



FEDERALISM AND THE CHALLENGE OF NATION BUILDING IN NIGERIA

Emmanuel A. Onwioduokit & Ubong E. Effiong
Department of Economics
University of Uyo, Uyo
Email: ubongeffiong3@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

Federalism brings diverse ethnic, religious, cultural, linguistic, and regional groups under one umbrella. Nigeria's federalism is characterized by inter-ethnic rivalry and religious intolerance, unfair distribution of income, the question of minorities and state creation as well as the question of division. These factors have posed serious threats on the nation's federalism as it conflicts unity in diversity. Issues such as the challenge of history, arbitrary military intervention in governance, the challenge of socio-economic inequality, the minority question, etc. are identified as the challenges facing nation-building in Nigeria. The paper recommends fostering factual federalism in the area of revenue sharing and derivation principle, and resource control so as to alleviate the fears of the minority, strengthening federal character principle, setting up strong institutions that ensure the development of the various part of the country as well as the need on the part of leadership to showcase policies of good governance that will bring about a fundamental re-definition and re-structuring of the Nigerian federal structure to accommodate the many proclivities of her diverse constituting interests.

Keywords: Federalism, Nation-building, Federal Character, Leadership, Nigeria

INTRODUCTION

Federalism has been identified as the best system for integrating diverse nations, ethnic groups, or combatant parties, all of whom may have cause to fear control by an overly powerful center (Meyer-Resend, 2017). The essence of federalism lies not in the institutional or constitutional structure but in the society itself. Federal system is adopted if a nation desires a single coercive force in some aspects and self-governing of the units in other aspects. Federalism encompasses the constitutional division of power between the central government and the federating units each being autonomous and independent of each other. In a federal arrangement, the constitution clearly adumbrates the powers and responsibilities of the federating units by apportioning the areas of legislation into exclusive list, concurrent list and residual list. Nigeria has been struggling to build strong, virile, stable and egalitarian society in the past fifty-eight years. However, over the period the objective has remained a mirage due to the faulty nature of the federal structure, especially since the military takeover of government in 1966. Despite the much advertised multi-ethnic and multi-religious characteristics inherent in federalism as a conflict management mechanism, the monster of ethnicity, sectionalism and religious conflicts have subsisted and even escalated in recent times in Nigeria. On 1st October 1960, Nigeria stood on three culturally, linguistically, and ethnically regional tripod. The process of the design of a sovereign state was not without the sentiments of parochialism and ethnicity. Nigeria as a country has failed to evolved into a nation state over the last six decades. There are still visible signs of ethno-religious bigotry in the country. One of



the problems identified as the main culprit of the inability for the country to make substantial progress on almost all fronts. One of the key objectives of this paper is to examine federalism as practiced in Nigeria with a view to identifying the various pitfalls that have impeded the country development. In summary, the paper seeks to answer the question can fiscal federalism as practice in Nigeria today deliver on its developmental aspirations? The remaining of the paper following this introduction is organized thus: Section II dwells on conceptual issues, while Section III presents the silence Features of Nigeria Federalism. Options and current challenges facing Nigeria federalism is adumbrated in Section IV while Section V contains summary and some concluding remarks.

CONCEPTUAL ISSUES

The Concept of Federalism

Federalism is the form of government that combines a general government (the central or 'federal' government) with regional governments (provincial, state, cantonal, territorial or other sub-unit governments) in a single political system. Its distinctive feature, exemplified in the founding example of modern federalism by the United States of America under the Constitution of 1787, is a relationship of parity between the two levels of government established (Kenneth, 1946). It can thus be defined as a form of government in which there is a separation of powers between two levels of government of equal status (John, 2013). Modern federalism is a system based upon democratic rules and institutions in which the power to govern is shared between national and provincial/state governments. Federalism is essentially a system of voluntary self-rule and shared rule. This is implied in the derivation of the word 'federal', which comes from the Latin foedus, meaning covenant. A covenant signifies a binding partnership among co-equals in which the parties to the covenant retain their individual identity and integrity while creating a new entity, such as a family or a body politic, that has its own identity and integrity as well. A covenant also signifies a morally binding commitment in which the partners behave toward each other in accord with the spirit of the law rather than merely the letter of the law (Kincaid, 2002).

According to Watts (2002), federalism provides a technique of constitutional organization that permits action by a shared government for certain common purposes, together with autonomous action by constituent units of government for purposes that relate to maintaining their distinctiveness, with each level directly responsible to its own electorate. Eme and Onyishi (2014) identify two schools of thought regarding federalism as espoused by Wheare (1963) and Fredrich (1966). According to Wheare (1963) "federalism means the method of dividing powers so that federal and regional governments are each, within a sphere, coordinate and independent". He views federalism as the division of power to different level of governments with each acting independently and within the confines of the law without intrusion. He averred that people will adopt the federal system if they desire a single coercive force in some aspects and independent of the units in other aspects. He added that "by the federal principle, it implies the method of sharing powers so that the central and regional governments are each within a sphere, co-ordinate



and independent". Where listed conditions under which such polity can exist and be sustained. These include among others, the formal and legal divisions of powers and responsibilities among levels of government as manifested in a written constitution, the establishment of an independent judicial system particularly the Supreme Court. Friedrich (1966) took a broader view of federalism, and argued that federalism is a process rather than a design. He argued that federalism should be seen as a process by which unity and diversity are politically organized and this process includes persons, institutions and ideas. He asserts "that federalism is a general principle of social organization and that the degree of federalism in a political system is a function of sociological and not legal conditions". Riker (1964) as quoted in Eme and Onyishi (2014) viewed federalism from a more static perspective, as a bargain struck by the component units. He argues that the federal bargain emerges when all relevant parties concerned are ready and willing to make a deal. He said two factors bring about such bargain:

- i. The desire by the leaders to expand their territorial control, usually either to meet an external military or diplomatic aggression and aggrandizement,
- ii. The presence of some external military diplomatic threat or opportunity.

The above conditions, Riker claims, are responsible for a federal union to be centralized or conversely peripheralized. In the case of a centralized federal system, federal authority tends to subdue constituent governments. In a peripheralized federation, subordinate governments have greater influence over the affairs of the whole society than rulers of federalism. Federalism is sometimes viewed as in the context of international negotiation as "the best system for integrating diverse nations, ethnic groups, or combatant parties, all of whom may have cause to fear control by an overly powerful center"(Meyer-Resende, 2017).

However, those skeptical of federal prescriptions believe that increased regional autonomy is likely to lead to secession or dissolution of the nation (Meyer-Resende, 2017). In Syria, federalization proposals have failed in past because "Syrians fear that these borders could turn out to be the same as the ones that the fighting parties have currently carved out"(Meyer-Resende, 2017). King (1982), explicated federalism from two perspectives namely, ideological and institutional. To him ideological federalism could connote a balance between autonomy and independence. Here it has been advanced as a tool for balancing demands for unity and separatism. In contrast he explained institutional federalism to mean a federation as an institutional arrangement taking the form of a sovereign state and distinguished from other states exclusively by the fact that its central government incorporates regional units into its decision procedure on some constitutionally entrenched basis. Again, Nwabueze (1983) stated that "federalism is an arrangement whereby powers of government within a country are shared between a national (nation-wide) government and a number of regionalized (i.e., territorially localized) governments in such a way that each exists as a government separately and independently from the others, operating directly on persons and property within its territorial area, with a will of its own, and its own apparatus for the conduct of its affairs



and with an authority in some matters exclusive of all others". He averred that federalism implies:

- ✓ The existence of more than one level of government (central government), as powers and functions are vertically shared among the federal, regional, or state, as well as the local governments, within each having its own constitution, flag, coat of arms, anthem, etc.
- ✓ The powers and functions of each level of government are derived not from the central government but directly from the constitution, and are separate vertically between the tiers of government.
- ✓ These powers are usually explicitly embedded in the legislative lists-exclusive (for the federal government), concurrent (for federal and states/regions), and residual (for regions/states or local governments).
- ✓ The existence of written and rigid constitutions.
- ✓ Separation of powers among the various organs of government
- ✓ Balance sizes of federating components.
- ✓ Adequate funds to enable each component unit and the federal government operate.

Tamuno (1998) stated that federalism is that form of government where the component units of a political organization participate in sharing powers and functions in a cooperative manner though the combined forces of ethnic pluralism and cultural diversity, among others; tend to pull their people apart. Babalawe (1998) explained a federal state as one in which there is an: Explicit and constitutional demarcation of powers and functions among national and sub-national units. Moreover, the powers and responsibilities are distributed in such a manner as to protect the existence of authority of both levels of polity each of which is independent within its own sphere... Federalism refers to the doctrine which advocates and promotes the form of organization of a state in which power is dispersed or decentralized by contract as a means of safeguarding local identities and individual liberties. The critical issues that federalism pivots include division of power among the federating units coupled with autonomy and independence between the federal and the regional governments as their powers are derived directly from the constitution and not the central government. Federalism aims at developing all the facet of the nation as nation – building is an integral part of its agenda so as to ensure peaceful coexistence.

The Concept of Nation Building

According to Gambari (2008), nation - building has many important aspects. Firstly, it is about building a political entity which corresponds to a given territory, based on some generally accepted rules, norms, and principles, and a common citizenship. Secondly, it is also about building institutions which symbolize the political entity – institutions such as a bureaucracy, an economy, the judiciary, universities, a civil service, and civil society organizations. Above all else, however, nation-building is about building a common sense of purpose, a sense of shared destiny, a collective imagination of belonging. Nation-building is therefore about building the tangible and intangible threads that hold a political entity together and gives it a sense of purpose. It is about building the institutions and values which sustain the collective community in this modern time. And to him, having a viable nation remains synonymous with achieving modernity. Nation-



building referred to the efforts of newly-independent nations, notably the nations of Africa but also in the Balkans, (Harris, 2012) to reshape territories that had been carved out by colonial powers or Empires without regard to ethnic, religious, or other boundaries (Deutsch and Foltz, 2010). These reformed states would then become viable and coherent national entities (Walker, 2011). Nation-building implies creating a country that functions out of a non-functioning one – either because the old one has been destroyed in a war, has fallen apart, or never really worked properly, as occurred in Iraq, the Soviet Union, and Afghanistan, respectively. The aim in nation-building is to make sure that countries become viable, stable and prosperous.

Fig. 1: Composition of Nation Building



Source: Derived from the definition given by Walker (2011) above.

For Eme and Onyishi (2014), nation-building is the intervention in the affairs of a nation state for the purpose of changing the state's method of government. Nation-building also includes efforts to promote institutions which will provide for economic well-being and social equity. Nation-building is the intervention in the affairs of a nation state for the purpose of changing the state's process of government. It also includes efforts to promote institutions which will provide for economic well-being and social equity. Rokkan (1968) model saw nation-building as consisting of four analytically distinct aspects. In Western Europe these aspects had usually followed each other in more or less the same order. Thus, they could be regarded not only as aspects but also as phases of nation-building. The first phase resulted in economic and cultural unification at elite level. The second phase brought over larger sectors of the masses into the system through conscription into the army, enrollment in compulsory schools, etc. The burgeoning mass media created channels for direct contact between the central elites and periphery populations and generated widespread feelings of identity with the political system at large. In the third phase, the



subject masses were brought into active participation in the workings of the territorial political system. Finally, in the last stage the administrative apparatus of the state expanded. Public welfare services were established and nation-wide policies for the equalization of economic conditions were designed. In this paper, Nation-building is the process whereby a society of people with diverse origins, histories, languages, cultures and religions that come together within the boundaries of a sovereign state with a unified constitutional and legal dispensation, a national public education system, an integrated national economy, shared symbols and values, as equals, to work towards eradicating the divisions and injustices of the past; to foster unity; and promote a countrywide conscious sense of being proudly Nigerian, committed to the country and open to the continent and the world.

Theoretical Literature

According to Daniel Ziblatt's (2008) *Structuring the State*, there are four competing theoretical explanations in the academic literature for the adoption of federal systems:

- i. Ideational theories, which hold that a greater degree of ideological commitment to decentralist ideas in society makes federalism more likely to be adopted.
- ii. Cultural-historical theories, which hold that federal institutions are more likely to be adopted in societies with culturally or ethnically fragmented populations.
- iii. "Social contract" theories, which hold that federalism emerges as a bargain between a center and a periphery where the center is not powerful enough to dominate the periphery and the periphery is not powerful enough to secede from the center.
- iv. "Infrastructural power" theories, which hold that federalism is likely to emerge when the sub-units of a potential federation already have highly developed infrastructures (e.g. they are already constitutional, parliamentary, and administratively modernized states) (Ziblatt, 2008).

With regard to nation-building, the integration theory is often employed as an effective way of achieving and preserving both integration and stability in deeply divided societies (Eme and Oyinshi, 2014). According to Weiner (1965), integration is the process of having culturally and socially discrete groups into a single territorial unit. The definition offered by Weiner, therefore, shows clearly the existence of a pluralistic society in regards to language and other cultural ties that defines their self-consciousness. Several theories that falls under the integration theory include the functionalist, the federalist and the cybernetic. The functionalist approach requires the study of Nigeria within the primordial ethnic, cultural, economic, linguistic and religious heterogeneity and the need to drive the citizens into a homogenous unit which may permit participatory government (Hass, 1964). It is believed that the functionalist approach is performed through political socialization. The federalist model eulogizes the creation of a central government that coordinate the constituent units, while the cybernetic approach emphasizes the establishment of contacts and promotion of interactions through which the component units would understand and appreciate themselves better. These approaches are said to contribute to effective national integration which fosters political unification of the component parts into one whole unit (Eme and Oyinshi, 2014). Since Nigeria is a multi-ethnic and multi-religious society, the



integration theory sounds plausible in defining its nation-building process. This integration involves amalgamation of disparate social, economic, religious, ethnic, and geographic elements into a single nation-state, a homogenous entity, the like of Plato's Polis, the city-state. This kind of integration implies both the capacity of government to control the territory under its jurisdiction as well as to stimulate a set of popular willingness by the people to place national interest above local or parochial concern towards the nation generally (Eme and Oyinshi, 2014).

FEATURES OF NIGERIA FEDERALISM

Nigeria federalism is characterized by four key variables:

- i. **Inter-ethnic rivalry and religion:** Nigeria is comprised of a diverse group of people coming from different ethnic groups, and the rivalry between them can become a serious problem. In Nigeria, we see that different groups of people from different geopolitical regions seek power, and sometimes this can lead to disagreements and ethnic conflicts between the parties involved. Ethnic and religious crisis has been a recurring decimal in Nigeria's federal experiment. Religious conflict which usually manifests in form of physical violence especially in the northern parts of the federation is traceable to the high level of poverty, ignorance, distrust and mutual hatred among ethnic and religious groups. In Jos for instance, there have been countless violence between the Birom indigenes and Hausa settlers resulting to loss of lives and properties. Intra-communal clashes have also been identified such as Umuleri and Aguleri clash over boundaries in Anambra East Local Government area and also at an inter-ethnic level as demonstrated in the violence between the Itsekiri and Ijaw, Itsekiri and Urhobo of Delta state, Jukuns and Kutebs in Taraba State, Tivs and Jukuns in Benue state, Ijaws and Ilajes in Ondo state and between the Hausa-Fulani against the northern minorities in most of the northern states (Alabi; 2006). Recent crisis of this nature includes the Eggom case in Nasarrawa and the many cases of Fulani herdsman guerrilla styled attacks in Plateau, Benue, Taraba and even Delta state.
- ii. **Distribution of income:** Income distribution is another problem faced by federalism in Nigeria. The allocation of income refers to the formula used in distributing the financial resources of the country among different levels of government, whose main goal is to increase economic growth and development. However, revenue is not always distributed the way it should be, which also leads to certain problems.
- iii. **The question of minorities and state creation:** The multi-ethnicity of Nigeria has led to the problem of minorities, which is considered one of the major problems hindering the development of the nation. Agitation for state creation has been a recalling decimal which is believed to be a sign of self-identification as groups attach their survival in the Nigerian project to ethnic representation and access to federal resources. This has led to the formation of political parties along ethnic lines such as the Benin and Delta People's Party (1953), Mid-West Movement (1956), Calabar-Ogoja Rivers states Movement (1954), United Middle Belt Congress (1955) and the Borno Youth Movement. Their agitations have always led them to demand for state creation as a means to determine their own development as distinct from the other major ethnic groups. In Delta state for



example the Igbo speaking ethnic are clamoring for the creation of an “Anioma state” as a response to the perpetual domination by the Urhobo.

- iv. The question of division: Inter-ethnic rivalries in Nigeria constantly hinder development in the country. The question of separation is a major factor that violates federalism in Nigeria, as well as a way to influence the growth and development of the country. Such include the secession threat by the IPOB agitating for the Republic of Biafra.

The Challenge of Nation Building

Nigeria federalism has, coupled with the over concentration of power at the federal government, posed contending issues that limits national development. Such areas are discussed as follows:

The Challenge of History

The power of history need not to be overemphasized although it is pertinent to overcome our worst history. Nigeria under colonial rule was under two separate governments – each for north and south. This treatment of this nature gave rise to a high sense of regionalism in the nation rather than national integration. In such a setup, suspicion and fear is bound to exist. This historical challenge has therefore fronted regionalism in the country. The division has spurred lack of trust among the two parts of the country and inherent odium. This division has been a source of domestic tension and undermined our efforts at creating a common nationhood (Gambari, 2008). While this has been played down on the face value by the adoption of unity in diversity principle, the level of tolerance has been quite low and regionalism is one of the somber threats to our nation-building.

Arbitrary Military Intervention in Governance

Military rule in the course of the Nigeria project has foster centralization of power and the destruction of democratic values in our federation. As averred by Adeyeri (2005), thirty years of military rule so fundamentally altered the federal structure to the advantage of the central government that Nigeria became more a unitary state than a federal state. This dilemma has posed a great challenge in ensuring sustainable democratization of the country which is a sure way to ensuring cooperative nation-building among the various facets of the country.

The Challenge of Socio-Economic Inequality

Any country bound with inequality is exposed to distrust on the part of the citizens. Such indices that can be compared are educational attainments, health indices, and economic indices. To ensure a strong Nigeria, equality is a variable that needs not to be overemphasized. How about the control of resources? Why a region producing oil fails to have a single refinery? Or have we left in the mud the idea of nearness to raw materials as a critical factor for the location of an industry? Why it is that a citizen of oil producing regions fails to secure an oil well in their own area? These and many more are the questions that our federalism needs to answer if we want to succeed in our nation building. That is why in many Western European countries; contemporary nation-building



is about preventing 'social exclusion' or the exclusion of significant segments of the population from enjoying basic social and economic rights (Gambari, 2008). Building the nation should also encompass building the various segments of the country so as to give each region a sense of belonging and to make them see Nigeria as a country of their own. By uprooting inequality from our country, every citizen is at least assured of having access to whatever infrastructure and service that the government offers, ranging from health, education, poverty alleviation and human empowerment.

The Minority Question

The fear of the minority has continuously been a great threat to nation nation-building. Their fear emanates from the dominance of the majority in governance which make their voice hard to be heard. In the Niger Delta region of the country where the power bank of the nation's source of revenue (oil in this regards) is located, the people sees it fit to control their resources but this region has been belittled with underdevelopment despite being the source of the nation's huge proportion of revenue. This has painted a bad picture on the minds of the dwellers of the region as they suffer the negative effects of oil exploration but do not enjoy a reasonable proportion of its dividend. Although the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) was set up to see to this, the commission has been noted for series of incomplete projects in the region which makes the people to lose hope in its activities.

Ethno-Religious Conflict

Conflict among ethnic groups in the country has so far crippled the pursuit of nation-building as one group sees the other as a close enemy. Religious conflict in the northern part of the country is not left out as threat from one religious' group to the other is highly noticeable. The threat from one region to the other to vacate their region is a big slap on our federalism. This has made citizens of other ethnic groups residing in other parts to be settlers rather than having a sense of one Nigeria. This has hampered the unity of the nation by promoting religious and ethnic sentiments for selfish political gains. The crisis has been both inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic in nature. Intra-ethnic clashes include Umuleri and Aguleri clash over boundaries in Anambra East Local Government area and also at an inter-ethnic level as demonstrated in the violence between the Itsekiri and Ijaw, Itsekiri and Urhobo of Delta state, Jukuns and Kutebs in Taraba State, Tivs and Jukuns in Benue state, Ijaws and Ilajes in Ondo state and between the Hausa-Fulani against the northern minorities in most of the northern states (Alabi, 2006). Recent crisis of this nature include the Eggom case in Nasarrawa and the many cases of Fulani herdsman guerrilla styled attacks in Plateau, Benue, Taraba and even Delta state. This has crippled the unity in diversity theme of the country and is an attack towards our nation-building.

Leadership Challenge

Having a vision oriented and sound leadership is a crucial factor in facilitating nation-building. Nigeria has been blessed with numerous resources but cursed with management potential in respect to leadership capability and service delivery. Leadership cuts across



both political and economic leadership. With regard to economic leadership, we need able and qualified hands to man the various sectors of the economy to ensure proper service delivery. On the political dominion, the executive, legislature and the judiciary need to exercise a high degree of integrity, honesty, commitment, and competence as well as common vision, focus, and desire for development of the elites as a whole. However, these qualities have been in question as leadership has so far been for selfish interest if not for ethnic patronage or regional interest. This has impeded our nation-building agenda as the nation lacks leaders who have common focus and vision towards the development of the nation. If we are to succeed in nation-building, we must have a leadership that is committed to the rule of law and has a demonstrable sense of fair play and democratic tolerance; a leadership with ability and integrity; above all else, we must have a leadership that can see beyond the ostentatious pomp of office. We must have leaders who have a vision for a Nigeria better than the one they inherited; leaders who will lead by deeds and not by words; achievers, not deceivers. We need a leadership that will not only leave its foot-prints on the sands of time, but one, which by dint of hard-work, fair play, dedication and commitment, will live forever in the hearts of Nigerians (Gambari, 2008). Compliance to federal character is also a threat. According to Adeyeri (2005), "Federal Character is a euphemism for ethnic balancing." This theme has been abused as most appointments into government have been on ethnic and regional patronage. It is however a contentious issue in Nigeria as it has ironically led to the domination of federal institutions especially the military and paramilitary by the major ethnic groups with a preponderance of population to the disadvantage of the less populated ethnic groups and its prioritization of place of origin over merit in appointments leading to mediocrity.

CONCLUSION

Federalism has been seen as a system that is fit for a multi-ethnic, multi-religious, multi-cultural and multi-linguistic nation so as to promote unity in diversity through integration and thus working towards the goal of nation building. This therefore necessitates a balance between ideology and independence. Nation-building as a key element of federalism can only be achieved when powers are properly shared and over concentration of power at the Centre being curtailed. Even though Nigeria is a pluralistic nation in terms of religion, ethnic and cultural heritage, the notion of unity in diversity being often pronounced is always an issue on paper as there has been disunity in diversity in the country as defined by politics of interest, communal and religious clashes coupled with political tilting of leadership to one part of the nation. With this, nation-building has been counter-productive, regularly producing a backlash of ethnic revivalism since every sect tends to have a sense of ethnic patronage rather than national interest. To achieve a strong and functioning nation, there is need to restructure our federal system as Nigeria needs not only the government structure but also the full cooperation of the various heterogeneous groups that make up the nation. This, it can be achieved by fostering true federalism in the area of revenue sharing and derivation principle, resource control so as to alleviate the fears of the minority over domination by the majority ethnic groups, strengthening federal character principle, setting up strong institutions that ensure the development of the various part of the country as well as the need on the part of leadership



to showcase a genuine to wholesome policies of good governance hinged on equitable political arrangements, transparent and accountable practices as well as public conduct to bring about a fundamental re-definition and re-structuring of the Nigerian federal structure to accommodate the many inclinations of her diverse constituting interests. This will foster dual loyalties- the performance of national tasks, but with necessary attention to state interests and loyalties which are essential ingredients in nation building.

REFERENCES

- Adeyeri, O. (2005). *Federalism and the Problem of Nation Building in Nigeria*. Society for Research and Academic Excellence (SARE).
- Alabi, D. (2006). *Federalism and the Quest for National development*. Lagos, Concept Publications.
- Beloff, M. (1953). *The Federal Solution*. Political Studies, Vol. 1.
- Connor, W. (1972). *Ethnonationalism. The Quest for Understanding*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Deutsch, K. W. and Foltz, W. J. (2010). *Nation building in Comparative Contexts*. New Brunswick [N.J.], Aldine Transaction.
- Eme, O. I. and Onyishi, T. O. (2014). *Federalism and Nation Building in Nigeria*. *Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review (Nigerian Chapter)*, Vol. 2, No. 6.
- Friedrich, C. J. (1966). *Federalism and Opposition, Government and Opposition*. Vol. J, New York: O.U.P.
- Gambari, I A. (2008). *The Challenges of Nations Building: The Case of Nigeria*. First Year Anniversary Lecture Presented at Mustapha Akanbi Foundation.
- John, L. (2013). *How Can We Define Federalism?* In *Perspectives on Federalism*, Vol. 5, No. 3, pp.
- Kincaid, J. (2002). *Handbook of Federal Countries: Introduction*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- King, P. T. (1982). *Federalism and Federation*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
- Meyer-Resende, M. (2017). *Why Talk of Federalism Won't Help Peace in Syria*, *Foreign Policy*. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2016/03/18/why-talk-of-federalism-wont-help-peace-in-syria-assad/>
- Nwabueze, O. B. C. (1983). *Federalism in Nigeria under the Presidential Constitution*. London: Sweet and Maxwell.
- Rokkan, S. (1968). *Dimensions of State Formation and Nation-Building. A Possible Paradigm for Research on Variations within Europe*, in Tilly, *The formation of national states: 57off*.
- Riker, W. (1964). *Federalism Origin, Operation and Significance*. Boston: Little Brown.
- Tamuno, T. N. (1998). *Nigerian federalism in historical perspective*.
- Walker, C. (2011). *Nation-Building or Nation-Destroying?* *World Politics* 24 (03): 319–355



- Watts, R. (2002). Federalism Today. The Background Paper Written for the International Conference on Federalism, Saint Gallen, Switzerland
- Weiner, M. (1965). Political Integration and Political Development in Jason L. Finkle and Richard W. Gable (eds.) Political Development and Social Change. New York: John Wiley and Sons. Inc.
- Wheare, K. C. (1963). Federal Government, (4th edition). Oxford University Press.
- Wheare, K. (1946). Federal Government. London: Oxford University Press, pp. 10-15.
- Wikipedia (2018). Federalism. The Free Encyclopedia.
- Ziblatt, D. (2008). Structuring the State: The Formation of Italy and Germany and the Puzzle of Federalism. Princeton University Press.