ABSTRACT
This paper attempts to examine Neo-Patrimony otherwise known as God-Fatherism, and its implication for the Nigeria Electorates Clamouring for Democracy in Nigeria. The paper is structured to capture various issues that are concerned with the subject matter which are brief Introduction, Theoretical Framework of Analysis, Conceptual Clarification, the Nigeria Political Background. Examples of Neo-Patrimony in Electoral Politics and finally suggestions are made as panacea to curb the menace of God Fatherism in Nigeria.

INTRODUCTION
An emergent trend of politics in Nigeria is the concept of Neo-patrimony, which is commonly referred to as God-Fatherism. As a phenomenon, it is not new or peculiar to Nigeria alone. It is as old as competitive struggle for power and governance in all politics. It has different names in different political culture such as Neo-patrimony, political clientism, patrimonial network and of cause God-Fatherism. Differences also abound in terms of its characteristics and implications in society. However, in Nigeria which is the focus of this paper has taken a life of its own with far reaching implications in almost every starter of the society. According to Joseph (1991) “the issue of God-Fatherism in the Nigerian political
scene has now reached epidemic proportions. Just like bribery, corruption, nepotism, tribalism and fraud, the perpetrators now want to make it a way of making living”.

This paper is intended to examine critically, the phenomenon of political clientism in Nigeria, the political environment that make them thrive. It is also intended to proffer some solutions to these problems in Nigeria.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

For the purpose of this presentation, the elite theory as propounded by VifredoParento and GactanoMosea, will be adopted as the framework on which the study will stand. These theorists see society as stratified between the few who have power and the many who do not. They see society as composed of an organized few who wield a lot of power and influence over an unorganized majority who are the masses. The elite determine societal values as well as who gets what, when and how. They see the masses as apolitical, unorganized and displaying a pathological needs to be dominated and led. They also see the governing elite as not typical of the masses that are governed Bottomore (1993). According to Ikelegbe (2006) “even in representative democracies, the masses still have little or no control because the elite select the candidates and manipulate the voters through propaganda and superior resources.

CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION

In order to do justice to this presentation, a working definition will be made of the two key concepts of this work; democracy and Neo-patrimonialism (GodFatherism).

Democracy is derived from two Greek words demos meaning people and kratos, the government. Abraham Lincoln posits that democracy implies government of the people by the people, and for the people. Nwabueze (1992) elaborates the concept of democracy when he posits that “democracy” is a form of government which recognizes and indeed
institutionalizes people as the fountain of power and enables them to choose and mandate those to govern: In other words, the aforementioned definitions of democracy which is by no means exhaustive, is the direct participation of the masses in politics and governance.

The concept of Neo-patrimonialism is a social hierarchy where patrons use state resources in order to secure the loyalty of clients in the general population. This concept, otherwise known as god-fatherism as stated in the introduction is a recent development, it has gained prominence in Nigeria’s political scene. Ibrahim (2007) notes that “God Fatherism are generally defined as men who have the power personally to determine both who gets nominated to contest elections and who wins”.

**THE NIGERIAN POLITICAL BACKGROUND**

The colonial government in 1914, took a decisive economic driven step in amalgamating the Northern and Southern protectorates hitherto existing as administrative units under the colonial government. The emergent body politics was named Nigeria on the recommendation of Lord Lugard. This action was not to create a united progressive country but to further their economic interest. The colonial government rather exploited their differences in its adoption of the principle of divide and rule in administering the colonial territory. The foundation of the emergent country was therefore weak. The state as established in Nigeria was an imposed political machine for exploiting the resources of the colonized people. Nolutshungu (1990) that state did not arise or respond to the needs of an internal class order, but to those of British colonial exploitation. There was no indigenous ruling class in control against whom democratic claims could be formulated or which could sustain the state in the face of such claims. Iyayi (2004) posits that foreign interest and models dominate and dictate the economic choices of the Nigerian state. Those in control of the state apparatus see themselves as standing above the people, this has a major impact in electoral process, politics and
governance. The 2005 Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) survey published by the National Planning Commission shows that as at 2004, 54.5% of Nigeria’s households were living in relative poverty, while 22.0% were living in extreme poverty, 34.9% were living below the minimum level of dietary energy consumption (based on 2900 calories).

The shift from a predominantly agro-based to petroleum based economy in the early 1970s negatively affected the trend of economic activities in the country and also promotes the struggle to capture state power and either preside over the oil wealth or avail oneself of existing relationships to benefit from it. The pre and post colonial Nigeria economy, by its operations, created abundant wealth in the hands of a few amidst a vast majority leaving in penury. This situation inescapably confers on the former, the power to dictate the cause of events in politics. They now dominate the Nigeria political space and manifest themselves under different guise. In the context of this paper, they will be seen as the political God-Fathers.

**NEO-PATRIMONY (GOD-FATHERISM) IN NIGERIAN ELECTORAL POLITICS**

As earlier state, the concept of Neo-Patrimony otherwise knowns God- Fatherism is recent in political discourse in Nigeria. However, the phenomenon is as old as electoral politics in the country. The focus in this section is not on the history of elections in Nigeria but on the phenomenon of God-Fatherism.

God-Fatherism thrives in any polity in which state power is perceived not as a means to render services but as a commodity to be possessed and used to acquire other possessions. Unfortunately, this seems to be the case in Nigeria.

According to Gambo (2007) “when individuals in the society become too powerful to dictate for the rest, the integrity of the process of choosing leaders is compromised. The non
recognition of independent candidates by the 1999 Nigeria constitution made political parties a rare commodity to be bargained for by political aspirants. Those that are desperate to capture the political office are often subjected to accept conditions placed by those who posses the wherewithal to enable them achieve their political aspirations. There is no gain saying the fact that the electoral scenario and structures in Nigeria have been monetized. Mama (2007) opines that the electoral system has become so monetized such that political parties now insist on payment of large sum of money for party tickets, candidates who intend to contest for political office under the platform of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) are expected to pay N10,000 million as fee for letter of intent and then pay any of the following fees, depending on the elective offices one want to contest for:

i. President - ₦10 million

ii. Senate - ₦1 million

iii. House of Representative - ₦500,000

iv. Governor - ₦3 million

v. House of Assembly - ₦100,000

Most of the aspirants that are truly competent to step into leadership positions for which elections are being conducted do not posses the fund to purchase the nomination form. Candidates who cannot afford to provide the funds would either withdraw from contesting or seek financial support from others. In consideration of the enormous opportunities for self enrichment through the instrumentality of state power, aspirants who cannot finance their electioneering campaign, look for sponsors, often under conditions that enslave them to their sponsors.

In the Anambra scenario, the conflict that emerged between Chief EmekaOffor (godfather) and his godson, Dr. ChiawokeMbadinuju and Chief Chris Uba (Godfather) and his godson,
Dr. Chris Ngige revealed that nothing was spread to ensure that while serving as governor of Anambra State respectively, their total loyalty would be to the Godfathers. In the case of Ngige, he took an oath of loyalty to Chief Chris Uba at a shrine in Okija, Anambra State, however, when his conflict with Ngige over the implementation of the terms of their covenant before he adopted him as his political godson and sponsored him for the 2003 Governorship election could not be resolved, what was hitherto in the secret came to the fore. He was reported to have confessed (Edike, 2004).

Dr. Ngige remained in office illegitimately until he was removed from office in March, 2006 by the Court of Appeal sitting in Enugu. Many cases abound where the centre could no longer hold between the God- Fathers and their Godsons.

In Bornu State the struggle was between Senator Modu Ali Sheriff and Governor Mala Kachalla, in Edo State, between Chief Tony Anenih and Senator Osunbor, while in Kwara State, the struggle was between, Late Dr. Olusola Saraki and Governor Mohammed Lawal, here the godfather was so irked with the godson that he subsequently sponsored his biological son to defeat Governor Lawal in the 2003 election. In Enugu it was Jim Nwobodo and Governor ChimarokeNnamani who in turn had a running battle with the candidate he installed, so also was the arrangement between (late) Chief LamidiAdedibu and Governor RashidiLadoja of Oyo State.

**SUGGESTED SOLUTIONS**

In the first instance, God- Fatherism did not start in Nigeria but why has it taken monstrous dimension here?
In America for example, Bill Clinton was helped into office as Governor of Arkansas but the Arkansas poultry farmers. On assuming office, he was at logger heads with the same farmers who helped him get elected.

The farmers did not form a Kangaroo court and impeach the Governor. The instead went home to plan for the next election to make sure that Clinton was not re-elected. Clinton saw the dangers and made peace with the farmers and was thus re-elected in 1982 and was governor until he ran for presidency in 1992.

In 2007, Chief James Ibori almost single handedly installed the President Governor of Delta-State, Dr. Emmanuel Uduaghan.

Looking at the above mentioned examples, it become obvious that lack of enlightenment, exposure, maturity and education of the political actors are the major factors working against the proper applications of GoFatherism.

The absence of these variables and high incident of inequalities occasioned by the country’s economic downturn will make nonsense of whatever measure could be put in place to check this incidence of God-Fatherism. However, there is the urgent need for a radical resocialization of the people especially the youths through qualitative education. This should go on simultaneously with a radical transformation of the economy in ways that would make it constructively diversified productive and people driven. Political parties and leaders should be socialized to develop a working ideology, ways to sell it to the masses rather than looking for and depending on god-fathers for electoral victories.

Finally, the judiciary should be empowered to be truly autonomous and stand to be the last hope of the common man. When this happens, the courts would patiently want in a corner to put to naught what the godfathers have done to the political process.
CONCLUSION

This paper examined Neo-Patrimony and its implications for the electorates clamouring for democracy in Nigeria, in doing so, the elite theory was adopted as the tool for analysis. The paper also looked at the political environment that engenders the whole issue and attempted some suggestions that would if implemented help address these issues.

Democracy is not a gift. It is won through struggles by democrats and institutionalized through their vision and unwavering democratization. The business of curbing the excesses of god-fatherism is every person’s business that must be addressed now for Democracy to be consolidated in Nigeria.

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ABSTRACT

Nigeria formally became a federation in 1954. This was made possible with the adoption of Lyttleton Constitution. Consequently, powers were shared amongst the levels of Government (ie, federal, state or regions). The adoption was necessitated in order to strike a balance between unity and diversity amongst the various ethnic groups in Nigeria. The Constitutional sharing of powers between the various units of Government automatically implied interactions between the levels of Government. Thus, since 1954, there has been constitutional provisions of Inter-Governmental Relations in Nigeria. This paper attempts to trace the history, constitutional provisions, workings, implications, problems and possible solutions of intergovernmental relations in Nigeria. The study is descriptive and analytical in nature. In other words, the approach used in this work is to make a critical review of analysis on the subject matter which is put into consideration in taking position. On the strength of these findings, appropriate recommendations were made: such as creating understanding between the federal and state Government both within and outside the constitutional context.

INTRODUCTION

Nigerian federalism came into existence with the adoption of the Lyttleton Constitution of 1954.

The Lyttleton Constitution spelt out the areas of jurisdiction for federal, state or regional governments. There were the Exclusive list, the Concurrent list and the Residual list. The reasons for the adoption of a federal system is often times attributed to large political units that hold the opportunity for the expression of local distinctiveness. In other words, the adoption of federalism is informed by the need to strike a balance between unity and diversity.
Attempt have been made severally to emphasize the increasing importance of increasing importance of inter-governmental relations in a working federal system. Some have even asserted that Intergovernmental Relations are actually the workhorse of any Federal system (Okoli, 2004).

The paper attempts to examine the concept of Inter-Governmental Relations in a Federal state as well as its Constitutional provisions for Inter-Governmental Rrelations and the areas of conflicts between the various tiers of Government, in spite of what the Constitution prescribes.

**CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION**

Intergovernmental Relations (IGR) refers to “an array of structures, processes, institutions and mechanisms for coping with the inevitable overlap and interdependence that is a feature of modern life”. (Cameroun, 2001:15).

Intergovernmental Relations may take the form of interactions among politicians or administrators. It may be conducted informally on phone at meetings, fax or e-mail.

Wright (1995) defines Intergovernmental Relations as “comprising all the permutations and combinations of relations among the units of Government in a Federal system”. He further posits that Intergovernmental Relations includes the activities and attitudes of persons occupying positions in all units of Government under consideration” – Federal, State Local, political Administrative and judicial, legislative or executive branches of Government. Intergovernmental Relations takes place in a complex and yet dynamic environment. The environment of Intergovernmental Relations is a mesh of politics, management, co-operation, conflict, integration and differentiation. It is also a context of struggle and manipulation over the space of authority, policy and influence. It is an arena in which public officials seek to
build consensus, agreements and support rather than imposition. Intergovernmental Relations (IGR) is a network of power relationships. Between several spheres of authority in a political system, usually referred to as the central on one hand; and the various subnational authorities called states or region on the other hand.

The major aim of Intergovernmental Relations (IGR) is the achievement of the purposes and objectives of the particular state through mutual sharing and harmonious working relations in spite of the division of powers, work and resources. Intergovernmental Relations enables cooperation and management of conflict so as to foster fundamental goals and objectives (Popoola, 2001).

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS (IGR) IN NIGERIA

The root of Nigerian federalism dates back to the colonial periods. On January 1, 1900, the country popularly referred to as the Giant of Africa came into being. However, at that point in time, it was a mere geographical expression”. Between 1900 and 1914. Both the North and Southern provinces of Nigeria were Administered separately.

However, on January 1, 1914, both the North and Southern provinces were amalgamated by Lord Lugard. The essence of this was an attempt to end the various conflicts of Intergovernmental Relations between both regions though not successful, the Clifford Constitution was introduced in 1922 which brought the elective principle where the north were excluded from being membership of the council from 1922 – 1946.

By this arrangement, the new legislative council only made laws for the Lagos colony and southern Nigeria, while the Governor legislated for the Northern Province by proclamation.
In 1946, the Richards Constitution was enacted, he argued that the country falls naturally into three regions and the people’s of these regions differ widely from one another. He further argued that the division of the nation into three division for Administrative convenience must have a Constitutional backing. The Richards Constitution of 1946, apart from laying the basis for separated development, however, did not amount to a sharp break, in Intergovernmental Relations in Nigeria (Ellias; 1967).

In 1951 came, the Macpherson’s Constitution with the emphasis on decentralization principles which granted autonomy to the three regions. The regional legislature then possessed some legislative powers and each region had an Executive Council. Thus, there exists a constitutional basis for relations between the two levels of government although this was not a Federal arrangement (Turdo, 1993). All central bills in respect of a region must first be laid before regional legislature for consideration and advice; at this point, the regional legislature had the right to legislate on a prescribe list of subjects, the central legislature had full powers of legislation on all subjects including those within the legislative competence of the regions.

Meanwhile, the Lyttleton Constitution that came into effect in 1954 with an interesting departure from the previous constitutions mentioned above in terms of Intergovernmental Relations (IGR) was the first federal Constitution that Nigeria had. The Constitution made provisions for two legislative lists namely: the Exclusive and Concurrent list. All other matters not included in the above list were Residual and became Exclusive matters of the regions. This amounted to a sharp difference from the 1951 Constitution which had only one list for the region and gave Residual powers to the centre which could also legislate on the enumerated powers of the state.
By this, the regions now possess constitutional status although in the event of a conflict between a regional and a federal law on the same Concurrent subject, the federal law prevailed. This corrected the deficiency or perhaps the anomaly in the 1951 Constitution (1954 Constitution of Nigeria).

After from the separation of the spheres of competence between the two levels of Government, the Constitution made Lagos a Federal Territory thereby creating another level of Intergovernmental Relations i.e. national state level.

The independence and the Republican Constitution came into effect in 1960 and 1963 respectively. But these constitutions did not make more changes in terms of division of powers between the centre and the regions. However, there exist other provisions relating to emergency and the creation of states.

Quite interestingly Intergovernmental Relations (IGR) in Nigeria had a major improvement during the military Administration. This was made possible because of the unitary military command that controlled the government. Federal – State Relations improved, because the head of Government of each regions was answerable to the need of the Federal military Government.

Consequently, State-State relations improved because the military saw themselves as one who were in charge of administration. But, the regional government became subordinate to the federal (Ayoade, 1975).

**FRAMEWORK FOR INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS IN NIGERIA**

There is no doubt that Nigeria is a creation of British imperialism and colonialism: foremost nationalist referred to Nigeria as:

(a) The mistake of 1914 (Abati, 2003).
(b) A mere geographical expression.

The foundation of Nigerian Federation and Intergovernmental Relations (IGR) were debated and Constitutionalized in the post-independence period. The 1963 constitution established the foundation of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (FRN).

In its preamble, the constitution reads as follows:

“Having firmly resolved to ensure the unity of our people and faith in our father land, for the purpose of promoting Inter-African cooperation and solidarity, in order to ensure world peace and international understanding and so as to further the end of liberty, equality and justice both in our country and in the world at large, we, the people of Nigeria give to ourselves the following constitution”. (1963 Nigeria Republican constitution).

The 1979 Constitution took the same form except for the introduction of promoting the good governance and welfare of all persons in our country on the principles of freedom, equality and justice and for the purpose of consolidating the unity of our people.

Apart from the fundamental points state above, the constitution provided in S. 14 (3x4) inter-alia:

The composition of the government of the federation of 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 promote 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 any of its agencies (1979 Nigeria constitution).

This is the principle that established the Federal character commission. The Federal character commission was established in the 1999 Constitution to allay the fears of marginalization or discrimination that surrounded appointments into Government position as well as the spread of social and infrastructural amenities.
At the inception of independence, Nigeria had three regions and a Federal capital in Lagos. Nigeria was later regionalized into four regions following the creation of the mid-Western region from the western region in 1962.

The Constitution of Nigeria right from independence always recognized the levels of Government

For example, section 2 of the 1963 Republican, Constitution states that Nigeria is a Federation comprising regions and a Federal territory. It went further to identify and named the four regions.

Further, the 1979 Constitution declares Nigeria as a Federation consisting of States and a Federal capital territory. It also went on to list the 19 States of the Federation and their capitals in the first schedule. It is worthy to mention however, that both the 1979 and 1999 Constitutions in session 7(1) recognized a third-tier of Government with very unique wordings.

“The system of Local Government by democratically elected Local Government councils is under this constitution guaranteed, and accordingly, the Government of every State shall ensure their existence under law which provides for the establishment, structure, composition, finance and functions of such councils”.

In a very unique manner, the 1999 Constitution in part one of the first schedules named the States of the Federation, their capitals and even the names of the 774 Local Governments. In this regard, it become obvious that the creation or adjustment of Local Government becomes a big Constitutional matter (Osaghae; 1998 & Suberu;1998). Nigeria therefore, has metamorphosed from four (4) regions under the 1963 Republican Constitution to federation of 36 States under the 1999 Constitution which is a product of military Administration.
CONSTITUTIONAL POWERS OF LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT

Post-independence Nigeria Constitution has at its various sections allocated Constitutional powers to the various levels of Government. There have always existed two legislative lists namely: Exclusive and Concurrent list. Majorly, the Exclusive list is for the Federal Government while the Concurrent list is for both the state and federal Government. These lists are found in part one and two of the second schedule for both the 1979 and 1999 Constitutions. The forth schedule of the 1979 and 1999 Constitution also recognize the local Government as the third – tier of the federation and also assign Constitutional functions to it.

However, as it is in every Federal system that adopts the dual list Federal legislative actions takes precedence over legislative actions of states on matters found to be in the Concurrent list. Other matters not located within Exclusive nor Concurrent list are Residual to either the State or Regions.

The 1979 Constitution gives power to the National Assembly to make laws for any State House of Assembly that is unable to perform its functions due to situations that make it impossible for it to transact legislative business of the day. The crisis of the western region and the experience of the first Republic occasioned the Constitutional clause that bars the National Assembly from removing the Governor and Deputy of a state from office. The Constitution also spelt out the functions of Local Government in the fourth schedule. This provisions presupposes that Local Government should take part in state’s economic planning and economic development activities.

It is necessary to mention here that the exclusive list of the Republican Constitution contains 44 items, while the Concurrent lists contains 29 items. The 1979 Constitution contains 65 items in the Excusive list while the Concurrent list has 12 items. However, the 1999 Constitution gives the Federal Government powers over 68 items, while the Concurrent list
THE LEGISLATURE

The 1963 Republican Constitution operated a parliamentary system of Government. The parliament was made up of two houses namely: The House of Senate and the House of Representatives. Membership of the House was by direct election according to population, and regions. The House of Representatives comprised of 312 members while the House of Senate had 12 Senators from each of the four regions. The 1999 constitution makes provision for 3 Senators from each of the 36 States of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Senatorial positions were also filled by direct elections like with the House of Representatives.

THE EXECUTIVE

The Executive is another branch of Government that has been Constitutionally empowered to deal with issues of Intergovernmental Relations (IGR) in Nigeria. The Federal Executive Council (FEC) whose membership include the President, Vice President, Secretary of the Federation, Governors, Ministers etc, is established to deal with issues in the Exclusive Legislative list, and other issues that concern the federation.

THE JUDICIARY

Considering the enactment of the Republican Constitution of 1963, Nigeria became Republic and sovereignty was therefore vested on the Constitution unlike independence when the Constitution was enacted by an Order-in-Council by her Majesty, the Queen of England; later on the situation changed following the enactment of the 1999 Constitution. Under the 1999 Constitution, the Supreme Court is the apex court of the land. The appointment of Supreme
Court Justices is made by the President on the advice of the Federal, Judicial service commission but subject to the ratification of the senate.

The Constitution empowers the Supreme Court to assume original jurisdiction on Intergovernmental disputes between the federal and the state. The Supreme Court as the apex court with five (5) judges including the chief justice of Nigeria. Meanwhile, when the court decides to sit on a Constitutional matters, its membership must be seven (7). The Constitution also provides the Supreme court with powers to play active role in Intergovernmental Relations (IGR). Much of these roles are seen in the celebrated decisions on control over Local Government, control over natural resources and management of the Federation account.

**CONSTITUTIONAL BODIES OF INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS (IGR) IN NIGERIA**

Nigeria adopted the Federal system since 1954. In a Federal system, there are institutional bodies through which Intergovernmental Relations (IGR) is carried out (Olowu; 1977:10). Most of these bodies or institutions are enshrined in the 1999 Constitution and they include the National Assembly, Supreme Court, Council of States, Federal Civil Service Commission, Independent National Electoral Commission, National Population Commission, National Economic Council, National Police Commission, Revenue Mobilization Allocation and Fiscal Commission (RMAFC) National Boundary Commission, National Council of State etc.

The National Council of State is the highest Intergovernmental Relations (IGR) governance agency and is made up of top most serving and ex-federal officials and serving State Governors. The body seats to address matters of national importance and constitute a forum for resolving serious national issues that borders on security, State reforms and other
matters. The code of conduct Bureau as an Intergovernmental Relations (IGR) agency deals with matters of transparency and accountability in governance. The National Revenue Mobilization, Allocation and Fiscal commission handle issues that relate to revenue generation and allocation. It also sets out the criteria for revenue allocation to the various States of the Federation. It has representation from all the 36 States of the Federation.

CONTENDING ISSUES OF INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS (IGR) IN NIGERIA

Nigeria as a Federation has been engulfed in some critical issues of Intergovernmental Relations (IGR). Some of these issues have taken the form of litigations between States and Federal Government. Others are still lying at the apex court of the land for Constitutional interpretation of certain clauses in the 1999 Constitution. The States of the Federation have over the years been involved in power tussle with the Federal Government. In practice, the Federal Government would want to be in control over the states because the Constitution empowers it to be in charge of both domestic and foreign policies while the states believe that they should be on equal basis with the Central Government because the State is the composition of the Federal and powers of the Federal are incomplete without the State.

Another area of Intergovernmental Relations that has pitched the States against the Federal Government is in the area of debt repayment (foreign and domestic). The Federal Government has insisted that State Government should pay their debt through the method of “deduction at source”. On the other hand, the States want the Federal to pay the debt on their behalf because the Federal has more revenue at her disposal and above all, some of the debts were inherited from the military regime.
Local Government became a third-tier of Government since it was given a legal status by the 1979 constitution and also applicable in the 1999 Constitution. But there have been controversies over the control and creation of Local Government since 1999.

There is also the problem over an acceptable revenue formula between the States and Central Governments from the consolidated revenue fund. Since the inception of Democratic administration in 1999, for a of State Governors have called for a new revenue sharing formula and especially now that the Nigeria public servants are agitating for N18,000 minimum wage.

This situation prompted the Revenue Mobilization and Fiscal Commission (RMAFC) to propose a new revenue sharing formula. The proposed formula which is for consideration put the Federal 46.63%, State 33% and Local Government 20.73%.

In short, Nigeria has had nine revenue allocation Commissions since 1946. The first was the Sydney Phillipson Commission of 1946, Hicks Phillipson Commission, 1951. The Chicks Commission of 1953 followed by the Raisman Commission of 1958. Others were Dina Commission of 1968. Aboyade Commission 1977, Okigbo Commission 1984 Danjuma’s Commission, 1989 and finally, the Revenue mobilization and Allocation Fiscal Commission of 1992 (Oyediran; 1979:20). The politics of or crisis of revenue allocation in Nigeria was taken a new concept of resource control since 1999. Other contending issues of Intergovernmental Relations (IGR) include the role of the Government in finding primary schools, boundary adjustment, Sharia laws, State police, etc.
RECOMMENDATIONS

From the foregoing, it becomes clear that interactions and cooperation’s is essential in a Federal-State; and that the reality and workings of Intergovernmental Relations (IGR) can never be based solely on the provision of nation’s Constitution. Therefore, there should be understanding both within and outside the Constitutional context. Also, we recommend that all levels of Government within the Federation should emphasize and imbibe the spirit of partnership in National Development. This will in long terms reduce the frequent skirmishes between the state and Federal Government.

Lastly, for the purpose of our country, (Nigeria) and National Development, there should be mechanism for onward review of Intergovernmental Relations (IGR) to ensure better cooperation and coordination. Political actions should be taken by means of consensus.

CONCLUSION

Since Nigeria adopted Federalism in 1954, there has been increasing areas of Intergovernmental Relations (IGR) between Federal, State and Local Governments, these areas of interaction have not been without Constitutional conflicts, successive Nigeria constitutions have enlarged areas of Intergovernmental Relations (IGR), from four (4) Regions in 1963, to twelve (12) States, Nineteen (19) States to the current thirty six (36) states and a Federal Capital territory. Even at that, Intergovernmental squabbles still persist in the Nigerian Federal arrangement.

The Nigerian Constitution has recorded progress in certain areas of Intergovernmental Relations (IGR) by the institutions provided, though, remarkable impact has not yet been achieved on areas of Intergovernmental cooperation especially between states. There have been areas of Constitutional challenges that should be clearly defined.
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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the system of traditional Government and Administration during the pre-colonial era among the three major ethnic groups in Nigeria namely: Hausa/Fulani, the Yorubas and the Igbos. Interestingly, Nigeria is made up of more than two hundred and fifty ethnic groups. It is also worthy of note that Nigeria was colonized by Britain and ruled for about one hundred years (1861-1960) they evolved their own system of Administration which has metamorphosed to the present day Administrative systems. Before the advent of colonialism, Nigeria has their own patterns of Government and Administration which however differed from one ethnic group to another. The difference in Governance is influenced largely by differences in culture among the ethnic groups. Based on the above known facts, this paper using the historical survey methods x-rays the different systems of Administration among the named ethnic groups and further point out their differences and similarities.

INTRODUCTION

Ever before the entrenchment of colonialism in West African countries, Nigeria inclusive, the people of what was later known as Nigeria lived under different political and Administrative arrangements. However, the pre-colonial Nigeria symbolizes or implies the methods or ways by which Nigerians govern themselves before the advent of colonialism. It means there were forms of Government and Administration before colonialism. In other words traditional system of Government proceeded the era of colonialism.
In the same vein, the pre-colonial Nigeria varied from one region or tribal group to another due to the ethnic and ethno-linguistic differences. For instance, while some political systems were centralized or chiefly society as in Yoruba and Hausa/Fulani pre-colonial systems, others were decentralized or classless society like the Igbo clam system which was a cephalous in nature.

It may be important to observe that indirect rule would not have been possible without the already established pre-colonial arrangements.

At this juncture, the Administrative and political systems of the three major ethnic groups are being discussed in this order.

**POLITICS AND GOVERNANCE IN THE NORTH DURING THE PRE-COLONIAL PERIOD**

The pre-colonial people and state of the Northern part of Nigeria fall into two main categories namely: The Savannah/Grassland peoples of the far north, which includes groups like the Hausa/Fulani, Kanuri and Borno peoples, and the middle belt peoples of Jos Plateau region and Niger-Benue confluence.

The prominent language of this group of people is Hausa.

**HAUSA/FULANI PRE-COLONIAL POLITICAL SYSTEM**

The Hausa/Fulani pre-colonial system was based on the emirate system. It had its origin in Holy war which was started by Uthman Dan Fodio in 1804. Before the Holy war, the Fulani people had been a subject race in the old Hausa Kingdoms. ShehuUthman Dan Fodio who was a renowned Fulani Moslem leader, had accused the Hausa rulers of allowing the Moslem religion to be contaminated and to degenerate into senui-paganism. Thereafter, a quarrel between ShehuUthman Dan Fodio and the King of Gobir, from Hausa Kingdom, led to a
Fulani revolt which later developed into a Holy war under Shehu Uthman Dan Fodio. During the war, Uthman Dan Fodio overthrew all the Hausa Kingdoms and installed in their positions Emirs who were or who served as his subordinate rulers, after his conquest of the Hausa kingdoms, Shehu Uthman Dan Fodio established his capital at Sokoto and then divided the Empire into two, namely the Eastern and Western Empires with capitals at Sokoto and Gwandu respectively. Uthman’s brother Abdullahi was made the Emir of Gwandu while Shehu controlled the Eastern Empire himself from Sokoto as Sultan. All other Emirs acknowledged the over Lordship of Sokoto and Gwandu respectively and paid annual tribute accordingly. (Ademolekun, 1970).

POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

1. The Emirs: Each Emir was regarded as a sacred monarch, the supreme authority in all aspects of life. That is to say that the Emirs were vested with Spiritual, Judicial, Military, Legislative and Executive powers. For instance, the Emir’s court was the highest and final, he selected and arranged the training of Malams, the experts in Islamic laws. Laws were further made and executed by the Emirs, with each Emir playing an advisory council.

2. The Advisory Council: Responsibility for the central Administration was divided or shared among several senior officials who were appointed by the emirs and who together formed the advisory council. (Odion, 2007).

THE ADVISORY COUNCIL CONSIST OF:

(a) The Galadima: He was the minister for the capital territory and was responsible for the Administration of the capital city of the Emirate. He performed the functions of the Emir whenever the Emir was out of the capital city or rather not around. In other words, he performed the role of the deputy Emir and in short, he was the deputy Emir.
(b) Waziri: The Waziri served as the head of service in the Emirate. He was the co-coordinator of all Administrative matters of the Emirate, he advised the Emir on new appointment and took charge of important ceremonial duties. He was equally a member of panel of King makers. It was his responsibility to convene all important meeting of the Emirs.

(c) Madawakin: He was the Commander in Chief of the Calvary (ie the army). He therefore keeps the force in State of Military preparedness and it was equally his duty to lead the military in defense of the Emirate against enemies whenever such need arose.

(d) Maaji or Magaji: This was the Minister of Finance, he was responsible for the safe-keeping of Emir’s revenue. He was more or popularly referred to as the treasurer.

(e) SarkinFada: He serve as the Chief Palace Officer, he was in charge of administering all those who work in the palace.

(f) Dogari: He was the Chief of Police akin to the Inspector General of Police.

The Pyramidal Hierarchy of the system can be illustrated in this order:
The village heads of chiefs were placed under the control of Hakimi or District Heads who was appointed by the Emir.

The Village Chiefs enforce laws from the Emir’s court and collected taxes and tributes which were sent to the Emir through the Hakimi (District Head) Adigwe; (1974).

**ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE**

In the Hausa/Fulani emirate, the judiciary was separated from the legislature and the executive, all the laws were based on the teaching of Islam.

The Chief Judge of the emirate was the Khadi or Chief Alkali. There were alkali courts and was headed by an Alkali who was learned or trained in Islamic laws. The Alkalis administered laws based on the teaching of Islam. Anyone that was not pleased with the judgement of the Alkali as he was the final authority of the judicial system could face death penalty. However, it was the Emir that could pronounce the death sentence. When any case involved political or security matters, the Sultan or Emir could influence the decisions. But none of the decisions must contradict or were allowed to contradict Islamic principles. Minor cases were settled by the village or District Heads who provided supportive services to the Alkalis. (Agbebaku, 1996).

**THE YORUBA KINGDOM**

The Yoruba people were found in the Western part of Nigeria and the prominent language is Yoruba, although there were several dialects. The Yoruba people claimed to have originated from Ile-Ife. According to history Oduduwa is the father of the Yoruba race who had seven sons that later become the first set of Obas that ruled the various Yoruba kingdoms.

Similar to that of the Hausa/Fulani Emirate, the Oyo Kingdom led a well defined structure. (Iyoha, 2010).
THE OBAS

The Obas acted as the Political/Religious and Spiritual Head of the kingdom, which in most cases ascended the throne through primogeniture system. The Oba was not regarded as an absolute ruler, he appoints chiefs with whom he held consultations over the general welfare of the kingdom, both act as checks and balances on each others. Moreover, the Oba along with his chiefs exercised judicial powers especially over land disputes, serious crimes etc. (Nwankwo, 1992).

THE OYOMESI OR THE COUNCIL OF CHIEF

The Oyomesi were known or regarded as the kingdoms who were made up of prominent chiefs drawn from seven notable wards that made up the city of Oyo. The leader of the council of chiefs in the old Oyo Empire was the BASHORUN who also acted as the Prime Minister of the Kingdom. (Okhaide, 1996). These seven king makers acted as advisers to the Obas which however was not always binding on him. Furthermore, they acted as checks and balances to the power and excesses of the Oba. Thus the Oyomesi (King makers) may compel the king to open calabash (it is order to commit suicide).

THE OGBONI FRATERNITY

This was a secret society which was comprised of prominent Elders. They check the excesses of the king makers (Oyomesi) in the areas of the removal of an Oba. The Ogboniculpts is often regarded as secret cult because their activities are much hidden to the public. Aderigbigbe; (1989). The Ogboni Fraternity further played the role of mediator between the king makers and the Oba whenever argument arose between the two parties. The group which was headed by Olowu, who performed rituals on behalf of the kingdom.
PALACE OFFICIAL

These were otherwise known as THEWEREFAMEFA: They were the ones who performed routine functions in the palace, in other words, they were appointed to carry out day to day administration of the Oba Palace. They were dedicated to maintaining and preserving the cultural values of the Yoruba and to promoting good Governance. (Izebhokhale, 2001).

ARE-ONA-KAKANFO: These were War Chiefs who placed several restraints on the powers of the Oba or Alafin. Decisions on war were taken in consultation with these Chiefs.

VILLAGE AND WARD HEADS

These were appointed by the Oba as village heads and they were popularly referred to as the BAALE. Furthermore, there were the wards heads called MOGAJI and these brought tributes and dues from their people to the Oba.

THE AGE GRADES:

These were made up of people born around the same age groups, who worked as security, environmental sanitation, building of markets and maintenance of roads etc.

IGBO PRE-COLONIAL TRADITIONAL POLITICAL SYSTEM

The Igbo pre-colonial organization had no standardized traditional institution. In this case, there was nothing like Igbo kingdom or empire. So no hereditary claims to traditional stools. It was based on compound arrangements. However the largest political unit was the village heads, others included family heads, the council of Elders, the Ofo title holders, the NZE-NA OZO title holder, (THE RED CAP CHIEFS) age grades and the lineage heads. (Dudley, 1968).
POLITICAL STRUCTURE

1. **VILLAGE ADMINISTRATION**: This was made up of kindred’s who had partilineal relationship called **UMUNA**. One of the major political institutions that controlled the affairs of the village was the council of Elders which comprised heads of families called **Ofo** title holders, these Elders headed their respective extended families and the most senior member of the Council of Elders was chosen as the **OKPARA**. The Okpara lacks real Executive powers and merely presided over council of Elders meetings. The council had no authority to enforce matters regarding rituals, traditions etc.

2. **ORACLES, JUJU PRIESTS, DIVINERS OR THE JUDICIARY**: The judicial functions were performed by the Council of Elders and the entire village assembly. The oracle and the diviners could influence people’s moral and social behavior by their sanctions, decisions and prediction. Thus, an important oracle like that of **AROCHURWU** even the **OGWUGWU** could declare a person guilty or innocent of a criminal offence e.g. murder, juju priests declared moral laws that had to be obeyed by the people and gave judgment when they were disobeyed. The predictions of these juju men and diviners helped to control the way the people should behave so that they might not annoy the many gods and be punished. While minor cases were settled by the family heads, more aggravated ones were settled by the Council of Elders only.

3. **TITLE HOLDERS, THE NZE NA OZO (RED CAP CHIEFS)**: Title holders played important roles in the political organization of the Igbo people, the Nze-Na Ozo title holders presided over meetings of Elders to try offenders. They give protection to fugitives who may run into their house, and led their people in performing religious rites. The Nze Na Ozo title cost a lot of money and so such title holders were highly respected in the community on account of their wealth. Their position enabled them to wield some political influence in their families and villages. Often, the village council
of family heads and the Ofo holders consulted them before taking important decisions. Furthermore, Nze Na Ozo title holders could take part in settling dispute between villages. (Edigin&Otohile, 1994).

AGE GRADES

This is another important institution in the Igbo pre-colonial political organization which performed useful functions. They carried out public works, punished their members for misbehaving and help to execute the decisions of the Council of Elders. They also helped to execute wars and acted as police to arrest offences, after judging a case, maintenance of law and order, clearing of bush parts, territorial defense, building local markets etc. (Good news, 1990).

CONCLUSION

The political and Administrative arrangements of history of Nigeria during the pre-colonial periods among the three major ethnic groups, viz Hausa/Fulani, Yoruba and Igbo was quite different though had some similarities. It is thus important to observe or note that the Hausa/Fulani political system was highly centralized and the Emirs have absolute powers. They consequently appointed all their officers and could easily dismiss them.

The Oyo equally had a centralized Administration, but most of the Obas were not absolute monarchs but were rather constitutional monarchs whose powers were limited by the views of the Council of Elders, Oyomesi, and the Ogboni cult. The degree of loyalty attracted from the BAALES was also significant.

In Igbo political system, there was the absence of centralization of power and authority. It was more of the people’s direct participation in their Government, (Direct Democracy). The
form of Government was not monarchical but republican because they operated a kind of Government without King (a cephalous).

REFERENCES


This paper examined the concepts of citizen and citizenship and its origin in Nigeria. It looked at issues in Nigeria citizenship such as indigeneship, dual citizenship, citizens’ rights and responsibility, loss or termination of citizenship. It considered the methods of acquisition and observed that its citizenship by birth was based on indigeneship rather than place of birth. It established three types of citizens but observed that in practice two broad types existed at state and local government levels which are the indigenes and non-indigenes. Citizens’ right were classified on this basis. It also observed that the indigenes had more rights than non-indigenes who were treated as foreigners outside their home states. It observed that naturalized persons suffered more deprivations than other citizens even by virtue of its constitution of 1999. It observed that issues in citizenship were partly responsible for some inter group crisis in the country. It considered efforts at national integration which have failed not because of bad laws but because extant laws have not been implemented and institution to control enforcement have failed to do their job. Citizens have been given mammoth responsibility and they are expected to help in national development and integration but because of disparity in rights it is doubtful whether citizens who are alienated can give their desired role or full contribution to national growth.

INTRODUCTION

Citizenship is derived from the word citizen and it describe the status of a person recognized under the custom or law of a state which bestows on such person the rights and duties of citizenship (Wikipedia.org). The status of a citizen in most countries can be attained through the following ways; by descent, birth, marriage and naturalization.

All citizens are expected to have equal rights while they have obligations towards their nations and other citizens. Citizens are expected to be the fulcrum on which a nation’s socio-
political and economic advancement lie. As a matter of fact nation cannot develop without a crop of citizens who are loyal and patriotic to its course.

**CLASSIFICATION OF NIGERIAN CITIZENSHIP**

Who is a Nigerian? A Nigerian is any person who is a native or naturalized member of the federation of Nigeria and owes allegiance to her and is entitled to her protection. Simply put, a Nigerian is one recognized by its constitution as a citizen irrespective of residency. From its constitution there are three types: citizens by birth, citizens by registration and citizens by naturalization. (Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999). However, in practice whether at the federal or state level there are two broad classes; the natives or indigenes called citizens by birth and those that are not citizens by birth but by registration or naturalization who are regarded as non-indigenes (or foreigners when they are out of their home states. From its constitution 1999, citizens by birth have many privileges and rights over the other category. At the state level most citizens living outside their own state due to weak institutions may be treated as foreigners irrespective of the class of citizenship they possess. This condition also applies to citizens within states living outside their LGAs or villages especially where the citizens is of different tribes. Non indigenes are akin to minorities and are so treated outside their home states. The least privileged citizens are those who are unable to prove that they belong to a community that is indigenous to any state in Nigeria and women married to men from states other than their own (Ifamose, 2011).

Such a multiple system of citizenship rights and classification engenders discrimination in jobs, land purchase/holding, admission to educational institutions, marriage, business transaction and distribution of social welfare services and politics to such extent that performance of citizenship responsibility to the nation cannot be guaranteed.
Nigeria is spending billions of naira to develop science and technology hoping to use same as spring board for national development while neglecting citizenship which it will use to attain development.

ISSUES IN NIGERIAN CITIZENSHIP

There are many issues affecting citizenship in Nigeria. (Adesoyi&Alao, 2009). The issues include but not limited to – indigence citizen versus settler citizen dichotomy, resources sharing, resource ownership, land tenure system, migration and emigration, dual citizenship, discrimination, quota system, tribalism, loss of citizenship and origin of Nigeria citizenship.

A major cause of the intergroup conflicts rocking Nigeria since 1960s has been traced to citizens’s rights especially when they reside outside their state of origin (Abubakar, 2011) and in some cases even when they live within their own state. Also military involvement in politics among other factors has been traced to disregard for democratic principles in terms of human rights, rule of law, press freedom and shift towards fascism (Mohammed, 2011). To a great deal human rights violation no doubts were instrumental to the first military coup and counter coup and even the Nigerian civil war, as the first coup was intended to stamp out tribalism, nepotism and regionalism on which indigeneship is based.

ORIGIN OF NIGERIAN CITIZENSHIP

Origin of Nigeria citizenship is contentious. Some have argued that it existed before contacts with Europe. According to (Dibua, 2011) pre-colonial African citizenship was based on principle of collectivism, communalism and cooperation and that this helped to provide social security for communities. It is also argued that age grade system and practice among pre-colonial Ibos were forms of citizenship as it formed bases for distinction in rights and duties of natives and foreigners. Truly major tribal nationalities in Nigeria recognize and
differentiated between indigenes and foreigners. As in modern citizenship indigenes had all rights while foreigners had limited rights. Among the Bins in Edo indigenes (citizens) were Oviedo Kpataki while non-citizens where called Ovwiore. It can be argued also Nigerian citizenship was derived from the idea of British citizenship as contained in the 1948 British nationality Act. This is because prior to 1960 there was no Nigerian citizenship as Nigeria was then a dependent British colony. However, it was in the 1960 independence constitution that the status of Nigerian citizenship was finally created and her citizenship derived from the British nationality act with provision made for registration and naturalization of persons qualified who made application before 1st October 1962.

The 1960 independence constitution made provision for some rights which were peculiar to citizens. Although citizenship status was not bequeathed on the basis of indigeneity it however distinguished non-citizens to be aliens which it defined as “a person who is not a citizen of Nigeria, a commonwealth citizen other than a Nigeria citizen, a British protected person or a citizen of the republic of Ireland”. (Constituition of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1960) Section 16(1) this status quo was maintained in the 1963 republican constitution. However, indigeneity manifesting as tribalism, nepotism which had begun to rear its head continued and was a basis for the first military takeover of Government in 1966 and continued until it was entrenched in Nigeria’s 1979 constitution.

THE 1979 AND THE 1999 CONSTITUTIONS

The 1979 constitution introduced and the 1999 constitution maintained the concept of indigeneity into Nigerian citizenship. Under these constitutions citizenship status was classified into: Citizenship by birth: based on indigeneity, Citizenship by registration based on marriage or ancestry and Citizenship by naturalization: based on residency. It was again this constitution that eventually inculcated procedure for deprivation of citizenship (see
section 27 (1-2), which may occur involuntarily or through voluntary renunciation of citizenship (Wikipedia.org). In Nigeria citizenship by birth cannot be withdrawn by government under any circumstance (Constitution of the Federal republic of Nigeria, 1999) (38) section 28(1) of 1999 constitution. Even at death citizenship will be passed to offering born after the death of the holder. Involuntary loss may however occur due to automatic lapse of citizenship from the citizens for failure to take some action to retain citizenship or due to active withdrawal of citizenship by the country. Voluntary loss often called renunciation is in contrast initiated by the citizen (Constitution of the Federal republic of Nigeria, 1999). This can occur through voluntarily serving in a foreign military or voluntarily naturalizing as a citizen of another country in which the person is not a citizen by birth. Residing abroad on a permanent basis. For minors upon adoption by a foreign citizen or loss of citizenship by the parent. In the case of naturalized person where the person has been sentenced to imprisonment for a period of three years within a period of seven years after naturalization. Where registered or naturalized person by act of speech are disloyal to the federal republic of Nigeria after trial by due process. The person during war unlawfully traded with the enemy, assist the enemy in war or communicate with the enemy of Nigeria in war or communicate the enemy to the detriment of Nigeria or to cause damage (Constitution of the Federal republic of Nigeria, 1999) 1999 constitution section 29(1).

INDIGENESHIP, SETTLER, ALIEN, SLAVE

Indegeneship cannot be bestowed on a settler, foreigner or alien no matter their contribution which makes it fundamentally different from citizenship (Rimyon). The issue of indegeneship of late has been becoming very contentious and the contention has been rising especially in urban areas where migrant settler population now dominates the indigenes as they fight for political relevance and in the use or access to land and resources in their areas of residence. Some writers have contended that many intra communal clashes between communities are
traceable to indigeneship crisis. (Etim & Wilfred, 2013). Others have traced it to resources sharing (Raufu, 2010).

Identifying who is a true indigene of a particular area is a particularly difficult task because over the years there has been influx and out flux over time and across culture and space. (Adesoyi & Alao, 2009) said that some people identify themselves as indigenous to a place as result of their settlement and the seeming dominance of their cultures or perhaps the outcome of their ability to conquered and occupy a relatively virgin area.

The indigene and settler problem has been so serious that it calls to question the basis of citizenship in Nigeria (Adesoyi & Alao, 2009). The 1999 constitution prescribes admission to the class of citizens on the basis of birth, registration and naturalization and also spells out rights and privileges. The citizens by birth are first class citizens who are indigenous but in its practical application citizenship by birth are localized to the indigenes of the community in question, or indigenes of the local or state government.

However for Nigerians who have their genealogy elsewhere (often called non-indigenes) even if they were born in a particular state or lived all their lives there are regard as settler. Their offspring as far as memory can tell continues to be settler. They remain strangers who have an alternative homestead. In a number of cases these settler may have lost connection with their homelands and cannot claim indgeneship of anywhere else. (Adesoyi & Alao, 2009). According to (Ifamose, 2011) (Ifamose: 2011), p207) issues of indigenes and non-indigenes, ethnicity, religious affiliation, and persistent fear of domination and marginalization have continued to exert enormous pressure on national integration. She recommended a proper integration such that an acceptable balance would be struck between constitutional citizenship and indgeneship to ensure inclusive citizenship and a sense of belonging for all citizens.
(Ifamose, 2011: p186) identified efforts by policy makers in Nigeria at achieving social cohesion and integration since independence to include state creation policy, federal character principle, New F.C.T. and National Youth Service Scheme. Abuja as a national capital was founded among other reasons in the belief that every Nigerian will be rest assured that he has the opportunity to live in parity with other Nigerians and where no Nigeria will be regarded in law or on the fact as a native foreigner. Regrettably implementation due to weak state institutions has marred the attainment of their objectives and consequently no attainment of constitutional rights by citizens. The federal character commission Act makes provision for admissions of settlers who have lived in a place for ten years and are certified by local government areas of their residence to be admitted as indigenes of the area (Federal Character Commission Act, 2004). In spite of this, settler (citizens) rights continue to be impinged upon by indigenes. It is difficult for a settler to aspire to enjoy rights and attain positions ordinarily reserved for indigenes even where they have been admitted as indigenes by local Government areas and migrants performs their duties as active members of their community of residence. Those who are indigenes will not grant concession to non-indigenes because they know they cannot benefit from such concessions outside their home states. This may explain the constant rancor between Fulani herdsmen and local farmers especially in the ‘middle belt’ and ‘southern region’ of Nigeria who do not hope to get free use of land in areas of domain of the Hausa/Fulani group.

The common forms of discrimination against settler according to (Alubo, 2009) include Employment: available jobs are often reserved for indigenes and where non-citizens are employed at all they are place on contract appointment. This is the crux of the Northernisation policy in the northern region in its time. Since the return to civil rule non-indigenes is state appointment have had to be returned to their home states especially in case reported widely from eastern parts of the country.
Admission to secondary and higher institution, have provision for indigenes. Scholarship. This is exclusive to indigenes Discriminatory fees: There are higher fees for non-indigenes than indigenes in educational institutional such as polytechnic and universities even when their parents pay taxes to the state. Settlers do not have free access to land. Land belongs to indigenes who can impose exhibiting conditional before they can transfer land in contradiction to the Land Use Act. In some case land is not sold to settler but given on permanent lease whether they construct on it or not it remains the property of the “local” owner (indigenes). The non-indigenes can vote but voting is often disrupted by ‘area boys’ (mostly indigenes) who intimidate voters to vote their own candidate often because of absence of effective security during election days. Appointments from state to Federal bodies are reserved for indigene of states. And recently there is growing clamors for indigenes of towns where Federal institution are located to be the head of such institutions or bodies.

Migration: The facts that people have migrated and or emigrated at one point in time from place to another questions the claim by anyone to indegeneship of any locality in view of the unending movement of people from one place to another across Nigeria (Adesoyi&Alao, 2009). Many people regarded as settler today may have possibly been indigenes whose parents/grandparents may have earlier emigrated from that community. So also are those who claim to be settlers whose parents may have migrated from other area and have settled in their new aboard for a period longer than their memory can tell.

THE ISSUE OF HUMAN RIGHTS

The idea of a federated nationality is the string that binds Nigeria; indegeneship cuts the string. This can be seen in rights that have been accorded the different citizens – the citizens by birth, registration and naturalization. Citizenship by birth has the foremost status and it is
based on indigeneity or ancestry. Other categories of citizenship have restricted rights comparably. It is only citizens by birth than can:

1. Maintain dual citizenship: In other words if he is a citizens of Nigeria by birth he can retain another country’s citizenship if that citizenship is also by birth. And you thus can get benefit attached to both countries’ membership such as right to vote, work, protection and social service. See (Disadvantages of Dual citizenship).

2. Contest elections to office of president of the federation according to section 131(a) and governors of a state. (Constitution of the Federal republic of Nigeria, 1999).

3. Citizens by birth can never be deprived of their Nigerian citizenship according to section 177(9).

The above rights are in addition to the rights enjoyed by every person i.e. citizens by registration, naturalization and settlers.

**THE ISSUES OF RESPONSIBILITIES AND LIMITS OF CITIZENS RIGHTS**

Human rights accorded to citizens and persons residing in Nigeria though appears to be free care not so. They are conditional upon the performance of reciprocal responsibilities. In fact as they get many benefits they have equally important responsibilities as failure to perform such responsibilities effectively results to terminating ones’ right.

The responsibilities of citizens in Nigeria are clearly enshrined in the nation’s constitution 1999 section 24. It is upon its crop of loyal citizens whether by birth, registration or naturalization that the nation rely upon for her growth and development which is the norm worldwide. Paradoxically naturalized citizens who are required to be persons capable of making useful contribution to the development of areas they live and by extension the country are those whose rights are more restricted. It might be unlikely that this category of
citizens put in their best in view of the discrimination they suffer. Indigenous citizens living outside their home state who suffer deprivations may also be withdrawn in making contribution to state where they reside. Fact exist to prove that non-indigenes living outside their home state show more loyalty to their home state and are more involved in the development of their home states than where they reside except for those that have lost contact with their ancestral homes due to permanent absence from home. The implication of the above is that discriminatory rights among citizens will not help attain socio political cohesion and national development from citizens as desired by the state.

CONCLUSION/RECOMMENDATIONS

It is safe to conclude that citizenship existed before colonial time. Although present day Nigerian citizenship constitutionally was derived from the British Nationality Act but its practice is based on indigeneship which predated the Act. Citizenship by birth is derived from ancestry which connotes indigeneship unlike in some other countries where it means place of birth. Classification of citizenship gives undue disadvantage to non-indigenes and such premium placed on indigeneship is the basis of discrimination citizens suffer outside their state of origin. And is difficult to see how such citizens (and their offspring’s who will continuously be second class citizens in the Nigeria state) who have no hope put a maximum effort to help contribute to national development. The non-existence of strong and functional institutions has worsened the problems for non-indigenes. That intergroup conflict, military coups resource control agitations are linked to perceived citizenship rights denial. That owing to unending migrations of people across cultural boundaries that indigeneship can be lost through long absence from home. Cultural assimilation and inter marriage have potential to
reduce discriminations. Retention of lands in the hands of indigene will put settlers in
difficult situations.

The problem of Nigeria under development and integration is hinged on citizenship more
than on any other factor because it is the mind of people that driven development and a class
of citizens that is deprived of full rights cannot give their full responsibilities.

It is recommended that:

The Federal Government must nationalize all undeveloped or reserved lands and establish
regulated Federal territories as was done in the FCT in all LGA of the Federation for non-
indigenes and indigenes.

Government should make more commitments to protecting the rights of all its citizens by
using modern technologies to provide security and strengthening state institution to protect
non-indigenes. There should be a census/citizens registration which will define its population
and enable the government to know and provide for citizens who live outside their areas of
origin especially in terms of crisis, elections and distributions of welfare. In fact reservation
in percentage should be made for non-indigenes based on their population in implementing
Federal character in States/Local Government were they reside. The use of environmental
factors in consideration of admission quotas in Federal Government colleges’ admission is
commendable.

Settlers should acculturate in areas where they settle by marrying in such states, practicing
their religions and customs, involving in the development and wellbeing of the community
they reside. Ability to speak the language well with help.

In view of the above, the dichotomy between indigene and settler among Nigerians need to be
relaxed to pave way for attainment of full citizenship in Nigeria.
Also, government needs to protect citizens’ rights by giving adequate security to ensure that all economic, political and social rights of citizens are guaranteed. Giving adequate security will ensure that area boys used by settlers to frustrate the social economic and political rights of settlers are minimized.

There should also be a creation of neutral territories in all States and Local Government Area Capitals to cater for the rights of settlers so that traditional institutions and customs do not affect those areas because it is the traditional institutions that promote indigeneship.

The Federal character act needs to be strictly enforced. The established commission should be headed at federal and state levels by ‘minorities’ in the federation or a “minorities” in that state to avoid compromise as provided in the 1960 Constitution.

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