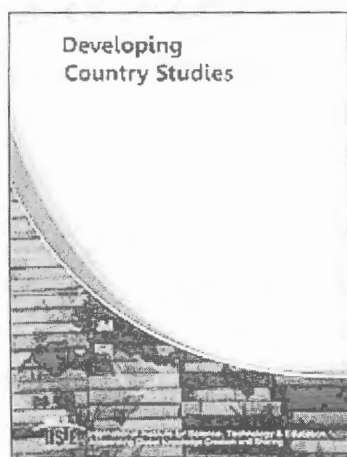


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## Unity in Diversity and National Security: The Nigerian Situation

Iruonagbe, C.T. Ph.D. & Egharevba, M.E. Ph.D.

Department of Sociology, Covenant University, Ota, Ogun State, Nigeria

Email: tunde.iruonagbe@covenantuniversity.edu.ng

matthew.egharevba@covenantuniversity.edu.ng

### ABSTRACT

This paper takes an exploratory look at the issues of ethnicity in Nigeria from a historical perspective. It shows the interplay between ethnic rivalry and the challenges of National Security which have in the current dispensation become very compelling with rampant cases of bombings, terrorist attacks, murder, mayhem and all sorts of vices in some parts of the country. The paper believes in the principle of "Unity in Diversity", for in it lies our strength as a people, including the protection of our nascent democracy. In addition, it believes that such debilitating issues concerning culture and religious differences, including political affiliations should not hinder the relative peace and stability which we have hitherto enjoyed in Nigeria, regarded as the most populous black Nation in the world. The paper further tries to proffer solutions towards enhancing our unity in spite of our diversity including how issues of insecurity can be addressed in Nigeria.

**KEY WORDS:** Culture, Democracy, Ethnicity, Ethnic Rivalry, National Security, Politics, Religion, Unity in Diversity.

### INTRODUCTION

The denigration of ethnicity as the scapegoat of all vices associated with the Nigerian body polity has made the subject a dominant theme in the study of issues concerning the country's unity and the question of national security. Indeed, whatever has to do with unity in diversity must evaluate critically issues of ethnic relations. As Jinadu (2004) rightly puts it, 'the study of ethnic relations in Nigeria has passed through a number of phases reflecting changes in the country's political and social status as well as changes in fashions and trends in the social science research agenda'. Indeed, ethnic pluralism is an essential aspect of the structure of new African states. Other forms of pluralism are equally important. For example, we have religious pluralism defining the various coexisting religious organizations and practices such as traditional religion, Islam and Christianity. Thus, analysts interested in such diverse issues as nationalism, decolonization, national integration, political parties, military intervention, corruption, economic development, structural adjustment, democratization, violent conflict and social vices have all considered the 'ethnicity' variable.

It is imperative for all Nigerians to be part of the solution to the recurrent diversity related violent conflicts in the country. Diversity is not about how we differ; rather, it should be about embracing one another's uniqueness (Adesuyi, et al, 2011). According to Albert (1999), diversity refers to human differences in terms of race, ethnicity, religion, ideology or social class. It calls attention to the fact that human beings are not born the same and even when they are, some environmental factors make them to have diverse social, economic and political orientations.

### STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The challenges affecting the unity of Nigeria have been an historical and persistent one. Before the colonial era, conflicts were more of tribal groups struggling to take over territories. Since the colonial era and even after Independence, the conflicts in Nigeria have been ethnic, religious, political and even cultural. The forced cohabitation of the different parts of Nigeria without the people having a say in this led to a lot of distrust and suspicion, especially among leaders of the different ethnic, religious and political groups in the country. Today, the size and population of Nigeria for which we ought to draw strength from as a Nation has become questionable. Everywhere one turns, the story is about ethnic rivalry, quota system, resource allocation, federal character, etc. People have consistently challenged our continued existence as a nation with many calling for a National constitutional Conference. Since the end of the civil war in 1970, ethnic violence has persisted as politics has become a zero sum game with the winner taking it all. Corruption has become institutionalized and with the fear of the unknown, fairness, equity and justice has been thrown away (Aluko, 2002). According to

Lewis (2011), the corrupt nature of the Nigerian state gives the political competition a distinctly winner-takes-all nature, as those in power have access to the revenue streams.

According to Ekanola (2006), despite its oil riches, a number of problems inhibit its development. Many of its problems stem from its origin as an artificial colonial construct which lumped together a variety of separate peoples. For Babawale (1991), many 'Nigerians' deceive themselves by thinking that Nigeria is one ... This is wrong because the presence of unity is artificial. Also, for Anderson (1991), Nigeria is not a Nation. It is a mere geographical expression. There are no "Nigerians" in the same sense as there are "English" "Welsh" or "French". The word 'Nigeria' is mainly a distinctive appellation to distinguish those who live within the boundaries of Nigeria from those who do not.

As espoused by FEHN (2011), the greatest bane to Nigeria's development as a nation is ethnicity. Mutual suspicion, distrust and hatred amongst the diverse ethnic nationalities have steadily been on the rise since Independence. Disagreements are often expressed through violent acts which have given birth to a violent culture in some parts of the country today thereby threatening the socio-economic development of Nigeria. Fighting corruption has become a herculean task. Government has not been able to fight corruption effectively especially as persons indicted often whip up ethnic sentiments in defense of their position. Ethnic conflicts in Nigeria and Africa in general arise as result of scarcity of political resources, multi-culturalism, religion, militarization of ethnicity among others. These conflicts cannot be ignored.

In 2002, the Miss World Pageant was moved from Abuja to London in the wake of violent protests in the Northern part of the country that left more than 100 people dead and over 500 injured. The rioting erupted after Muslims in the country reacted in anger to comments made by a newspaper reporter. Rioters in Kaduna killed an estimated 105 men, women, and children with a further 521 injured taken to hospital. In 2010, more than 500 people were killed by religious violence in Jos. Between 2010 till date, a popular Islamic sects known as Boko Haram brought chaos in the country, which has led to loss of lives and properties. From all indications, the events of Boko Haram have been due to ethnic and in some cases religious rivalry with some very unbelievable demands for a country which constitutionally is regarded as a secular state.

So, Nigeria has been bedeviled by ethno-religious conflicts with devastating human and material losses since the return of democracy in 1999. But the Boko Haram uprising of July 2009 was significant in that it not only set a precedent, but also reinforced the attempts by Islamic conservative elements at imposing a variant of Islamic religious ideology on a secular Nigerian state (Anyadike, 2013). Nigeria faces several security challenges. The country is the scene of widespread violence, criminality and outright insurgency, such as Boko Haram in the North East. The spread of illegal small and light weapons has become quite substantial (WARN, 2013).

While regional dimensions of Nigeria are often discussed in politics, especially the North-South division, the federal system aims to prevent mobilization based on religion, ethnicity or narrow regionalism. Since 2010 at least 3000 people have been killed in the attacks by Boko Haram incidents, with the UN claiming that more than 1200 were killed in the period May-December 2013 alone (BBC News, 2013). As espoused by Osimen, et al (2013), deep ethnic fears generated by in-built structures that promote unequal access to power and resources is being exploited. "The Yoruba man has done his own after eight years. he handed over to an Hausa man, and an Ijaw man is currently on the throne and in 2015, whose turn is it to produce the president is another dilemma which has been predicted by so many people, including countries like USA as a tough period in the political history of Nigeria.

## OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The general objective is to know why the unity of Nigeria has been persistently compromised and why our diversity as a people has challenged National security.

The specific objectives are to:

1. Appraise the concept of ethnicity, its emergence and challenges to national security in Nigeria
2. Examine social, cultural, religious and political constraints and how they have affected the national security of the country.
3. Evaluate the benefits of unity in diversity as a precursor to national security.

## REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

### Ethnic Rivalry and Challenges to National Security in Nigeria

Most developing countries are ethnically diverse and ethnicity may lead to increased civil strife. Infact, with the heterogeneous nature of Nigeria, the tendency of the various nationals is towards parochial consciousness at the expense of national consciousness (Osinubi & Osinubi, 2006). Ethnicity refers to relationships between groups whose members consider themselves distinctive, and these groups may be ranked hierarchically within a society. Nigeria has more than 250 ethnic groups, with varying languages and customs, creating a country of rich ethnic diversity. The largest ethnic groups are the Fulani/Hausa, Yoruba, Igbo, accounting for 62% of population, while the Edo, Ijaw, Kanuri, Ibibio, Ebira, Nupe, Gwari, Itsekiri, Jukun, Urhobo, Igala, Idoma and Tiv comprise 33%; other minorities make up the remaining 5%. The official population count of each of Nigeria's ethnic group has always remained controversial and disputed as members of different ethnic groups believe the census is rigged to give a particular group numerical superiority. Ethnic group is a "group of people having a common language and cultural values". These common factors are emphasized by frequent interaction between the people in the group.

Looking at ethnicity from a historical perspective, Nwosu (1999) stated that the colonization of Africa and several other third world states ensured that peoples of diverse culture were brought together under one country. To him, because of the mission of colonialism, most of these peoples were not well integrated into the new states. Instead, some of the imperial powers cashed in on the cultural divergence of these countries to ensure the examination of their objectives. He further said, "it is thus not surprising that years after colonialism, these states remained lowly integrated. This low level of integration has precipitated crises in many of the countries. This clearly depicts the situation in Nigeria where the amalgamation of the North and South in 1914 was purely a British creation without any input from the people of Nigeria about their desire to be governed as one country.

Also, as expressed by Welsh (1996), violent and intractable internal conflicts in recent years in Somalia, Liberia, Rwanda, Burundi, and Sudan are as a result of the failure of states in sub-Saharan Africa to cope with ethnicity. He examines the association of ethnic identities with the colonial period and the 'instrumentalist' contention that ethnicity was invented for political purposes. He notes both that the imperial powers in Africa did little to prepare the colonies for independence and also that, given the imperatives of the colonial system; it was unrealistic to expect them to do more.

To Kazah-Toure (2000), the spread of a mighty wave of ethnic tensions and conflicts threatens national unity and harmonious inter-ethnic relations. Even though more complex factors have been at the base, conflicts and struggles in Nigeria are increasingly manifesting in ethnic forms. He stated further that elsewhere on the African continent, violent and bloody conflicts are more often assuming inter-ethnic and inter-ethno/ religious proportions. The need for the principle of equity to be applied in the administration of the emerging nation dates back to the colonial period. The fear of domination, which developed in the minds of minority groups, coupled with inter-ethnic suspicions among the majority group helped to prove the fact that Britain and even Nigerians recognized the fact that they are not one people.

The major languages spoken in Nigeria represent three major families of African languages: the majority are Niger-Congo languages, such as Yoruba and Igbo; the Hausa language is Afro-Asiatic; and Kanuri, spoken in the northeast, primarily Borno State, is part of the Nilo-Saharan family. Even though most ethnic groups prefer to communicate in their own languages, English as the official language is widely used for education, business transactions and for official purposes. English as a first language is due to our colonial experience and is used only by a small minority of the country's urban elite, and it is not spoken at all in some rural areas.

With the majority of Nigeria's populace in the rural areas, the major languages of communication in the country remain indigenous languages. Some of the largest of these, notably Yoruba and Igbo, have derived standardized languages from a number of different dialects and are widely spoken by those ethnic groups. Nigerian Pidgin English, often known simply as 'Pidgin' or 'Broken' (Broken English), is also a popular lingua franca, though with varying regional influences on dialect and slang. The pidgin English or Nigerian English is widely spoken within the Niger Delta Regions, predominately in Warri, Sapele, Port Harcourt, Agenebode, Ewu, and Benin City.

Omuabor (2000) believes that suppression of ethnic conflicts by force is never a lasting solution. It is like capping a seething volcano. Sooner than later, it erupts. He gave the instance when Nigeria's former self-styled

military president, Ibrahim Babangida, annulled the results of the June 12, 1993 presidential election; violent protest took over the streets of most cities in Western Nigeria. To him, the feeling in that part of the country was that it had been robbed of a golden chance to produce a civilian president. The undeclared winner of that election, Moshood Abiola was Yoruba, the predominant ethnic group in that region. Furthermore, he asserts that the events of that period are generally believed to have given birth to the Oodua People's Congress (OPC), an unusually militant Yoruba group that uses violence to redress perceived injustice against the Yoruba. He stated that the birth of the OPC symbolizes the new spirit among the Yoruba to 'square up' to any ethnic group that works against in interest. This development to him led to the formation of Arewa People's Congress (APC), an unusually militant Hausa group, to counter the activities of the OPC. OPC and APC aside, a group of militant Ijaw Youths called Egbesu Boys also evolved out of recent Ijaw wars with the Itsekiri and Ilaje ethnic nationalities in the oil-rich Niger-Delta. His submission is that, but for the absence of uniforms, these groups are ethnic armies who have sworn to defend and fight for the interest of their ethnic groups.

### **National Security and Social, Cultural, Religious and Political constraints in Nigeria**

Security is the backbone of any society. It is tied to its social, political, economic and cultural growth. Negligence of this vital ingredient of development has led to all manner of social ills, including violent crimes such as armed robbery, ritual killings, child trafficking and other crimes (Onifade, Imhonopi & Urin, 2013). In Nigeria today, we are faced with many challenges of security crisis especially in Plateau, Borno, Kano and Kaduna states in the North and some parts of the Niger Delta.

As espoused by Ekanola (2006), Nigeria is not an ethnically homogeneous society, having come into being accidentally, as a product of British imperialism. Today, rather than integrating into a cohesive community with a common sense of national identity and destiny, citizens of Nigeria are returning more and more to primordial affiliations for identity, loyalty and security. Instead of forging a united front and presenting a concerted effort to face the challenges of development in an increasingly competitive and globalised world, Nigerians are busy waging ethnic and religious wars, struggling for control over resources, resisting marginalization by dominant ethnic groups, and contending with diverse problems of basic survival.

Since the return of civilian rule in 1999, our democracy has been insecure ranging from electoral malpractices to mysterious deaths of political office holders. Insecurity in the Niger Delta and, recently some parts of the North such as in Borno State, contributes to bad governance. These problems individually and collectively have constituted threats to the peace, security and development of the country.

The security challenge that dissident groups such as Boko Haram poses to the state of Nigeria is better understood against existing evidence that even government officials and traditional rulers are not spared. We have read of kidnappings targeted against the executive, legislative, and the judicial branch of the government, and also their family members. This, unfortunately, has led to some of these officials relocating their families outside the geopolitical zone or outside the country, thereby leaving the civilian population at the mercy of the marauding gangs. This attitude is setting a dangerous trend as individuals might be forced to approach the issue of their security from the realist perspective and resort to self-help. This would of course immerse the zones into further security dilemma. While one is not saying that the security apparatus of the country is not doing anything in the zones, one is of the opinion that they are not doing enough.

Recent debates have also raised the need to see security in the broader sense as the struggle to secure the most necessities of life, food, fuel, medicine and shelter. This broader human security is important for the attainment of physical and national security and overall peace and development, as social unrests arising from the absence of such basic human security can indeed lead to security problems and conflicts. Nigeria has witnessed increasing number of security problems and developments that constituted threats to the maintenance and survival of its democratic political system.

Starting with the usual religious/ethnic oriented conflicts, to the Jos ethnic/religious/political conflict, regrettably, the northern states have shown that security of persons and properties is still far from being realizable especially with the fundamentalist group - Boko Haram's - demand for the jettisoning of a western behavioural pattern and the imposition of strict Sharia law which indeed can be described as absurd to say the least. Security was a driving issue in the last Presidential campaign following bomb blast by Niger Delta militants and attacks of police by members of the extremist Islamic group, Boko Haram in the northern part of

the country. At least 800 people were said to have been killed in these Muslim-Christian electoral violence. (Daily Trust 3<sup>rd</sup> March 2009).

So, religious crisis in Kano, Kaduna and Jos, including several others all testify readily to the extent to which diversity threatens the stability of the Nigerian State. Ethnicity creates as much problems in the country as religious fundamentalism. Nigeria is a secular country, according to the country's constitution. The constitution guarantees individuals the freedom to profess and practice their religion. Many of the religions believe in unity and peace, yet with the slightest provocation there is conflict. As a Nation we are so blessed culturally, yet we focus more on the things that divide us.

## **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **Consensus Theory of Society**

The theoretical orientation upon which this study is anchored is the structural functionalist or consensus theory. It sees shared norms and values as fundamental to society. It focuses on social order based on tacit agreements and views social change as occurring in a slow and orderly fashion. Change is necessary but must be done through a careful and gradual process. Discussion, negotiation, dialogue are elements of structural functionalism perspective. Functionalism holds that society is a complex system whose various parts work together to produce order, stability, cooperation and solidarity in the pursuit of goals that people share.. According to this approach, the discipline of sociology should investigate the relationship of parts of society to each other and to the society as a whole. We can analyze the religious beliefs and customs of a society, for example, by showing how they relate to other institutions within it, for the different parts of a society develop in close relation to one another (Giddens, 1994).

This therefore explains why the different social Institutions in society must work together for the sustenance and stability of the entire country. When there is discontentment in the economic Institution such as in resource allocation or in terms of power sharing in the political sphere or some religious disagreements, crisis could occur that may spill over and affect other sectors of our national life and create conflict and destruction of lives and property of innocent people. There is therefore the need for the various ethnic groups in Nigeria to work together for the achievement of the desired goals that will enhance peace and security in the country. It is not in all situation that conflict can lead to progress; rather it can lead to the destruction of harmonious living and elements of development in the polity and society at large. Cases of kidnapping, assassinations and forms of terrorists attacks that are seen as ethnic, political and religious have questioned our nascent democracy and unity as a people. It has also brought a lot of stigmatization to us as a country, thereby affecting national development.

### **UNITY IN DIVERSITY AS A PRECURSOR TO NATIONAL SECURITY**

No country can afford the luxury of allowing ethnic conflict free rein or ignoring it. Every multiethnic state has tried to devise ways of coping with conflicts, several universal prescription and formulas that have been popularized. Failure to resolve conflicts over access to commonly valued scarce resources, and over divergent perceptions of socio-political situations, has the high potential of degenerating into genocide or fratricide as it occurred among the Ife and Modakeke (Yorubas) in Southwestern Nigeria, Zongon-Kataf (Hausas) crisis in Northern Nigeria, Aguleri and Umuleri (Igbos) in Eastern Nigeria, and the Tiv – Jukun of Middle-Belt, Nigeria, and the Hutu – Tutsi of Burundi and Rwanda in East Africa (Osinubi & Osinubi, 2006).

The problem of building a nation from a collection of ethnic groups is one which most nations of Africa face today. Nigeria is a plural society, defined by cultural and institutional diversities of the ethnic groups of various populations, and with people practicing three main religions (Christianity mainly in the South and Middle Belt; Islam mainly in the North, and traditional religion in every part of the country). There have been various statements about the extent of Nigeria's ethnic pluralism, from the two hundred and fifty mentioned by the colonialists, and even half that number by superficial observers, to the figure of three hundred and seventy-four ethnic groups. Admittedly, Nigeria is a very complex country with the behaviour and relationships of individual and groups determined by imperatives of cultural symbols and strategic social institutions. Different people are predisposed to conceptualize political and economic resources and the access to them in divergent ways through their own coded lenses (Otite, 1999).

The disunity of the major ethnic groups in the country was very much evident in the events that unfolded between 1946 and the attainment of independence in 1960. During this period, the Igbo - Yoruba ethnic rivalry and the North-South majority-minority ethnic group cleavages became unmistakable. For instance, "the Yoruba-

Igbo rivalry was finally played out on the floor of the Western House of Assembly where the Action Group exploited ethnic sentiments and the pitfalls of the electoral college system to edge out Azikiwe who had won a seat in Lagos and was widely expected to have been elected into the House of Representatives from that constituency" (Olukoju, 1997). The North-South hostility reached its peak in the pre-independence era in 1953, when the North refused to go along with the AG-led motion for independence by 1956. The events that followed culminated in the famous bloody Kano riot of 1953, which lasted from May 15 to May 20, 1953 (Albert, 1999).

The differences between groups in terms of their receptivity and adaptability to modernity or duration and intensity of Western impact also affected the relationship between ethnic groups (Sklar, 1994). For instance, the Yoruba and the Igbo of the South were more receptive to Western education than the Hausa-Fulani of the North; hence the educational imbalance between the South and the North, which still exists today (Uzoigwe, 1999). The Yoruba and the Igbo became urbanized and politically conscious more quickly than the Hausa-Fulani, who by 1952 obviously lagged behind the former by practically all the Western yardsticks for measuring development and civilization (Olukoju, 1997). Realizing their disadvantaged position in the country, the Northerners were determined to protect their own interests in the political arena, given their perception that Southerners already controlled the educational and economic sectors. Consequently, the North refused to go along with the rest of the country and threatened to secede when Anthony Enahoro moved the motion for independence in 1953, to be effective from 1956. Events following this refusal produced the Kano riot, which further intensified the Yoruba-Hausa-Fulani hostility and the resolve by nationalist leaders to perpetuate ethnic interests above national interests.

It was the anxiety and fear by the Northern nationalist leaders that they would lose out in the struggle for power and prestige, when in 1947 the Richard Constitution compelled the peoples of the Northern and the Southern protectorates of Nigeria to work together under the same legislative system, that made them appeal to religious and ethnic sentiments to unite the Hausa-Fulani constituency against the Southern people (Albert, 1999). Their effort was quite successful; until today, they have been able to dominate the political landscape of the country. However, it took ethnic hostility to a new level, and Nigeria has not been able to get out of its debilitating effects. It has greatly hindered the chances of Nigeria becoming a nation in the true sense.

Ethnic tensions between the diverse ethnic nationalities in Nigeria are pointing towards the fragmentation of the country. This was confirmed by an intelligence report from the United States of America, which warned that Nigeria might disintegrate within the next 15 years (Ekpunobi, 2005). Indeed, the country is witnessing an increase in violence along ethnic lines. Previous attempts to facilitate unity in the country have been largely constitutional and structural. With the adoption of federalism, various constitutional provisions have been put in place to guarantee the federal character of the Nigerian state, with the conviction that these would promote national unity, foster national loyalty and give every citizen a sense of belonging to the nation notwithstanding the diversities of ethnic origin, culture, language or religion that may exist (Yakubu, 1999). These provisions have not recorded the expected level of success, as some of them tend to jeopardize national interests in the quest for ethnic balance. Besides, it is observed that much of these constitutional provisions have not been respected in the history of the country. Political elites and the same officials who are supposed to guarantee the sanctity of the constitution have consistently violated them (Albert, 1999).

In Nigeria, governments and the citizenry have been concerned with the principal goal of managing ethnicity, which had shown clear signs of subverting the nation-building project. Federalism, the creation of regions and states and local governments, the shift from parliamentary to presidentialism, the institutionalization of quota systems, the prohibition of ethnic political parties, and the adoption of the federal character principle are some of the approaches that Nigeria has taken to manage ethnic diversity. Given the sheer multiplicity and fluidity of the territorial and cultural cleavages that can be used to justify the demands for new states and the federal resources they bring with them, there is no certainty that the states-creation process will ever be concluded in Nigeria. Analysts have attributed the limitations of the ethnic management policies to improper implementation, distortion of visions and lack of political will.

## CONCLUSION

In order to overcome and outgrow the problem of security in Nigeria, it is important that political players and institutions embrace the principles of true democracy and allow open, free and fair competition that are essential in the process of aggregation of national opinion and development choices. There is the need to evolve relevant constitutional and legislative mechanisms to address areas that will promote open, free and fair competition among political parties. Social cohesion among various groups and interests is important in the process of

national development. There is need to rethink and improve on policy and institutional means of dealing with security concerns arising in the country.

In addition, a process of legislative and constitutional review should be initiated to assess the country's constitution and amend some areas that have been found to give rise to conflicts and security problems. Accordingly, there is the need to rethink and improve on policy and institutional means of dealing with security concerns arising in the country. At the political level, the federal, state and local governments should evolve programmes of cultural and political education and orientation that seek to enthrone the fundamentals of democracy so that the political contestants as well as the generality of the citizens imbibe principles and practices essential for sustainable democracy. Such programmes must also address specific tendencies that create security breach and concerns in the country.

There is also the need to sustain and maintain democracy in the face of growing security threats. This is a matter of national importance that should be of concern to all stakeholders in the Nigerian state and one that requires comprehensive and committed contributions of all groups and interest that make up Nigeria. It is pertinent to consider security issues and problems that are affected or capable of affecting the attitude, confidence and co-operation of all groups and segments that make up the Nigerian federation. It is also necessary to explore the gaps and grey areas in the national constitution that are responsible for various problems and crises and how these gaps can be addressed.

Religious militancy ravages the Northern part of the country while series of communal blood-bath in some parts of the country threatens the foundation of Nigeria. Some of the ethnic and religious militants have constituted themselves into private armies thereby creating serious ethnic conflicts. There is therefore the need for a Sovereign National Conference open to all groups and sections in the country to table and discuss what their grievances are and how Nigeria should be governed.

There must be the introduction of effective unemployment reduction and job creation agenda policies and laws that would boost food production, provision of social amenities, good and affordable housing, and assurance of equity, fairness and justice in all spheres of our national life. This should be pursued and enacted.

There should be proportional representation, which allows all the minorities in the country to be represented at local, state and national levels. Infact, there is a need for a serious and practical commitment to sharing the burdens and rewards of citizenship with equity. There should be fair and equitable development, recognition and acceptance of the fact that each group is entitled to a minimum level of self determination within the national framework, a national policy which ensures that no group, however small is denied its just rights and entitlements, as such denial leads to frustration and inability to identify with the nation state. The government should continue to build a political culture that supports dialogue and accommodation between groups. This is, no doubt, a long and difficult process in any society, but it should be encouraged.

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