ETHNICITY AND AGITATION FOR CREATION OF STATES IN NIGERIA: THE DEFUNCT NORTH WESTERN STATE AS A CASE STUDY

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This work is dedicated to

ALHAJI RAHMAN OLOYEDE OYEYEMI (Z.8)

with a sense of appreciation and utmost gratitude.

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PROLOGUE

"Where the mind is without fear;
and the head is held high;
where knowledge is free;
where the World has not been
broken into fragments by
narrow domestic walls;
where words come out from the
depth of truth ...
My father, Let my Country awake"

Rabindranath Tagore
Indian poet

"The Federal Military Government is convinced that the process of creating new states should not be allowed to destroy the Federation as we know it today. Our recent experience has shown that the more states we create, the more we highlight the problem of minorities".

Late General Murtala Ramat
Muhammed - broadcast
to the nation on February 3, 1976.

ABSTRACT

Demands and agitation for creation of new States in Nigeria has been a recurrent feature since the London Constitutional Conference of 1957. The fundamental reason for the demand has always, until very recently (i.e. since the growth of an oil revenue - fuelled economy) been cultural pluralism or ethnic differences. This pluralism has led to the perennial problem of "minority groups" within administrative units, thinking objectively or otherwise that they are at a disadvantage.

The Willink Commission that was set up by the British Colonial .. government in 1957 did not make any recommendation that would break up the three regions. Instead, it held the view that the only meaningful way of allaying the fears of minorities was to encourage democratic government within the regions. After independence in 1960, only the Mid-West region was carved out of the old Western region in 1964, leaving the East and North intact.

The Military regime under Gowon tried to solve the problem of minorities by breaking up the regions into twelve states in 1967. The euphoria did not lasts demands for more states continued. Minorities within the "1967 new states" started agitating. One of such areas of agitation was the defunct North Western State. This thesis exaines the nature and structure of this agitation.

My findings demonstrate that majority of the rural dwellers were not fully aware of the agitation. Those who knew about it on the two sides (old Niger and Sokoto provinces) were the educated elites and urbanites. This has led me to conclude that ethnic differences were only used by the elites of both sides to break up North Western State. The agitation was an intra-elite struggle for values like political offices, administrative posts and contract awards. The only reason why the State could have been dismembered at all was its vastness, which was not conducive to effective administrative and economic planning.

Although I do not deny the existence of ethnic contradictions in the thesis, I am highly convinced by the available evidence that those primordial contradictions have been harped upon and utilized by the dominant elite class within the system for elite-ends. I suggest that this sort of manipulation in the Nigerian political process can be much more contained if there are fairly strong unifying ideology, committed leadership mass literacy and purposeful government.

INTRODUCTION

THE RELEVANCE OF THE RESEARCH

> "One need not be a Marxist in order to recognise the fact that the earning of livelihood, the struggle for a larger share of income from the economic system, including the struggle for housing, for higher education and for benefits constitute an important variable significantly related to ethnicity".[1]

The political dynamics within many African States cannot be effectively grasped without a clear analysis of the issue of cultural pluralism. Due to the preservation of traditional institutions, values and norms, the ethnic issue remains a major determinant of socio-economic and political processes in Africa. It is also considered as the major obstacle to political integration within African states. Virtually two decades after the attainment of sovereignty by majority of African States, the goal of forging national consensus has not only remained intractable but illusory. This problem has even forced certain African leaders to maintain

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1. Abner Cohen (ed) Urban Ethnicity, Tavistock publications, London, 1974, Introduction, page XV.

strong neo-colonial military ties with foreign Western powers. A case in point is the recent event in Zaire, where President Mobutu had to solicite for outside military aid to arrest the problem of ethnic rebellion in Shaba province. This type of situations has made it incumbent on political thinkers and researchers to look into the means of forstering unity of political will within African States. Cultural pluralism has remained the major obstacle to political integration and a primary source of socio-political instability. The more so because many African States are creations of colonial rulers. During the period of the partition of Africa by the European imperialists, there was apparent disregard for tribal loyalties and ethnic compatibles.

> "To this extent, African States are most vulnerable to tension, malintegration and even fragmentation. Under these conditions, a country's nationalism can be jeopardized by its cultural-subnationalities, for the right of every cultural group to autonomy and self-determination or self-assertion, laudable

> as it seems may lead either to the existence of the multinational states, or the perpetual fragmentation of sovereign states".[2]

I am concerned here with the unfortunate but seemingly inevitable "perpetual fragmentation of sovereign states". This is a process which, although may not break up a country into separate and independent entities, result into the creation of ridiculously small administrative units that may not be economically viable. In that case an heterogenous country like Nigerian may end up having as many units as there are ethnic groups! People are often pessimistic about the future of Africa as regards finding a workable solution to the problem of cultural pluralism.[3]

Rather than being a general analysis of cultural pluralism in Africa, this research is a case-study of an area of inter-ethnic tension in Nigeria, which ultimately led to the dismemberment

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2. Olorunsola V.A. (ed) The politics of Cultural Sub-Nationalism in Africa. Anchor, New York, 1972 PP.XIV-XV.

3. See for instance, Walker Connor - "Self-Determination : The New phase" in World Politics Oct. 1967. P.53 and Nelson Kasfir, The Shrinking Political Arena, University of California Press, Berkeley 1976

of an administrative unit along ethnic lines.

Despite the creation of the nineteen states structure in Feburary 1976, agitations for creation of more states have continued. In fact the agitations were so serious that attempts were made to create new states by Members of the Constituent Assembly. However, the Chairman of the Constituent Assembly, Justice Udo Udoma had to restrain certain members from pressing further on the issue. He argued rightly that the power to create more states is vested only on the Supreme Military Council. The issue has now been temporarily shelved because the Supreme Military Council has officially announced that it would not create any state out of the existing ones. In effect this means that the military junta is passing the responsibility of state creation to the future civilian regime.

It is on record that apart from the issue of corruption and the fact that Yakubu Gowon, the former Head of State of Nigeria rescinded his earlier promise to return the country to civil rule in 1976, the high handed manner by which his Government dealt with state agitators contributed in no small measure to his downfall. The attempts by Gowon and his lieutenants to silence agitators for states creation were regarded as ignoring the

legitimate socio-political aspirations of the people. In fact the Gowon administration went as far as castigating state agitators and condemning publicly those of them who could not be thrown behind bars. For instance, in 1974 during a speech in Enugu, the former Administrator of East Central State, Ukpabi Asika condemned Nnamdi Azikwe, the First President of the Country for daring to agitate for the creation of (Ibo) Niger State. The now ex-Administrator mockingly referred to Azikiwe as "ex-this" and "ex-that", a "nattering nabob of negativism" who would rather rule in Hell than be a citizen in Heaven".

The task of this research is to find out the relevance of ethnic contradiction in the agitation for creation ofmore states in Nigeria. One is not saying here that ethnicity is the only reason being adduced for agitation for creation ofmore state's, but amongst the reasons cited was linguistic criterion which is tied to the whole concept of ethnicity. As A.D. Yahaya pointed out:

> "... there was hardly any major demand for the creation of states which did not cite a common linguistic bound as one of the reasons for such demand".[4]

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4. A.D. Yahaya "The creation of states in Nigeria - The Restoration of the Image of the Military" A paper later published in K. Panter Brick ed. Soldiers and Oil Londong, Frank Cass 1974.

In this essay, I will also examine the role of political and opnion leaders, and how they manipulate ethnic differences to suit their purpose. The former North Western State of Nigeria now comprising Sokoto and Niger States, will be taken as a case study.

Methodology

For any research to be meaningful a thorough review of relevant literature is essential. The relevance of this review is not only to make the researcher conversant with the previous research and opinion of other writers on the particular subject, but also to allow one to formulate a worthwhile theoretical frame-work. After this review comes an analysis of the historical background of cultural pluralism in Nigeria with special reference to the Hausa-Fulani and Nupe the two principal ethnic groups in the defunct North Western State. We shall explore how their relationships and conflicts eventually led to the dismemberment of the state. Our primary data are derived from scheduled interviews (see format in the appendix) and informal discussions with persons well-placed in the ministries and other sectors of the North Western state. We have refrained from mentioning

the names of our informants in obedience to their expressed wishes to remain anonymous. Amongst towns and villages visited were Sokoto, Gusau, Argungu, Birnin Kebbi in Sokoto State, and Minna, Bida, Agaie and Mokwa in Niger State.

In the conclusion following data analysis an attempt would be made to suggest way of tackling or mitigating the problems posed by cultural pluralism not only in Nigeria, but also as they have relevance to other heterogeneous African countries.

Apart from the problem of distance and bad roads, there was the general lack of cooperation by majority of the rural dwellers. However, the elites especially urban dwellers and civil servants, responded favourably. Be this as it may; The emphasis of the research was on the rural population, inorder to portray the extent of political manipulation by the elites. Furthermore, the urban population appeared to have a high level of political socialization, and their participation, in the agitation, albeit minimal, cannot be ignored. My interest in the former North Western State dated back to 1969, when I was a student at Federal Government College Sokoto. After graduation, I returned to Sokoto this time on N.Y.S.C. posting, and served in the Political and Research Division

of the Military Governor's office. My association with individuals from both sides prompted me to carry out this research into the issue of ethnic cleavages in the defunct state.

CHAPTER ONE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

CONCEPTUALIZING ETHNICITY : ITS RELEVANCE TO AFRICAN POLITICS

Ethnicity as a concept is often regarded as a recent phenomenon and it is being suggested as a subtitute for "Tribalism" which many African writers and statesmen see as a perjorative term. No matter which term one prefers, cultural pluralism has become a persistent concept in the literature of African Politics. The heterogeneity of many African States, most especially Nigeria, Zaire, Uganda, Benin Republic and Sudan clearly makes the concept of ethnicity an inescapable tool in the quest for analysing the political dynamics of many African States. Obviously there is lack of political integration in Africa. This lack of integration has also contributed in rendering futile all attempts at economic development, since development could not take place in an atmosphere of political conflicts and instability. Colonialism succeeded because of, among other factors, ethnic rivalry amongst African peoples. Further more, a major reason why

neo-colonialism and economic exploitation is thriving in Africa today is due to lack of national consensus amongst political actors within many African States.

Ethnicity as it is understood today is so pervasive and complex that its comprehensive study should not only include political factors but also psychological, historical and economic issues. Full analysis of the concept demands inter-disciplinary aooperation. To a great extent, ethnicity is a matter of degree. At times, it is being utilized as a tool for cognition of identity or instrument of cultural distinctiveness, but often it degenerates into an uncontrollable source of aggressiveness, violence and even bloodshed. In matters relating to socio-political and economic affairs, ethnicity is an independent variable amongst other variables. Ethnicity as a concept may be used to justify political dissent. A fight against inequality and social injustice may not be clearly understood, unless political actors whip up ethnic sentiments. In the study of African politics, ethnicity can be seen clearly as possessing certain intrinsic connections with economic and political factors. Furthermore, ethnicity as a major variable has been given currency by the political

leaders who view it as an important issue in their political interactions and quest for political power. Although cognitive identity may follow the pattern of religion, caste, race or ethnicity, the last remains the most vicious and dysfunctional.

Towards a Workable Definition of Ethnicity: Tribe or Ethnic Group?

A spate of literature abounds on the concept of ethnicity Lucy Mair, an anthropologist, would like ethnicity to connote the classical definition of the behaviour of a national grouping. She sees an ethnic group as a people sharing the same historical experience, having the same culture, speaking the same language and sharing the belief about the future together.[1] In Africa this concept has been given numerous interpretations. One finds it difficult to differentiate between "ethnicity" and "tribalism", or 'ethnic group' 'and tribe'.

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1. Lucy Mair - Primitive Government, Harmoudsworth: Penguin Books Inc. 1962.

Tribe

G.W.B Huntingford sees a tribe as:

> "a group united by a common name in which the members take a pride, by a common language, by a common territory, and by a feeling that all who do not share this name are outsiders, enemies in face".[2]

However, African intellectuals and States-men detest the word "tribe", evidently because it connotes cultural primitivity and socio-political stagnation. Tribe is also regarded as a perjorative term. On the other hand, Western writers unabashedly fail to discard the concept of tribe; they cling to it. Otto Klinsberg and Marisa Zavalloni identify six different meanings of the terms 'tribe and 'tribal'.

1. A 'tribe' can designate a localized group living in certain district. This obviously refers to geographical basis of identity.

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2. G.W.B. Huntingford - "The peopling of the Interior of East Africa by its Modern Inhabitants" in Oliver and Mathew (ed) History of East Africa Oxford Clarendon press 1963 pp. 66-67

2. A 'tribe' can also be an ethnic group whose major identifying characteristic is a common language i.e. linguistic identification
3. The term may also apply to pre-colonial states often heterogeneous ones, which arose from conquest or from regroupings e.g. the Zulu or Sotho tribe.
4. Tribal is often used as been synonymous with "rural" in opposition to urban.
5. In the political context, 'tribal' often means parochial tendency as opposed to 'national'.
6. Lastly, 'tribal' is also often a synonymn for 'traditional' or conservative in contrast to modern or progressive.[3]

Writers like Abner Cohen and I. Wallerstein also tend to see ethnicity as an urban and modern phenomenon, while 'tribe' and tribalism refer to primitive or traditional groupings.[4]

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3. O. Klinsbeng and M. Zavalloni - Nationalism and Tribalism among African students, Mouton, Paris, 1969. p. 8

4. A. Cohen (ed) Urban Ethnicity Tavistock Publications London 1974, and I. Wallerstein - "Ethnicity and National Integration in West Africa" in Doro and Stultz (ed) Governing in Black Africa. Prentice Hall, 1976. pp. 10-17.

Archie Mafeje, a leftist African sociologist accused Western writers of imposing the concept of 'tribe' on Africans. He believes that 'tribe' is a mark of false consciousness on the part of the supposed tribesmen, who subscribe to an ideology that is inconsistent with their material base, and therefore unwittingly respond to the call for their own exploitation. He also condemns the African intellectuals and elites who subscribe to the term becase it is :

> "... a ploy, distortion they use to conceal their exploitative role".[5]

However, it is relevant here to point out that the terms "tribe" and "tribalism" are largely anthropological concepts.

Ethnicity

Ethnicity is seen by other writers to be an inevitable by-products of modernization. They argue that since colonial rulers forcibly united different communities and nations within

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5. Archie Mafeje - "The Ideology of Tribalism" in Journal of Modern African Studies Vol. 9. No.2 1971, pp. 253-265

colonial boundaries as political entities, these groups having been drawn together had to compete for societal values within the system.[6] S.E. Oyovbaire is of the view that although ethnicity may be a by-product of social change and development (modernization), its definitional boundary is determined by the way interests coalesce and are processed in the political system. He does not equate ethnicity with tribalism outright, since common interests may not necessarily coalesce along tribal lines, and "ethnic unit can be larger or smaller than tribe or community".[7] On the other hand I hold the view that more often than not, and as my research has shown, common interests coalesce along tribal lines. It is also generally accepted that ethnic division just like tribal differences is based on vertical rather than horizontal stratification of society. Operationally, I prefer to use 'tribe', 'ethic group', tribalism and ethnicity interchangeably.

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6. See for instance Claude Ake, "Modernization and political Instability" in World Politics. Vol.XXVI, No.4, July 1974 pp.576-591; D.E. Apter The Politics of Modernization, Chicago, University of Chigaco press 1968; S.P. Huntington; political-Order in Changing Societies, New Haven, Yale University Press. A.R. Zobeng: "The Structure of Political Conflict in the New States of Tropical Africa" in American Political Science Review Vol. LXII, No. 1 March, 1968.

7. S.E. Oyovbaire - "On the Concept of Ethnicity and African Politics" in Presence Africanine No.92, 1974, pp.178-189.

If ethnicity can be equated with detribalization, or a phenomenon of the process of political development, then there would be no need for anxiety. However, the phenomenon is far more complex and pervasive than that. Its effect on African politics is not only destablizing, but also painfully destructive.

Mitchel's view on the concepts of tribalism' and 'ethnicity' will also be relevant here. He contends that in any society or political system, there are inexorable differences, real or imagined. These differences he believes,

> "... may be evidenced in customs, religion, beliefs, and practices that are identified as characteristic of particular acts of persons or an identified group. The awareness of these differences has been referred to as nationalism, as tribalism and more more generally as ethnicity".[8]

Another solution and perhaps the typical one is propounded by Bates. He sees a tribe as denoting a group that is generally

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8. J.C. Mitchel - "Perceptions of Ethnicity and Ethnic Behaviour. An Empirical Explanation" in Cohen (ed) Urban Ethnicity, op cit. page 1.

rural, which is bound by traditional political structures to which people are linked by the mechanism of traditional political obligations. He goes on to suggest that ethnic groups constitute an urban phenomenon. They operate in the modern sector and not in the rural country side. According to him,

> "the ties that bind the members of ethnic groups are often material interests rather than traditional obligations".

All the same, he concedes to the possibility of ethnic groups expanding into the traditional sector to gain the backing of the tribes.[9]

Like others, ethnic groups are organised around a set of common activities which may be political, social, economic or psychological. An ethnic group has as its members people who share a conviction that they have interests and a common fate; and they tend to propound a cultural symbolism expressing their cohesiveness. A fundamental factor that

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9. Robert H. Bates - "Ethnic Competition and Modernization in Comtemporary Africa" in Comparative Political Studies. Vol.6 No.4 January 1974. Sage, Longon, pp. 457-484.

distinguishes ethnic group is this cultural symbolism they use as the focus of identity. This identity pattern are evidenced by the application of collective myths of origin, the assertion of ties of kinship or blood. They also share and are conscious of their language and heritage. Bates argues that ethnic groups differ from other groups in their composition because:

> "... they include persons from every stage of life, and every socio-economic level".[10]

Obviously, one has to realise as Nelson Kasfir pointed out that the "insignia of ethnicity are inescapable" although ethnic identity may not be. Everyone has an ancestral root, therefore ethnic awareness cannot be easily obliterated unless people are forced to forget their ancestry. An individual does not acquire ethnic attributes, he is born with them Kasfir analyses four ways of recognising ethnic groups. These are (a) culture, (b) language (c) traditional political organization and (d) territoriality.[11] These four attributes also apply to tribe.

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10. Ibid page 455

11. Nelson Kasfir: The Shrinking Political Arena, Participation and Ethnicity in Africa. A Case Study of Uganda, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1976 p.28

As earlier mentioned, although the insignia of ethnicity are inescapable, ethnic identity is not. What this means is that one can have the common attributes of a particular ethnic group, without identifying with it although this seems impracticable. How then does one identify with a group?

Language is the central and the most important aspect of identity. Be this as it may, it must be conceded that in the final analysis, identity is a subjective, individual phenomenon. It is shaped through constantly recurrent question to one-self. "Who am I? with its inevitable corollary, "Who is he?" Brought home to their logical sequence they are then generalized to the collectivity andbecome "Who are we"? and "Who are they"? These "questions invariably involve the basic processes of cognition and perception".[12]

Ethnic consciousness in itself does not pose any threat to political integration and stability, since it simply means the awareness of, and the acceptance of an individual as belonging to a corporate body. Secondly it may also mean the awareness of such a corporate body too of its peculiar identity.

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12. Erik Erickson - Identity, Youth and Crisis. (New York) Random House, 1965 p.22

The situation becomes counter productive and dysfunctional when it degenerates into ethnic particularism or aggressiveness. . This refers to the attitude or behaviour of a particular ethnic group to others within the political system - a behaviour that is not patterned along the lines of mutal cooperation and peaceful co-existence but that of competition and conflicts.

ETHNICITY AND MODERNIZATION

Succintly, modernization is a process that refers to growth and change within political systems. Political development is an aspect of modernization. Writers tend to associate development with increasing complexity, specialization and differentiation of political institutions and roles within a society.[13] Used generically, modernization encompasses economic, social as well as political change. The process of modernization leaves a myriad of problems in its wake. These problems include lack of balanced economic growth, socio-economic inequality, population explosion, political instability brought about by social conflicts, etc. No wonder then that

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13. See Huntington - "Politicsal Development and Political Decay." World Politics, No. 17, April 1963.

Western theorists of modernization tend to emphasise order and authority as the most relevant concepts in political development. Authority is needed to wield the different ethnic groups together and give the people purposeful leadership while at the same time maintaining political stability.

Modernization as a process means that nations strive to achieve higher levels of education, per capita income, urbanisation, political participation and industrialization. All these tend to engender political conflicts since political actors and members of the polity at large are forced to compete for societal values. Viewing political systems as those interractions through which values are authoritatively allocated for a society, modernization then will complicate the issue of value allocation amongst members of the system.[14] Since modernization also increases social mobilization, one can theorize that in a culturally plural society, competition triggered by socio-political and economic development will tend to be defined along communal or

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14. See David Easton - A Systems Analysis of Political Life, New York, John Wiley and Sons, 1965. The Political System, Prentice Hall, Published 1965.

ethnic lines.[15]

There are three closely related aspects of life which can be used as indices of the modernizing process. These are (a) attitudes (b) tools and techniques and (c) the structure or organisation of life. One can endeavour to explain these concepts in relation to ethnic awareness and ethnic aggressiveness. Modernization tends to feature fundamental changes in the general attitude of the people. It connotes a new sense of awareness, and at times the ability to analyse facts and be concerned with general affairs. Ethnic consciousness can occur during the time of this awareness. Coupled with this peculiar attitude is the technique of organisation, dealing predominantly with how societal conflicts can be settled. When people struggle for existence and for societal values, they look for ready allies, people with whom they have certain traits in common. It is then that they become aware of their existence as members of an ethnic group, with the realisation that there is enormous advantage in group bargaining. They now start to see other ethnic groups as

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15. Melson, and Wolde (ed) Nigeria -Modernization and the Politics of Communalism Michigan State University, 1971.

outsiders, real or imagined competitors. This leads to ethnic aggressiveness within the political system.

The process of modernization also entails change, change from one state of affairs to the other. Since this change is a continous one for the modernizing nations, they are regarded as trasitional societies. Transitional not only politically, but psychologically as well: people are being uprooted socially and by experiences, they try to grapple with ideas they can neither contr nor understand. Invariably, there occurs the jolting of life which may act as a destablizing force.[16]

Ethnicity and National Integration

As earlier mentioned, features of African life can only be clearly grapsed if the ethnic factor is considered. The ethnic factor exerts an enormous influence on the pace and nature of socio-economic processes and the political life of African states. There is no doubt that the myriad of problems facing African countries like difficulties of social and economic development, political instability, socio-economic

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16. S.P. Huntington - "Strategies of Institutional Development" in Finkle and Gable (ed) Political Development and Social Change. London: John Wiley, 1971, pp.478-484.

stratifications and mass disatisfaction with the political leadership are being aggravated by the issue of ethnic contradictions. Paradoxically, the cause of ethnic friction remains the unresolved social and economic problems: the enormity of economic inequality fans the embers of ethnic conflicts.

In certain cases, official attempts are made at concealing ethnic problems, to reduce the complex issues involved to mere inter-tribal distrust - an ailment which will eventually heal with time. Little effort is made to understand ethnic frictions in terms of socio-economic inequality and struggle for societal values. No effort is made about the connection between horizontal and vertical demarcation within the society, despite the fact that these inter-relationships increase inter-ethnic tensions and create conflict situations. As Crawford Young explains :

> "The linkage as well as the contrast between cultural pluralism and social class becomes evidenced when in certain instances, social strata and cultural segment offer simultaneously relevant role definition. This is particularly apt to occur when a group comes to feel itself relatively deprived in relation to ....

other significant reference groups.[17]

Prior to the attainment of sovereignty, many African leaders held the erroneous view that the cause of aggressive ethnicity lay in colonialism, and that once independence was achieved, it will be aliminated. However, about two decades after inpendence, events in many African states have painfully nullified this assumption. Instead of detribalization, what we have is aggressive ethnicity - the new over-zealous awareness of belonging to a particular ethnic group.

What should concern social scientists should not only be the understanding and academic analysis of ethnicity. Our focus should also be on its effect on group relations, most especially where it may engender social conflict and hamper national integration. C.E. Black gives an overview of the inevitable, if not critical problems that all modernising countries (including Nigeria) must face. These include

(i) the challenge of modernity, that is to say, the containment of the destablising effects of the process of modernization.

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17. Young Crawford - The Politics of Cultural Pluralism, Wisconsin, 1976, p.39.

(ii) the consolidation of modernizing leadership, in a way the transforming of power from the traditional to the modernising leadership. This process may be characterized by coup-detats, revolutions and wars of national liberation and unifications.

(iii) economic and social transformation which may not be dramatic but nevertheless may be profound as a result of the growth of science and technology which open new avenue of opportunities for citizens.

(iv) the integration of society.[18]

Since we are dealing with the effect of cultural pluralism on socio-political integration, this last process should be of particular relevance. Integration here in the words of Black, means that "the individual's ties with local, regional and other immediate structures are reduced, at the same time that his ties with the larger and more diffused urban and industrial net-work are strengthened". This shift may give the individual the advantages of having larger share in "the distristribution of resources in terms of education, consumer goods and a variety of services".[19]

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18. C.E. Black - "Sequences of political Development" in Finkle and Gable (ed) op. cit pp.436-477.

19. Ibid. page 444

However, this difinition is of little value to us in our analysis of the effect of ethnicity on national integration. I have earlier explained citing different authors, that ethnicity is a modern phenomenon, hence, if individual ties with 'local', regional and other 'immediate structures' are reduced, it may be replaced with ethnic consciousness in the more "diffused urban and industrial network" subsequently this ethnic awareness may degenerate into ethnic aggressiveness which may in turn pose a more serious threat to national integration. In this, one may prefer the definition of Huntington who sees national integration as the

> "amalgamation of a disparate social, economic, religious, ethnic and geographic elements into a single nation-state".[20]

He contends that this implies the capacity of the government to control the territory under its jurisdiction and that the population there-in cultivates a set of popular attitudes of loyalty, allegiance and the desire to place national above parochial, sectional, ethnic and religious interests.

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20. Ibid page 494.

Ethnic competition and conflict does not allow for this type of national integration. By ethnic competition I mean the "striving by ethnic groups for valued goods which are scarce in comparism to the demand for them".[21] This competition becomes inevitable because modernization means the striving for the "good things of life" or societal values.

I. Wallerstein seems two dysfunctional aspects of ethnicity for national integration. He believes and I tend to agree with him that "ethnic groups are still particularistic in their orientation and diffuse in their obligations".[22] The second problem which tends to haunt political leaders in Africa and which also concerns us in this research is separation. Separatism may be as a result of disputes amongst elites over the direction of change, or disputes over scarce resources. This clearly shows that ethnic

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21. Rober H. Bates : "Ethnic Competition and Modernization in Contemporary Africa" in Comparative Political Studies Vol.6 No.4, Jan. 1974. London, p.458.

22. I. Wallerstein : "Ethnicity and National Integration in West Africa" in M.E. Doro and N.M. Stultz (ed) Governing in Black Africa, Prentice Hall. 1970, pp. 16-17.

sentiment can be a strong weapon of separatists. The separatist tendency that Wallerstein is referring to here connotes the extreme case or outright irredentism of neighbours, or even secession.[23] We intend to look into how ethnic sentiment can cause agitation for dismemberment of administrative units i.e. states within a federation. I will postulate in this essay that state agitations in Nigeria tend to use ethnic identity as a major criterion for demanding for separate administrative units.

For long, some Nigerian political leaders notably Chief Awolowo, a one time premier of the defunct Western Region and ex-leader of Opposition before the coup-eta't of 1966 has consistently argued in favour of creating states on cultural-ethnic arrangement.[24] The Chief wants each major ethnic group to have a state of its own.

Ethnic Contradiction and Intra Elite Rivalry

Amongst the elites, socio-political competition and scramble for official positions usually create the need for a search for

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23. Noteworthy examples are the 'Biafra Seceession" in Nigeria that led to the civil war, and the 1978 Shaba reballion in Zaire - These are two cases out of many in Africa.

24. O. Awolowo - Path to Nigerian Freedom London, Faber 1947, p. 47-55. (ii) Thoughts on Nigerian Constitution, 1966. Oxford University Press pp.89-105. (iii) Peoples Republic, 1968 Ibadan, Oxford University press, Pp.235-253.

identity pattern that will compel the sysmpathy of one's primordial unit. This sympathy ultimately places ethnicity as the most important area of public cognition on the arena of socio-political struggle and competition. To the elites ethnicity has become the opium of the unsuccessful and armour of protection for political incumbents. The problem is further complicated by the imperialist powers who see ethnic diversity as a weapon and an instrument of perpetuating their economic exploitation of Africa. They try to encourage ethnic frictions, exploit conflict situations and give tacit, if not open support to protagonists of separation. This is evidenced by the roles played by some Western powers during the Nigerian civil war. These elites give a political tag to ethnicity and transfer it to the masses who give it a terrestrial gloss. Pareto defines elite as a :

> "class of people who have the highest indices in their branch of activity".[25]

In the African context, elites and those persons who may have some form of Western education and are wealthy to some degree.

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25. V. Pareto : The Mind and Society III, pp.1422-4.

The elite class includes communal leaders, politicians, military officers, University graduates and undergraduates, spiritual leaders and wealthy businessmen.[26] The fundamental basis of elitism is that every society is bound to be divided into two major strata - the elites and the masses. The elites is sub-divided into two; the governing elites and the non-governing elites. In matters relating to agitation for creation of states, the elites use ethnicity not as an objective motive, but as a justification. They attempt and often succeed in deluding the masses that the vertical or social stratification of society is more relevant than horizontal or economic stratification. Although, if rightly manipulated, vertical stratification can be used to the advantage of the polity, the elites use it to their own advantage. This can be dysfunctional to the state, since the interests of the elites and that of the polity are not often the same. The elites try to distract people's attention from urgent socio-economic problems and encourage emotional attachment to one's primordial unit or ethnic group. This manipulation allows the elites to perpetuate

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26. For an analysis of African elites see P.C. Lloyd : The New Elites of Tropical Africa. Oxford University Press 1960.

the situation of economic inequality within the society. Eboe Hutchful corroborates this view :

> "the petit-bourgeoisie as a whole and each fraction within it also has ethnic or regional character. The fragmentation within the petit-bourgeoisie thus assumes the form not only of struggle between its various fractions, but also of an ethnic struggle within each of the fractions. Ethnicity provides both an ideology and a ready medium of mobilization of "outside" support.[27]

Ethnicity as such does not divide the elites because they tend to agree on the ideological relevance of ethnicity to their aims. Since the ideology of the elites tends to be the dominant one in the polity, political struggle inexorably follows ethnic lines.

Nigeria and the problem of Cultural pluralism:

In terms of ethnic structure, Nigeria is one of the most complicated country in Africa. This complexity is brought home

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27. Eboe Hutchful - "The Military-Bureaucratic State in Ghana 1972-1977" Paper delivered at the Conference of African Association of Political Science, Rabat, Morocco, September, 1977.

when one realises that there are three hundred and seventeen peoples in the small Ogoja region (Cross River State) alone.[28]

Officially, the Federal office of statistics in Lagos estimated that there are about two hundred and thirty five ethnic groups in Nigeria, each with a population of not less than 10,000. On the other hand, Chief Awolowo recognises fifty one major nations within the country.[29] The 1963 controversial census gave a breakdown of the main ethnic groups in the country as follows:-

Hausa	-	11.7 million
Yoruba	-	11.3 "
Ibo	-	9.3 "
Fulani	-	4.8 "
Kanuri	-	2.3 "
Ibibio	-	2 "
Tiv	-	1.8 "
Ijaw	-	1 "
Edo	-	1 "

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28. Colonial Office : Nigeria - Report of the Commission Appointed to Enquire into the fears of Minorities and the Means of Allaying Them. London p. 34.

29 O. Awolowo : The Peoples Republic Ibadan, Oxford University Press 1965. p.235.

These are the only nine major ethnic groups whose population were or exceeded a million in 1963. Others whose population are less than a million but nonethless numerically important are the Nupe, Idoma, Urhobo, Jukun, Efik and Ebira. The United Nations estimate of the country's population stood at 65 million in 1974.

Since the chief distinguishing characteristics of a tribe is language, often each ethnic group is known by the language it speaks. Within each major ethnic language there are numberous dialects. For instance, it is difficult for an Ijesha speaking person to understand clearly the dialect of either the Ijebu or Ekiti, despite the fact that both group belong to the Yoruba stock. Similarly, the Hausa being spoken in Sokoto is slightly different from that in Kano, while Southern Igbo differs from Wawa Igbo. It thus goes without gainsaying that Nigeria faces a formidable problem of political integration. This is a problem that has caused serious stress on the political system in the past - the most noteworthy being the Nigerian Civil War (1967-1979)

It is worthy of note that some Nigerian elites especially the political/military leaders tend to underplay the importance

of tribalism in the country. Many elites talk about "national consciousness", "national unity" and the "Nigerian Nation" despite the fact that what made them "leaders" in their respective callings may not be their intrinsic qualities or merit, but their ethnic background. Nigerians believe rightly or othersie that tribe transcends all other connections.

The reasons for this behaviour are not far to seek. Firstly, the fact remains that ethnic contradictions exist in Nigeria. What we know as Nigeria tody is an amalgamation of many nations. Another reason in the issue of slave trade. For example, the Hausas used to raid the people of Middle Belt area for slaves, hence up till now, many Hausas still regard the ethnic groups of this area as socio-culturally inferior to them. Colonial rule did not solve the problems of ethnic contradiction, in Nigeria, rather it aggravated it by the policy of divide and rule. The colonial policy of indirect rule gave immense fillip to the preservation of tribal systems and conservative traditional patterns. As earlier mentioned, Ethnic interests tend to coalesce ultimately around the institution of traditional authorities. The appallingly low literacy rate has left the masses susceptible to the manipulation of the

elites psychologically; the issue of economic competition has created distrust between different ethnic groups. In the quest for a fair share of the "national cake" there is never a friendly competition. Not to be forgotten is the fact that the post-independence political struggle in Nigeria followed ethnic divisions with each of the three major political parties representing the three main ethnic groups i.e. Northern, (later, Nigerian) Peoples Congress (NPC) for the Hausa/Fulani; National Convention of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) for the Ibo; and Action Group (AG) for the Yoruba. Consequently, people saw politicking essentially as inter-ethnic struggle for power at the centre. To lose this struggle was to be deprived of the "spoils" - in terms of political offices, economic opportunities and social amenities.

For any polity to survive or persist through time, it must not only be able to convert inputs into meaningful outputs, it must also be able to allocate values authoritatively.[30]

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30. See David Easton - A Systems Analysis of Political Life. London, John Wiley and Sons, 1965.

Goal attainment, adaptation, integration, pattern maintenance and conflict management are the fundamental functions of any political system. Its existence or survival depends on how effectively it performs these functions. Finding a tenable solution to the problem of ethnic contradiction comes under the functions of conflict management and integration. Hence for a long time to come, one of the principal functions of any political leadership in Nigeria will continue to be the resolution of ethnic contradictions.

HYPOTHESES

I intend to use three major hypotheses, to be tested against three other alternative hypotheses. These are:-

(1) - that due to Nigeria's peculiar cultural pluralism, agitations for creation of states will follow ethnic patterns.

(2) - that the struggle for scarce, resources aggravates inter-ethnic conflicts.

(3) - that since agitations for creation of state follow ethnic lines, it would be difficult to resolve the issue of states creation in Nigeria permanently, because of the myriad of ethnic groups within the country.

Counter - Hypotheses :

(1) - that the agitation for creation of states is due to elites' conflicts.

(2) - that the agitation becomes acute due to benign neglect of certain areas in the provision of social amenities and distribution of official posts. (political and administrative)

(3) - that the 19 State Structure solved the issue of creation of more states, with the 1976 Local Government Reform taking care of the minorities.

The hypotheses and the counter-hypotheses tend to be contradictory, at least by the nature of this research. However on critical and serious plane, one may deduce that all of them constitute inter-related variables. The first hypothesis which is the major contention of this Research holds that agitation for the creation of states is as a result of ethnic contradictions. The opposite counter-hypothesis states that it is elitist conflicts which cause the agitation; in other words, one can say that the elites rely heavily on ethnic support in their struggle for social and economic values.

Although one can talk of national elities "individual members still retain ethnic allegiances".[31] So it is logical to say that they imbibe the masses with the concept of ethnicity. It is when the masses take up the concept that it manifests itself as a national issue and may cause undue stress on the political system.

The second hypothesis states that inter-ethnic suspicions create political conflicts in Nigeria, while its counter-hypothesis lays emphasis on neglect in the provision of social amenities. However, whenever a specific area is neglected in the provision of amenities or such area is under-represented in the decision making centre, the people of such an area will neither see the issue in terms of administrative convenience nor economic expedience. It will be seen as deliberate negligence, and attempts to develop another area at their own expense.

The same arguement goes for the third hypothesis and its counter hypothesis. While one can argue that creation

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31. P.C. Lloyd (ed) The New Elites of Tropical Africa. New York, Oxford University Press 1966 p.14.

of new Local Government areas may allow major ethnic groups some measure of autonomy, the fact still remains that a Local Government area is still less powerful than a state in terms of authoritative allocation of values. Furthermore, Local Government Areas that contain the same ethnic group may see themselves as an indivisible whole and may often carry out "collective bargaining" within the state against other groups.

Although one can say that the three counter-hypothesis can stand on their own, my research tend to corroborate the view that ethnicity is the independent variable: amenities and elites are dependent variables.

The next chapter will trace the history of attempts made at creating administrative units in Nigeria from the time of amalgamation in 1914 till 1976.

CHAPTER TWO

NIGERIA : THE POLITICS OF CULTURAL PLURALISM

In 1920, Sir Hugh Clifford described Nigeria as a

> "...collection of self-contained and mutually independent native states separated from one another ... by vast distances, by differences of history and traditions and by ethnological, racial, tribal, political, social and religious barriers ..."[1]

It is to be expected then that one of the formidable problems facing Nigeria today is that of forging a nation from a myriad of ethnic groupings, it is a perennial African problem. However, for Nigeria, with a population of about 80 million (1978 estimates) the problem assumes a frightening proportion.

Before the creation of twelve states in 1967, Nigeria had four regions, each region was dominated by a major ethnic

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1. H. Clifford : Address to the Nigerian Council December 29, 1920 - quoted from F.A.O. Schwartz Jr. Nigeria: The Tribe, The Nation or the Race. M.I.T. 1965 p.3.

group. In the Eastern Region, the Ibo was the dominant group, in the Western Region, the Yoruba, in the North, the Hausa/Fulani, and in the Mid-Western Region, the Edo speaking people were dominant. Often the ethnic minorities of some regions allied themselves with the ethnic majority of another, making regional politics a reflection of the events at the centre.

The issue of ethnic cleavages was not the only obstable of national integration in Nigeria, there was also the problem of religious differences coupled with differences in the impact of Western education. These factors have led to a sharp distinction between the former Northern Region (now made up of 10 states) and the Eastern, Western and Mid-Western Regions (now broken into 9 states) and commonly referred to as the 'South'. The North with the exception of Middle Belt Area is strongly influenced by Islamic religion and has been less receptive to Western education than the South.

One would have expected that the geographical cohesiveness and exclusiveness of Nigeria's ethnic groups will be advantageous. Unfortunately, this has not been the case. This cohesiveness has tended to perpetuate differences. Further more it gives rise to the demand of ethnic minorities for

separate states. Be this as it may, this ethnic diversity constitutes the basis of Nigerian Federalism.

Geographical differences between the North and the South help to explain the varying impacts of Islam, Christianity and Western education upon them. The North belongs to an area geographically and historically known as the Western Sudan.

"Bordening upon the Southern section of the Sahara and typically consisting of open Savannah, it was tied to North African and through it to the Middle East for centuries before the European "discoveries" of West Africa.[2]

After migrations came trade. The people of Western Sudan traded with the Arab and Berber elements in North Africa. From Western Sudan across the desert to North Africa were camel caravans load of gold, salt, slaves and red goatskins, otherwise known as "Moroccan" leather. In return, the North Africans gave them faith, the Law and Islamic religion.

On the other hand, Christianity and Western education were introduced to Southern Nigeria by the Europeans who sailed across the sea from Western Europe. The people of

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2. F.A.O. Schwartz (Ibid) page 9.

Niger Delta first came in contact with European merchants around early seventeenth 17th century.[3] The European encroachment the spread across the Coast from Lagos to Calabar. The first contact was centred on slavery and slaw trade. Slaves were brought in from the hinterland and sold to the European slave traders on the coast. The abolition of slave trade brought about the change to trade in raw materials like palm oil and palm kernel. With its charter, which was granted in 1886, the Royal Niger Company was used in the occupation of Nigeria. In 1861, Lagos was annexed, the conquest of Sokoto caliphate together with the occupation of Bornu in 1903 left the British masters of most of the present day Nigeria.[4]

A common history can contribute immensely towards the political integration of a country, but pre-colonial Nigeria ethnic groups had no common history. It was the history of

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3. For a detailed analysis, see K. Onwuka Dike: Trade and politics in the Niger Delta. London 1959

4. Micheal Crowder : West Africa under Colonial Rule, Hutchinson of London 1968 pp.116-139.

different tribes. Although Thomas Hodgkin was able to identify a variety of links and inter-actions between the various states and peoples which were the predecessors of modern Nigeria, these interactions were only those of some groups with their neighbours and not of all Nigerians groups together.[5]

The Jihad and the problem of Minorities.

One historical phenomenon that contributed to the problems of minorities in Nigeria was the Jihad. The Jihad was the Fulani conquest of a large part of the defunct Northern Region in the name of Islam. The Fulani, along with the Hausa, whose language most of them speak constituted the dominant group in Northern Nigeria. The Hausa had been living in the area before the Fulani migrated into Hausa Land in the thirteeth 13th century. Both of them had been converted to Islam; and for many years the Hausas dominated politically. Then came the Jihad led by a Fulani Islamic scholar, Uthman dan Fodio. The Jihad was meant to reform the Islamic religion,

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5. Hodgkin, Thomas : Nigerian perspectives: An Historical Anthology. Oxford, University Press London 1960 p.2

restore the true Islamic faith and spread it further. It started in 1804 and by 1831, Fulani rulers, who were mainly Dan Fodio's followers were established throughout Hausa Land. The Fulani Caliphate covered an area of 300,000 square kilometers.[6] It was governed on principles which might not be too different from European feudalism apart from the fact that the former was an Islamic Empire. Local rulers, known as Emirs owed allegiance to Sokoto, the capital of the Caliphate. The Emirs in turn head a pyramid with district and village heads under them. The Northern Emirs of today are the descendants of Uthman dan Fodio's followers, and the Emirates formed the basic units of Local Administration in the North until the Local Government Reforms of 1976.

The Jihad brought unity to an expansive area. A unity that was based on ethno-religious coherence. This religious sentiment was transformed into political appealations until the creation of states in 1966. Furthermore the Hausa/Fulani group had a political influence in the country that was out of proportion to their numerical strength. The Northern

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6. Further analysis of the Jihad will be given in the next chapter.

Peoples Congress led by the late Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto, and a great grandson of Uthman dan Fodio governed Northern Region and was the senior partner of the NCNC/NPC coalition at the Federal level. This was made possible because the Hausa/Fulani constituted the largest group in Northern Region, which in turn was the largest region in the Federation before 1966 when it was dismembered.

The Jihad was to have political and administrative repercussions later. The vast area under the caliphate constituted a single politico-religious entity. Although, there were units known as Emirates under the control of Emirs, in terms of administration, supreme authority lay with Sokoto and the Sultan. However, three sets of groups were exceptions, they felt that they were culturally, if not religiously different from the people of the caliphate. The first group were the non-Hausas who were conquered by the Jihadists, notably the Yorubas of Ilorin province. The second group was the Kanuri. The Kanuris, although Muslims, were not conquered by the Jihadists. Borno is the home of the Kanuri people in the North eastern part of the country. As part of

the Kanem-Bornu Empire which reached its peak in Sixteenth 16th Century under Mai Idris Alooma, it also had a loose control over some Hausa city-states like Bauchi until the Jihadists seized them.

The third set of people were those who successfully resisted the Jihadists' invasion. This people include the Tiv, the Birom and other groups of the Middle-Belt. Majority of this people were pagans, and rather than being Muslims, they embraced christianity as a result of Missionary activities in the area.

Consequently, due to cultural and religious reasons, these three areas were vocal in the demand for the dismemberment of Northern Region. In Ilorin province, the Ilorin Talaka Parapo were asking to be excised from the North, the Bornu Youth Movement, and the United Middle Belt Congress also wanted separate regions.

In the Western Region, the Yoruba internecine wars of the late eighteenth 18th century had left them divided. Most Ekitis, Ijebus, and Egbas were not happy to be under the suzerainty of the Oyos, especially because the capital was

located at Ibadan. The Edos and Ika Ibos of Benin province also wanted a separate region. In the East, the Ibibios, Efiks, Ijaws and Kalabaris, weary of Ibo domination formed the Calabar-Ogoja-Rivers Movement to demand for a new region.

Although colonialism created Nigeria, certain colonial policies hampered the process of political integration. One of such policies was Indirect Rule which "perpetuated ethnic differences and favoured the traditional aristocracy as opposed to a new class free of tribal shackles".[7] Nigeria is cited as the origin of Indirect rule as practiced in West Africa. It was first set up by Taubman Goldie and his Royal Niger Company. In 1900, R.N.C. relinquished its authority to the British Government and Lord Fredrick Lugard took over the administration of Northern Nigeria. Indirect rule was introduced because of the inavailability of the large staff which was needed for direct administration. Secondly, it was seen that it would not be in the best interest of the colonialists to attempt drastic reforms in the North without a fair knowledge of the socio-cultural

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7. Schwartz op. cit p.29.

situation. Indirect rule tried to wield together two authorities into one: the traditional authority and the colonial authority. The two types of authority tended to be complimentary but in some cases extremely in-compatible.[8]

The Issue of Minorities

It has often been said that a combination of common language and religious faith can form a basis for political integration. It is however unfortunate that although educated Nigerians who form less than twenty percent 20% of the total population speak English, Nigeria neither has a common language nor a common religion.

Common language has always been a boon to an inchoate nation. Joseph Stalin, one of the architects of modern U.S.S.R pointed out that:

> "a national community is incoceivable without a common language ... There is no nation which at one and the same time speaks several languages".[9]

8. M. Crowder : op cit pp. 217-226 and M. Perham : Lugard: The years of Authority 1898-1945. Colins 1960 pages 138-173.

9. Joseph Stalin : Marxism and the National and Colonial Questions. Foreign Language Publishing House Moscow, 1930 pp. 5-6.

Religion also serves to unite a nation, and religious cleavages often threaten the very existence of some nations like Lebanon, Northern Ireland, India and Chad Republic. In Nigeria, there is no common religion, although there are occasional religious conflicts, these have not degenerated into unmanagebale proportions.

The problem of minorities and demands for creation of new regions assumed new dimension in 1957 during the London Constitutional Conference. After a rather acrimonious debate, the delegates, with the consent of the British Colonial office decided to turn the matter over to a Minorities' Commission.[10] The Colonial master, Britain was not in support of creating more regions or states from the existing ones, since such an exercise "would create an administrative problem of the first order".[11]

The terms of reference of the Minorities Commission which was drafted by the Colonial Secretary epitomized the British

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10. "Report of the Nigerian Constitutional Conference held in London in May and June 1957" H.M.S.O. London 1957.

11. Ibid.

antipathy towards the proliferations of more regions. The Commission was charged first, to look into other means of allaying fears of the Minorities and "if, but only if no other solutions seem to the commission to meet the cases, then as a last resort to make detailed recommendations for possible creation of more regions".[12] The chairman of the Commission was Sir Henry Willink, who was a Minister in the War time British Cabinet of Late Sir Winston Churchill. Members of the Commission visited Nigeria in late 1957 and early 1958. They had public sittings in eighteen 18 Nigerian cities and received memoranda from Regional Governments, Minority groups and organisations. The NPC took a very negative stand as regards the creation of more regions from the North. The party was not seriously concerned with events in other parts of the country but was strongly against the creation of Middle Belt Region, Bornu Region and the demand for the transfer of Yorubas of Ilorin and Kabba provinces to Western Region. The NPC's Government of the North presented a well orchestrated

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12. Minorities Commission Report 1959 pp.1-2.

case against dismemberment through the late Alhaji Ahman Galadima of Pategi, who was the General Secretary of the party. The Memorandum stated that :

> "...the Northern Region as it is today is the product of geography, history and the character of its people ... In a continent whose curse has been fragmentation, unity is a precious quality, not to be lightly tampered with. The overwhelming majority of the people are vehemently opposed to the creation of a new Region or to any revision of regional boundaries".[13]

The Ibo controlled NCNC's Government of the East supported the idea of the creation of proposed states like Rivers, Cross River and Ogoja, but it strongly opposed the creation of a unified Calabar-Ogoja-River (COR) region because such unity was only based on "a negative dislike for the Ibo tribe".[14]

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13. "Memorandum to the Minorities Commission from the Government of the Northern Region of Nigeria" Quoted from J.P. Mackintosh: Nigerian Government and Politics George Allen and Unwin Ltd. London 1966 p. 34

14. Minorities' Report op. cit. p.47.

The Yoruba dominated AG's Government of the West supported the creation of Mid-West Region, but that all other Minorities should be excised from the proposed Region leaving the Binis as the only tribe in the Region. The Itsekiris and Urhobos of Warri Division and the people of Akoko-Edo Division who had been adopting Yoruba customs and whose languages are related to Yoruba should remain attached to the Yoruba West. The Ijaws of the Niger Delta should join their fellow Ijaws of Rivers province to form a separate Region while the Ika Ibo living on the Western side of River Niger should be united with the Ibos of the Eastern Region.[15]

In its Report, the Commission recommended against the creation of any new regions for two vital reasons. Firstly, the Commission was of the view that a new state created would have to compete with the existing ones and the cost would be high. Secondly, the Commission noted that most of the proposed new regions would themselves not escape the perennial problem of Minorities within their borders.[16]

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15. Schwartz op. cit. p.94

16. Minorities Report op. cit p. 61-62

It was stated that in the proposed Mid-West Region, other tribes might be afraid of Edo domination, in COR region, many of the smaller tribes feared the Efiks and Ibibios as they feared the Ibos. Even in the Northern Region when the Tivs and others wanted a Middle Belt Region, some tribes were apprehensive of a state "in which the Tivs would be the dominating elements, one witness expressed the view succintly in the statement that be preferred the Fulanis, because they were far away". Furthermore, the creation of a Middle Belt Region would adversely affect Northern Region because majority of the experienced Civil servants were from the Belt.[17]

Lastly, the Commission believed that a thoroughly democratic Government would solve the problem of the Minorities. It recommended the inclusion of a list of Fundamental Rights in the Constitution of the Country inorder to allay the fears of the minorities. However, the minorities were still dissatisfied.

In early 1960, when the motion for Independence was moved in the Federal House of Representatives by the late

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17. Minorities Report Ibid : p. 32 and 72

Prime Minister, Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, the issue of minorities was again raised during the debate. Mr. S.J. Umoren (A.G.) representing Uyo North in the East, and Honourable G. Yilgwen (UMBC, Lowland West, Middle Belt) both wanted regions to be created for minorities before independence. Mr. Umoren was of the opinion that if "independence is to have any meaning for the ordinary people in this country, the views of the Minorities must not be toyed with". To this end the Government should ensure that "the fears of the Minorities are allayed before independence".[18] Mr. Yilgwen maintained that his people were not Northerners, "we are the Middle Belt People of Nigeria. It is a mistake to call us Northerners". He went as far as calling for a plebiscite to decide the political and administrative future of the Middle Belt Area.[19]

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18. Nigeria Asks for Independence "A reprint of the Debate in the Federal House of Representatives on January 14, 15, and 16 1960", published by the Federal Ministry of Information, Lagos 1960, pages 15-16.

19. "Nigeria Asks for Independence" Ibid p. 36.

Be this as it may, nothing concrete was done before independence as regards meeting the political aspirations of the ethnic Minorities by creating new regions or states. It is pertinent at this juncture however to mention that the Independence Constitution of 1960 contained the required procedures for the creation of new Region or State. These were :

(1) Each House of the Federal Legislature must pass by a two-thirds majority of all members a resolution approving a proposal that the procedure for the creation of a new state be set in motion.

(2) The proposal must be submitted to each House of the Regional Legislatures and must be approved either
   (a) by resolution passed by each House of the Legislatures of two Regions provided these include the Region or Regions from which the new state would be created, or
   (b) by resolution passed by each House of the Legislature by bare majority in the Regions.

(3) The Federal Legislature may then enact a law providing for such constitutional amendments as are necessary or

expedient to give effect to the proposal.

(4) Thereafter before the law can come into effect, a referendum must be held in the area which it proposed to convent into a state; and at least 60% of those who voted must be in favour of the proposal.[20]

From the foregoing stringent constitutional requirements, it is obvious that the obstacles facing state agitators were enormous. However, with independence came power politics. At the centre, the NPC/NCNC alliance decided to create a Mid-Western Region out of the then AG controlled Western Region. The Action Group was in opposition at the centre, and by 1962, after its Jos Convention, it was facing imminent split and political immobilization. In May 1962, the Mid-West Act was passed by the Federal House of Representatives, and by 1964, Mid-West Region had become a reality. The creation of Mid-West Region did not signify any intention by the Federal Government to create new Regions for the minorities. The creation was possible because the NPC/NCNC coalition wanted to immobilize the Action Group which was in opposition.

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20. Awa E.O. : Federal Government in Nigeria. Berkeley University of California Press, 1964 72-73.

It is interesting to note that no region was created either in the East or North, not because there were no demands, but because there was no political might to back up the demands.

The Military Era

The military coup d'etat of January 15 1966, and the tragic concatenation of events that followed brought to the fore the necessity of allaying the fears of the minorities and solve the problem of mutual suspicions amongst Nigeria's numerous ethnic groups. After the second coup of July 1966 that brought Mr. Yakubu Gowon to power, agitation and demands for creation of more states in Nigeria assumed new dimensions. During the Ad Hoc constitutional Conference in September 1966, the issues of states creation and consideration in broad outlines of the forms of political association suitable for Nigeria received prominence in the discussions. For instance the Committee approved the text of a statement issued by the Lagos delegation led by Professor Taslim Elias (now Deputy President of the World Court) that for "the avoidance of doubt, the Lagos Delagation desires to place it on record that it has, jointly with the Western Region delegation

since the beginning of these meetings, stood for a truely Federal form of Government for Nigeria, the creation of more states in the country, where-ever the people themselves demand these ..." On the other hand the Northern delegation expressed "grave doubts about the wisdom of creating states based on ethnic or linguistic affinities".[21]

On the 30th of November 1966, Gowon made it know to the nation that "without a definite commitment on the states' question, normalcy and freedom from fear of domination by one Region or the other cannot be achieved". He then went on to announce the principles for the creation of new states:

(i) no one state should be in a position to dominate or control the Central Government

(ii) each state should form one compact geographical area

(iii) administrative convenience, the facts of the people concerned must be taken into account.

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21. Quoted from Nigeria 1966: "Events in Nigeria in 1966 and policies and objectives of the Federal Military Government" published by the Federal Ministry of Information Lagos, 1966 p.19.

(iv) each state should be in a position to discharge effectively the functions allocated to Regional Governments.

(v) it is also essential that the new states should be created simultaneously.[22]

On May 27th 1967, to the delight of millions of Nigerians, Gowon decided to reconstitute the Federation into 12 states. The announcement was backed up by Decree No.14 titled "States (Creation and Transitional Provisions) Decree 1967. It was Gowon's belief that the 12 state structure would remove structural imbalance and provide a realistic recipe for balanced national development. It was also hoped that the fears of the minorities would be allayed.

The twelve 12 states structure, with the area, population and ethnic composition of each state is shown below.

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22. Broadcast to the Nation on A new programme for a United Nigeria. Nigeria 1966 Ibid. pages 47-51

TABLE I

The twelve States Showing, area, population and ethnic Composition

	State	Area in sq.miles	Population	Capital	Major Ethnic Groups
1	North Western	65,004	5,773,296	Sokoto	Hausa, Fulani Nupe.
2	North Central	26,949	4,098,305	Kaduna	Hausa, Fulani Gwari
3	Kano	16,630	5,774,842	Kano	Hausa, Fulani
4	North Eastern	120,854	7,815,443	Maiduguri	Kanuri, Hausa Fulani
5	Benue-Plateau	41,844	4,009,408	Jos	Tiv, Angas, Birom, Idoma
6	Kwara	28,672	2,406,265	Ilorin	Yoruba, Igalla, Igbirra, Nupe
7	Lagos	5,747	1,433,567	Lagos	Yoruba
8	Western	29,100	9,487,528	Ibadan	Yoruba
9	Mid-Western	15,344	2,535,839	Benin City	Bini, Edo, Urhobo, Itsekiri, Ibo, Ijaw
10	East-Central	8,746	7,469,000	Enugu	Ibo
11	South Eastern	13,730	4,626,317	Calaba	Ekoi, Ibibio, Efik, Aunang
12	Rivers	7,008	1,544,314	Port-Harcourt	Ijaw, Ikwerre Ibo

Adapted from 1963 Census issued by the Federal Office of Statistics Lagos, and Nigeria Year Book, 1972.

After the creation of these twelve states, the euphoria was ephemeral partly because of the civil war that broke out soon afterward, and more significantly because many ethnic groups were dissatisfied. Further more, the 12 state structure raised the hopes of many ethnic groups within some of these states who thought that they too are qualified to constitute separate states.

Immediately after the war in 1970, paid advertisements in National Newspapers became the order of the day. It was so intense that in the last quarter of 1974, between October and December, "no less than 19 advertiser's announcements on the creation of states appeared in the New Nigeria".[23] This spate of agitation continued until July 27, 1975 when Mr. Yakubu Gowon was eased out of office. As I mentioned earlier, one of the reasons why Gowon fell from power was his apathetic reaction to the demands being made for the creation of more states. On assuming power, one of the

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23. A.D. Yahaya : "The creation of states in Nigeria : The Restoration of the Image of the Military" p.8. An Article now published in G. Panter Brick (ed) Soldiers and Oil, London, Frank Cass, 1978

first actions of late General Murtala Mohammed was to set up a panel for the creation of more states in Nigeria under the Chairmanship of Justice Ayo Irikefe, a Judge of the Supreme Court of Nigeria. Other members of the panel were Brigadier G.A. Ally, Dr. A.D. Yahaya, Head, Department of Political Science A.B.U. Zaria, Mr. S.D. Lar, a private legal practitioner and Mr. Audifferen, a retired Federal Civil Servant.

The panel had the following terms of reference:

I. To examine the question of the creation of more states in the Federation and should the Committee find the creation of more states necessary and desirable to:-

(a) advise on the delimitation of such states

(b) advise on the economic viability of the proposed states.

(c) advise on the location of the administrative capitals of the proposed states and examine and advise on all other factors that may appear to the Committee to be relevant so as to enable the Government to take a decision which will ensure a balanced Federation.

II. To receive and examine written representations from individuals, groups, organisations or associations who may have views on the desirability or otherwise of creating states in particular areas".[24]

The panel received over 1,000 memoranda from Communities Professional Associations, friendship societies and individuals. Generally, what was found out was that "arguments that were put forward for the creation of states indicated that ethnic loyalty was still strong among highly placed Nigerians".[25] These highly placed Nigerians who demanded for creation of states along ethnic lines included members of the intelligentsia, old politicians, traditional rulers and national leaders. Generally, the arguments used as justifications for demands for creation of states were of four types namely: "the stability argument, the domination theory, linguistic affinity or cultural incompatibility and the accelerated development theory".[26] Oyovbaire has categorized the reasons

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24. New Nigeria, August 8, 1975

25. A.D. Yahaya op. cit. p.10

26. A.D. Yahaya Ibid. p.21

for the demand of more states into two namely (i) "Conventional Federalism principle and (ii) ethnic domination argument".[27] However there are similarities in the two groups of reasons for the demand.

The stability or Conventional Federalism principle hinges on one of K.C. Wheare's conditions for a stable Federalism:

> "There should not be anyone state so much more powerful than the rest as to be capable of vying in strength with many of them combined".[28]

The inherent instability in the structure of Nigerian Federalism was rectified somewhat with the creation of twelve states by Mr. Gowon when the 'giant' North was dismembered. Despite this 12 state structure however, the imbalance persisted. One only need to compare North Eastern State with

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27. S.E. Oyovbaire: "Geo-politics and political Behaviour. Some comments on the creation of states in Nigeria" paper presented at the Second (2nd) Annual Conference of the Nigeria political Science Association held at Nsukka, March, 1974.

28. K.C. Wheare : Federal Government 4th edition Galaxy Book, Oxford University Press 1967, P.50.

population of 7.8 million with Rivers state which has 1.5 million. Secondly it is argued that smaller units ensure a strong Federalism, since the Central Government would encounter little difficulty in its dealings with the states.[29] The pre-eminence of the Federal Government is also ensured by the fact that most of the states depend on the centre for funds.

By far, the most important reason given for the various demands was the fear of domination. It was always being vehemently argued that one ethnic group or some ethnic groups are enjoying more than their fair share of amenities and infrastructural facilities. "The Enugu, the Cross River, the Niger of the former North-western state, the Ondo, the Delta, the Abakaliki and the Bauchi state movements were some of the movements that argued their case partly on the bais of neglect".[30] Closely with this is the pure "Ethnicity Argument." Nearly all the demands give cultural incompatility as a major reason.

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29. This view was put forward by Chief Anthony Enahoro at a Lecture delivered at the banned NUNS Convention in Zaria on September 26, 1974. See "New Nigerian" September 28, 1974.

30. A.D. Yahaya op cit p.23.

It will be relevant here to examine the views examined by Chief O. Awolowo, one of the major advocates of creating states on the basis of ethnic self-determination. The Chief contends that there are 51 Nigerian nations according to the 1952 Census Report. Out of a total population of 56 million, the 10 major ethnic groups account for about 45 million, while the remaining 41 groups share 11 millions. The ten major nations are (1) Hausa/Fulani, (2) Yoruba, (3) Ibo, (4) Efik/Ibibio/Annang, (5) Kanuri, (6) Tiv, (7) Ijaw, (8) Edo (9) Urhobo (10) Nupe.

Each of these 10 major nations is to constitute a state. However, inorder to aoid the ridiculous situation of having 51 states, the Chief grouped the 41 groups into 7 states, plus Lagos, the total number of states in the Country would be 18.[31]

The Chief contends that under this 18 state arrangement "there is no room at all for any major ethnic groups to dominate or be suspected of dominating any minority ethnic

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31. Obafemi Awolowo : The Peoples' Republic Ibadan Oxford University Press, 1965 pages 235-153.

group or groups".[32] Those in support of even development contend that the more states there are the better the prospects of equal distribution of amenities, and the easier the task of bringing the Government nearer to the people.

The 19 States' Structure

In recommending the creation of 7 additional states to the former 12, the Irikefe panel used three criteria.

(a) the need to preserve the federal structure of Nigerian Government.

(b) the need to maintain peace and harmony within the Federation

(c) the need to minimize minority problems.[33]

The panel was particularly concerned with the problem of national integration and it placed less emphasis on "administrative considerations like the economic viability of states and the available manpower resources of states".[34] It is evidenced also that the Government agreed with the panel

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32. Obafemi Awolowo ; The Strategy and Tactics of the peoples' Republic of Nigeria. London, Macmillan 1970 P.72.

33. A.D. Yahaya op cit P.34

34. A.D. Yahaya Ibid P.34

since its decision on the recommendations was guided "by considerations of what factors were likely to stabilize, enhance and improve the Federation both in the short and long run".[35] Hence new states were created as follows :

(i) North Eastern State was broken into Borno, Gongola and Bauchi

(ii) Western state was divided into three namely, Oyo, Ogun and Ondo

(iii) North Western came out as two states: Sokoto and Niger

(iv) Benue-Plateau was divided into Benue and Plateau

(v) East Central State was broken into Imo and Anambra.

(vi) States that were left intact were Lagos; Bendel; Rivers; Cross River, Kaduna, Kano and Kwara.[36]

The next chapter would look at the defunct North Western State, and the nature of the demand for its dismemberment.

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35. "Federal Military Government's view on the Report of the Panel on Creation of States" Lagos Government Printer Printer 1976. p.11.

36. Although, Igala Division was excised from Kwara State and merged with Benue

CHAPTER THREE

NORTH WESTERN STATE : THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

With an area of 65,143 square miles, North Western State covers 18.3% of the land area of Nigeria. The state lies between latitudes 8.2°. and 14° North and longitude 3.5° and 7° East. It shares a common boundary with Benin Republic which bounds it on the West and Niger Republic which bounds it on the North and North West. Kaduna state and Plateau states are to the east of the state while in the South the River Niger demarcates the boundary between the State and Kwara State.

The state comprised of 10 Administrative Divisions with 23 Development Areas. The Administrative Divisions were Abuja, Agaie/Lapai, Bida, Kontagora, Minna, Zuru, Argungu, Gwandu, Sokoto and Yauri. Each of these Divisions comprised of one or more Development Areas and Local Authority Units. There were 23 Development areas, 18 were in Sokoto province namely Anka, Argungu, Binji, Birnin Kebbi, Bodinga, Gummi, Gusau, Gwadabawa, Kaura Namoda, Bunza, Koko, Shinkafi, Sokoto, Wurno, Talata Mafara, Yabo, Yauri, and Zuru. The remaining 5, namely Abuja, Agaie/Lapai,

Bida, Kontagora, and Minna were in Niger province.[1]

TABLE II

Area and Population of North Western State by Administrative Divisions

	Administrative Divisions	Area in Sq. Miles	Population
1.	Abuja (N)	2,237	91,340
2.	Agaie/Lapai (N)	2,587	101,937
3.	Bida (N)	4,867	385,093
4.	Kontagora (N)	9,731	254,375
5.	Minna (N)	5,756	361,761
6.	Zuru (N)	3,488	204,019
7.	Argungu (S)	3,356	293,986
8.	Gwandu (S)	6,207	732,690
9.	Sokoto (S)	25,608	3,193,019
10.	Zuru (S)	3,488	204,019
	Total	65,143	5,733,295

N = Niger province
S = Sokoto province.

Source : Federal Census Office Lagos, 1963 Census figures, Courtesy - Ministries of Information, Sokoto and Niger States.

1. Special thanks to the staff of the Ministry of Information, and Cabinet Office, Sokoto for supplying the required information on the defunct North Western State.

Islam is the predominant religion with 5,068,497 people or 88.4% of the total population adhering to it. Christians take 1.1% of the total population.[2] Majority of the Muslims live in Sokoto, Gwandu, Argungu, Bida, Kotangara and Abuja. There are also animists.

To the Northern part of the state, there are two major land formations - the Sokoto plains and the High plains of Hausa land to the east. Sokoto plains are composed of younger sedimentary rocks from where the area is down wasted. The surface elevation in the Northern part, particualrly, Sokoto province appears to be generally flat. To the South, a considerable part is underlain by crystalline rocks which are exposed in forms of younger granite hills especially in Abuja, Kagara, and Minna. Apart from the River Niger that flows through Yauri and gives the state something of a natural boundary to the South, there other minor rivers like Rima, Sokoto, Zamfara, Kaduna, Dinya and Gurara. Due to their seasonal

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2. "North Western State statistical Book 1973". Published by the State Ministry of Economic Developments Sokoto.

nature, these rivers except the Niger, are not navigable. However, in Niger Province waterfalls like the famous Gurara, and the Shiroro gorge have a high potential for hydro electricity supply and tourist attraction.

Climatically, the state use to experience seasonal variations. Maximum temperatures are highest between March and June. The harmattan winds blow from the Sahara desert and gives the Northern part of the state an extremely cold and dry climate between mid-December and mid-February. The harmattan winds are laden with dust and fog of alarming proportion.

Farming is the predominant occupation of most people, particularly the rural population, about 85% of the people are engaged in agriculture. Another important occupation is traditional hand-craft. There is traditional glass-manufacturing industry at Bida and pottery making in Abuja.

Sokoto the state headquarters is linked with Zaria via Gusau with one of the best Trunk 'A' roads in Nigeria. Minna is an important rail town, so also is Gusau. The Lagos-Kano Trunk 'A' road passes through Kontagora which is also linked with Sokoto through Yauri and Jega. Generally, while road links between the major towns of the state with other

states were good, intra-state road links were inadequate. It was easier to get to Kaduna, the capital of Kaduna state from Minna or Bida than to Sokoto, the state headquarters.

The 'Dramatis Personae'

The major ethnic groups in the former North-western state are Hausas, Fulani, Nupe, Gwari, Kambari, Dakarkari and Zabarma. Of these, the most important and by far the most politically and economically dominant were the Hausas and Nupes. Culturally, and politically the Fulanis identify themselves with the Hausas.

TABLE III

Ethnic Groups in North Western State

Hausa	3,810,480
Fulani	618,095
Nupe	466,743
Gwari	262,644
Kambari	118,473
Dakarkari	83,844
Pangu	35,314
Zarbarma	42,920
Fakkawa	22,539
Koro	24,722
Kukkawa	5,693
Basa	11,006
Crungawa	7,492
Bugaje	13,875
Shangawa	7,166
Lopawa	3,833
Bassawa	6,945
Yoruba	28,512
Ibo	17,693
Kanuri	8,922
Other Nigerians	100,317
Non-Nigerians	21,711
Unspecified	1,357
Total	5,733,295

Source : Federal Census Office, Lagos 1963 Census figures.

The Hausa, Fulani and Zabarma are found predominantly, but not exclusively in Sokoto province. The Nupe, Gwari, and Darkari are found exclusively in Niger province. The Hausa and Fulani spread over all of Sokoto province, Gwandu, and Argungu Divisions, and are scattered all over Niger province, but are also predominant in Kantagora Division. The Dakarkari are found in Zuru Division.

The Hausa

The Hausa inhabit a large area of North Western Nigeria. They are predominantly Muslims. The 1963 Census put their number within Nigeria at 11,652,745. They are also referred to as Habe or Hausawa. Their origin is shrouded in myth and no definite and satisfactory explanation has been given of their ancestry. However, it is obvious from the numerous traditions that the Hausa states are of great antiquity. Kano Chronicle which records the history of the Kanawa Hausas from C.999 A.D up to 1883 left no one in doubt about the socio-political and economic activities of the Hausas which had spanned a period of over a thousand years.

The most famous tradition states that the origin of the Hausa can be traced to the marriage of a legendary hero, Bayagidda, prince of Baghdad to Queen of Daura. Their off-

springs are reputed to have founded the authentic seven Hausa states otherwise referred to as "Hausa Bakwai" Groundsons of Bayagidda found the seven 7 Hausa states namely Gobir, Daura, Zazzau (Zaria) Katsina, Kano, Rano and Garin Gabas near present day Hadejia. This tradition also points to the fact that there are seven 7 inauthentic Hausa states - namely Zamfara, Kebbi, Nupe, Gwari, Yauri, Yoruba and Kororofa.

The Hausas are mostly farmers, and grow millet and guinea corn. Defensive considerations and the imperative need to regulate socio-political relations within the communities let to the formation of kingdoms and the construction of walled cities (birane). This marked the beginning of the historical Hausa city-states as we know them.[2] About a third of the Nigerian Hausas live in the defunct North Western state, 3,810,480 out of a total of 11,652,745, according to the 1963 Census figures. The most reknown and militarily powerful of these city-states were Zazzau (Zaria) Katsina, Daura, Gobir,

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3. M.G. Smith - "The Hausa of Northern Nigeria" in People of Africa J.L. Gibbs (ed) New York. Holt, Rinehant and Wiston 1965) and H.G. Smith, Government in Zazzau Oxford University Press 1960.
   Also relevant documents from North-western state History Bureau, Sokoto.

and Kano. According to the Kano Chronicle which enumerated the socio-political interaction and internecine warfare between the Hausa states, it is obvious that by late 18th century, they had developed enviable administrative structures, with the rulers or 'Sarakuna' at the head.[4]

The Fulani and the Sokoto Caliphate

In the early 19th Century, Sokoto shot into the limelight as the political and spiritual leader of the North -- including the Seven Hausa states. This meteoric rise was due to the Jihad of 1804 launched by Usman dan Fodio against what he regarded as the un-Islamic practices of the Habe rulers. This Jihad of 1804 was by and large a Fulani affair. It is however, pertinent at this juncture to relay how the Fulanis, who were strangers or regarded as sojourners in Hausa land came to topple the suzerainty of the Habe rulers.

The Fulanis had been making incursions into Hausaland since the 15th Century, bringing along books on Islamic teachings and etymology. While the Hausa did not take the Islamic

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4. For the socio-political organisation of Hausa states see Smith - Government in Zazzau Ibi. pages 81-250.

religion seriously, the Fulanis were puritanical Muslims. Although their ancestral home was in the Futa region (Guinea Republic) the Fulanis spread all over West Africa. A large number of them were and are still nomads, while some settled in the cities and intermarried with the Hausa.

There were three broad cardinal grievances for the Jihad namely: religious, political and socio-economic. The Islamic Fulani did not recognise the validity of any other religion, especially the traditional ones. They detested being ruled by pagans "kafirs" or non-practising Muslims. Politically, learned Muslim Fulanis knew more of the World outside than their illetrate neighbours. Furthermore, the Fulani Mallams enjoyed a great deal of influence amongst the local Communities.

On the socio-economic plane, there were clashes between nomadic Fulanis with their cattle and the sedentary Hausa farmers over the uses of the meagre water and pasteur available. Generally, to the Fulanis, the Jihad was an attempt to destroy animism, paganism and sybaritic practices of the Habe rulers. It was an intellectual movement with a grand conception of the ideal society, and a philosophy of revolution to revise the already contaminated Islamic doctrine. These reasons are debatable due to the ethnic homogeneity of the movement. It

smacks of a political and economic attempts to dominate rather than the accredited religious zealotry - although religion was used as a justification. In his pamphlet Kuta al Farq, the Shehu tried to give reasons why the Habe rulers should be condemned from the Islamic point of view.[5] Although many reasons he gave were conventional revolutionary outcries, quite a lot were genuine.

At the outbreak of the Jihad in 1804, some Fulani local leaders got the blessing of Usman dan Fodio to wage war against the rulers of their respective areas. By about 1812, the Hausa states had collapsed. All Habe rulers were displaced by the Fulanis. The Shehu was declared as the 'Amir Al-Muminin' the Leader of the Faithful. The Jihad spread beyond Hausa land into Nupe land, when Dendo overthrew two contestants for the throne and his son Usman Sarki became the Etsu Nupe. Members of the original dynasty fled and established new ruling houses at Patagi and Shonga. The Western outpost of the Jihad was Ilorin, which had the first Fulani Emir in the person of Abdul Salami in 1831.

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5. "Important documents of the Jihad" - N.W. History Bureau, Sokoto.

As earlier mentioned, the Jihad brought a large area of Northern Nigeria under one political system. With an area of about 300,000 square kilometers the Caliphate became the largest political and religious entity in Nigeria. Although, the administrative organisation of the Caliphate was not centralized, the spiritual and political leadership of the Shehu's family was unchallenged. Administratively, the Western section with headquaters at Gwandu was under the control of the descendants of Abdulahi Fodio, the brother of the Shehu, the Eastern section under the direct descendants of the Shehu, Usman dan Fodio with its headquaters at Sokoto. The direct descendants of Shehu Usman however had ultimate jurisdiction throughout the Caliphate.[6] Lord Lugard was later to use the political and administrative institutions roughly laid down by the Jihadists for his colonial rule in the then Northern Nigeria.[7]

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6. Literature on Jihad :
A. Smith - "The Islamic Revolutions of the 19th Century" in J.H.S.N.U 2 No.2 1961 Pp.169-185
J.S. Trimingham - A History of Islam in West Africa.
R.A. Adeleye - Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria 1804 1906. The Sokoto caliphate and Its Enemies Longman, 1971
H.A.S. Johnston: The Fulani Empirer of Sokoto, Oxford 1967.

7. See M.F. Perham - Native Administration in Nigeria London O.U.P. 1937 Sir F. Lugard, The Dual Mandate in the British Tropical Africa 4th ed. London, William Blackwood, 1929

It should also be noted once again that the Northern People's Congress which controlled the Northern Regional Government before 1966 had its membership based in the allegiance to the Fulani Caliphate. It was no coincidence that the leader and first premier of the North the Late Sir Ahmadu Bello, Sarduna of Sokoto was a great grandson of the Shehu. The late Sarduna in his life laid greater emphasis and placed a higher premium on his traditional role as a prince of the Caliphate than his political role as the most singularly powerful man in the pre-1966 realm of Nigerian politics.[8] There is little wonder then why the Hausa/Fulani people of Sokoto province, who regard themselves as the direct descendants of Usman Dan Fodio, the spiritual and political leader of the North, reacted seriously against the seeming domination of the Nupes, the people of one of the vassal kingdoms of the caliphate.

The Nupe

The Nupe belong to the Kwa- sub branch of Niger-Congo linguistic group of Africa.[9] They are numerically inferior to

8. Bello, Sir Ahmadu, My Life: The Autobiography of Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Sarduna of Sokoto London, Cambridge University Press, 1963.

9. 'New Nigerian' Spotlight on Niger State, 6 September 1977

the Hausa, they number about a million in the country. The Nupe live mainly in the defunct North West and Kwara states of Nigeria. Their neighbours are the Yoruba, Bassawa, and Burgawa, the Kamberi and Kamuku, the Hausa and Gwari, the Bassa and Kakanda. They inhabit the area of transition between the Southern forest and Northern Savannah.

Nupe language consists of numberous dialects, just like Yoruba and Ibo. However, it is not difficult to understand any speaker of one dialect wherever Nupe is spoken.

Tradition has it that the Nupes have historical or ancestral links with the Igala, whose ruler Attah was once said to be the over-lord of the Nupes. An Igala prince named Tsoede, whose mother was Nupe was said to have fled the royal court due to internal royal feud and settled in the present Nupe land. He travelled to Nupeland on River Niger using a bronze canoe which was paddled by 12 Nupe men. It is generally implied by numerous Nupe traditions that there was no Nupe kingdom before Tsoede's arrival around 15th Century. Other traditions had it that there were twelve Chieftancies, and the chief of Nku, a village near the confluence of Rivers Niger and Kaduna was the leader. These twelve chieftaincies constituted the Beni confederacy. It can be deduced from the constant reference to

Tsoede by all the traditions that it was Tsoede who united the numerous chieftaincies under one centrally controlled kingdom. After his arrival he became the king with the title of 'Etsu' He founded the towns of Nupeko, Gbara and Dakomba usually referred to as 'ezi'tsu' or King's towns. He was able to evolve a stable kingdom and conducted expansionist campaigns among the neighbouring peoples incorporating into the Nupe kingdom the Yagba and Bunu in the present day Oyi Local Government of Kwara state, and the Ebe, Kambari, and Kamuku to the North. Tsoede is also said to have introduced new arts and crafts like balcksmith and glass making. Bida, the present seat of Etsu Nupe is noted for its craft.

Towards the end of the 18th Century, the reign of Estu Ma'azu witnessed the growth of Islamic influence. Islamic mallams were included amongst the court officials as scribes and royal advisers. It was Ma'azu who admitted Mallam Musa Dendo, a Fulani diviner who was to pave the way for the Fulani occupation in the early 19th Century.

Socio-politically, the head of the Nupe kingdom is the Etsu. Below him at the capital are members of the royal nobility "ena qitsuzi" (the ones who will become etsu). Next comes the 'ticizi' who are members of the titled nobility which may include

military commanders and Islamic mallams. Each Nupe village formed a separate political entity, and the village head 'zitsu' is appointed by the village elders. The Nupe often boast of their democratic socio-political set up as against the autocracy of the ruling class of the caliphate.[10] Other tribes worthy of mention are the Gwaris. However we are not able to gather, they live in Minna, parts of Abuja and Rafi Divisions of Niger State. They are also found in Birnin Gwari and Kaduna Local Government Areas of Kaduna State. They number about half a million in Nigeria, and 263,000 of them are in Niger province. Gwari woman do not carry load on their heads which they regard as being sacred. Loads are carried on the back.

The Dakarkari live in an area coterminous with the present day Zuru Local Government Area of Sokoto state. Majority of them are Muslims and farmers.

Irikefe panel and North Western State.

When the Irikefe panel was set up by the late General Murtala Mohammed in 1975, there were five states where vicious, sustained

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10. Oral traditions of the Nupe were obtained from North Western State History Bureau, Sokoto, and from old Nupe Men at Bida.

and popular demands were made for dismemberment. These were the former Benue Plateau, East Central, North Eastern, Western and North Western States. North Eastern and North Western states were too large and too heterogeneous.

In Benue Plateau state, the Plateau people wanted a state of theirs. The chief of Jos, Mr. Fom Bot described Benue Plateau state as "an experiment that failed".[11] In East Central state, the Wawa Ibos led by Mr. C.C. Onoh wanted a separate state to be made up of Abakaliki, Afikpo, Awgu, Eha-Amufu, Enugu, Ezikwo, Igbo Eze, Nkanu, Nsukka and Udi Divisions. The argument was that there were two ethnic Ibo groups. The first are the forest or Southern Ibos, and the second are the grassland or Northern Ibos. The Southern Ibos are more advanced educationally than their norther counterparts. Though both sections speak Ibo languages, their dialects differ. "This divergence led our Southern Ibo brothers to disparage and refer to us their Northern brothers - as the 'Wawa' - a term contemptously symbolizing backwardness".[12]

11. 'New Nigerian' 30 September 1975.

12. "The case for Enugu (Wawa) state" petition to the Head of state by the Wawa speaking people of East Central state - A pamphlet published in 1970.

In the North Eastern State, three provinces wanted to stay as autonomous states. These were Bauchi, predominantly Hausas, Borno, predominantly Kanuri, and Sarduna province with Fulani as the major tribe. The Yorubas of the old Western state also wanted it to be divided into three states namely Ondo, Ogun and Oyo states. Ondo state should comprise the Ekitis, Ondos, and Ilase - Ese-odo areas, while the Ijebu and Egba should make up Ogun state. The old Oyo province which regarded itself as the authentic descendants of Oduduwa should form Oyo state.[13]

The members of Irikefe panel were in North Western state for three exhaustive days, - 25th, 26th, and 27th of September 1975. The panel met with traditional rulers senior Government officials, and representatives of the different communities. Fifty two memoranda were submitted thus:

(a) Seventeen from the people of Sokoto province demanding for a Sokoto state.

(b) 29 from the people of Niger province (23 came from Nupes) for a Niger state.

(c) 3 from the people of Kontagora who wanted a Kainji state.

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13. Sunday sketch December 7, 1975.

(d) 2 from people who wanted a Gurara state made up of Minna Abuja and Kagara Divisions with Birnin Gwari in Kaduna State

(e) 1 for the merger of Abuja, Minna, and Kagara with Zaria province to form a state.

Demands from Sokoto province

The most influential demand for the creation of Sokoto state came from the Sultan of Sokoto, His Highness Sir Abubakar III, a descendant of Shehu Usman dan Fodio, the founder of the Caliphate. Members of the panel paid him a courtesy call at his palace on September 25, 1975, with him was the Emir of Argungu, Alhaji Muhamodu Mera. The Sultan read a short address in which he identified himself with his people in demanding for a Sokoto state "so long as those demands were not contrary to the Islamic religion".[14]

On the same day, the panel met with top Government officials. The secretary to the North Western State Military Government; Alhaji Muhammadu Aliyu Carpenter who was appointed barely a month earlier, disclosed that the goodwill of the people of the state

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14. Minutes of the Irikefe panel p.21.

to live together had been shaken. It was his view "that mistrust and suspicion had become strong within the different blocks in the state" and that there would not be harmony if the two blocks are allowed to continue to exist as a single state.[15] Amongst those who also spoke on behalf of the people of Sokoto province were Alhaji Ibrahim Gusau, Alhaji Shehu Shagari, and Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki, Chairman, Nigerian Railway Corporation. Alhaji Shehu Shagari, a former Federal Minister under the Civilian regime, former Federal Commissioner under Gowon, and an ex-state Commissioner in North Western State said that Sokoto province was educationally backward, and that the educated people of the minority areas (meaning Niger province) had occupied all the sensitive posts of the state. He regards this development as the "domination by the minority of the majority".[16] Other memoranda sent in espoused the problem of domination and gave the assurance that Sokoto province would be economically viable. Sokoto province comprised Sokoto, Gwandu, Argungu and Yauri Divisions with a total population of 4,335,000 (1963 census) and a land area

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15. Ibid page 22

16. Ibid page 29

of 58,400 sq.kilometres. Both in population and landarea, it would be larger than Kwara, Lagos, Bendel Rivers, and Cross River States - the states that existed alongside North-Western State. It can boast of resources like groundnut, cotton, cattle, sheep, goats, camels and donkeys.

Demand for a Niger State

The crusade for the creation of Niger state was led by Nupe traditional rulers and intellectuals. The Etsu Nupe, Alhaji Sanda Ndayako, who was the Principal Assistant Secretary in the Federal Cabinet Office, strongly identified himself with the demand. Firstly, he made his views known when the members of Irikefe panel paid him a courtesy call, and secondly he and members of Bida Emirate Council submitted a memorandum to the panel on behalf of the Nupe people. The memorandum was both comprehensive and didactic, and appears to be the singularly most important demand for the creation of Niger State. A comparism of the Etsu's memorandum with that of the Chiefs of Minna and Abuja and a few others showed obvious similarities both in statistical tabulation and style of presentation. Hence one is inevitably made to think or guess that Bida Emirate coordinated the demand for a Niger state, at least on the traditional level. The memorandum sent by Bida Emirate Council was divided into four 4 parts. Part 1 contained the Introduction to the proposed state, political

history, and economic geography. Part II captioned "General Development in the North Western State since 1968" contained a catalogue of grievances and complaints of regligence corroborated with ample statistical evidence on distribution of amenities. Part III of the memorandum dealt with the issue of economic viability of the proposed state. Part IV dealt with making possible suggestions for the capital. Three towns, Bida, Minna and Kontagora were mentioned.[17]

University dons who sent in memoranda include Dr. Shehu Bida and Dr U.A. Angulu both of the Ahmadu Bello University. It is obvious from the foregoing that reasons abound to deduce that the two major ethnic groups in North Western State, the Hausa/Fulani and the Nupes, wanted its dismemberment.

The next chapter will try to verify the validity of our three hypotheses mentioned in chapter I.

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17. "Memorandum for the creation of a Niger state out of present North Western State" submitted by Bida Local Authority.

CHAPTER IV

THE MOTIVE BEHIND AND THE JUSTIFICATION FOR THE DEMANDS

What this research sets out to verify is the importance of the ethnic variable in the agitation. To this end three hypotheses are postulated, three counter-hypotheses or alternative views are also formulated to test the validity of the ethnic variable. The major hypotheses emphasise the issue of cultural pluralism while the alternative ones seek other possible and relevant explanations for the demands.

Two methods were devised to verify these hypotheses namely:

(a) Field work in Sokoto and Niger States involving the administration of questionaires and oral interviews, followed by an analysis of the data collected therefrom.

(b) A thorough perusal of the memoranda submitted to the Irikefe panel by the indigenes of the two groups or factions, followed by an analysis of same.

One hundred questionaires were administered, fifty for each state, and about one hundred and twenty people were interviewed orally. The questionaires and interviews were done with a view to seeking the opinions about and the reactions

of a representative sample of the people to the issue of the creation of states. The basic assumption here is that those who led the demands were the elites, and this class of people left no one in doubt about their intentions. Oral interviews became necessary inorder to know the views of the masses. Out of the one hundred and twenty people who were interviewed, one hundred and five belonged to these one may regard as low income earners - clerks, farmers and artisans.

Hypothesis One

Ethnic Contradiction theory versus Intra- Elites Conflict Assumption

The question here demands to know whether the agitation for the creation of these two states were as a result of intra-elites conflict or it came about as a result of ethnic contradiction per se.

I hold the view, and this will soon be proved, that the elites both (traditional and modern) used ethnicity not as an objective motive for agitation, but as a justification. Ethnic contradiction is exploited by the elites for personal political and economic gains. Ethnicity is used to mobilize the people. When one faction of the elites confront

another, language and culture becomes important tools of mobilization. It is then that the identification concepts like 'We' and 'They' become relevant.

As Kasfir points out, the concept of ethnicity and its process of identification consist of four elements:

1. "objective characteristics associated with common ancestry. Such as language, territory, cultural practical, and the like (insome cases newly created or recently standardized).
2. which are perceived by both, insiders and outsiders as important indicators of identity.
3. so that they can became the bases for mobilizing social solidarity and
4. which in certain situations result in political activity".[1]

In our case, the ultimate goal of the agitators, is to present on ethnically united front for the purpose of convincing observers that the demands are the wishes of the people. In a memorandum sent in by two Nupe intellectuals Dr. Shehu

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1. Nelson Kasfir - The shrinking political Arena: Participation and Ethnicity in African politics with a Case Study of Uganda. University of California Press 1976. P.144

Bida (who was later made a Commissioner in the newly created Niger State) and Dr. U.A. Angulu, Principal, School of Basic Studies A.B.U., maintained that :

> "elements of fragmentation creeped into the pupulation as a whole so that each tribe, group or tribes or sections became the factory for tribal group sectionalism, overt tribal consciousness and ultimately of nepotism and tribal or sectional chanvinism at the expense of nationalism".

But they tried to exonerate their ethnic group from blame, because when the Hausa started to threaten the Nupe

> "to the extent that co-existence is subjugated to chaos ... the tolerance maintained by the people of Niger province - particularly the Nupe"[2] saved the situation.

The Chief of Minna, Councillars of Minna Local Authority, and other leaders of the Division like Alhaji Umaru Audi and

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2. "Memorandum on the case for The Niger State" - Dr. Shehu Bida et. ela. p.2

Alhaji Tanko Kuta both former Commissioners in the Government of Usman Faruk stated in their memorandum that

> " - the divergent cultural and social outlook of the Southern and Northern part of the present North Western State would make further coexistence impossible".[3]

The people of Abuja also complained that "our tribal dignity is not accorded with honour".[4] Most of the memoranda from Niger province spoke along the same line.

For those demanding for a Sokoto state, the sysmbols of common identity were culture, language and evidently religion - which is Islam. All the four divisions in Sokoto province namely Sokoto, Gwandu Argungu and Yauri sent in memoranda. Like in Niger Province, these memoranda had similar contents which showed clear evidence of coordination and intense consultation amongst the elites of Sokoto province. Furthermore, the elites from Sokoto province tried to obtain

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3. "Memorandum presented by Minna Division on Creation of States" - Chief of Minna, Alhaji Ahmadu Bahago et-ela. P.2

4. "Creation of More States (N.W.S.) Abuja Divisional Representation - Emir of Abuja et -ela.

as many signatories as possible. For instance the memorandum submitted from Argungu Division had one hundred and ninety three signatories, while that of Sokoto Division had over four hundred. However majority of those who signed were civil servants - mostly clerks and messengers. A memorandum from Yauri which had signatory columns for representatives of Civil Servants, Local Authority Staff, farmers and Arabic Mallams had only one 1 signatory for the farmers and three for the Arabic mallams out of a total of one hundred and four (104)

Majority of those who responded on the questionaires, 74% in Sokoto province and 88% in Niger Province, maintained that they were not consulted by those who claimed to have presented their cases to Irikefe panel on the creation of states. Those who were consulted 19% are top civil servants and businessmen from both sides with an annual income of over ₦2,500. 11% claimed to have sent memoranda to the panel for consideration. One of this 11%, two claimed to have participated at the Executive Council level where policies were made in the defunct North Western State - meaning that they were Civil Commissioners.

However, 92% of those interviewed in both states were aware that North Western State had been spilt into two, but when

asked the reason behind the spilt, they answered that the former state was too big. Only a few, 20% talked about the ethnic cleavages. Be this as it may, this response becomes difficult to assess because when the same people were asked to state what they thought were the important differences between Nigerian peoples, 82% thought ethnic/tribal differences are more important than economic differences. Those who hold opposte views are the few educated elements. This response may be explained in terms of obvious and easily identifiable differences between individuals as it appears to the masses. There is nothing wrong if a man you know is rich or highly placed socially, the difference one sees may be that of life-styles, but something becomes seriously amiss if a man neither speaks nor understand your language irrespective of his socio-economic statys. This is so because language is an instrument of cognitive identity pattern.

Islam is the dominant religion in the two provinces, 88.4% of the total population are muslims, one then wonders why the issue of ethnic contradiction was allowed to neutralise a solidarity that should have been based on religion. Religion is independently important as a source of group solidarity, but

> "ethnic loyalty perse divorced from religions identification has some capacity to promote group self-identity and cohesion, since there are persons who lacked religions ties, but who nevertheless feel a marked sense of kinship with their landsmen".[5]

The people of Sokoto province saw themselves as genuine muslims and unquestionable descendants of Shehu Usman dan Fodio, the leader of the Fulani Jihad. Furthermore, the Nupe of Niger province are regarded by the Hausa/Fulani muslims as secondary or non-practising muslims. The Nupe do not usually put their wives in purdah.[6] For this reason, religion could not have been a unifying factor.

In postulating that intra-elite conflicts cause thnic cleavages, one is not saying here that ethnic contradiction is conjured by the elites the contradiction actually exists, but not as a divisive concept. The elites see its political usefulness and exploited it to their own advantage. To this

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5. Henry J. Pratt (ed) Ethno-Religions Politics. Schenkman Publishing Company Cambridge U.S.A., 1974 P.XII

6. Interview with Solomon Sheshi, from Niger State 23/1/79.

end, one tends to agree with a Marxist scholar Archie Mafeje who states that there is

> "a real difference between the man who, on behalf of his tribe, strives to maintain its traditional integrity and autonomy and the man who invokes tribal ideology inorder to maintain a power position".

Mafeje goes on to say that the new African elites use ethnic contradiction as a "ploy or distortion to conceal their exploitative role".[7]

The crux of the matter is that only negligible number of elites try to see the traditional importance of their ethnic groups.

The Northwest experience shows that the masses did not participate in the agitation. Although there were seeming instances of ethnic friction between the two groups in Sokoto town in 1974, those were planned and coordinated by the elites who, mostly Civil Servants who had positions and power at stake. It can be said, therefore, that elites exploit ethnic differences to attain their own socio-economic and and political goals.

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7. Archie Mafeje .. "The Ideology of 'Tribalism'" Journal of Modern African studies IX No.2. August 1971, pages 258-259.

Hypothesis II

Struggle for scarce Resources versus the theory of Benign neglect

This hypothesis states that the "struggle for scarce resources aggravates inter-ethnic conflicts'. The counter hypothsis tries to find out whether the conflict would have been minimized if the limited resources available were shared equitably amongst the constituent units or factions. Scarce resources here include social amenities, industries and official positions.

Making oral submissions before Irikefe panel, the people of Sokoto province complained that there was tribalism in the allocation of posts and services. The then Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Establishment, a Sokoto man noted that the "distribution of education and agricultural services had not been even the tilt was in disfavour of Sokoto province" and that the "divergencies arose when meagre resources did not go round".[8] Alhaji Shehu Shagari spoke about the educational backwardness of Sokoto province thereby making it possible for the educated

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8. Minutes of the Irikefe Panel on creation of states P.26.

people from the minority areas of Niger province to rise to the top and occupy all the sensitive and important offices in the state.

The memorandum submitted by Alhaji Yahaya Shantali, a legal practitioner from Birnin Kebbi, Gwandu Division also complained about a 'silenced majority of Sokoto province versus an influential minority". He presented a breakdown of the Ministries and their respective Permanent Secretaries in North Western State. Out of a total number of fifteen (15) Ministries, 10 were headed by the indigenes of Niger state, while 5 were being controlled by Sokoto people. The all important office of the Secretary to the State Military Government was held by a Niger man, (NUPE)[9], so also were the public service commission (Nupe) Ministries of Finance, Education, Works, Economic Planning, Agriculture, and Health (Nupes) cabinet office was controlled by another Niger man, this time a Gwari. The shares of Sokoto Province were Land and Survey, Internal Affairs, Information,

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9. The SMG in question was Alhaji Abdullahi Kure Muhammadu who held the post until he was forced to retire by Brigadier Umaru Alhaji Muhammed the Military Governor in August 1975.

Animal and Forestry Resources and Establishment.[10] Quite alot of the Members of the lower cadre of the civil service told me that Nupes were discrimating against the Hausas. A messenger in Cabinet office, Sokoto, put it more bluntly by saying that he is happier now having a Sokoto man as a boss!

On their part, the people of Niger province complained of uneven distribution of basic industries. Most of the memorandum contained breakdown of the distribution of industries and social amenities between the two provinces. They complained that all the five industries were located in Sokoto province as of September 1975. These industries were Sokoto Tannery, Sokoto Cement Company and Zamfara Textile Mills, Gusau. In addition to these, the Government proposed to establish a ₦20 million textile Mill at Sokoto during the Third National Development plan period.

Some of the distribution of the amenities and capital projects, as articulated by the people of Niger province are as follows:

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10. One of the most important Ministries, Local Government, was headed by Mr. Summerhayes, a British.

Roads Developments:- During the Second National Development plan, the following projects were executed.

Sokoto Province

i) Development of Kalambaina layout at a cost of ₦7 million

ii) Construction of 800 Bunza Bridge at ₦1.35 million

iii) Construction of Wakale Bridge at ₦1 million

iv) Construction of Gummi Bridge at ₦1.24 million

v) Construction of Shimkafi Bridge at ₦3.8 million

vi) Construction of Mai Inchi -- Daki Takwas road.

vii) Daki Takwas - Zuru road

viii) Kajiji-Gumi - Daki Takwas road.

ix) Zuru border - Yauri road.

Niger Province

i) Rehabilitation of Kontagora - Rijau road.

So, according to the memoranda from Niger state, while 9 major roads developments were carried out in Sokoto province only one (1) road rehabilitation was done in Niger province from 1970-1975. Furthermore, it was alleged that money voted for the improvement of urban roads was mostly spent on the development of Sokoto township roads.

On Government's decision to upgrade some semi-urban water supply projects, Sokoto province was favoured at the expense

of Niger. Seven towns benefited in Sokoto province against two from Niger.

	Sokoto	Niger
1)	Shinkaji	1) Mokwa
2	Akka	2) Badeggi
3	Gumi	
4	Kambe	
5	Koko	
6	Wurno	

Health Services

When North Western State was created in 1967, only Sokoto, Minna, Bida, Gusau, Birnin Kebbi and Abuja had Government General Hospitals - three in each province. However, it was alleged that instead of maintaining a similar balance in the development of medical and health facilities between the two provinces, policy decisions were subsequently made in favour of Sokoto province. For example, the three new General Hospitals built during the second Development plan period were sited in Sokoto province. They are Koko, Argungu and Talata Mafara Hospitals.

Agriculture and Irrigation Schemes

Apart from the fact that the gigantic Bakalori Irrigation project and Gusau Agricultural Development project which are being executed by the Federal Government are both in Sokoto province, the North Western State Government also decided to locate a big Rice Irrigation scheme in Gwandu, Sokoto province. There was no project of similar size in Niger province. During the second Development plan, the Irrigation schemes embarked on were as follows:-

Sokoto Province

i) Wurno Irrigation scheme
ii) Kalmalo " "
iii) Minor Irrigation schemes at Yelwa and Birnin Kebbi
iv) Niger Valley Irrigation Scheme at Wara
v) Kware Irrigation Scheme.

Niger Province

i) Guzam Irrigation Scheme
ii) Bakogi " "
iii) Raba " "
iv) Zuru " "

These schemes seem fairly distributed enogh on paper, but none of the Irrigation projects listed above ever took

off in Niger up till the end of the second Development plan in 1975".[11]

Despite these grievances, a close scrutiny of the Budgets of North-Western State from 1970 to 1975 revealed the conscious effort of the state Government to distribute amenities equally between the two provinces although one must confess that execution of planned projects constitute another matter which may not be known to an outside observer. A cursory glance at some of the items of the 1975/76 budget speech of the farmer Military Governor of North Western state reveals the meticulous 'balancing act' of the Government inorder to satisfy the two provinces

i) Divisional Secretariats were to be built at Abuja, Agaie and Zuru - all in Niger province

ii) While N500,000 was released to build a High Court in Sokoto, the state capital, another High Court was

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11. Memorandum for the creation of a Niger State submitted by Bida Local Authority and Emirate Council. Also the ones submitted by Minna, Abuja and District Heads from Minna Division. The memorandum submitted by Dr. Shehu Bida of A.B.U. also contained information on the distribution of industrials and social amenities.

planned for Minna in Niger province

estimated to cost ₦100,000.

(iii) The budget revealed that during preceeding year, urban water supply schemes for Agaie and Lapai, all in Niger Province were commissioned. Semi-urban water supply schemes for Mokwa, Talata Mafara, Maru, Kutigi, Lemu and Kamba - three for each province were commissioned.

(iv) Sokoto General Hospital and Bida General Hospital (Niger province) were both upgraded to Consultancy Hospitals. Sokoto and Bida each has schools of Nursing and Midwifery.

(v) Eight Rural Health Centres opened in the previous financial year 1974/75 thus: Kuta, Agaie, Mokwa and Kutigi in Niger province, Kaura Namoda, Chafe, Shinkafi, and Kamba in Sokoto province (4 for each province).[12]

Furthermore, it seems as if the Government made it a deliberate policy to give Bida and Sokoto equal attention in

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12. Recurrent and Capital Estimates of the Government of North Western State of Nigeria 1975-1976, Government Printer Sokoto 1975, Pages 1-25.

the provision of social amenities, except those amenities that were regarded as prerogatives of a state capital which belongs to all. If the provision of amenities were to be based on population, Sokoto should have the lion share - by ratio 4:1. Niger province had a population of 1.4 million as against Sokoto's 4.3 million (1963 census). Despite this democratic reality, the people of Niger province were clamouring for equal share of amentities - not equitable share.

One of the major compaints of the elites from Niger province was that even when official policies were made at Executive Council meetings to site capital projects and amenities in their province, such projects were left unimplemented. However, while Commissioners, who are political appointees make decisions, execution is left with the Civil Servants.[13] One then wonders while decisions concerning Niger province were unimplemented when the indigenes of Niger held the key positions in the Civil Service. The argument of

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13. For an analysis of the functional relationships between policy-makers (politicians) and Civil Servants See :
P.Self Administrative Theories and Politics
G. Caiden: The Dynamics of Public Administration
Hinsdale, Dryden Press, 1971 pages 82-93.

Dr. Shehu Bida that "that Commissioners turned out to be too strong for the Permanent Secretaries and rendered the latter spineless ... key positions were seen to be in the hands of people from Niger province, whereas infact the power lay elsewhere"[14] seems to me to be less convincing and untenable in the realm of political and administrative realities.

From the foreoging analysis, one realises that the demands for the dismemberment of North Western State which came from Niger province was led by the Nupe who saw the Hausa/Fulani as being politically stronger, hence the complaints of negligence in the provision of amenities. Objective analysis of the policy of North Western State showed that the Government did its best in distributing amenities and capital projects equitably within the permissible socio-political situation.

On the other hand the Hausa/Fulani had a genuine fear of domination by the Nupe. In a given Ministry, where the Permanent Secretary and top officials were from Niger

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14. "Memorandum on the case for the creation of Niger State" Shehu Bida et.ela. p.4

province, predominantly Nupes, drivers and messengers usually belonged to Sokoto province.[15] Hence it was easy, prior to the separation of the two provinces, for the elites of Sokoto province to whip up ethnic sentiments against the Nupe. In 1974, it nearly escalated into a full scale confrontation, but for the prompt intervention of the Sultan and the then Military Governor.

While one is not denying the fact that the resources at the disposal of the Government for distribution were scarce, it was obvious that the struggle for these resources aggravated inter-ethnic conflicts. Although the Government did its best on the economic front, it was difficult to distribute administrative posts equally since the indigenes of Sokoto province were not as qualified as the Nupe in a set-up where academic qualification took precedence over experience.

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15. During my N.Y.S.C. call-up in Sokoto, I served in the Military Governor's office (political and Research Division) and participated in the process of assets sharing and files distribution between the newly created Sokoto and Niger states in February 1976. From my observation, about 70% of the personal files, (each staff had a file) in the Military Governor's Office belonged to the indigenes of the newly created Niger State. This reflected what happened in all Ministries.

Hypothesis III

Compounding the Problem of demanding for 'ethnic states' by creating Local Government Areas

This hypothesis states that the agitation for creation of more states would continue since demands follow ethnic lines within many states in the Country. An alternative view is whether the creation of Local Governments for the minorities within each state would solve the problem.

With the dismemberment of North Western State on February 2, 1976, one would have expected that all the ethnic groups in each province would unite and allow the new states to settle, and the spirit of group solidarity that manifested itself during the agitation would persist. Unfortunately, this has not been the case. Sokoto state is relatively lucky since there is no serious problem of cultural pluralism. Hausa is not only the dominant group, but also supplies the dominant culture. This time, Islam tend to serve as a unifying factor. Niger state is not so lucky, because a number of tribes categorized as minorities belong to the state. These are Nupe, Gwari, Kambari, Bassa, and Kamuku. Nupe is obviously the dominant group in the state. Fearing Nupe domination, the Dakarkari of Zuru Division,

the Hausa of Kontagora, and the Gwari were reluctant to join the proposed Niger State.

When members of the Irikefe panel visited Kontagora on September 27, 1975, the Emir, Alhaji Saidu Namaska was opposed to merging Kontagora with the Nupe to form a Niger state. He said that if it was impossible to create their own state - Kainji state - comprising Borgu in Kwara state, Abuja, Minna, Kontagora, Yauri, Zuru and Birnin Gwari, he would suggest in the alternative, boundary adjustment to merve Kontagora with the proposed Sokoto state. It was his view that the "demand for the creation of the proposed Niger state was an indirect demand for an enlarged Nupe Kingdom".[16] However, Kontagora was not excised from Niger province, and so it is now part of Niger state.

The Dakarkari of Zuru Division sent a strongly worded memorandum to the panel. It was signed by the Chief of Zuru, Mallam Usman Danga and fourteen others.

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16. Minutes of the public sittings of Irikefe panel on the creation of more states in Nigeria p.32.

They stated inter-alia that they are "totally opposed to being merged into the proposed Niger state where the Nupes will be a dominant tribe. They did not stop at that, but went on to accuse the Nupe of "tribalism and favouritism". The whole memorandum did not deal with the reasons for preferring to join Sokoto province, but contained series of tirade against the Nupes.[17] The Federal Military Government accepted Irikefe's recommendation that Zuru should be excised from Niger province to join the new Sokoto state.

The Gwaris of Minna found it difficult to decide on what they actually wanted. However, they realised that it was a possibility that Minna would become the capital of the proposed Niger state, by virtue of its being the provincial headquarters of Niger province. In that case, it would be in their interest to go along with the Nupe. Amongst the Gwaris who supported and joined in the demand for a Niger state were the Chief of Minna, Alhaji Ahmadu Bahago, Justice Mu'azu Mohammed, and Alhaji Umaru Audi. From their submissions, it is clear that they supported

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17. "Memorandum on the proposed merger with the new Sokoto state by the people of Zuru" - Chief of Zuru et-ela.

the creation of Niger state of the prospect of having their town made a state capital. Justice Mu'azu Mohammed outline his reasons for proposing Minna as the capital of the new state thus:

(a) Availability of Basic facilities

(b) Adequate water supply

(c) Good communication links

(d) Availability of Electricity

(e) The cosmopolitan nature of the town.

In a feigned threat, the learned Judge said he envisaged some trouble if Minna was not chosen as the capital of the new state.[18] Thus it seems as if he was insinuating that Gwari's support for the creation of Niger state was conditional on Minna being the capital. Justice Mohammed then touched on the issue of the fear of Nupe domination by the peoples of Kontagora, Zuru and Gwari. The memorandum from the Chief of Minna and Minna Local Authority devoted eight of the eighteen pages to highlighting the reasons why Minna should be the capital of the proposed Niger state. With a population of 59,000, (1963 Census)

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18. Minutes op. cit. pages 40-41.

they claimed that Minna is the most populated centre in Niger province.[19] The Gwaris had not forgotten that the Nupe had been trying for a long time to transfer the provincial headquarters to Bida from Minna. What is more, the Nupe also wanted Bida as the capital of the new state. In fact, Nupe businessmen had started to construct hotels and flats to accomodate the new capital and the civil servants at Bida.

Despite the propsect of making Minna the state capital, it is significant to note that the Gwaris still suggested an alternative if Niger state was not to be created. The state was to be called Mid-North state - and it would comprise Minna, Abuja, Zuru and Kontagora Divisions in Niger province, with Birnin Gwari in North Central State and Nassarawa Division in Benue Plateau state - of course with the capital at Minna.

As for the Nupe they were not at any time in doubt that the proposed Niger state would be to their advantage. Although they are the largest single ethnic group in Niger province, there was no possibility of domination, if other ethnic groups

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19. "Memorandum presented by Minna Division of North Western state on creation of a Niger state out of the present N.W. state with the capital at Minna" Chief of Minna et-ela.

decide to unite against the Nupes. Inorder to ensure a clear Nupe 'majority' they suggested that Lafiaji/Pategi and Kogi Divisions of Kwara state, which are also Nupe speaking should join the proposed Niger state.

The oral interviews conducted in Kontagora and Minna showed that all is not well in Niger state. The people of Kontagora maintained that they still preferred to join Sokoto state or in the alternative the Federal Government should create a 'Kainji' state as they requested earlier. The people of Kontagora lamented that they cannot boast of any serious development since the creation of Niger State, except the U.P.E. Teachers College and the petroleum Reservoirs constructed by the State Government. Up till now, the electricity supply has not been commissioned. When reminded that Kontagora is the headquarters of Mairiga Local Government, the reply was that a Local Government cannot be compared with a state in the provision of social amenities.

In Minna, the Gwaris complained that they only see "Cars and offices", and that most of the land has been taken over by non-indigenes and the state Government. Furthermore, it has taken the Government over three years to re-construct Minna

township roads. The accusation levied against rhe Nupes include sabotage, nepotism and partiality. Most of the development projects are executed in Gbako Division with headquarters at Bida. The Niger State College of Technology which was supposed to be in the State Capital has been taken to Agaie, a Nupe town, so also is Funti Rice factory. There is also a State College of Agriculture in Mokwa, another Nupe town. Some of the people interviewed expressed the opinion that the Civil Service, which is being controlled by Nupes deliberately sabotage Government's efforts when major projects are to be sited outside Nupe areas. There are eight Local Government Areas in Niger state, Abuja, Etswan, Gbako, Lavun, Magama, Mairiga, Rafi and Chachanga. But the last four which are outside Nupe areas still complain of negligence.

In Sokoto State, the people of Zuru (Dakarkaris) too have some complaints against the new state Government. They are still to have a single industry, and that major decision of the Government still favour the old Sokoto province.[20] When

20. In 1977, the students of Zuru threatened to withraw from the Sokoto State Students Association (SOSSA) because of the [illegible] of offices by students of Sokoto province. A compromise has now been reached whereby the President comes from Sokoto, and the vice president is expected to be from Zuru Division.

asked if they would like to join Niger State again, the answer was negative.

It is evident that agitations or demands for creation of new states would be difficult to check, as long as different ethnic groups inhabit a state Creation of Local Government Areas, though commendable, has not solved the problem, since Local Governments still depend heavily on State Governments for funds for effective performance of their basic duties.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

OBSERVATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

The general observation one may deduce from this research is that ethnicity can be regarded as an independent variable in Nigerian political life. Although this study only covers the former North Western States, the issue of ethnic contradiction is a serious problem throughout Nigeria. One does not usually exepect a conflict-free polity, but the spectre of conflict becomes more frightening in a heterogenous political system. As Young said :

> "conflict, some argue, is creative, that may well be, yet endemic civil strive along lines of cultural cleavage is surely not a pathway to either peace or prosperity".[1]

This research has shown that ethnic contradiction does not escalate into conflict situation until the elites decide to manipulate it. In this case, ethnic contradiction was used

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1. Crawford Young - The politics of Cultural pluralism. Madison, Wisconsin University Press, 1976 pages 527-528.

as a justification for agitating for the dismemberment of an administrative unit. The research also exposes the actual fundamental reasons behind the agitation. The elites who coordinated and led the agitation saw the creation of more states in terms of more political offices, administrative posts and contract awards. Although, arguments in favour of balanced economic developments were advanced, these were secondary to what was actually at stake. The case of North Western State is not unique, in fact, if researches are conducted in other states where there were agitations for dismemberment, the result would be the same. In fact those who were in the forefront of the agitations for the dismemberment of the defunct Western state talked of "minorities" and "majorities" in a virtually Yoruba speaking state! (Daily Sketch" November 14, 1975) This lends credence to the view that ethnic membership is transitory, and ethnic mobilization tend to oscillate about shifting and often nebulous criteria. In the case of the defunct Western State, the elites used the obvious differences in dialect to cause intra-ethnic conflicts within the Yoruba unit. One funny aspect about this agitation is that even before creation of Ondo State the different units

within the "yet to-be created" state had started to fight over the siting of the state capital! (Daily Times 9th October 1975, and 18th October 1975) This has shown that differences based on dialect, or culture can be manipulated by the elites if they have certain interests at stake!

North-Western State has now been divided into two - namely Sokoto and Niger, but the problem of ethnic contradiction even within each of these two states is far from being solved. However, one must concede that in Sokoto state, it is less vicious. The conflict now is between the Dakarkari of Zuru, and the Hausas. Within the Hausas, there is also a division of Zamfaras made up of the Southern wing of Sokoto province, and the Sokoto Hausa/Fulani, made up of the Hausa of Sokoto metropolis and the northern wing. In Niger State, economic development has been rendered almost impossible because of ethnic conflicts. Not much has been achieved since the state was created in 1976.

The research confirms my earlier assertion that in any policy, the views of the elites tend to be dominant. Elites also often succeed in their plans, and they seldom fail to carry the masses along with them. It is interesting that

despite their obvious ignorance about the reasons for the agitation, majority of the common people in the two provinces (Sokoto and Niger) never raised any objection when the elites were agitating. They have not been able to decipher between ethnic contradiction and economic contradition in terms of class conflicts.

By postulating that demands and agitation for creation of states follow ethnic lines, one is not saying that there are no other salient reasons for the demands. Other reasons may be economic development, bringing Government nearer to the people or desire to break up a state that is considered too large, and thus rendering its function of equitable distribution of values difficult. Furthermore if a state is too big, people do not usually feel a sense of belonging. The former North Western state seemed too big, and those demanding for its breakup made its geographical vastness an important justification. For instance, Niger province had been taken further away from the Government physically. Most of the major towns in Niger province are nearer Kaduna, which was the seat of the former Northern Regional Government than they are to Sokoto, capital of North Western state. For

instance Bida is 335 kilometres from Kaduna and 800 kilometres from Sokoto. This long distance made the Nupe to feel that the state Government was too far away to generate any meaningful economic development in Niger province. Realistically, this vastness had been a major constraint in equitable distribution of amenities.

There is also the issue of viability. Those demanding for creation of states try to convince the Government that their proposed states would be economically viable. However, ethnicity remains an independent variable, other factors, no matter how salient constitute dependent variables.

The Bane of Ethnicity

To many Nigerians, most especially political activists, the unity, sovereignty and autonomy of the country is subordinate to the autonomy or "self-determination" of their ethnic groups or areas, which they like to constitute into an administrative entity (state) within the country. An average Nigerian no matter the level of his educational attainment or socio-economic status usually feels insecure and threatened within the political system if a state can not be created to accomodate his ethnic group. Many politicians make their

debute as champions of ethnic self determination.[2] This view was put succintly by non other than Chief Awolowo

> "I do conscientiously hold the view that a person can only be a worthy member of a multi-ethnic state like Nigeria, if he is first of all a good member of his ethnic or national group".[3]

Awo again reiterated his persistent view that states should be created on ethnic basis.

Consequences of agitation and demands for creation of states on ethnic lines as witnessed in the country when social conflicts became serious, have proved that Chief Awolowo's view together with those who hold the same opinion with him on this matter is not only fraught with danger, but also destabilizing for the political system. If polarization is allowed so occur along ethnic cleavages, the conflict situation becomes so intense and may escalate to a level that the continued existence

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2. Awolowo became a political force by virtue of his being the founder and Secretary of Egbe Omo Oduduwa - a Yoruba Cultural society - which formed the nucleus of Action Group. Similarly Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe was for several years the President of Ibo state Union.

3. Chief O. Awolowo - quoted from Nigerian Herald. August 18, 1978.

of the polity becomes doubtful.[4] Basing states on ethnic self-determination is not the best solution to ethnic contradiction. In fact, creation of states in Nigeria had amongst other things escalated the problem of ethnic contradiction, political events one might say are an

> "important independent variable in determining the saliency of cultural conflict at any moment in time".[5]

The 12 state structure of 1967 was a political event, an attempt to foil attempts at secession, and erase political domination at the Federal level. Although the factors that were considered amongst others were :

i) Removal of structural imbalance

ii) Allaying the Fears of Minorities

iii) Ethnic, linguistic and cultural affinity.

iv) Geographical contiguity.

v) Relative viability of the states.

vi) Desire to ensure unity and stability of Nigeria.

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4. Young op cit p.6

5. Young Ibid p.5

Apart from attempts at ensuring the structural balance of the Federation, the creation of states in Nigeria in 1967, uncanningly whipped up ethnic sentiments and focused attention once more on the issue of minorities.

Immediately after the war in 1970, agitation for creation of more states started in earnest. Even the creation of seven (7) more states by late General Murtala Muhammed in 1976 had not stopped further demands. Speaking to the nation on February 2 1976, while creating 7 new states, late General Muhammed noted that the "issue of creation of more states has

> generated so much excitement and interest that the Government is fully aware that its decision cannot please all those concerned" He went on to say that what matters is the unity of the Federation because"the more states we create, the more we highlight the problem of minorities."[6]

One must not forget the negative roles that are being played by the elites. Ethnic contraditions are not of themselves operative

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Daily Times February 4, 1976.

in politics. They become cleavages if they are rendered so by political actors. If ethnic competition threatens personal or group security, differences become invariably politicized. The degree of politicization of ethnic cleavages depends on the aims, roles, and styles of political actors and elites.[7]

The Relevance of Ethnicity

Cultural pluralism though creates conflicts has its usefulness. Ethnic differences can be an integrative factor if the rules of the game are strictly adhered to. Ethnic diversity can be utilized for political unification, if each of the groups is recognised and makes to feel as part of the political system.

One only needs to realise that ethnic loyalty can be used to advance national consciousness, if ethnic organisations are mobilized to that effect. Nigeria participated as a nation at Festac '76 despite the

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7. See James O'Connel : "Reflections on the Nature of the State" A.B.U. Public Lectures 1974-75 - published by A.B.U. Press pages 120-121.

glaring cultural diversity. However, one's love for his ethnic group must not be done to the detriment of other groups or the political system as a whole.

Another point worthy of mention is that ethnic groups often serve as outlets for political tensions. They may help to stifle direct confrontation of individuals with the state. As a corrolary to this, ethnic groups serve as agents of re-socialization in urban settings. A person entering the hurly-burly of the urban life often feels safer in the initial company of his ethnic mate, who will guide and educate him in the ways of the urban life. Furthermore, through ethnic contacts "an individual is recruited into many non-ethnic nationalist groupings".[8] An individual may first follow his ethnic mate to his first political or trade union meeting in the urban area. Using history as a justification for ethnic contradiction, we may say that either for better or worse, ethnic differences exist in Nigeria. No nation can escape from history. What we now know as Nigeria today is an amalgamation of many tribes. What need be done is a concerted effort to harness these contradictions for the purpose of meaningful socio-political

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8. I. Wallerstein : Africa: The politics of Unity. Random House New York 1967 p.480

integration and national stability. If the contradictions cannot be effectively harnessed, their negative effects can be drastically reduced.

Compounding the Negative Effects of Ethnic Contradiction

Negative effects of ethnic contradiction can be tackled in various ways. Its effects can either be minimized, transcended, or they can be totally eliminated.

One can transcend ethnic factions by utilising them for national integration, and by incorporating the norms and social values of each group into the overall programme of the political system. No matter the kind of solution one prefers, certain tools are necessary. These are dedicated leadership, a meaningful national Ideology, equitable distribution of socio-economic values and mass education.

Leadership : There is the need for a dedicated, disciplined and responsible leadership in Nigeria today. The leader of the country must have a clear grasp of the various problems that are besetting the country, amongst which is ethnic contradiction.[9] Any person who finds himself in position of

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9. See Mahmud Tukur (ed) Administrative and political Development: Propsects for Nigeria, A.B.U. Press 1971. Page 76

authority should avoid the temptation of seeing himself as a loyal 'tribesman'. He must recognise the plight and problems of other ethnic groups outside his own area. This view does not invalidate the natural need for any Nigerian to love his town or village, and to cherish his cultural root. The only caution is that, this cultural identity must not be allowed to blur national consciousness.

In minimizing the negative effects of ethnic contradictions, I do not support the often suggested solution of quota system or "ethnic balancing". While this may be introduced at the political level, with respect to the selection of States' Commissioners or Federal Ministers, it should not be done in the Civil Service because it will definitely have negative effects on efficiency, accountability, responsiveness and probity. The provision made in the Constitution that the appointments made by the President must reflect the Federal character of the Country does not mean that the President should base his appointments on ethnic arithmetic. He is only required to make sure that each state has a representative in his Cabinet.[10]

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10. "The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1979. Article 135.

This will shift the focus of attention from ethnic groups to the state. An individual knows that he has to work through his state before he can aspire to reach the centre. Of course, the spiral effect of this arrangement is that it may encourage demands for more states. An ethnic group which is a minority within one state may think that inorder to be considered for federal appointments directly, it must attain the status of a state.

Ideology

Ideology may be defined simply as a body of beliefs and attitudes shared by a group or a polity. Functionally, it includes a coherent and comprehensive set of doctrines, guidelines for action, and symbols aimed at achieving specific socio-political programmes. The success and effectiveness of any ideology depends on its power to communicate cognitions, symbols and ideas between the leaders and members of the political system. In a way, Ideology is a 'secular religion'.[11] In Nigeria as well as other heterogeneous countries of the Third World, one notable function of ideology is national integration. An ideology can be used and manipulated

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11. See D. Apter (ed) Ideology and Discontent New York. The Free Press 1964 and J.P. Plamenatz. Ideology, London Pall Mall 1970.

"...only exclusive attention to the interests of various nations can remove grounds for conflicts, can remove mutual distrust".[14]

Education

Another possible solution is mass education - an official attempt to eradicate illiteracy and extirpate ignorance. We have been able to identify the roles played by the elites in escalating ethnic conflicts by deluding the masses. Other studies have equally shown that ethnic conflicts may be more related to inter-elite competition in economic political and social realms rather that "any serious deterministic nature of society's heterogeneity".[15] Education is needed to wrest the control of the masses from selfish elites. This will enable the common people to have objective view of their pressing problems, rather than being deluded

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14. V.I. Lenin. Collected Works Vol.33 Progress Publishers Moscow, 1976.

15. See A.O. Sanda "Ethnicity and Intergroup Conflicts - Some Lessons from Non-Elite Actors in a Nigerian City." in The Nigerian Journal of Economic and Social Studies November 1974, Vol. 16, No.3 pages 507-518 and A. Bamisaiye - Ethnic Politics Instrument of Unequal Socio-Economic Development in Nigeria's First Republic" African Notes Vol.6

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by the elites who manipulate the functional relevance of ethnicity. Only by so doing can the individual be allowed to transcend his origins

Purposeful Government

One of the basic causes of demands for more states in Nigeria has been attributed to bad government.[16] Therefore, the States and Federal Authorities should endeavour to entrench a purposeful and impartial Government. Attempts should be made to promote even development within different states, since ethnic sentiments are easily exploited with complaints of neglect in the provision of amenities. The Local Government Areas should be given more funds and powers to enable them provide basic and essential amenities to the people.

Be this as it may, one can say that despite ethnic contradictions and the occassional traumatic effects of group conflicts, Nigeria has the potentials to prosper as a nation. Nigerians will realise objectively that basic contradictions in the society

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16. Late General Murtala Muhammed Broadcast to the Nation, Daily Times February 4, 1976.

is not cultural (vertical) but economic (horizontal). Before creating more states, if the need arises, the Federal Government should try to de-emphasise the pre condition of "ethnic, linguistic and cultural affinity" of the people agitating for a state, what matters now is the viability of the states to be created so as to enable them perform their productive and distributive functions effectively and equitably.

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QUESTIONAIRE

I am from the Department of Political Science, A.B.U. Zaria. Hello, two years ago, the Federal Military Government created seven more states in Nigeria. North Western State was divided into two, namely Sokoto and Niger States. We are interested in knowing whether the creation of these two states have succeeded in solving certain problems like lack of equity in the provision of amenties, lack of job opportunities and the issue of domination.

We shall be grateful if you can tell use your views on these issues; as well as your own contribution to the creation of your new state. It is essential that records like this are kept for posterity.

All answers will be kept strictly confidential.

1. Age (mark X where applicable)
   - 18-25
   - 25-35
   - 36-45
   - 45-60
   - above 60

2. Sex
   - Male
   - Female

3. Marital Status
   - Married
   - Single
   - Divorced

4. What is the name of your Town .....

5. What is the name of your Local Government Council .....

6. What is the name of your State .....

7. Is your wife/husband from your STATE YES NO

8. Is your wife/husband from your home town. YES NO

9. What is your occupation please be specific .....

10. What is your religion

- Muslim
- Christian
- Atheism

11. Are you now working/trading in your state of origin? YES NO

12. If your answer to No.12 is 'NO' do you feel safe working outside your state? YES NO

13. If you are insecure, what are the reasons? .....

.....

14. Educational Qualification

- Primary School
- Secondary School
- Teachers College
- Higher School Certificate
- Nigerian Certificate of Education
- University Degree
- Post Graduate Degree
- Any other.

15. What is your annual Income

- Below ₦1,000
- Between ₦1,000 and ₦2,500
- Between ₦2,500 and ₦5,000
- Above ₦5,000

16. When did you start work?

17. When States were created, did you leave for your state? YES NO

18. Did you leave at your own volition or were you transferred

- Own volition
- Transferred

19. If you left at your own volition, why did you?
    (a) - because you would be nearer home
    (b) - because you were offered immediate promotion
    (c) - your people wanted you to come home.
    (d) - Any other reason.

20. When did the agitation for this state start .....

21. Did you spport the agitation initially? YES NO

22. If 'yes' were you a prominent agitator? YES NO

23. If you did not support initially why?
    (a) I was not aware
    (b) I did not care
    (c) I was happy with the old North Western State.
    (d) Any other reason .....

24. If you later supported the agitation, what influenced your decision.
    (a) The Government's announcement to create new States
    (b) The traditional ruler
    (c) My friends
    (d) Our Community leader
    (e) Other reason

25. Which of the following reasons do you consider the most important for the agitation.
    (a) Our area was neglected in terms of amenities
    (b) Former North-West State was too big
    (c) People from our area were not being promoted.
    (d) There was discrimination
    (e) We are not of the same tribe with them
    (f) Any other reason

26. Before the creation of States, what were your feelings towards other ethnic groups? You may rank the answers in order of importance

(a) I suspect them
(b) I hate them
(c) I trust them
(d) Mixed feelings

27. Do you speak Hausa. YES NO.

28. Did you join in the agitation for the creation of this new state because your tribe was in the minority in terms of population.

YES NO

29. Since the creation of this state, what new development have you noticed in the state.

(a) New roads
(b) New Schools
(c) Better housing
(d) Promotion for Workers
(e) More business
(f) Nothing at all

30. Do you think since this state has been created, there has been no more unequal development within the state? YES NO I don't know

31. If there is unequal development in what form is it?
(a) Education
(b) Social Amenities
(c) Promotion and Employment
(d) Any other

32 Is your tribe the dominant group within this state? YES NO

33. Do you want a new State created out of this one YES NO

34. If your answer is yes why .....

35. Do you feel that each major ethnic group or tribe in Nigeria should have a states of its own? YES NO It depends

36. Some people have been saying that creation of states has tended or erode the basis of unity in the country because people now owns allegiance first to their states then to the country. Do you agree Please give reasons for your answer. YES NO.

.....

.....

37. Would you support a unitary system of Government for Nigeria This means all states will be cancelled. YES NO It depends

38. The Federal Military Government has created Local Government Councils to bring the Government nearer to the people and to deep up even development and provision of social amenities. If not works, do you think, do you think this will solve the problem of agitation for creation of more states in the country YES NO Not sure

39. Do you fell the creation of this state has benefited the common people or those at the top.

(a) Only those at the top
(b) Equally,
(c) Mainly Common people
(d) Nobody

40. Do you think those agitating for the creation of this state did it for personal reasons or to help the common people.

(a) To help the common people
(b) For personal reasons
(c) Not sure.

41. During the agitation for the creation of this state, were there mass demonstrations by your people or you were represented by the important people from your group.

(a) - Mass demonstrations
(b) - We were represented
(c) - Both.

42. If you were represented, did your representatives ask for your views or did they just gave their own reasons for demanding a state.

(a) - They consulted with us
(b) - They did not
(c) - We sent memoranda

43. Which of the following reasons do you think is the most important factor that made you to demand for a state.

(a) - Low development.
(b) - We were in the minority
(c) - We were a different ethnic group
(d) - Any other reason.

44. Do you think that the important differences between groups are based on ethnicity, tribe and cultural differences OR do you think economic differences are more important.

(a) Ethnic/tribal differences are more important
(b) Economic differences are more important
(c) Not sure

45. In what ways do you get information from the Government.

(a) From Newspapers
(b) By radio
(c) By hearsay - Group discussion
(d) Through the Councillor
(e) Our local teacher
(f) The Emir/Chief
(g) Any other.

46 Through what means do you communicate to the Government

(a) Through our Chief/Emire/Etsu
(b) By petitions

(c) By Newspaper advertisement
(d) By Rioting
(e) Through my Councillor
(f) Any other way.

47. Do you support the idea that a non-indigene should contest the election in your area

(a) YES - (b) No.
(c) He can, if he is of the same tribe
(d) He should go to his home town

48. Are you take active part in political activities before the military regime.

(a) YES (B) NO
(c) I was a member of parliament
(d) I was a Councillor
(e) I attend political rallies.
(f) I was a party militant.
(g) I was an official of my party.
(h) I used to pay party dues.

49. Did you take active part in political activities before the military regime.

(a) YES (b) No
(c) I was a member of parliament
(d) I was a Councillor
(e) I attend political rallies.
(f) I was a party militant.
(g) I used to pay party dues.

50 Which party did you vote for in 1955?
(a) NPC (b) AG (c) NCNC
(d) UMBC (e) Any other.

51 If the Military returns to the barracks in 1979 as they promosed will you contest? YES NO Note sure

52 If has been suggested that is Nigeria adopts a lingua franca unity will be enhanced. Do you agree (a) No (b) YES (c) Not sure

53. If you support the adoption of a lingua franca, which language would you support.

(a) Hausa (b) Ibo (c) Fulani
(d) Nupe (e) Yoruba (f) Any other

54. Please give reason for your choice in Question 53 .....

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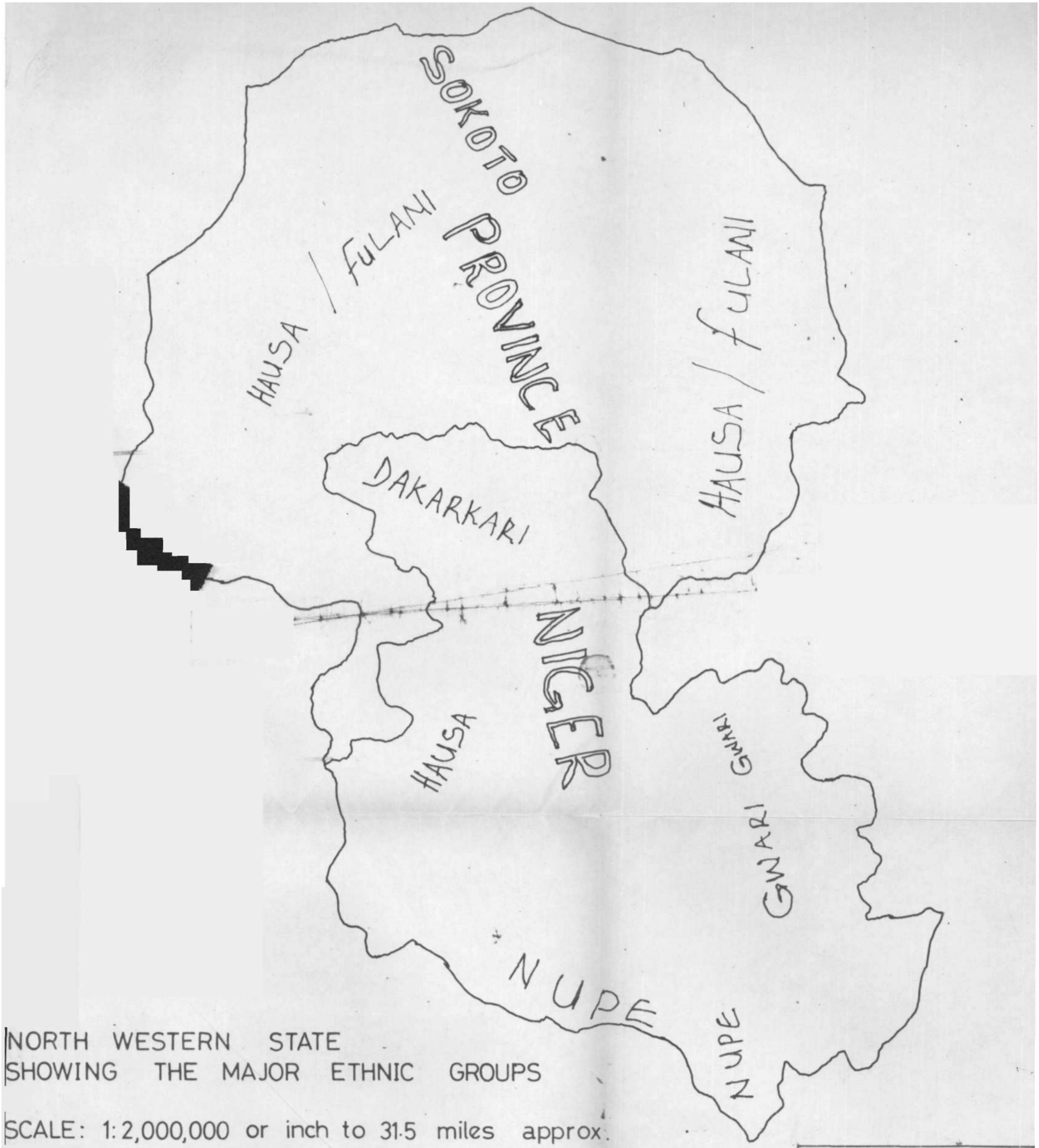
55. Do you think the creation of Local Government Councils will stop the demand for more states in Nigeria.

56. What in your opinion can unite the people of this country? Choose from the following.

(a) Common religion
(b) Common language
(c) Good Government.
(d) Equal distribution of Amentities
(e) Mass education
(f) Fair distribution of administrative and political posts
(g) Any other factor

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NORTH WESTERN STATE
SHOWING THE MAJOR ETHNIC GROUPS

SCALE: 1:2,000,000 or inch to 31.5 miles approx.

RE.-TRACED BY
BAMIDELE ABEGUNDE