

Boko Haram as a Syndrome of the Unresolved National Question in Nigeria: The Dilemma

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Abstract

The issue of the unresolved national question has often been reverberating in the political development of Nigeria right from colonial to post-colonial eras. The study therefore examines Boko Haram and the National Question in Nigeria and argues that it was the unresolved national question that snowballs into Bokoharamism in the Nigerian polity. The research adopts the conspiracy theory as its framework of analysis. The study calls for the total democratization of the Nigerian state as one of the prerequisites and the sine qua non for addressing the negative consequences posed by the unresolved national question and its offshoot such as Boko Haram and insecurity. The research posits that the term 'indigenship' should be de-emphasized and totally discouraged as it tends to deepen discord and acrimony which is capable of causing disintegration amongst Nigerians while emphasis should be placed on 'citizenship' as it tends to breed unity and collectivity. The term 'residency' should be emphasized and encouraged and should be used in place of 'indigenship' and be given constitutional backings with practical mechanisms for its application. The study therefore argues that, only when Nigerians agreed to come together, understand their differences and agreed to manage and live by it that peace and unity can be brought back to the country. The research therefore recommends that political contest should not be anchored on the basis of place of origin and indigeneship rather on meritocracy and performance records. It is a truism however, that a secured state is a prerequisite and a sine qua non for development.

Keywords: Boko Haram, Unresolved National Question, Insecurity, Nigeria's Unity, Ethnic identities

Introduction

Nigeria as a country has often been in the dilemma of confronting the conflict of ethnic contradictions and incompatibility in the past 50 years. According to Bamidele:

"A geographically demarcated piece of land called Nigeria came to being in 1914 when the Northern and Southern protectorates were merged together by the then Governor-General, Lord Lugard. And with coming together of over 400 ethnic groups forcefully against their own volition, tendencies are there for contradicting behaviours and conflicting ways of relating to one another" (Bamidele, 2011).

It is argued that the necessary pre-requisites needed for the creation of a country was lacking in the Nigeria situation. The necessary nitty-gritty needed for the peaceful coexistence of a country was missing in the case of Nigeria. For this reason, numerous writers have expressed their views as regard the unification and the togetherness of the country Nigeria. Notable amongst them was the late sage, Obafemi Awolowo, in his book titled "Path to Nigerian Freedom" in 1947, he argued that:

Nigeria was a mere geographical expression. There were no Nigerians as there were French and Germans.

This view opined by Awolowo gives us two assertions in accordance with this study that the term 'Nigeria' was not necessary *abi nitio* and that the term 'Nigeria' does not exist in reality. This argument is underpinned by the avalanche of crises that have befallen the country right from its inception and designation. According to Otite (1990), the view point of Awolowo can only still mean that one could not speak of Nigeria as a society with a national identification in the same sense as one could speak of say the Katsina emirate, or the Kingdom of Benin or Ife. Awolowo argued that Nigeria being a multi-national or poly-ethnic society could not be regarded as one nation. Awolowo was always known to have asserted that one could not be a good Nigerian if he was not a good Yoruba, Igbo or Hausa first.

According to Adesina (2011), in his back page column on Daily Sun captioned: Constitution review and unfinished matters, where Adesina recalled a conversation between two of our founding fathers, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe and Ahmadu Bello, as contained in a book, Ahmadu Bello: Sandauna of Sokoto written by N. Paden. According to him, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe had told Ahmadu Bello: "let us forget our differences....." to which the

letter replied: “No, let us understand our differences.” I am a Muslim and a Northerner; you are a Christian, an Easterner. By understanding our differences, we can build unity in our country”. Bello was further quoted as admitting that the amalgamation of northern and southern protectorates as “mistake of 1914” (Adesina, 2011 cited in Bamidele, 2012).

The study thus aims at unraveling the cause of Nigeria disunity and the avalanche security problems bedeviling the country on the failure to have addressed the unresolved national question. According to Anthony Enhaoro, the failure of Nigeria so far may be attributed in great part to the perennial tensions and conflicts among its nationalities, resulting from mutual insecurity, poverty, jealousies and fears. He further argued that rather than manage primordial identities, which are our nationalities, positively, successive constitutions have studiously and dismissively ignored them. But as disillusionment with the Nigeria project has grown, it is to these celebrated identities that the people have begun to look for refuge. Thus the nationalities that the colonial invaders thought they had buried have forced themselves back into our collective consciousness. No amount of blank repetitions of hollow appeals to unity can change those realities (Enhaoro, 2002). This argument is consolidated by the vigorous campaigns carried out by diverse ethnic groups that they should produce the successor of Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan that is if he decides not to re-contest. It should be noted that the basis of this campaign is not anchored on meritocracy or performance records but on the place of origin of the successor and this has further deepening disunity amongst Nigerians.

Long before the creation of the entity called Nigeria, the various people that existed independently then had established their own indigenous systems of administration and governance. There were in place recognize political entities such as the Benin Empire, Kanem Bornu Empire, Sokoto Caliphate, Oyo Empire, to mention a few. The empires and kingdoms had established contact with one another and with other people through trading activities. There were peaceful administrative patterns and leadership styles were predicated on hereditary and sometimes revolves around ruling families. Political succession was non-conflictual during this period. It should be noted however, that Boko Haram insurgency became worse after 2011 general elections and it is becoming more worsen as the 2015 general elections get closer as interest in this said election increases unprecedentedly and as such, hitting up the polity. This study therefore underpins the advocacy of true federalism as it will help preeminently in addressing the unresolved national questions such as unity in diversity, the adaptation of the principles of derivation in the sharing of national wealth as it was done in the past when agriculture was the main stay of the Nigerian economy, the role of the military, the powers and roles of the police force, the respect for human rights, the implementation of equitable federal character principle, the redrafting of the constitution by the people of Nigeria (themselves), the enthronement of meritocracy, the issue of indigenship and citizenship, the respect for rule of law and the independent of the judiciary, and the respect of ethnic identities and the encouragement of unity in diversity, etc. all these and more constitute the basic unresolved national question.

It should be noted however, that the failure of the state to address the foregoing has led to the serious insecurity situation in Nigeria which gave rise to different militia groups and sects and most recently, the emergence of Boko Haram.

In his introduction to Billy Dudley’s posthumous book (1982:8), A.D. Yahaya stated that:

The political future of the country as one indivisible nation is resolved with the end of the civil war..... It is therefore not conceivable for the present generation of Nigerians who were so much part of the struggle for the survival of the federation to resuscitate the unity of the country as a political issue. The major political issue today is therefore, not the unity of the country (Dudley, 1982 cited in Mustapha, 1986).

The events in Nigeria since 1983, such as the *No Nation! No Destiny!* Broadcast of the FRCN Kaduna; the acrimonious and chauvinistic campaigns associated with the 1983 elections; the incessant disputes over the question of federal character; and the debacle over Nigeria’s affiliation to the Organization of Islamic Countries tend to suggest that the unity of the country cannot be taken for granted (Mustapha, 1986). The issue of Nigeria which is a multi-religious country, affiliating to the Organization of Islamic Countries against the general wish of other religions suggests that the unity of the country was actually taking for granted and this has been reverberated and cemented by the recent upsurge of Boko Haram incessant killings of Christians in places of worship in the Northeastern region suggesting that Nigeria is a mono-religious country as against what is reasonably attainable. Mustapha argues that the Civil war did not resolve the National Question in Nigeria. What is true is that the Nigerian state was able to overcome a specific challenge of its integrity. This does not, however, mean that no future challenges or probable, or that the state will always have the capacity to overcome such challenges. The emergence of Anya Anya II in the Sudan was a case in point. The unity of the country cannot therefore, be necessarily guaranteed by the state as currently constituted (Mustapha, 1986).

What is now referred to as the “National Question” arose from the diverse characters of Nigeria as a plural and multi-ethnic society. The notion is traceable to the structural defects and imbalances created by the amalgamation in 1914 of the Northern and Southern Protectorates of Nigeria to form a unified colony of the

British Empire (Vanguard, 2013). The amalgamation of the Southern and Northern protectorates and the Lagos colony to form a single protectorate - the protectorate of Nigeria is also responsible for the disunity and the security challenges being faced by the country. There are numerous factors responsible for the present threat to disintegration and the security problems ravaging the country 'Nigeria' - these are religion, ethnic affiliation and identity, imbalance federation, political loyalty and propaganda, citizenship and indigenship, educational imbalance, economic inequality, justice system, etc.

Conceptual Clarification

Before analyzing the unresolved National questions and its offspring such as insecurity and Boko Haram, it is pivotal to first clarify the key concepts used in this study.

The National Question

The term "National Question" refers to the oppression of nations, nationalities and /or minorities within nations (Aborisade, 2013). The National question according Odion-Akhaine (2000) involves the unresolved contradictions in the society that have continued to entrench Nigeria in a vicious circle of crises. The national question posed politically refers to the right to self determination including the right to secession. This meaning is necessitated due to the oppression of some ethnic nationalities by others in a multi-ethnic setting as Nigeria (Odion-Akhaine, 2000). It is a truism however, that the sum total of conflicts, unemployment, insecurity, and the subsequent emergence of Bokoharamism is as a result of the failure of the Nigerian state to address the unresolved national questions. The pivotal questions to be asked and subsequently analyzed are as follows: Are Nigerians really Nigerians; were they interested to be amalgamated together; are their ethnic identities respected over national identity; Does Nigeria belong to a certain ethnic group; Are Nigerians proud of being Nigerians or their ethnic groupings such as the Igbos, Hausas, Yorubas, Ijaws, Itsekiris, Ukwanis, Ibibios, etc. Is one religion superior to the other religions; Are they compatible i.e., are they to be operated in a single geographical entity or they should be in a distinct territorial entities? Can a Yoruba man become a governor in Igbo land or can an Igbo man become a governor in Hausa Land vice versa? All these questions, issues and more constitute the unresolved National Question begging for resolution.

According to Mustapha, the objective basis of the National question lies in the educational, economic and political inequalities of the Nigerian society. However, these inequalities in themselves would not be too problematic except when seen within the context of the class dynamic of Nigerian society. It is the class nature of Nigerian society that gives these inequalities their specific meaning within the context of the national question. Apart from the contradiction between Nigeria and imperialism, those between the northern and the southern parts of the country, and those between the majority nationalities, have been politically the most decisive. Specifically, these contradictions have manifested themselves in a series of inequalities which have assumed a logic of their own, and today inform much of the dynamics of the politics of the National Question. While the internal dimension of the National Question might be expressed in linguistic, cultural or regionalist terms, its objective basis lies in these material and political inequalities, and understanding of their evolution is vital for their transcendence (Mustapha, 1986).

These inequalities revolve around - education, economic, political and social inequalities. However, it is pertinent to note that the national question has a broad scope. It is wide and encompasses numerous areas. In the view of Akwhara, et al, (2013), the vast majority of Nigerians have always reduced the national question to contradictions and antagonism between the various ethnic nationalities in the country. In other words, they see the national question in terms of inter-ethnic hostilities only. But the national question is far bigger and more complex than this. The national question is a big complex of political, economic, ideological, cultural, historical, religious, legal and other problems that arise during a people's struggle for liberation and for favourable internal and external conditions for future development; and also in the course of establishing equal, friendly relations between them and others (Akwhara, et al, 2013). The National Question is tied to the erosion of the state and its failure to meet the needs of the citizens, often by exclusion, marginalization and injustice in securing and protecting lives and welfare of the various groups inhabiting the national space (vanguard, 2013). Some of the sub-categories of these questions include: to what extent do citizens and groups feel a sense of identity with the Nigerian state? Does the state protect our interests? Is justice and fairness preserved in the manner in which the state relates to every section of the citizenry? To what extent is justice dispensed in the extradition and distribution of the proceeds of resources extracted in certain territories of the state? Onyeoziri (2010:10) observes that the national question "afflicts many political systems, hardly has a final solution, is complex or multi-dimensional in nature, and is historically contingent". The study therefore argues that the complete democratization of the Nigerian state is the basis and condition for the solution to the national question and its attendant negativity.

Bokoharamism

The term “Boko Haram” has generated a lot of public discourse as it tends recently to be a term regularly mentioned not only in the mouths of Nigerians but also, citizens of other part of the world.

Since the return to democratic rule in May 1999, Nigeria has witnessed a number of security challenges associated with militancy, armed robbery, kidnapping, political assassinations, arms proliferation, piracy and ethno-religious conflicts. However, the outbreak of Boko Haram uprising in July 2009 heralded new security challenges in the country (Afeni, 2013). The group’s official name is Jama’atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda’awati Wal Jihad, meaning “people committed to the propagation of the prophet’s teachings and Jihad”. It earned its nickname “Boko Haram” - meaning Western Education is evil from the teachings of its founder Mohammed Yusuf in the early 2003, in the restive northeastern city of Maiduguri the capital of Bornu State.

According to Yusuf, western education, or ‘boko’ brought nothing but poverty and sufferings to the region and was therefore forbidden, or ‘haram’, in Islam. He began peacefully mostly preaching and quickly gained followers among disaffected young men in the northeast. But his anti establishment rhetoric and hints that Boko Haram was building an arsenal of weapons also caught the attention of the authorities (Okpaga, et al, 2012). The activities of Boko Haram with its incessant killings of innocent Nigerians and the threat to declare Nigeria an Islamic state in a country conglomerated by Christians, Muslims and traditionalists underpins the assertion that Nigerians have never agreed to live together and this brings us to the issue of the unresolved national questions.

According to Alozieuwa (2012), the challenge posed by the Boko Haram sect in Nigeria is not only about viciousness of either its terror campaigns, or the sect avowed mission to impose Islamic law to the country but about the confusion regarding the exact causes of the violence.

It is pivotal to note that before the advent of colonialism, there were no conflict between Islam and Christianity. Prior to the advent of colonialism with its attendant incursion of the British rule and the subsequent subjugation of the African continent, there were in existence in most African enclaves or cultural distinct entities, local administrative machineries anchored upon traditional institutions. In order words, one can adduce that it was the advent of colonialism and the subsequent mistake of 1914 which led to the bringing together the North and South who had distinct life styles and religious beliefs in one geographical condition that occasioned the incessant crises experience presently in the country. How a religion could believe to be superior to the other religions? The maiming and bombing humans and places of worship of the Christians is an indication that Islam and Christianity are proven to be incompatible and the amalgamation of both is really catastrophic and a “mere geographical expression” as opined by Obafemi Awolowo.

The Islamic theocratic state theory suffices as the Boko Haram sect has hardly masked its intention to bring down the Nigerian government, the Kufur system, and ultimately Islamize Nigeria (Alozieuwa, 2012) hence lengmang’s (2011) documentation of the allegation that some segment of the Northern Muslim population may be unhappy with the compromise of state-level Sharia coexisting side by side with a secular federal system. Hence, although this segment may arguably be small, “they are increasingly becoming radicalized and more willing to periodically express themselves through violence”. He attributes resentment to the Sharia coexistence with secular federal system to the view by many northerners that western education is incapable of stimulating meaningful development and prosperity in the region, and so shares the fallacy of western education being incompatible with Islam; all stemming from conspiracy (Anyadike, 2013). The study thus argues that if the emergence of Boko Haram is to annihilate western education and its features for bringing underdevelopment in the region then such argument is faulty as most of the gadgets, and technological devices used by this insurgent group are products of western educational researches and discoveries. Boko Haram’s successive destructions, attacking and killing of innocent Nigerians would have been futile if not for western educational scientific discoveries. The machine guns, the IEDs, Rocket Propelled Launchers, the phones used by them for terrorists’ communication etc are all discoveries of western scientific educational researches. The study therefore opines that it was the imbalance federal system operated in Nigeria, religious extremism, failure to identify unity in diversity, the preference of indigenship to citizenship, place of origins, ethnicism, tribalism etc are what constitute the unresolved national question that has snowballed into Bokoharamism and not necessarily the evil nature of western education as propagated by the sect.

Insecurity

Insecurity as a concept will be best understood by first analyzing the concept of security. It is the failure of security that gives rise to insecurity. A nation that is engulfed with numerous security challenges is far from attaining the status of development and democratic ethos.

According to Omoyibo and Akpomera (2013), security is a concept that is prior to the state, and the state exists in order to provide that concept. Security is the prime responsibility of the state. Nigeria’s developmental problem is tied to the avalanche security challenges bedeviling the country in recent time. According to Dipo Kolawale (2004), Africa as a continent has often been in the dilemma of confronting the

conflict of relevance in a world in which the developed (rich) nations dictate to the developing (poor) ones. It is a conflict engendered by a combination of factors which include but apparently are not limited to historical antecedent, multi-nationalism, multi-culturalism, multi-ethnicism, economic poverty and poverty of planning (Igbokwu, et al, 2012). The study therefore argues in line with the assertion above that the security problem bedeviling the country can be linked to the multi-cultural, multi-national, multi-ethnic nature of Nigeria society. And also the problem of economic poverty and poverty of planning cannot be left out. All these issues are intricately tied with the issue of the unresolved national question in addendum, to the corruptive lifestyle of the Nigerian government.

For many African countries, this dilemma is even more acute and pronounced. Faced with a growing increase in population explosion (Ogunleye-Adetona, 2010) and a corresponding decrease in economic productivity and political accountability, occasioned by many years of higher level political corruption, bad governance, weak institutions and absence of the wherewithal to transform their human and material resources, these countries turned into veritable incubation centers for the emergence of violent anti-state groups whose deriving ideology, it would seem, is antagonism against their states (Stem & Ojendal, 2010 cited in Katsina, 2012).

In the view of Akin (2008), security refers to “the situation that exists as a result of the establishment of measures for the protection of persons, information and property against hostile persons, influences and actions”. It is the existence of conditions within which people in a society can go about their normal daily activities without and threats to their lives or properties (Achumba, et al, 2013). It embraces all measures designed to protect and safeguard the citizenry and the resources of individuals, groups, businesses and the nation against sabotage or violence occurrence (Ogunleye, et al, 2011). Igbuzor (2011) noted that security demands safety from chronic threats and protection from harmful disruption.

What constitutes security in modern times is a question that has never been answered satisfactorily by scholars. Its perception even within one community varies in time (Ejogba, 2006 p.305). For instance, until recently, most of the mainstream writings on security studies literally defined it in terms of a state’s capabilities to defend its territorial integrity from threats, actual and imagined, as well as acts of aggression from other potential enemies (Okwori, 1995 p. 20). However, states build and equip armed forces towards achieving this goal. The main assumption of this conception is that threat of violence, and the actual ability to commit violence by a state, against an enemy successfully defers threats and aggression (Rouke, 2005, p.308; Alabi, 1997, p.129). At the domestic level, the belief is that internal law enforcement agencies and other instruments of domestic intelligence are all that is required for a state to be secured (Katsina, 2012). It is a truism however, that a secured state is a prerequisite and a sine qua non for development.

On the other hand, insecurity is the contrast or antithesis of security. According to Beland (2005), insecurity is “the state of fear or anxiety stemming from a concrete or alleged lack of protection”. It refers to lack or inadequate freedom from danger. This definition reflects physical insecurity which is the most visible form of insecurity, and it feeds into many other forms of insecurity such as economic security and social security (Achumba, et al, 2013).

According to Jegede (2011), the insecurity situation in the country has led many to wonder if Nigeria has not returned to the state of nature where, according to Thomas Hobbes, life was solitary, nasty, brutish and short. Adah (2011) compliments Jegede’s position when she made her observation known that public functions are now held amidst tight security and that the Nigerian government has failed to secure itself not to talk of securing the “common man” as enshrined in section 14(2c) of the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Evidently, as Igbuzor (2011) observed that the state of insecurity in Nigeria is greatly a function of government failure, or can be linked to government failure. While this assertion is true, there is no doubt however, that the failure of government to provide adequate security needed to run a democratic government as in the case of Nigeria is tied with the inability and incapacity of the federal government to resolve and address the unresolved National question which has pre-eminently given rise to the serious security problem bedeviling this country.

Hazen and Horner (2007) described the Nigerian situation as a ‘paradox of plenty’. A situation where the country earns a great deal of revenue through oil sales, but fails to use these earnings to meet the needs of its people and to develop infrastructure as well as the economy. When this situation exists, crime rate is bound to rise and the security of lives and properties cannot be guaranteed (Achumba, et al, 2013).

From all the foregoing analyses so far, the study tends to argue that the dereliction and deficiencies of the federal government to provide a secured atmospheric condition for Nigerians is as a result of its failure to remedy the origin of the problems ravaging the country. All the problems and reasons put forward by scholars to be responsible for the avalanche security problem bedeviling the country are directly or indirectly tied to the failure of the government to address the national question. A situation where the people inhabiting a geographical entity have not agreed to live together *abi nitio*, any policy or effort put together by the government of the day that is meant to address the problem at the surface level without tackling the problem from its origin is

just an exercise in futility.

Theoretical Framework

Given the primary focus of this study, the conspiracy theory has been adopted. A conspiracy theory is an explanatory proposition that accuses two or more person, a group, or an organization of having caused or covered up, through secrete planning and deliberate action, illegal or harmful event or situation (see the Merriam-Webster Dictionary). This explanation above helps to provide a framework of analysis for this study as it is argued that the Boko Haram insurgency are being sponsored by powerful politicians to cause harmful event in the country. It is a clandestine malevolent arrangement sponsored by people who have penchant for mischief and to render havoc in the country which is capable of pushing the country into disintegration.

Some scholars suggest that people formulate conspiracy theories to explain, for example, power relations in social groups and the existence of evil forces (Bakun, 2004). It has been suggested by some thinkers that conspiracy theories have chiefly psychological or socio-political origins. Proposed psychological origins include projection; the personal need to explain a significant event (with) a significant cause and the product of various kinds and stages of thought disorder such as paranoid disposition, ranging in severity to diagnosable mental illness. Similarly, socio-political origins may be discovered in the need of people to believe in event causation rather than suffer the insecurity of a random world and universe (Fox, 2009; Goertzel, 1994; Douglas, et al, 2008; Hofstadter, 1964; Hodapp, et al, 2008; Cohen, 2010). It is pivotal to note that the socio-political, ethnical and cultural origin of insecurity in Nigeria needs to be discovered in order to find a lasting solution to the problem of insecurity in the country. Attempt should be made at resolving and addressing the primary sources of the insecurity which originated as a result of the unresolved national question rather than tackling it from the secondary sources. The ethno-sociological diversity of the people inhabiting Nigeria ought to be recognized, identified and respected.

According to Ake (1996), socio-economic insecurity is one of the reasons that accounts for the identification of people with their respective ethnic groups. Therefore, their impoverished socio-economic situation coupled with their poor level of enlightenment, renders them vulnerable for easy mobilization by ethnic entrepreneurs (Kaur, 2007; Metumara, 2010).

The political scientist Michael Barkun, discussing the usage of this term in contemporary American culture, holds that a conspiracy theory is a belief which explains an event as the result of a secret plot by exceptionally, powerfully and cunning conspirators to achieve a malevolent end (Barkun, 2004). In relation to this study, it is therefore argued that the advent of Boko Haram and the subsequent unprecedented increase in insecurity may be occasioned by disgruntled Nigerian politicians who felt that their interests in government are being threatened. For instance, it will be recalled that notable Nigerian politicians who lost elections have made statements that the nation would be ungovernable as a result of their defeat. They felt that elections were rigged with a view to infringing on their interests. In addendum to the above position, the various security operatives and institutions in Nigeria has also conspired to worsening the security problem in Nigeria. No wonder Michael Parentis argued that:

“In most of its operations, the CIA is by definition a conspiracy using covert actions and secret plans, many of which are of the most unsavory kind. What are covert operations if not conspiracies? At the same time, the CIA is an institution, a structural part of the national security state. In sum, the agency is an institutionalized conspiracy” (Parenti, 1996).

In view of this assertion as it relates to the study, the Nigerian security agencies have been accused overtime to be conspiring with the Boko Haram sect with a view to worsening the security problem currently bedeviling the country. For instance, the Nigerian Army has been accused of providing intelligence security report to the sect in order to aid their activities and also, the police force is not spare out as they have also been accused of conspiring with the members of the sect to frustrate and truncate democratic practices in the country. President Goodluck Jonathan himself has often stated that they are evidence that some members of his cabinet are Boko Haram apologists. The assertion of the President is entirely what conspiracy entails.

Boko Haram, the Unresolved National Question in Nigerian: The Dilemma

Many of the issues and concerns that have come to assume the status of the national question and which are burning at the centre of national consciousness are traceable to the structural imbalance deficits and imbalance federalism evolving from the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorates to form a unified colony by the colonial Governor - General, Lord Lugard in 1914. These imbalances have deepened and become reified into a skewed ontology enabling certain groups within the emergent state to persistently thrive and incur benefits from what ought to be a national communion to the exclusion of others even when these groups do not necessarily possess the material basis to justify such privileged advantage (Ekiti, 2012). In line with the above analyses, the study tends to unravel some of the unresolved issues begging for resolution in order to place

Nigeria in a peaceful atmospheric condition. The study therefore attempts a rigorous look at these imbalances created by the colonial government and the Nigerian state as well, and their offshoot and offspring, such as insecurity and Boko Haram. The research therefore examines some of the issues that ought to be settled and resolved in other to bring Nigeria in the peaceful path. This includes:

Education

Firstly, one legacy of disunity bequeathed in Nigeria by the British colonialists is the unequal educational development of the North and the South. The assumption of the iniquitous Boko Haram ideology, “Western education is evil” has its genesis in the once hostile attitude of the northern traditional rulers to that subject. A building with a faulty foundation would always be a dangerous one, the sad story of Nigeria (Akinola, 2014). According to Mustapha (1986), one of the most hotly contested issues in the National Question in Nigeria today is that of the access of educational facilities by the different nationalities and regional groups in the country, and the access to bureaucratic post and resources which educational qualifications make possible. It was Lugard’s view that in the Southern parts of the country which were the first points of colonial contact:

...education seems to have produced discontent, impatience of any control and an unjustified assumption of self-importance in the individual... The local press, inspired by a ... misdirected education, is... doing much grievous harm... by... its invective against all Government action.

It was the introduction of western education in southern Nigeria that ushered in some form of awareness that saw southerners objecting to the colonial government exploitative style that actually discouraged them in subsequent introduction of same in the Northern Nigeria. Mustapha argued that, Christian missions were the major agency for the advancement of western education in southern Nigeria and their exclusion from most of the Muslim North was ostensibly in keeping with British promises not to temper with the religious life of the people at the time of the colonial conquest. However, one wonders if the reason why Boko Haram sect designated western education as being evil was as a result of the educational imbalance between North and South created by the British colonial masters as the reason for their action, then one would be forced to argue that even when the colonial administration finally introduced an educational system of its own into Northern Nigeria, that system was diverted by the pre-colonial Northern aristocrats in collaboration with the colonial masters at benefitting the sons of the Northern aristocrats. This imperialist design by the British had the blessing of the emirate aristocracy who had a stake in maintaining an ignorant and superstitious populace, and which was also facilitated by the religious and cultural prejudices of the bulk of the population.

In the final analysis, the study therefore argues that the Boko Haram sect has no empirical basis to have channeled their grievances against the southern Christians in the North as they are not responsible for their educational woes. In other words, their destructive action should have been directed against their emirate aristocrats who collaborated with the British government in facilitating an imbalance educational system in Nigeria that is if the argument above is anything to go by with.

As a consequence, Northern Nigeria rapidly fell behind the South, in terms of the development of Western education during colonial and 5 years after colonial administration as shown by the table put forward by Adamu in 1973.

Table One: Secondary School Output in Northern and Southern Nigeria, 1906 - 1965

YEAR	NUMBER OF SCHOOL		PUPILS IN ATTENDANCE	
	NORTH	SOUTH	NORTH	SOUTH
1906	0	1	0	20
1912	0	10	0	67
1926	0	18	0	518
1937	1	26	65	4,285
1947	3	43	251	9,657
1957	18	176	3,643	28,208
1965	17	1,305	15,276	180,907

Source: Adopted from Mustapha 1986:85

However, it is pivotal to note that the colonial masters should be indicted mostly in terms of the disparity in the educational fortunes between the North and the South. As Adamu writes:

Until 1931, the most important aspect of Northern education was obedience and respect. In Katsina College, it was good character not academic achievement that was considered in awarding certificates. There was no examination.

The dynamics of this inequality in education is such that some Nigerian Patriots of Northern origins have come to the conclusion that the educational gap is unbridgeable (Adamu 1969, cited in Mustapha, 1986).

This educational imbalance created by the colonial government in collaboration with the Northern Pre-colonial aristocrats also form part of the unresolved national question.

Citizenship Vs Indigenship

Secondly, another issue bedeviling the peaceful co-existence of Nigeria is the issue of citizenship and indigenship which also form part of the unresolved national question.

One of the undoings of Nigeria, Africa's most populous nation, is the stifling problem of "indigeneity" as conditioned by the citizen law. Indigeneity and problems of citizenship in Nigeria make a person born and bred in Lagos, Ibadan, Kano, or any other part of the country not a true member of his society, contrary to what is obtained in the United States and other "developed" countries. This is because an Igbo man cannot contest and win governorship election in Katsina state or a Hausa man, with Nigerian citizenship status, cannot contest election in Lagos and win, even though he was born and bred there and has contributed to its development. An Itsekiri man living in Oyo state for over 25 years making necessary contributions to the development of the state, is not regarded as an indigene of the state, irrespective of the number of years he has spent in Oyo state, he and all members of his family are still regarded as settlers and non-indigenes, hence, they cannot have access to or benefit from what is purely reserved for the indigenes, even if such indigenes have not been in Oyo State for over 30 years (Eniola, et al, 2012).

The negative consequences of ethnic conflict in Nigeria have stimulated the debate which is hinged on contestable issues such as the dichotomy between citizenship and indigenship. The term "citizen" typically refers to any person who owes allegiance to a sovereign state and thereby receives certain protection with that state (Renne, 2014). Citizenship, according to Cambridge International Dictionary of English is a state of being a member of a particular country and having rights as a result of this.

On the other hand indigene is used in Nigeria to distinguish natives of a particular part of Nigeria from other Nigerian citizens found in that locality. It is also used to confer special privileges which are beyond the reach of non-natives on the natives. According to Renne (2014), while trying to distinguish indigenship from citizenship, held that indigenship is a natural link between a person and a geographical location (his ancestral home) where he traces his roots through a blood lineage and genealogy that puts him in contact with his kin and kindred, citizen is a man-made arrangement that seek to confer on a person certain rights that are enjoyed by all persons in a certain geographical location.

The study therefore argues that the dichotomy between citizenship and indigenship has gone a long way in establishing division and conflict which has further ensued the need for disintegration. The problem of indigeneity manifests in numerous ways such as employment, promotions, admission into schools, favouritism and even appointment of people into positions across the country. This problem also manifests in the tactics used by Boko Haram in causing havoc in the country. For instance, they tend to attack non-indigenes of the Northern extractions and places owned by Christians who are considered as alien in those areas. A good example of this is the kidnapping of students in Chibok Local Government Area in Bornu State. The argument here is that, according to research made, 90% of the students kidnapped are Christians who are considered as non-natives of the area.

Only in Nigeria do you hear of citizens, being deported out of states where they reside to states that are considered as their places of origins. The poor, destitute and disheveled, are being packed from the streets and deported to where it thought they are ethnically affiliated. A recent analogy of this was the Lagos State government's action to have deported many Igbos which they caught on the street to their places of origin. This action is barbaric, antediluvian and totally condemnable.

The Nigerian constitution, chapter IV which talks more on Fundamental Human Rights holds in section 41 (I) that:

Every citizen of Nigerian is entitled to move freely throughout Nigeria and resides in any part therefore, and no citizen of Nigeria shall be expelled from Nigeria or refused entry thereby or exit therefrom.

It is pertinent to note that why the 1999 constitution is outrightly against any form of segregation and discrimination, the constitution has further aggravated and compounded it by not providing means for full implementation of the rights of citizens. This has further repudiated the universal acceptability of the constitution as a mere paper work and a theoretical expression of the ruling class without adequate mechanism for its practicalization.

This denial of the constitutional and inalienable rights of many Nigerians in residing in places other than their homeland has a profound implication on Nigerian's unity and enormous consequences of national cohesion and this and more form the basis of the unresolved National question which has further worsened the security situation in the country.

Fiscal Federalism

Thirdly, another problem bedeviling Nigeria's unity and which also constitutes the unresolved national question is the problem of Fiscal Federalism. In 1948, Governor Richards noted that the creation of Nigeria as a single country was by accident by the British sovereignty. He argued that it is still far from being a single country or one nation socially or even economically, as there are deep differences between the major tribal groups. They do not speak the same language and they have divergent customs and ways of life and they represent different stages of culture (Ifesinachi, 2006). Nigeria problem of unity and federalism have been a recurring decimal right from colonial and post-colonial eras.

From its originating instance, the choice of the federal option as a platform for sharing power across the divergent national entities bounded by the British was never an altruistic one (Gana, 2003), as unique political expediencies shaped the consensus of the 1954 constitutional process between the colonial state functionaries and the "nationals" in agreeing to toe the line of a federal arrangement. Thus, while the colonial operatives considered this as a system that would reassure their allies within the Northern Oligarchy of continuity in progressing at their own pace, the southerners, who were basically at the vortex of the anti-colonial struggle regarded federalism as a means of attaining sovereign independence (Ekiti, 2012).

It should be noted however, that the Nigeria nationalists who negotiated and bargained with the colonial masters to adopt federalism were somehow myopic in foreseeing the possibilities of inter-ethnic competition eroding the attempt towards national integration. As noted by Eleazu (1979):

The 'founding fathers' of Nigeria adopted federalism as a pragmatic instrument for holding together the entity called Nigeria... They thought that through federalism they would maintain unity in diversity; that within the federal structure the diverse ethnic group can be welded into a modern nation. They were full of hopes for this country...but by 1966, the hope was blighted.

However, Revenue allocation and fiscal federalism has generated debates, agitations and counter agitations by political astronomers which have led to the constant review of the revenue allocation formula in the country. It is pivotal to note that revenue allocation which is an important segment of fiscal federalism has been given primacy in the history of Nigeria as it could be traceable to Governor Hume Clifford era. In fact, numerous commissions on revenue allocation and management have been formulated in Nigeria to fashion out scientific and universally acceptable formula for revenue allocation and derivation in Nigeria ranging from the 1929 Sir Graeme Thomson Recommendation, the 1935 Sir John Maybin Recommendation, the 1946 Sir Sydney Philipson Commission, the Sir John Hicks and Sir Sydney Philipson Review Commission which formed the main part of Sir Macpherson constitution of 1951, Sir Louis Chick Fiscal Commission of 1953, the Raisman Commission of 1958, the Binns Commission of 1964, the Dina Commission of 1967, the 1977 Professor Aboyade Technical Committee and the 1979 Pius Okigbo Commission. All these systems of revenue allocation formula and derivation had received political and social lampooning from Nigerian citizens as they have failed abysmally in fashioning out generally acceptable revenue allocation and derivation formula for the country.

However, the constitutional amendment of 1999 recognizes the establishment of Revenue Mobilization Allocation and Fiscal Commission (RMAFC) which was established by the Federal Military Government. Since 1990 there have been slight changes on revenue allocation formula. By 1995 it was 48%, 24% and 20% for the federal, state and local government respectively while 7.5% was reserved for derivation. The current revenue sharing formula which has been in use since 2005 is as follows; Federal government 47.19%, State governments 31.10%, while 15.21% is for the local government and 6.5% Joint Management Fund (to be distributed as follows, ecology fund 1.5%, mineral development 1.75%, agricultural development 1.75% and 1.5% as reserved fund). Also, 13% derivation based on horizontal formula arrangement has to be provided from the state and local governments shares (Ugwu, 2009). It is pertinent to note that one of the main problems bedeviling the political development of Nigeria is the application of the concept "fiscal federalism".

The principle of fiscal federalism are concerned with the design of fiscal constitutions - that is how taxing, spending, and regulatory functions are allocated among governments and how inter governmental transfers are structured. These arrangements are fundamental importance to the efficient and equitable provision of public services (Shan, ND). However, an ideal federal system should have independent revenue control mechanism. In order words, the states should be designated constitutional and practical powers to control/manage the resources emanating from their domains. It should be noted however, that this assertion, taking into cognizance Nigeria political development has been a mere theoretical postulation without practical application.

These anomalies ravaging Nigerian Political development has made this study to describe Nigerian federalism as a "misnomer" and a mere gimmick to hoodwink Nigerians. These and many more form the basis of the unresolved national questions begging for resolution.

Concluding Remarks and Recommendation

In the final analysis, the emergence of Boko Haram and its subsequent violent confrontation with the state is a direct consequence of the failure of successive governments in Nigeria to sincerely address human development and other pressing national issues which constitute the compact of national question. The current constitutional conference constituted by President Goodluck Jonathan which is currently on in Abuja with a view to addressing the problems ravaging Nigeria is just an exercise in futility. Its composition and terms of reference are faulty ab initio. Apart from these loopholes, its decision will also be subjected to further scrutiny by the national assembly and as such has no empirical validation.

For a holistic notion of development to become the *raison d'être* of the Nigerian state, there is need for the promotion of national consciousness. Every ethnic/tribal group should be given sense of belonging and tribalism/ethnicism should be de-emphasized while emphasis should be placed on nationalism and statism.

However, all Nigerian ethnic/tribal groups through their reliable representatives should come to the drawing board and should be given the opportunity to discuss if they really want to be together, their conditions and how they want themselves to be governed. Only this can a true, peaceful and developed Nigeria be achieved.

Recommendation

There should be a complete democratization of the Nigerian state *primea facie* so as to douse insecurity tension currently ravaging the unity of the country.

All the various tribes and clans, social groups, pressure groups, professional organizations, market women and men, the deformed, in the country should adequately be represented in a sovereign conference to discuss how they want to be governed, the conditions, the issue of justice delivery, the issue of religious compatibility, revenue allocation and derivation, the issue of indigenship and citizenship, power relation, system of government, distribution of federal and state portfolios, human rights, people oriented constitution, economic development, equal educational development, Nigeria's unity, etc. In addendum, each of these representatives should be elected or appointed by a 'yes' or 'no' vote by the body it is representing and subsequently be forwarded to the president for constitution. The appointment of members of this conference should be independent from the president's influence. And finally, the outcome of this conference must not be subjected to further legislative and executive scrutiny. Only then, a true country devoid of conflict and war would be established.

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