi Akande (former interim National Chairman of APC)	We are back in similar era of using the regime of impunity in Jonathan's Federal Government to impose unwanted individuals as leaders in each of the states of Yoruba land. Apart from marginalizing the Yoruba in all constitutional appointments of his government, Jonathan's trait has always been to persecute the Yoruba leaders who he perceived to have contrary views to his own.
6.	16th July, 2015	Comrade Ayodele Akele (General-Secretary of NCP)	Referring to President Buhari: He is an archaic and analogue President. He is slow. They care calling Jonathan a clueless President. He is more clueless than Jonathan.
7.	13th December, 2016	Mazi Nnamdi Kanu (leader of the proscribed Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB)	…….lost his temper while protesting the decision of the court to shield witnesses who would testify against him and called President Buhari a mad man.
8.	16th March, 2017	Ayodele Fayose (former governor of Ekiti state)	Described Ex-President Obasanjo as the father of corruption.
9.	6th June, 2017	Arewa Youths	From October 1, 2017, no Igbos should be seen in the North and Northerners in Southeast to leave the area.

10.	19th February, 2019	Uche Secondus (former National Chairman of PDP)	Nigerians are tired of President Buhari. And of a truth, over three years, killings and killings and now you have ordered that more people should be killed…….. Buhari, I'm addressing you, you know you are not God. All your actions in the last three years are against the people: hunger, killings, unemployment; you are not sensitive to it.
11.	4th September, 2019	Chief Femi Fani-Kayode (Former Minister of Aviation)	Alleged on his official Twitter page, that President Muhammadu Buhari was a curse to Nigeria.
12.	17th July, 2022	Senator Adamu Bulkachuwa	South East is home to criminals, rebels and deserve to be eliminated.

Source: Jason cited in Ezeibe, C. (2015); Chukwu, (2019); Uzoaru, (2022)

Hate speeches as mentioned above have cost the country of misfortunes as since the returned to democratic governance in 1999, ethnic groups in most instances have engaged in conflict as a result of statement coming from political gladiators. The herder-farmer clashes in North Central and South Western part of Nigeria mostly stated with different strings of hate speeches.

Way Forward

As it stands, the Nigerian experience of federalism reflects what Onyeoziri (1989) referred to as pseudo-federalism and politics of domination rather than politics of group equality. The ethnic groups that constitute Nigeria today are not benefitting evenly from the federal arrangement. This has been looked into earlier. This has cost the nation a lot as insecurity prevails over cooperate and peaceful co-existence. All hope is not lost as what seems to be "a dying horse of Nigerian federalism" can still be redeemed and be better placed like other advanced federalism such as United State, Australia and Switzerland.

The 1999 constitution which was an offshoot of 1979 constitution is a product of the military, there is need for a rejig of the constitution as some provisions in there are anti-democratic and capable of disintegrating a multi-ethnic society like Nigeria. Second Schedule, Part I and II under power sharing between the central government and other subordinate units have to be reviewed as more powers are given to the central government. This makes most state government in Nigeria not to be able to control and determine what happens to their resource. An instance is the Niger Delta region. This has over years caused serious insecurity issue in the zone and the country as whole with economic activities disrupted on several occasions. Accordingly, the government in power should consider the marginalized ethnic groups in power and resources allocation in the federating units, by given special consideration to bridge the existing gap among majority and minority ethnic groups.

As a result of the divide and rule policy as well as the improper political arrangement bequeathed to Nigeria at independence, issue of distrust have been prevalent among ethnic groups in the country. In the Nigeria of today, it is difficult if not impossible to get trust among ethnic groups. Though, this is not peculiar to the fourth republic alone, it can be solved with proper arrangement of the country, where each geopolitical zone and ethnic groups controls their resource and a fair representation of all at the centre. This will reduce suspicious relationship among the ethnic groups and of course reduce feeling of deprivation that can lead to agitation and tension from any section of the country.

The deliberate and sustained deprivation of some ethnic groups has impacted negatively on the national values in two germane areas. First, the emergence of an unproductive, thieving elite from the exploitation of the masses and looting of their resources has rendered the values of honesty and hard work as means of being rich and wealthy rather unattractive and seemingly

time-wasting venture. Instead, many Nigerians exploit every available opportunity for self-aggrandizement and enrichment. An instance among the youths is cybercrime/internet fraud otherwise referred to as Yahoo Yahoo, with some going extra miles to add "plus" to their fraudulent acts Second, the immense deprivation of some ethnic groups has produced a desperste situation for survival among them, thus, some have resorted to oil bunkering, kidnapping for ransom, violence attack of gladiators and government officials. The urgent need for re-orientation of the people by necessary government agencies to inculcate the right values for nation building remain germane to the survival and growth of Nigerian federalism. This can be obtain by putting adequate measure of sincerity in handling issues that affect each federating unti and the country as a whole.

The issue of political representation remains another critical factor that has generates recurrent agitations in Nigeria, in most cases, the dominant ethnic groups due to their population gets to political offices at the expense of the minorities, thus, the minorities are not represented in the decision-making process. Therefore, a constitutional amendment that will deliberately allow rotational distribution of political offices among ethnic groups at all levels of government will serve as a panacea to the inadequate or lack of representation at the decision-making level.

Machinery for continuous dialogue among ethnic groups in Nigeria should be put in place as this will limit grudges and feeling of marginalization by any group. Patriotic feelings come with continuous dialoguing in gathering such as the 2014 National conference as this will enable groups to table issue affecting them. Lack of adequate dialogue resulted in the disintegration of erstwhile Soviet Union; thus, every necessary step must be taken to avoid what befell Soviet Union in Nigeria. And resolution from the conference must be given political will by the conventional political office holders at the legislative and executive levels.

Conclusion

We have highlighted in this paper, a number of major issues which has over the years constitute challenges to the practice of federalism in Nigeria. These issues, though, existed before the fourth republic, the security implications on Nigerians are enormous now than other republics. Series of agitations from different ethnic groups across the nation have made us questioned the type of federalism in Nigeria. Federalism in its proper practice is predicated upon constitution, respect for the rule of law and harmonious living among federating units. We argued that the persistent agitations revolve around the style of federalism adopted in Nigeria since the military incursion in 1966 and the influence of the military in the 1979 and 1999 constitutions bequeathed to democratic government. We further called for a rewrite of Nigeria's constitution to accommodate all ethnic groups in the Nigeria project. The paper also calls for sincerity of purpose that will ameliorate suspicions among ethnic groups and reduce tensions as the greater the sense of equity, fairness and justice, the more likelihood of stability, harmonious co-existence, loyalty, unity and national integration in a multi-facet Nigerian federation.

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