SS2 GOVERNMENT LESSON NOTES

FIRST TERM

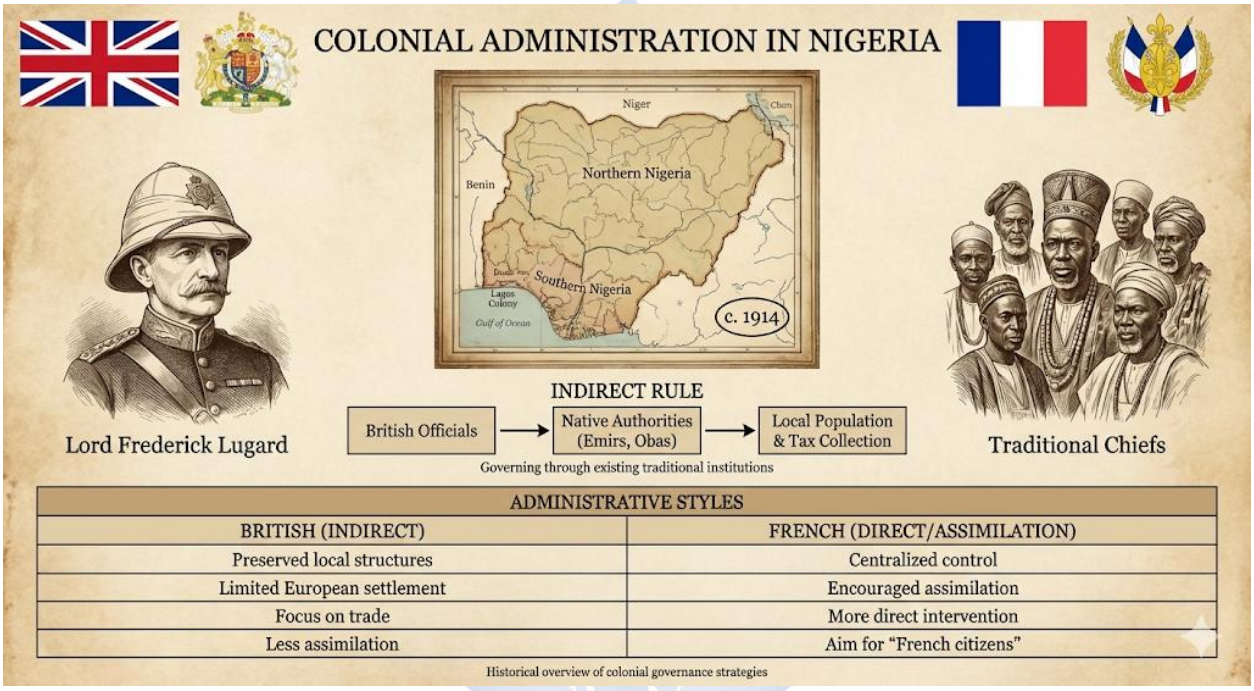
1. Colonial Administration in Nigeria:, British, French, Indirect Rule
2. Nationalism in Nigeria: Causes, Effects, Key Personalities
3. Constitutional Development in Nigeria: Clifford (1922), Richards (1946), Macpherson (1951)
4. Constitutional Development in Nigeria: Lyttleton (1954), Independence (1960), Republican (1963)
5. MIDTERM EXAMINATION
6. Military Rule in Nigeria: Causes, Achievements, Failures
7. MIDTERN BREAK
8. Civil Rule in Nigeria: Features, Merits, Challenges
9. Nigerian Federalism: Features, Evolution,
10. Nigerian Federalism II: Problems and Solutions
11. Revision and Examination

PAWILLS CONSULTING

WEEK ONE: COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION IN NIGERIA

Introduction

Colonial administration refers to the system of governance established by European powers to control and manage their colonies. In Nigeria, colonial administration began formally with the annexation of Lagos in 1861 and evolved through various stages until the country gained independence in 1960.



ADMINISTRATIVE STYLES	
BRITISH (INDIRECT)	FRENCH (DIRECT/ASSIMILATION)
Preserved local structures	Centralized control
Limited European settlement	Encouraged assimilation
Focus on trade	More direct intervention
Less assimilation	Aim for "French citizens"

Historical overview of colonial governance strategies

Colonial rule was primarily motivated by economic exploitation, political dominance, and the spread of Western civilisation. Two major European colonial powers operated in West Africa: Britain and France, each implementing distinct administrative systems in their respective colonies.

British Colonial Administration in Nigeria

The British colonial administration in Nigeria was founded upon the policy of *Indirect Rule*, a governance strategy that allowed the colonial government to rule the vast territory of Nigeria with minimal direct involvement.

The system was characterised by decentralisation and collaboration with existing traditional institutions and rulers. Rather than dismantling indigenous power structures, the British strategically co-opted them, thereby enabling local rulers to maintain authority over their people while simultaneously serving colonial interests. This approach was cost-effective for the British and made administration more manageable across the diverse ethnic and cultural groups in Nigeria.

1. Indirect Rule System

The Indirect Rule system was the cornerstone of British colonial administration in Nigeria. Under this arrangement, the British governed the people by appointing and using traditional rulers as intermediaries. These rulers—such as emirs in the North, obas in the West, and chiefs in other regions—retained their traditional roles but now functioned within a colonial framework. They were expected to implement colonial policies, collect taxes, maintain law and order, and settle minor disputes. However, their powers were subject to the supervision and approval of British colonial officers, particularly the District Commissioners. The British believed this system would reduce resistance from the local population since governance was carried out by familiar figures within traditional power structures.

2. Preservation of Traditional Institutions

In order to ensure the success of the Indirect Rule system, the British deliberately preserved and upheld traditional institutions and hierarchies. They recognised the legitimacy of established rulers such as the emirs, obas, and chiefs, integrating their authority into the colonial administration. This strategy was particularly effective in Northern Nigeria, where Islamic and emirate systems were already centralised and well-structured. In the Western region, the Yoruba traditional systems with their councils of chiefs and oba structures also lent themselves to indirect governance. However, in the Eastern region, the British faced challenges due to the absence of centralised authority among the Igbo people, who traditionally practised a more decentralised and egalitarian political system. As a result, the British introduced the system of

"warrant chiefs," appointing individuals as rulers who often lacked legitimate traditional support, thereby causing long-term sociopolitical tension in the region.

3. Use of Native Authorities

A critical component of the British administrative system in Nigeria was the establishment and use of Native Authorities. These bodies consisted of traditional rulers and their councils, who were now empowered to perform specific administrative and judicial roles under colonial oversight. The Native Authorities operated native courts, which handled local disputes using customary laws. They also managed native treasuries where taxes and other revenues were collected and accounted for. Additionally, native police forces were created to enforce colonial laws and maintain internal security within local areas. While these authorities retained a traditional appearance, they were ultimately instruments of British colonial control. Their success depended heavily on the strength and acceptance of local leadership, and in many cases, their legitimacy eroded due to excessive taxation and abuses of power.

4. Decentralised Administration

The British implemented a decentralised system of administration in Nigeria to enable effective control of the vast and diverse colony. Nigeria was divided into provinces, each administered by a British Resident. These provinces were further divided into divisions, overseen by District Officers, and again into districts managed by Assistant District Officers or local rulers under British supervision. This multilayered structure allowed for the efficient implementation of colonial policies while accommodating regional differences. Decentralisation also meant that each region could be administered according to its unique socio-political traditions, albeit within the overarching framework of British colonial authority. This administrative approach allowed the British to manage vast areas with relatively few officials, although it also led to regional disparities and uneven development across the colony.

5. Dual Legal System

Another distinctive feature of the British colonial administration in Nigeria was the existence of a dual legal system. This system allowed customary laws to operate alongside British statutory laws. Indigenous laws, based on local customs and traditions, continued to govern personal matters such as marriage, inheritance, and land tenure. However, these customary laws were only recognised if they did not conflict with British legal principles. In instances where a customary practice was deemed "repugnant to natural justice, equity, and good conscience," it was struck down by colonial courts. This legal duality provided a sense of continuity and cultural respect for the indigenous population but also caused confusion and conflict, particularly where overlapping jurisdictions led to contradictory rulings. Over time, the dual legal system influenced the development of Nigeria's post-independence legal framework, which still accommodates both customary and statutory law.

Structure of British Colonial Administration in Nigeria

The British colonial administration in Nigeria was a hierarchical system that reflected the centralised authority of the British Crown while incorporating elements of local governance through Indirect Rule. This structure enabled the British to maintain control over a vast and culturally diverse colony with limited administrative personnel. The system was built around key levels of authority, each with specific roles and responsibilities, ensuring that the policies of the colonial government were effectively implemented from the top to the grassroots.

1. Governor

At the apex of the colonial administrative structure was the *Governor*, who served as the highest-ranking British official in Nigeria and the direct representative of the British Crown. The Governor held executive, legislative, and judicial powers and was responsible for the overall governance of the colony. He was appointed by the British monarch on the advice of the Secretary of State for the Colonies in London. The Governor issued ordinances (laws), implemented colonial policies, supervised all administrative officials, and maintained communication between the colonial government in Nigeria and the British authorities in London. Following the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Protectorates in 1914 by

Lord Frederick Lugard, Nigeria came under the leadership of a single Governor-General, further centralising colonial authority.

2. Lieutenant-Governors

Directly under the Governor were the *Lieutenant-Governors*, who were responsible for the major administrative regions of the colony—particularly the Northern and Southern Protectorates before and after amalgamation. These officials acted as regional heads and served as the link between the central government and the provincial administrations. They ensured that policies from the central government were adapted and executed within their respective regions. Lieutenant-Governors had considerable autonomy in decision-making, particularly due to the vast distances and communication challenges that existed at the time. They played a crucial role in maintaining regional stability and enforcing colonial laws across the protectorates.

3. Residents and District Officers

Below the Lieutenant-Governors were the *Residents* and *District Officers*, who were key functionaries in the implementation of colonial policy at the provincial and district levels, respectively. Each *Resident* was assigned to a province and acted as the principal British official in that area. The province was further divided into *divisions* or *districts*, each overseen by a *District Officer*. These officials were responsible for maintaining law and order, collecting taxes, administering justice, and supervising the activities of Native Authorities. They frequently moved around their districts to monitor compliance and address grievances. District Officers were often the most visible representatives of the British colonial government to the rural population, and their actions had a direct impact on the daily lives of the people.

4. Native Authorities

At the grassroots level were the *Native Authorities*, which were composed of indigenous rulers such as emirs, obas, chiefs, and council members. These traditional leaders governed local communities under the framework of Indirect Rule, serving as the lowest rung in the administrative hierarchy. Although they retained their traditional titles and authority, their actions were subject to the supervision of District Officers and Residents. Native Authorities

were responsible for tax collection, local policing, dispute resolution through native courts, and the execution of colonial directives within their territories. Their effectiveness largely depended on their legitimacy among the people and the level of support they received from the colonial government. While this system worked relatively well in the North, where traditional structures were strong, it faced challenges in regions where such authority was fragmented or non-existent.

The French Colonial Administration in West Africa

The French approach to colonial administration in West Africa differed markedly from that of the British. While the British favoured decentralisation and indirect rule through traditional institutions, the French adopted a more rigid and uniform system characterised by centralisation and a strong emphasis on assimilation.

The French colonial model aimed to integrate African colonies—such as Senegal, Côte d'Ivoire, Dahomey (now Benin Republic), and others—into the French state politically, culturally, and legally. Their goal was not just to govern, but to transform Africans into "Frenchmen in black skin." This approach had profound effects on indigenous societies, administrative structures, and post-independence development in Francophone Africa.

1. Centralised System

A defining feature of French colonial administration was its strict centralisation. Power was concentrated in Paris, the capital of France, where key decisions regarding the colonies were made. The French Ministry of Colonies in Paris exercised direct control over all colonial matters, including governance, economic policy, education, and legal affairs. The colonial territories were regarded as integral parts of France, rather than as separate dependencies. As such, the colonies had little to no autonomy and were administered in a highly bureaucratic manner, with colonial governors and administrators expected to implement directives exactly as prescribed by the central government. This centralised system allowed France to maintain tight control over its colonies, but it also stifled local innovation and failed to account for the cultural diversity of the African population.

2. Policy of Assimilation

At the heart of French colonial ideology was the *policy of assimilation*. This policy sought to make Africans culturally, politically, and legally identical to French citizens in mainland France. The French believed that through education and exposure to French civilisation, Africans could be transformed into loyal subjects who thought, spoke, and behaved like French people. As a result, the French language was imposed as the official language, French laws were introduced, and French cultural values were promoted in schools, churches, and public institutions. Indigenous traditions, languages, and religions were discouraged or outright suppressed. The policy of assimilation reflected France's belief in the universality of French civilisation and its superiority over African ways of life. However, in practice, assimilation was largely symbolic and applied only to a small elite who were educated in the French system.

3. Direct Rule

Unlike the British system of Indirect Rule, the French employed *Direct Rule*, which involved the systematic dismantling or marginalisation of traditional political institutions. Local rulers, where they existed, were stripped of meaningful authority and were either replaced by French officials or turned into figureheads with no real power. French colonial officers held executive, legislative, and judicial powers at all levels of administration. These officials were trained in France and were expected to enforce French laws without adaptation to local customs. In areas where traditional institutions were tolerated, they operated under strict French control and had little influence. This direct administration fostered a more uniform colonial structure but often led to resentment and resistance among the colonised populations, who saw their indigenous identity and sovereignty being eroded.

4. Uniform Legal System

Another key feature of French colonial rule was the imposition of a uniform legal system based on French civil law. French law was applied consistently across all colonies, with little regard for local customs or traditional legal practices. This approach was part of the broader assimilation policy, which sought to create a homogenous legal and cultural identity across France and its colonies. The legal system governed issues such as taxation, property rights, criminal law, and civil liberties. Courts were established in the colonies that operated exclusively under French

legal codes, and French-trained magistrates presided over cases. Although this system created administrative uniformity, it often alienated the local population and failed to address culturally sensitive legal matters effectively.

5. Citizenship Rights

A unique aspect of French colonial administration was the conditional granting of citizenship rights to certain Africans. The most notable example was in Senegal's *Four Communes*—Saint-Louis, Gorée, Rufisque, and Dakar—where African inhabitants who embraced French culture and education could qualify for French citizenship. These individuals, known as *évolués* (meaning "evolved" or "civilised"), were entitled to rights such as voting, access to French courts, and eligibility for public office. However, the requirements for citizenship were stringent and often exclusionary. Africans had to renounce their customary laws and practices, adopt European dress and manners, and demonstrate loyalty to France. As a result, only a tiny fraction of the population qualified. Nevertheless, the citizenship policy symbolised the French commitment to assimilation and sharply contrasted with the British policy, which rarely extended such rights to colonial subjects.

Comparison between British and French Systems

Features	British (Indirect Rule)	French (Assimilation)
System of Administration	Decentralised	Centralised
Role of Traditional Rulers	Prominent	Marginalised
Cultural Policy	Tolerant of customs	Imposed French culture
Legal System	Dual (Customary & British)	Uniform French law
Goal	Control through local rulers	Assimilation into French society

The Policy of Indirect Rule in Nigeria

The policy of **Indirect Rule** was the cornerstone of British colonial administration in Nigeria. It was introduced by *Lord Frederick Lugard*, first in Northern Nigeria where existing centralised political structures such as the emirate system made it easier to implement. The system was later extended to other regions, including the Western and Eastern parts of Nigeria, although with varying degrees of success. Indirect Rule involved governing the people through their own traditional rulers, who were retained as the recognised authorities in their communities but now acted in the service of the British colonial government. These rulers were expected to implement colonial policies, collect taxes, settle disputes, and maintain law and order, all under the supervision of British colonial officers.

The system was designed to reduce the cost and manpower needed for colonial administration while minimising resistance from local populations, since governance was executed by familiar and respected indigenous figures. However, the effectiveness of Indirect Rule differed across regions due to variations in traditional political structures and the level of centralisation. In regions where these structures were strong, such as the North, the policy worked more effectively. In contrast, it encountered resistance and confusion in areas like the East, where traditional authority was more decentralised.

1. Recognition of Traditional Rulers

A fundamental principle of Indirect Rule was the formal recognition of traditional rulers. The British colonial government did not seek to dismantle existing local leadership but rather sought to co-opt these leaders into the colonial administrative framework. Emirs in the North, obas and chiefs in the West, and, eventually, warrant chiefs in the East were retained as the official heads of their communities. These traditional authorities were given administrative responsibilities and were seen as intermediaries between the colonial government and the people. Their status was often elevated by colonial backing, which gave them power to enforce colonial policies. However, this recognition also placed them in a difficult position, as they had to balance loyalty to their people with obedience to foreign rulers.

2. Adaptation of Local Institutions

Under Indirect Rule, the existing institutions of governance—including traditional courts, councils, and customary laws—were not abolished but rather adapted to suit the objectives of the colonial administration. The British aimed to preserve the outward form of local governance while reconfiguring its content to serve colonial interests. In practice, this meant that the emirs and chiefs could continue to operate their traditional councils and legal systems, but with limitations and under the oversight of British District Officers. The adaptation process often led to changes in traditional practices, with some rulers gaining more authority than they traditionally held, and others being stripped of powers they previously enjoyed. The colonial government prioritised efficiency and loyalty over authenticity, which in some cases distorted the traditional balance of power.

3. Minimal European Interference

One of the reasons Indirect Rule was attractive to the British was that it allowed for minimal European interference in local affairs. British officials—such as Residents and District Officers—maintained ultimate control but generally avoided direct involvement in daily administration. Instead, they issued instructions and policy guidelines which were to be executed by traditional rulers and their councils. This hands-off approach meant fewer European administrators were needed, reducing costs for the British Empire. However, this also meant that abuses of power by traditional rulers sometimes went unchecked, as long as colonial interests were not threatened. In regions where traditional rulers were weak or lacked legitimacy, the lack of direct European oversight led to governance challenges and local discontent.

4. Training of Traditional Rulers

To ensure that traditional rulers could effectively perform their roles as colonial agents, the British undertook the training of local rulers in administrative procedures, taxation, law enforcement, and record keeping. The aim was to transform these rulers into efficient instruments of colonial policy while retaining their traditional authority. The training often included exposure to British governance ideals and a basic understanding of European laws and bureaucratic processes. In some cases, interpreters and clerks were also appointed to assist illiterate rulers. This training reinforced the colonial hierarchy and deepened the rulers'

dependence on the British, while simultaneously distancing them from their people. Over time, some traditional rulers came to be seen as mere extensions of colonial power rather than as custodians of indigenous interests.

Success and Limitations of Indirect Rule in Nigeria

The policy of Indirect Rule, introduced by Lord Frederick Lugard, was the preferred administrative system used by the British to govern Nigeria. While it was economically convenient and politically strategic, its effectiveness varied significantly across the different regions of Nigeria due to the diverse political, social, and cultural structures that existed prior to colonisation. The system had clear successes in some areas, particularly the North, but encountered serious limitations in others, especially in the East and parts of the West. These regional disparities highlight the mixed legacy of Indirect Rule and its profound impact on colonial and post-colonial governance in Nigeria.

Success in the North

One of the most celebrated successes of Indirect Rule in Nigeria occurred in Northern Nigeria, where the British found a well-organised and centralised political system already in place. The emirate system, established under Islamic governance following the 19th-century Jihad led by Usman dan Fodio, provided a robust administrative framework with clearly defined hierarchies and responsibilities. The emirs ruled over expansive territories with subordinate officials such as district heads and village heads, who ensured law and order, collected taxes, and settled disputes.

This centralised structure aligned closely with the British administrative objectives, making it easier for colonial officers to implement Indirect Rule with minimal disruption. The British were able to delegate authority to the emirs, who in turn carried out colonial directives while maintaining the appearance of traditional governance. As a result, the North remained relatively stable and orderly under British rule, with fewer instances of open resistance compared to other regions. The success of Indirect Rule in the North made it the model for attempts to replicate the system in other parts of Nigeria.

Challenges in the East

In sharp contrast to the success in the North, Indirect Rule encountered serious challenges in Eastern Nigeria, primarily due to the absence of a centralised traditional authority system. The Igbo people, who predominantly inhabited the region, practised a form of government that was decentralised and communal. Leadership was often exercised through village councils, age grades, and elders, with no single figure wielding absolute authority over a large territory. This structure posed a significant obstacle to British efforts to implement Indirect Rule, which relied on the existence of strong, centralised traditional leaders who could be co-opted into the colonial administration.

To address this issue, the British introduced the **"**warrant chief" system, appointing individuals as local rulers regardless of their traditional standing or legitimacy. These warrant chiefs were often seen by the people as colonial puppets and lacked the respect and moral authority needed to govern effectively. This imposition led to widespread dissatisfaction and several uprisings, the most notable being the Aba Women's Riot of 1929, where thousands of women protested against the warrant chief system and colonial taxation. The failure of Indirect Rule in the East stemmed largely from the British misunderstanding or disregard for indigenous political institutions, resulting in instability and resistance.

Resistance in the West

In the Western region of Nigeria, particularly among the Yoruba people, Indirect Rule also met with resistance, though for different reasons than in the East. The Yoruba had a well-established system of governance with obas (kings) and councils of chiefs, many of whom ruled over powerful city-states and enjoyed significant autonomy. While the British found these structures suitable for their administrative model, their attempt to subordinate traditional rulers to colonial officials was not well received. Many Yoruba rulers resented the erosion of their authority and the interference of colonial officers in their internal affairs.

The colonial government often bypassed traditional advisory councils, imposed unpopular policies through the obas, and manipulated succession processes, thereby weakening the legitimacy of traditional leadership. Some rulers who were seen as uncooperative were deposed or stripped of their powers, further fuelling opposition to British rule. This resistance was not as

violent or widespread as in the East, but it reflected a deep-seated resentment towards the way Indirect Rule was applied, especially when it clashed with existing customs and political practices.

Advantages of Indirect Rule

1. Preserved indigenous cultures and institutions.
2. Cost-effective for the colonial government.
3. Reduced resistance by involving local leaders.
4. Encouraged local participation in governance.

Disadvantages of Indirect Rule

1. Empowered corrupt and unpopular rulers.
2. Created social inequality and ethnic division.
3. Failed to prepare Nigerians for modern democratic governance.
4. Inadequate in regions without centralised authority.

Effects of Colonial Administration on Nigeria's Political Development

1. Introduction of Western Education: The colonial administration established missionary and government schools that introduced Western education to Nigerians. This produced a class of educated elites who later spearheaded nationalist movements and demanded self-rule.

2. Creation of Political Institutions: The British introduced political structures such as Legislative Councils and regional assemblies to aid colonial governance. These institutions laid the groundwork for parliamentary democracy and exposed Nigerians to formal political processes.

3. Development of Nationalist Movements: Colonial oppression, racial discrimination, and denial of civil rights led to growing political consciousness. Educated Nigerians began organising protests, petitions, and associations demanding equal treatment and independence.

4. Formation of Political Parties: Nationalist leaders used political parties as platforms to mobilise support and challenge colonial policies. Notable parties like the NCNC, Action Group, and NPC emerged to represent regional and national interests.

5. Ethnic Division and Regionalism: Colonial policies such as Indirect Rule and regional autonomy reinforced ethnic loyalties and divisions. This promoted regionalism and competition among ethnic groups, complicating post-independence national unity.

Evaluation (Class Activity & Homework)

WAEC/NECO Past Essay Questions on Colonial Administration in Nigeria

1. **WAEC June 2017**
   "Compare the British and French colonial administrative policies in West Africa."
2. **WAEC June 2014**
   "Explain five reasons why indirect rule was successful in Northern Nigeria but failed in the Eastern region."
3. **NECO June 2019**
   "Examine five features of the British colonial administration in Nigeria."
4. **WAEC June 2011**
   "What is indirect rule? Outline its main features."
5. **NECO June 2020**
   "Discuss five effects of colonial rule on the political development of Nigeria."

WEEK TWO: NATIONALISM IN NIGERIA

Nationalism

Nationalism is the strong feeling of love, loyalty, and commitment that citizens show towards their country. In the Nigerian context, nationalism refers to the conscious efforts by Nigerians to challenge colonial domination and fight for self-rule and independence. It was driven by the desire to free Nigeria from British colonial rule and to assert national identity and sovereignty.



Stages of Nigerian Nationalism

Nigerian nationalism evolved through a series of stages, shaped by both local and international events. These stages reflect the gradual transformation from moderate reformist demands to full-blown agitation for independence. Each phase contributed significantly to the eventual attainment of self-government in 1960.

1. Early Nationalism (1900–1930s)

The earliest form of Nigerian nationalism was largely moderate in nature and emerged in the early 20th century. During this period, the focus was not on outright independence, but rather on

seeking reforms within the colonial framework and demanding better representation of Nigerians in the colonial administrative system. Nationalists of this era were mostly Western-educated elites, many of whom were influenced by European liberal ideals of freedom, justice, and equality.

A key feature of early nationalism was the establishment of associations and newspapers aimed at promoting Nigerian interests. The press played a vital role in raising political awareness and criticising unjust colonial policies. The most prominent political development of this era was the formation of the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) in 1923 by Herbert Macaulay, who is widely regarded as the father of Nigerian nationalism. The NNDP participated in the elections into the Lagos Legislative Council under the Clifford Constitution, making it the first political party in Nigeria. Although limited in its geographical reach, the NNDP laid the foundation for organised political activities in Nigeria.

2. Militant or Radical Nationalism (1940s–1950s)

The second stage of Nigerian nationalism witnessed a shift from moderate demands to more radical and assertive forms of agitation. The 1940s and 1950s were characterised by growing discontent with British colonial rule, especially due to economic hardship, racial discrimination, and restrictions on civil liberties. Nationalists of this era began to demand complete independence rather than mere reforms. The influence of global events, such as the **Great Depression**, the **Second World War**, and the **Atlantic Charter** (which emphasised self-determination), inspired a new wave of militant nationalism.

This period saw the rise of youth movements, trade unions, and political parties that adopted more confrontational approaches. Labour strikes, student protests, and public demonstrations became common strategies for expressing dissatisfaction. A notable political development was the formation of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC) in 1944, led by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, a prominent nationalist and intellectual. Another key group was the Zikist Movement, a radical youth wing of the NCNC, named after Azikiwe (nicknamed “Zik”), which advocated for immediate independence and mass action against colonial rule.

The nationalists during this era included figures like Obafemi Awolowo, Ahmadu Bello, Anthony Enahoro, and Michael Imoudu (a leading trade unionist), who played vital roles in expanding nationalist sentiment across ethnic and regional lines. The British government, recognising the growing pressure, began to introduce constitutional reforms such as the Richards Constitution (1946) and Macpherson Constitution (1951) to accommodate rising demands.

3. Post-World War II Nationalism (Late 1940s–1960)

The final phase of Nigerian nationalism was greatly influenced by the end of the Second World War and the changing international order. Returning Nigerian soldiers who had fought alongside Europeans in the war became more politically conscious and disillusioned with colonial subjugation. The post-war period also witnessed the growth of **Pan-Africanism** and global **decolonisation movements**, which emboldened nationalist leaders across Africa.

This period marked the climax of nationalist agitation, with intensified demands for self-government. Political parties became more organised and began to contest elections under the series of constitutional reforms introduced by the British. The NCNC, Action Group (AG) founded by Obafemi Awolowo, and the Northern People's Congress (NPC) led by **Ahmadu Bello**, emerged as the major political parties representing different regions and ethnic interests. These parties contested elections into regional and national assemblies, gradually gaining more political power.

The British, recognising the inevitability of independence, began a process of transferring power to Nigerians. The **Lyttleton Constitution of 1954** laid the groundwork for federalism in Nigeria, while the **1957 and 1958 constitutional conferences** held in London finalised the arrangements for Nigeria's independence. Finally, on **1st October 1960**, Nigeria gained independence from British rule, marking the culmination of the nationalist struggle.

Causes of Nationalism in Nigeria

Nationalism in Nigeria did not emerge suddenly; rather, it was the product of accumulated grievances, political awareness, and socio-economic changes that occurred during the colonial

period. The push for self-rule and national identity was driven by various internal and external factors, as outlined below:

1. Colonial Oppression and Racial Discrimination

One of the foremost causes of Nigerian nationalism was the oppressive and racially discriminatory nature of British colonial rule. Africans were treated as second-class citizens in their own country, denied access to senior administrative positions, and subjected to derogatory policies that reinforced European superiority. For instance, African civil servants were paid less than their European counterparts and excluded from decision-making processes. Such injustices bred deep resentment and fuelled the desire for political emancipation and racial equality.

2. Western Education

Western education played a vital role in the rise of nationalism in Nigeria. Educated Nigerians were exposed to liberal democratic ideals such as liberty, equality, and self-determination through Western literature and philosophy. These ideals resonated with their lived experiences under colonial subjugation. Western-educated elites, such as Nnamdi Azikiwe and Obafemi Awolowo, became vocal critics of colonial rule and pioneers of the nationalist movement. They used their education not only to question the legitimacy of colonialism but also to mobilise the masses toward the goal of independence.

3. Economic Exploitation

The economic policies of the colonial government were exploitative, as they prioritised the interests of Britain over the welfare of Nigerians. Resources such as groundnuts, palm oil, and cocoa were exported to Europe, while Nigerians received minimal returns. The colonial authorities imposed harsh taxes, monopolised trade, and restricted local industrial development to maintain dependency on British goods. These economic inequalities created widespread dissatisfaction and pushed Nigerians, especially the

emerging middle class and local entrepreneurs, to agitate for economic and political reforms.

4. Influence of the Press

The Nigerian press became a powerful tool in the hands of nationalists. Newspapers such as the *West African Pilot*, founded by Nnamdi Azikiwe, and *The Lagos Daily News*, served as platforms for spreading nationalist ideas and criticising colonial policies. The press educated the public on political developments, exposed injustices, and encouraged unity across ethnic and regional lines. By giving a voice to the voiceless and challenging colonial narratives, the press significantly heightened political awareness and mobilised support for independence.

5. World Wars I and II

The participation of Nigerian soldiers in the two World Wars had a profound effect on the growth of nationalism. Many Nigerians fought alongside British troops with the expectation of political recognition and improved rights upon their return. However, post-war conditions remained harsh, with unemployment, inflation, and continued discrimination. The returning ex-servicemen, emboldened by their experiences and exposure to international politics, became more politically conscious and active in demanding better governance and self-rule.

6. Labour Union Activities

Labour unions emerged as a strong force against colonial exploitation and became instrumental in the nationalist struggle. Workers faced poor wages, harsh working conditions, and lack of job security under colonial administration. In response, labour leaders organised strikes and protests, the most notable being the 1945 General Strike led by Michael Imoudu. These industrial actions brought together workers across regions and ethnicities, fostering unity and increasing pressure on the colonial government to grant political concessions.

7. Influence of Pan-Africanism and African Nationalist Movements

The Pan-African movement, which advocated for the unity and liberation of African peoples worldwide, greatly influenced Nigerian nationalism. Thinkers and activists such as Marcus Garvey, W.E.B. Du Bois, and Kwame Nkrumah inspired Nigerian leaders to fight for national independence and continental solidarity. The participation of Nigerians in Pan-African conferences and the spread of ideas from other African nationalist movements helped to reinforce the belief that independence was achievable and inevitable.

8. Growth of Political Parties

The formation and development of political parties in Nigeria provided the organisational backbone for nationalist activities. Parties like the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP), the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC), the Action Group (AG), and the Northern People's Congress (NPC) were formed by nationalists who used them to campaign for greater political participation and eventual self-government. These parties served as platforms for articulating grievances, contesting colonial policies, and mobilising popular support for independence.

Effects of Nationalism in Nigeria

1. Constitutional Developments

The nationalist struggle in Nigeria directly influenced the evolution of the country's constitutional framework. Pressure from nationalists demanding more inclusive governance and political representation compelled the British colonial administration to introduce progressive constitutional reforms. These began with the Clifford Constitution of 1922, which allowed limited elective representation, followed by the Richards Constitution of 1946, which attempted to promote regional representation. The Macpherson Constitution of 1951 further deepened regional autonomy and allowed more Nigerians to participate in governance. Ultimately, the Lyttleton Constitution of 1954 laid the groundwork for a federal structure, setting the stage for self-rule and independence.

2. Emergence of Political Parties

As political consciousness grew, Nigerians began to form organised political parties to articulate nationalist interests and push for independence. Early parties such as the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) and later the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC), Action Group (AG), and Northern People's Congress (NPC) became powerful tools for mobilisation. These parties not only contested elections but also served as platforms for articulating grievances, proposing reforms, and engaging the colonial government in political dialogue. They helped to coordinate nationalist activities across regions, despite differing ideologies and ethnic leanings.

3. Political Awareness and Mass Participation

Nationalist campaigns significantly heightened political awareness among Nigerians. Public rallies, newspapers, educational campaigns, and protests helped inform the masses about their rights and the need for self-governance. The once passive population became actively involved in the political process, with students, market women, artisans, and professionals joining the struggle. This mass participation fostered a sense of national identity and prepared Nigerians to take up leadership roles in a post-independence era.

4. Formation of Trade Unions and Interest Groups

The nationalist era witnessed the rapid rise of trade unions and pressure groups that played a strategic role in challenging colonial authority. Organisations like the Nigeria Union of Teachers (NUT), Railway Workers Union, and Nigerian Trade Union Congress (NTUC) became vocal advocates for both workers' welfare and political liberation. These bodies coordinated strikes, issued demands for better conditions, and supported nationalist leaders. They became key stakeholders in the political landscape, reinforcing the legitimacy of nationalist aspirations.

5. Independence and Sovereignty

One of the most profound effects of nationalism in Nigeria was the eventual attainment of independence. Years of agitation, negotiation, and political struggle culminated in the declaration

of Nigeria as a sovereign state on 1st October 1960. This landmark event marked the end of British colonial rule and the beginning of self-governance, with Nigerians taking control of their political institutions. The achievement of independence remains the most visible outcome of the nationalist movement and a testament to the collective efforts of Nigerian patriots.

6. Ethnic and Regional Politics

Despite the unifying goals of early nationalism, the movement later gave rise to regional and ethnic divisions. Political parties that emerged were often based along ethnic or regional lines — for instance, NCNC in the East, AG in the West, and NPC in the North. These divisions fuelled competition for political dominance and undermined national unity. The result was the entrenchment of ethnic consciousness, which later contributed to political instability, mutual suspicion among regions, and ultimately the Nigerian Civil War.

Key Nationalist Personalities in Nigeria

Name	Contributions
Herbert Macaulay	Regarded as the "Father of Nigerian Nationalism"; founded the NNDP in 1923 and used the press to criticise colonial rule.
Nnamdi Azikiwe	Founded the West African Pilot in 1937, led the NCNC, and was a key figure in post-war nationalism.
Obafemi Awolowo	Founded the Action Group in 1951; promoted education and self-rule for the Western Region.
Ahmadu Bello	Leader of the NPC; championed political development in Northern Nigeria and regional autonomy.
Anthony Enahoro	Moved the motion for Nigeria's independence in 1953.
Ernest Ikoli	A journalist and co-founder of the Nigerian Youth Movement.
H.O. Davies	Member of the Nigerian Youth Movement; educated in London and played an active role in anti-colonial struggles.

Evaluation

WAEC/NECO Past Essay Questions on Nationalism in Nigeria

1. **WAEC June 2016**

   "Explain five factors that led to the rise of nationalism in Nigeria."

2. **WAEC June 2012**

   "Highlight the contributions of four nationalist leaders to the independence struggle in Nigeria."

3. **NECO June 2020**

   "Discuss five effects of nationalist movements in Nigeria before independence."

4. **WAEC June 2018**

   "Define nationalism and explain any four ways in which it contributed to Nigeria's independence."

5. **NECO June 2015**

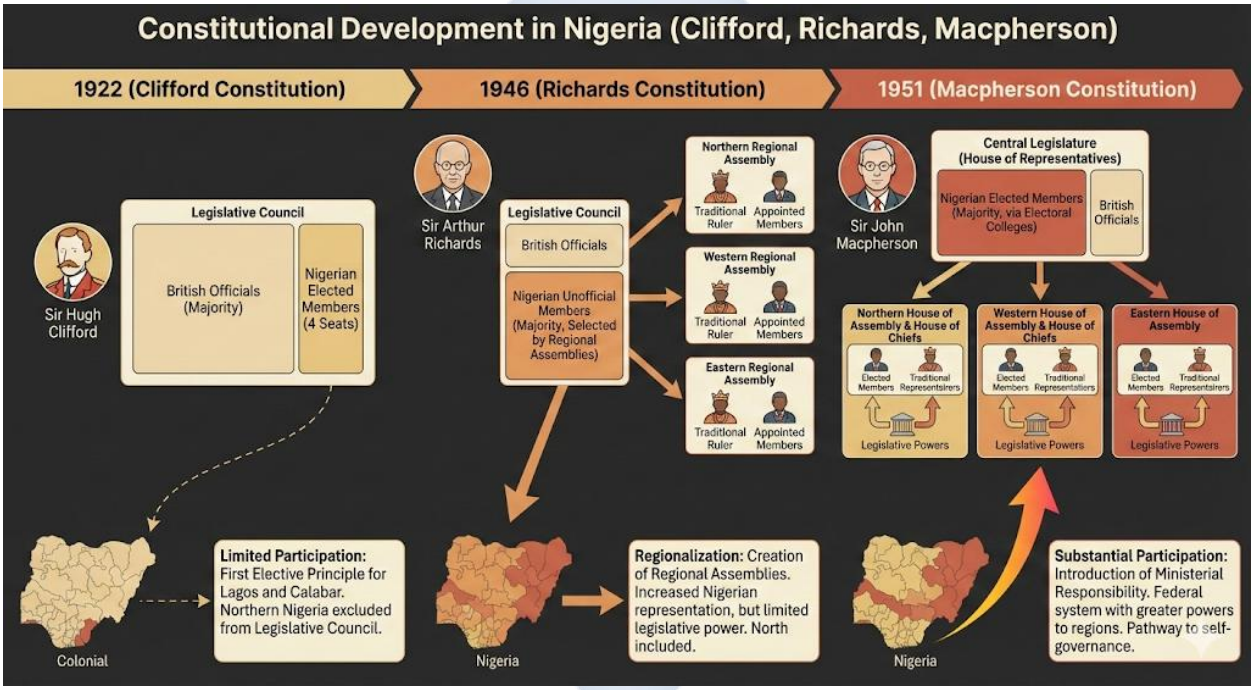
   "Examine the role of the press in the development of nationalism in Nigeria."

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WEEK THREE: CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA I

A constitution is a body of fundamental principles, rules, and regulations that govern the political organisation, powers, and operations of a state. It defines the rights and duties of citizens and the structure and powers of the organs of government.

Constitutional development in Nigeria refers to the progressive changes in the legal and political frameworks established by colonial authorities to govern the country, which eventually led to self-government and independence. These constitutions laid the foundation for representative governance, federalism, and democratic participation.



1. Clifford Constitution of 1922

Background

The Clifford Constitution was introduced by Sir Hugh Clifford, who became Governor of Nigeria in 1919. It replaced the amalgamation framework of 1914 and was the first to introduce an elective principle into Nigeria's legislative process.

Key Features

1. **Introduction of Elective Principle**: For the first time, Nigerians could elect four representatives into the Legislative Council (three from Lagos and one from Calabar).
2. **Legislative Council Composition**:
    - Governor (President)
    - Official members (British administrators)
    - Unofficial members (European and African representatives)
3. **Executive Council**: Comprised entirely of Europeans and excluded Nigerians.
4. **Regional Administration**: No provisions for regional autonomy; the constitution only applied to the Southern Protectorate. The North was governed separately through proclamations.
5. **Rise of Political Participation**: It led to the formation of Nigeria's first political party, the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP), by Herbert Macaulay in 1923.

Significance

Marked the beginning of elective representation in Nigeria: The Clifford Constitution of 1922 introduced the elective principle, allowing Nigerians to vote for a few legislative representatives for the first time.

Encouraged the formation of political parties: The introduction of elections led to the emergence of Nigeria's first political party, the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP), in 1923.

Created awareness among Nigerians about governance and democracy: By involving Nigerians in limited electoral processes, the constitution stimulated interest in political participation and democratic ideals.

Limitations

Limited franchise restricted to male adults earning £100 per annum in Lagos and Calabar: The Clifford Constitution of 1922 allowed only a small, wealthy segment of the male population in Lagos and Calabar to vote, excluding the vast majority of Nigerians.

Did not represent the interests of Northern Nigeria: The constitution focused on the South and ignored the North, creating a regional imbalance in political participation.

No Nigerian representation in the Executive Council: Nigerians were excluded from the highest decision-making body, keeping real power in the hands of British colonial officials.

2. Richards Constitution of 1946

Background

Named after Sir Arthur Richards, the 1946 constitution was an attempt to promote unity and regional development. It came after World War II, a period that saw increased political consciousness and agitation for greater African participation in governance.

Unlike its predecessor, the Richards Constitution sought to involve Nigerians in governance more actively, though its drafting process lacked consultation with the people.

Key Features

1. **Introduction of Regionalism**: Nigeria was divided into three regions—North, West, and East—each with a Regional Council and a House of Assembly.
2. **Legislative Council**: Reconstituted to include representatives from the regions and incorporated both elected and nominated Africans.
3. **Central Legislature (Legislative Council)**: Made up of the Governor, official members (colonial administrators), and unofficial members (elected and nominated Nigerians).
4. **Regional Councils**: These bodies advised on local matters and created opportunities for regional self-administration.
5. **Official Recognition of Nigeria's Diversity**: For the first time, constitutional provisions recognised the distinct regional identities and needs of different ethnic groups.

Significance

Promoted regional representation and awareness of federalism: The Richards Constitution of 1946 introduced regional legislative councils, enhancing the idea of federalism and regional identity.

Encouraged the growth of regional political parties and regional leaders: By creating regional structures, the constitution fostered the emergence of region-based political parties and leadership.

Increased Nigerian participation in legislative activities: It allowed more Nigerians to be involved in the legislative process, albeit in a limited and advisory capacity.

Limitations

Constitution was drafted without input from Nigerians: The 1946 Richards Constitution was unilaterally imposed by the British colonial authorities without consulting Nigerians.

Final authority still resided with the British Governor: Despite some structural changes, ultimate legislative and executive powers remained firmly in the hands of the colonial Governor.

Limited powers granted to the regional legislatures: The regional councils established under the constitution had only advisory roles, with very minimal legislative autonomy.

3. Macpherson Constitution of 1951

Background

This constitution was named after Sir John Macpherson, who succeeded Arthur Richards. It was remarkable for its consultative and participatory process, involving Nigerians at village, district, provincial, and regional levels through conferences and consultations.

The constitution was a significant step toward federalism and self-government.

Key Features

1. **Federal Structure**: Strengthened federalism by giving more powers to the three regions.

2. **Creation of Regional Houses of Assembly and Regional Houses of Chiefs** (in the North and West).
3. **Central Legislative Council (House of Representatives)**:
    - 136 members in total, including representatives from the three regions and appointed ministers.
    - Governor remained the head but shared power with a Council of Ministers composed of Nigerian politicians.
4. **Introduction of Ministerial System**: Nigerians were appointed as ministers responsible for various government departments.
5. **Larger Franchise and Representation**: More Nigerians were eligible to vote, and political parties became stronger.
6. **Constitutional Conference**: Included participation of major Nigerian political leaders like Nnamdi Azikiwe, Obafemi Awolowo, and Ahmadu Bello.

Significance

Represented the first truly Nigerian-influenced constitution: The 1951 Macpherson Constitution was the first to involve wide consultation with Nigerians, reflecting their input in the constitutional process.

Encouraged national unity while respecting regional differences: It sought to balance national integration with regional autonomy by establishing a federal structure with a central legislature and regional houses.

Laid the groundwork for future independence: By expanding Nigerian participation in governance, it paved the way for more self-rule and eventual independence.

Allowed for responsible government at the regional level: The constitution introduced ministerial responsibilities in the regions, enabling Nigerians to manage their own affairs under colonial supervision.

Limitations

Regionalism deepened ethnic divisions: The emphasis on regional autonomy under earlier constitutions intensified ethnic loyalties and widened divisions among Nigeria's major groups.

The central government was relatively weak compared to the regions: The federal structure created a weak central authority, making coordination and national unity difficult to achieve.

Political conflicts led to the breakdown of the constitution in 1953: Growing political tensions and regional rivalries, especially over issues like self-government, culminated in the collapse of constitutional order in 1953.

Comparison of Clifford, Richards, and Macpherson Constitutions

Features	Clifford (1922)	Richards (1946)	Macpherson (1951)
Participation	Very limited	Limited	Broad and consultative
Franchise	Restricted to Lagos & Calabar	Slightly expanded	Widely expanded
Federalism	Absent	Introduced regions	Strengthened federalism
Ministerial System	No	No	Yes
Regional Representation	No	Yes	Yes
Contribution of Nigerians	Minimal	Not consulted	Widely consulted

WAEC/NECO Past Essay Questions

1. **WAEC June 2015**
   "Highlight the main features of the Clifford Constitution of 1922."
2. **WAEC June 2018**
   "Examine the limitations of the Richards Constitution of 1946."

3. **NECO June 2020**

   "Discuss five features of the Macpherson Constitution of 1951."

4. **WAEC June 2011**

   "Compare the Clifford Constitution of 1922 and the Richards Constitution of 1946."

5. **NECO June 2017**

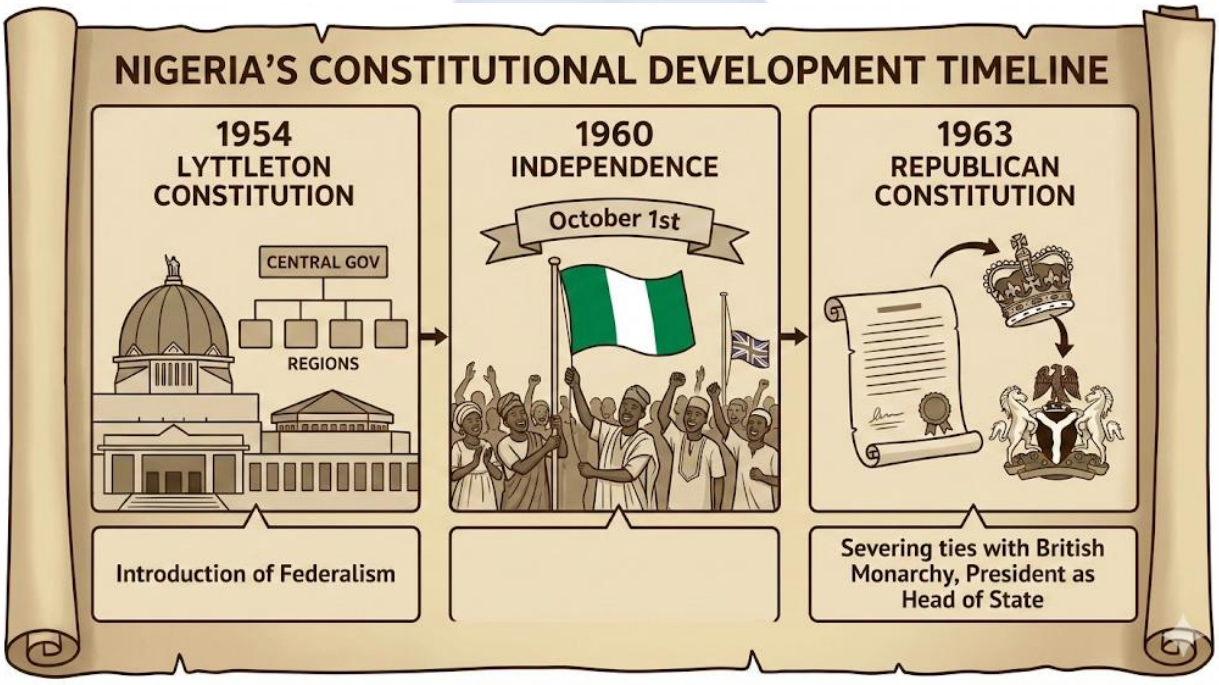
   "Assess the impact of the Macpherson Constitution on Nigeria's political development."

WEEK FOUR: CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA II

4. Lyttleton Constitution (1954)

Background

The **Lyttleton Constitution** was named after **Oliver Lyttleton**, the British Colonial Secretary. It was introduced following the constitutional crisis that followed the breakdown of the Macpherson Constitution due to regional tensions and the 1953 Enahoro motion for self-government. The constitution was drafted at the **London Constitutional Conference of 1953** and adopted in 1954.



Key Features

1. **Federal Structure**: Nigeria officially became a federation of three regions — North, West, and East. A fourth region (Mid-West) was later created in 1963.
2. **Division of Powers**: Clearly defined powers between central and regional governments through **exclusive, concurrent, and residual legislative lists**.

3. **Autonomy of Regions**: Regions had their own **premiers, legislatures, and executive councils**.
4. **Governor-General and Regional Governors**: The Governor-General represented the British Crown, while each region had its own Governor.
5. **Bicameral Legislature in the Centre**: A **House of Representatives** and a **Senate** were established.
6. **Judiciary**: An independent judiciary was established for both federal and regional levels.

Significance

First constitution to recognise Nigeria as a federation: The 1954 Lyttleton Constitution was the first to formally establish Nigeria as a federation with clearly defined powers for the central and regional governments.

Strengthened regional self-government: It enhanced the autonomy of the regions by granting them control over certain legislative and executive matters.

Promoted political competition and party development: The constitution encouraged the formation and growth of political parties as each region sought to assert its interests within the federal framework.

Laid the groundwork for full independence: By institutionalising regional self-rule and federal governance, the Lyttleton Constitution set the stage for Nigeria's eventual attainment of full political independence in 1960.

Limitations

1. **The British monarch remained the head of state:** Under the 1954 Lyttleton Constitution, the British monarch continued as Nigeria's Head of State, represented by a Governor-General.
2. **Colonial officials still wielded significant influence:** Despite increased regional autonomy, key colonial administrators retained considerable control over important decisions in governance.

3. **Ethnic divisions deepened as parties became regionalised:** Political parties increasingly aligned along ethnic and regional lines, intensifying divisions and weakening national cohesion.

5. Independence Constitution of 1960

Background

The Independence Constitution came into effect on 1st October 1960, when Nigeria gained independence from British colonial rule. It was the product of a series of constitutional conferences held in London and Lagos between 1957 and 1959.

Key Features

1. **Constitutional Monarchy**: Nigeria became a sovereign state but retained the British monarch as the ceremonial Head of State, represented by a Governor-General (Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe).
2. **Federalism**: Maintained the federal structure established by the 1954 Constitution.
3. **Parliamentary System of Government**: Adopted a Westminster parliamentary model, where the Prime Minister (Abubakar Tafawa Balewa) was the head of government.
4. **Bicameral Legislature**: National Assembly consisted of the Senate and the House of Representatives.
5. **Fundamental Human Rights**: Enshrined in the constitution (Chapter IV).
6. **Judiciary**: Final appeals could be made to the Privy Council in London, not yet fully sovereign in judicial matters.

Significance

Marked Nigeria's formal political independence: The 1960 Constitution officially marked Nigeria's attainment of political independence from British colonial rule.

Showcased peaceful transition from colonial rule: It reflected a smooth and peaceful handover of power from the British colonial authorities to indigenous Nigerian leadership.

Recognised the roles of Nigerian leaders in governance: The constitution acknowledged and institutionalised the roles of Nigerian leaders by placing them at the forefront of governance.

Served as a unifying document for diverse regions: It acted as a central legal framework aimed at uniting Nigeria's diverse ethnic and regional groups under one sovereign state.

Limitations

1. **British monarch remained the ceremonial head of state:** Despite independence, the British monarch retained the role of ceremonial Head of State, represented in Nigeria by a Governor-General.
2. **Judicial sovereignty was incomplete due to appeals to the Privy Council:** Nigeria's judiciary lacked full sovereignty as legal appeals could still be taken to the Judicial Committee of the British Privy Council.
3. **Ethnic tensions and party rivalry were not fully addressed:** The 1960 Constitution failed to resolve the underlying ethnic divisions and political rivalries that continued to threaten national unity.

3. Republican Constitution of 1963

Background

Nigeria became a **republic** on **1st October 1963**, exactly three years after independence. The **Republican Constitution** was enacted by the Nigerian parliament to fully sever constitutional ties with the British Crown and establish Nigeria as a **sovereign republic**.

Key Features

1. **Ceremonial President**: Replaced the British monarch with a Nigerian President (Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe) as the ceremonial head of state.
2. **Federal Parliamentary System**: Retained the **Prime Minister** as head of government.

3. **Sovereign Judiciary**: The **Supreme Court of Nigeria** became the final court of appeal; appeals to the Privy Council were abolished.
4. **Federalism Retained**: Regional autonomy and federal structure remained intact.
5. **Secular State**: The constitution affirmed Nigeria as a **secular nation**, without any state religion.
6. **Citizenship and Fundamental Rights**: Clearly defined citizenship rights and protected civil liberties.

Significance

Achieved full sovereignty — both politically and judicially:
The 1963 Republican Constitution granted Nigeria complete autonomy by removing all remaining British political and judicial authority.

Replaced colonial symbols with indigenous leadership:
It replaced the British monarch with a Nigerian President as the ceremonial head of state, affirming national identity.

Marked Nigeria's final constitutional break from Britain:
This constitution severed all constitutional ties with the United Kingdom, ending appeals to the British Privy Council.

Signalled the maturity of Nigeria's political system:
By adopting a homegrown constitution, Nigeria demonstrated readiness to manage its own democratic governance and legal affairs.

Limitations

Still operated a parliamentary system that created friction between ceremonial and executive roles:
The 1963 Republican Constitution maintained a parliamentary system which often led to tensions between the Prime Minister and the ceremonial President.

Ethnic and regional rivalries continued to deepen:

Despite constitutional reforms, deep-seated ethnic and regional divisions persisted, fuelling political instability.

The constitution was unable to prevent the political crises and military coup that followed in 1966:

The inability of the constitution to address rising tensions and conflicts ultimately culminated in Nigeria's first military coup.

Comparison Table

Feature	Lyttleton (1954)	Independence (1960)	Republican (1963)
Head of State	British Monarch via Governor-General	British Monarch via Nigerian Governor-General	Nigerian President
Head of Government	Governor (Colonial)	Nigerian Prime Minister	Nigerian Prime Minister
Judiciary	Not fully independent	Final appeal to Privy Council	Supreme Court as final authority
Sovereignty	Partial	Political but not judicial	Full (Political & Judicial)
Federalism	Introduced	Maintained	Maintained
Role of Nigerians	Increased	Full governance	Full leadership and sovereignty

Evaluation

WAEC/NECO Past Essay Questions

1. **WAEC June 2017**

   "Outline the major features of the 1960 Independence Constitution of Nigeria."
2. **WAEC June 2014**

   "Examine five features of the Republican Constitution of 1963."

3. **NECO June 2020**

   "Compare the 1954 Lyttleton Constitution with the 1960 Independence Constitution."

4. **WAEC June 2016**

   "Discuss the significance of the 1954 Constitution to Nigeria's political development."

5. **NECO June 2017**

   "Explain the differences between the roles of the Head of State under the 1960 and 1963 Constitutions."

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WEEK SIX: MILITARY RULE IN NIGERIA

Introduction

Military rule refers to a system of governance in which the military seizes political power and administers the affairs of a nation. This typically occurs through a coup d'état, which is the illegal and forceful overthrow of a democratic government by the armed forces. In such regimes, military officers suspend the constitution, dissolve democratic institutions, and take over executive and legislative powers.



In Nigeria, military rule began with the first coup on 15th January 1966, led by Major Chukwuma Kaduna Nzeogwu, and continued through various regimes until 1999, when the country returned to democratic governance under President Olusegun Obasanjo.

Causes of Military Intervention in Nigeria

Military coups in Nigeria were often prompted by a combination of political instability, corruption, and ethnic tensions. Below are the major causes:

a. Political Instability and Crisis

The First Republic (1960–1966) was riddled with electoral malpractices, disputed results, and violent political rivalries. The inability of political leaders to manage differences peacefully created a fertile ground for military intervention.

b. Corruption and Mismanagement

Rampant corruption among politicians, embezzlement of public funds, and poor management of national resources eroded public confidence in civilian administrations. The military often claimed to intervene in order to "clean up" the system.

c. Ethnic and Regional Rivalries

Nigeria's diverse ethnic composition led to mistrust and regionalism. The struggle for control of power among the major ethnic groups — Hausa-Fulani, Yoruba, and Igbo — created tension, which the military exploited to justify their takeover.

d. Weak Democratic Institutions

In the early years after independence, Nigeria's democratic institutions lacked the strength and independence needed to check executive excesses or resolve political conflicts.

e. Security Concerns and Lawlessness

Increasing cases of political violence, lawlessness, and the inability of the civilian government to control the situation gave the military an excuse to claim they were needed to restore order.

f. Influence of Global Trends

The Cold War era witnessed similar military regimes in other parts of Africa. The rise of military rulers in Ghana, Egypt, and Congo emboldened Nigerian officers to follow suit.

Achievements of Military Rule in Nigeria

Although military rule is largely criticised for undermining democracy, it recorded certain achievements:

a. Creation of New States and Local Governments

Military regimes created new states and local government areas to address issues of marginalisation and bring governance closer to the people. From the original 3 regions, Nigeria grew to 36 states under military rule.

b. Infrastructural Development

Military governments invested in road construction, building of airports, seaports, and national monuments. Notable projects include the construction of the Third Mainland Bridge in Lagos and the development of Abuja as the Federal Capital Territory.

c. Introduction of National Youth Service Corps (NYSC)

The NYSC scheme, introduced in 1973 by General Yakubu Gowon, aimed to foster national unity among Nigerian youths by posting graduates to serve in states other than their own.

d. Oil Sector Development

The military invested in the oil sector, establishing the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) and using oil revenue to fund national development.

e. Centralisation of Power

Through decree and military authority, national policies were implemented uniformly, reducing some administrative bottlenecks of federalism.

Failures of Military Rule in Nigeria

Despite some gains, military rule failed in many critical areas:

a. Suppression of Democratic Rights

Military regimes suspended constitutions, dissolved elected bodies, and ruled by decrees. Citizens were denied freedom of speech, association, and the press.

b. Rampant Human Rights Abuses

Opposition voices were silenced through arrests, torture, or assassinations. Activists such as Ken Saro-Wiwa were executed without fair trial, drawing global condemnation.

c. Entrenchment of Corruption

Contrary to their stated objectives, many military rulers were deeply corrupt. Billions of dollars were looted, notably under General Sani Abacha.

d. Lack of Accountability

Military regimes operated without checks and balances. There was no legislature or judiciary to question executive actions, leading to widespread impunity.

e. Economic Mismanagement

Poor economic planning, reckless spending, and overdependence on oil revenue led to inflation, unemployment, and declining living standards.

f. Stunted Democratic Growth

Repeated interruptions of democratic rule hindered the development of democratic culture, institutions, and political education among the citizenry.

General Impact on Nigeria's Political Development

Military rule had both short- and long-term impacts on Nigeria's political trajectory:

- **Delayed Democratic Maturity:** The constant overthrow of civilian governments slowed Nigeria's democratic growth and civic participation.

- **Militarisation of Politics:** The legacy of military command-style governance continued to influence the political class, even after the return to democracy.
- **Legacy of Suspicion and Division:** Military governments often ruled by favouring certain ethnic groups or regions, thereby fuelling division and suspicion among Nigerians.
- **Weak Institutions:** Because military rulers did not build strong, independent institutions, many of Nigeria's democratic structures remained fragile after 1999.

WAEC/NECO Essay Past Questions on Military Rule in Nigeria

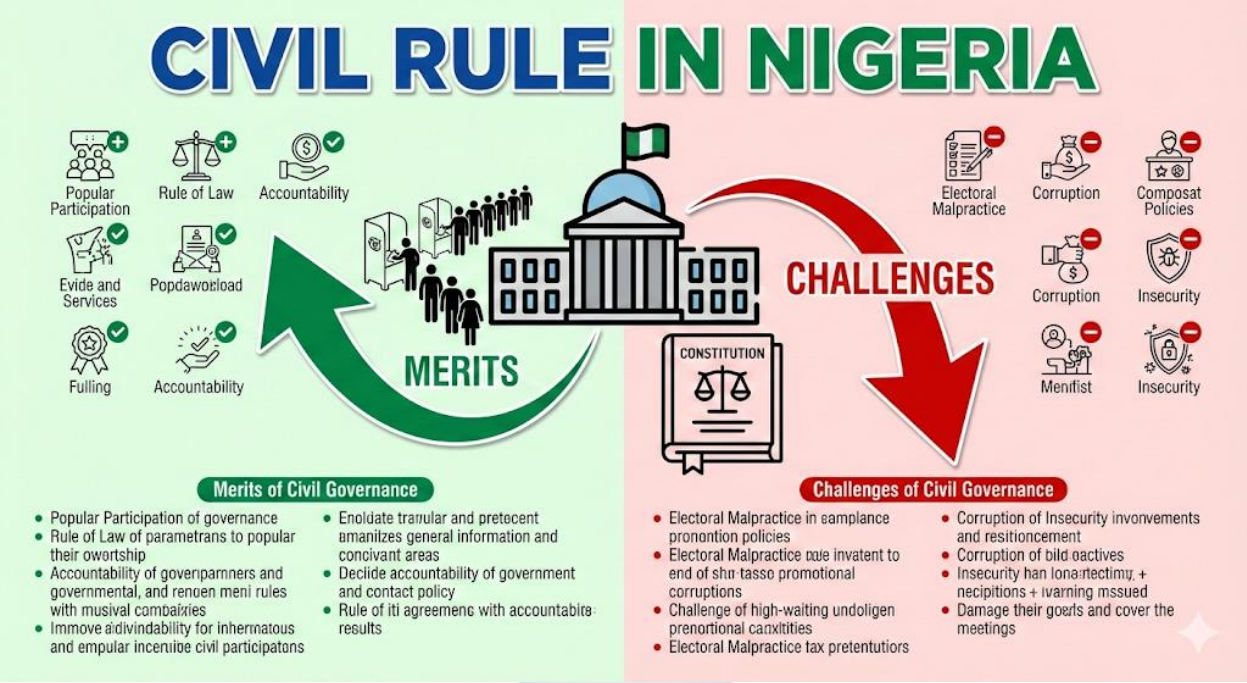
1. **WAEC 2013** – *Identify and explain five major reasons for military intervention in Nigerian politics.*
2. **NECO 2016** – *Discuss five achievements of military rule in Nigeria.*
3. **WAEC 2019** – *Highlight five effects of military rule on Nigerian politics.*
4. **NECO 2020** – *Examine five failures of military regimes in Nigeria.*
5. **WAEC 2021** – *With specific examples, explain five reasons why military rule hindered the growth of democracy in Nigeria.*

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WEEK EIGHT: CIVIL RULE IN NIGERIA

Civil Rule

Civil rule can be defined as the governance of a country by elected civilians, as opposed to the military or any authoritarian group. It is a democratic system in which citizens participate actively in choosing their leaders and are governed under a constitutional and legal framework. It refers to a system of governance in which the affairs of the state are managed by democratically elected civilians rather than military authorities. It is also known as civilian or democratic rule.



In Nigeria, civil rule began in 1960 at independence and was interrupted multiple times by military coups until 1999, when democracy was restored with the inauguration of President Olusegun Obasanjo on 29th May 1999.

Features of Civil Rule in Nigeria

Civil rule is distinguished by the following major features:

1. Democratic Governance

Under civil rule, leadership is attained through periodic elections where citizens vote for their representatives. The system is based on democratic principles such as majority rule and minority rights.

2. Constitutional Supremacy

Civil rule is guided by a constitution that spells out the functions of the organs of government, the rights of citizens, and limits of power. The 1999 Constitution (as amended) is the supreme law in Nigeria's current civilian dispensation.

3. Separation of Powers

There is a clear demarcation among the three arms of government — the executive, legislature, and judiciary. Each arm operates independently and serves as a check on the others to prevent abuse of power.

4. Rule of Law

This refers to the supremacy of law over everyone in society, including the leaders. Civilian governments in Nigeria are expected to uphold and respect the law in all their activities.

5. Periodic Elections

Civilian rule is characterised by regular elections (every four years in Nigeria) where eligible citizens vote for their leaders at federal, state, and local levels.

6. Protection of Fundamental Human Rights

Under civil rule, citizens enjoy basic rights such as freedom of speech, association, religion, and movement as guaranteed by the constitution.

7. Political Participation

Citizens are free to form and join political parties, contest elections, or take part in political activities without fear of intimidation.

8. Civil Institutions and Structures

Civilian rule promotes the development of independent institutions such as the electoral commission (INEC), anti-corruption agencies (EFCC, ICPC), and civil society organisations.

Merits of Civil Rule in Nigeria

Civil rule has numerous advantages when effectively practised:

1. Promotion of Fundamental Rights and Liberties

Civil rule provides an environment where citizens enjoy civil liberties without fear of repression. This includes freedom of the press, speech, religion, and assembly.

2. Accountability and Transparency

Elected officials are accountable to the people. Mechanisms like legislative oversight, public hearings, and freedom of information encourage transparency in governance.

3. Rule of Law

Civil rule promotes the rule of law, where laws are supreme and applicable to all citizens, including leaders.

4. Political Stability

Unlike military rule, which is often abrupt and undemocratic, civil rule ensures political continuity and reduces the chances of violent power transitions.

5. Public Participation

Civil rule encourages active participation of the populace in governance through voting, town hall meetings, civil societies, and lobbying.

6. Legitimacy of Government

Governments under civil rule derive their authority from the people, thereby enjoying more legitimacy and public support.

7. Socio-Economic Development

Democratic systems promote better economic policies, foreign investment, and development as a result of political stability and good governance.

Challenges of Civil Rule in Nigeria

Despite its merits, civil rule in Nigeria is fraught with numerous challenges that hinder effective democratic governance:

1. Electoral Malpractices

Issues such as vote-buying, rigging, thuggery, and violence mar Nigeria's elections, thereby undermining the democratic process.

2. Corruption

Widespread corruption in public offices affects service delivery and public trust in government.

3. Weak Institutions

Institutions like INEC, the judiciary, and anti-corruption bodies are often undermined by political interference, making them ineffective in carrying out their duties.

4. Godfatherism

This refers to the influence of powerful individuals who sponsor candidates and manipulate the political process for personal or group interest.

5. Ethno-Religious Conflicts

Civil rule in Nigeria is often destabilised by ethnic and religious tensions that lead to violence and polarisation of politics.

6. Poverty and Illiteracy

These hinder political participation and make many citizens susceptible to manipulation and vote-buying.

7. Executive Lawlessness

Elected officials sometimes act above the law, disregard court orders, or use state institutions to suppress opposition.

8. Poor Internal Democracy in Political Parties

Most political parties in Nigeria lack democratic structures, leading to imposition of candidates and lack of internal cohesion.

WAEC/NECO Essay Past Questions on Civil Rule in Nigeria

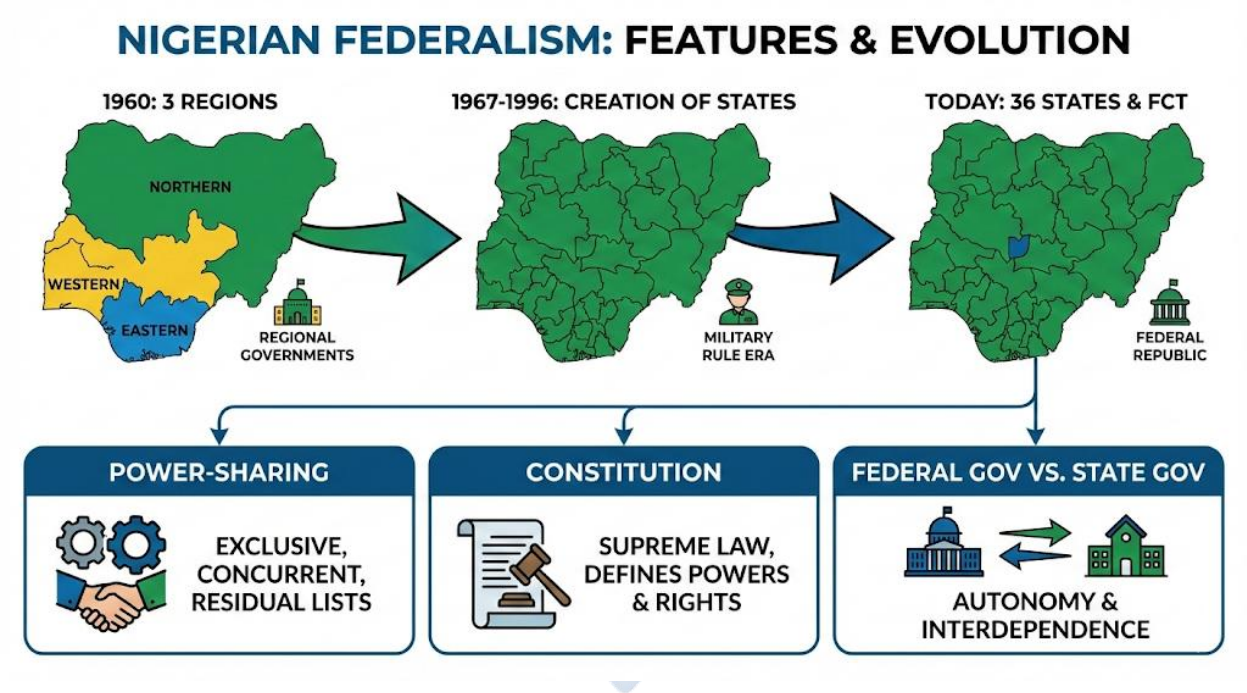
1. **WAEC 2017**: Highlight five features of civilian rule.
2. **NECO 2015**: Explain any five problems of civilian rule in Nigeria.
3. **WAEC 2012**: What are the merits of civil rule over military rule in Nigeria?
4. **NECO 2014**: Discuss five factors militating against civil rule in Nigeria.
5. **WAEC 2020**: Examine the roles played by democratic institutions in sustaining civil rule in Nigeria.

WEEK NINE: NIGERIAN FEDERALISM

Federalism

Federalism is a system of government where sovereignty is constitutionally divided between a central authority and constituent political units (such as states or provinces), allowing each level of government to operate independently within its defined sphere of authority.

In Nigeria, federalism means that powers are shared between the federal government and the 36 states (including the Federal Capital Territory), each with its constitutionally assigned roles and responsibilities.



Features of Nigerian Federalism – Explained in Essay Format

Nigeria operates a federal system of government, which is a form of political organisation that unites separate states or regions under a central government while allowing each unit a measure of internal autonomy. Nigerian federalism is deeply rooted in the country's historical, political, and socio-cultural realities. Several features make this federal arrangement distinct and functional within the Nigerian context.

1. Constitutional Division of Powers

One of the defining features of Nigerian federalism is the clear division of powers among the tiers of government, as enshrined in the 1999 Constitution (as amended). This division ensures a functional balance between the central and component units. The Constitution classifies governmental powers into three main lists:

- **Exclusive Legislative List**: This contains matters over which only the Federal Government can legislate, such as defence, foreign affairs, immigration, currency, and aviation.
- **Concurrent Legislative List**: These are areas where both the Federal and State Governments can legislate, such as education, health, agriculture, and the environment. However, where there is a conflict, federal law prevails.
- **Residual List**: This includes matters that are not listed in the Constitution and are therefore reserved for the states. Examples include chieftaincy affairs, local markets, and local public transportation.

This structured division is intended to prevent an overlap of functions and to ensure that every tier of government is responsible for specific areas of governance.

2. Written and Rigid Constitution

Another essential feature of Nigerian federalism is that it is based on a **written and rigid constitution**. The Constitution of 1999 clearly outlines the structure, functions, and powers of the federal and state governments. The rigidity of the Constitution means that it cannot be amended by a simple parliamentary majority; rather, a special procedure involving both the National and State Assemblies must be followed. This rigidity ensures the stability of the federal arrangement and protects the rights and powers of the federating units from arbitrary changes.

3. Supremacy of the Constitution

The Nigerian federal system recognises the **supremacy of the Constitution** as the highest law of the land. All organs of government—executive, legislature, and judiciary—are bound by it.

According to Section 1(3) of the 1999 Constitution, any law inconsistent with the Constitution is null and void. This provision reinforces the principle of constitutionalism, ensuring that all actions taken by the various arms and levels of government conform to the constitutional framework.

4. Existence of Levels of Government

Federalism in Nigeria is characterised by the **existence of three distinct levels of government**:

- **The Federal Government**, based in Abuja, is responsible for national affairs.
- **Thirty-six State Governments**, each with its own executive, legislature, and judiciary, manage affairs at the regional level.
- **774 Local Government Areas (LGAs)** form the grassroots level of governance, handling local administration, sanitation, markets, and rural development.

This three-tier structure is designed to bring governance closer to the people and ensure equitable representation and service delivery across the federation.

5. Bicameral Legislature

Nigeria's federal legislature, known as the **National Assembly**, is bicameral. It consists of two chambers:

- **The Senate**, which represents the states equally (each of the 36 states has three Senators and the Federal Capital Territory has one).
- **The House of Representatives**, which represents the Nigerian population based on proportional representation.

This bicameral structure ensures a balance between population-based and regional representation, a common feature in federal systems to protect the interests of smaller states.

6. Supreme Court as Final Arbiter

The **judiciary**, particularly the Supreme Court, plays a crucial role in the Nigerian federal system. It serves as the **final arbiter in constitutional disputes**, especially those involving the division of powers between the federal and state governments. The court interprets the Constitution and ensures that all levels of government act within their legal limits, thereby reinforcing the rule of law and constitutionalism.

7. Revenue Allocation Formula

Revenue sharing is a critical issue in Nigerian federalism due to the country's economic disparities and resource endowments. The **revenue allocation formula** is designed to distribute national resources among the federal, state, and local governments. It is based on principles such as:

- **Derivation** (states retain a portion of revenue generated from their resources),
- **Equality of states**,
- **Population size**, and
- **Land mass**.

This allocation system aims to promote national unity, ensure balanced development, and address inequalities among the federating units.

8. Multiethnic and Multilingual Society

Nigeria is a **multiethnic and multilingual society**, with over 250 ethnic groups and languages. Federalism was adopted as a system to accommodate this diversity and promote national integration. By allowing each ethnic group or region some degree of autonomy and self-expression, federalism seeks to **promote unity in diversity**. It provides a platform for cultural coexistence and reduces the chances of ethnic domination or marginalisation.

9. Autonomy of States

Each of Nigeria's 36 states enjoys a considerable degree of **political and administrative autonomy**. They have their own constitutionally recognised institutions, such as:

- An elected Governor,
- A State House of Assembly,
- A State Judiciary.

States can enact laws on matters within their jurisdiction, manage their budgets, and administer public services such as education and health, within the limits of the national constitution. This autonomy empowers states to address local needs more effectively and strengthens federalism.

Evolution of Nigerian Federalism

The federal structure of Nigeria did not develop in a single stroke. Rather, it emerged through a series of constitutional reforms, political struggles, and institutional transitions that spanned the colonial era to the present democratic dispensation. The evolution of Nigerian federalism can be analysed across six major historical phases:

1. Colonial Period (1914–1953)

The origin of Nigeria's political integration dates back to the 1914 Amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Protectorates by Sir Frederick Lugard. This action marked the establishment of modern Nigeria as a single political entity, albeit under a unitary colonial government. At this point, there was no federal structure in place; the administrative system was highly centralised and controlled from the colonial headquarters.

The Clifford Constitution of 1922 introduced for the first time a legislative council with elected African representatives, but this applied only to Lagos and Calabar. It marked the beginning of African participation in governance but still retained the unitary form.

Federal tendencies began to manifest with the Richards Constitution of 1946, which formally divided Nigeria into three regions — Northern, Western, and Eastern Regions. Though not yet federal in principle, it was the first step towards regional autonomy and decentralisation of powers, laying the groundwork for future federal structures.

2. Introduction of Federalism (1954)

The Lyttleton Constitution of 1954 is widely recognised as the formal introduction of federalism in Nigeria. It provided for a federal structure with a central government and three autonomous regions, each with its own constitution, legislature, and executive. This framework reflected classical federal principles such as division of powers and regional autonomy. The 1954 constitution allowed the regions significant independence in managing local affairs, which helped accommodate the country's ethnic and cultural diversity.

This constitutional milestone marked the birth of Nigerian federalism, establishing a dual system of government with both national and regional powers clearly defined.

3. Post-Independence Era (1960–1966)

Nigeria achieved independence in 1960, maintaining the federal structure inherited from the colonial era. The 1960 Independence Constitution and later the 1963 Republican Constitution preserved regional autonomy while recognising the sovereignty of the central government.

In 1963, the Mid-Western Region was created out of the Western Region, becoming the fourth region in Nigeria. This development was indicative of federalism's adaptability to political demands.

However, the post-independence years were marked by growing regional rivalry, ethnic tension, and political instability. These culminated in a military coup in 1966, which disrupted Nigeria's federal trajectory and set the stage for centralised military rule.

4. Military Rule and Centralisation (1966–1979)

The military regimes that followed the 1966 coup **suspended parts of the federal constitution**, concentrating power at the centre. This marked a deviation from true federalism, even though the federal structure was maintained in name.

One of the major legacies of military rule was the **creation of states** in place of regions to weaken regional hegemony and ethnic domination. In **1967**, **12 states** were created to replace the four regions. Subsequent regimes continued this policy, leading to:

- **19 states in 1976**
- **21 states in 1987**
- **30 states in 1991**
- **36 states in 1996**

While these actions aimed to promote equity and national integration, they also reinforced **centralisation**, as military leaders maintained firm control over all levels of government, limiting true federal autonomy.

5. Second and Third Republics (1979–1993)

With the return to civilian rule in 1979, the Second Republic introduced a presidential system of government under the 1979 Constitution, which re-emphasised federal principles. It reinforced the existence of three levels of government — federal, state, and local — and aimed at balancing power among them.

Though the republic was short-lived, the federal system remained intact. The **Third Republic**, initiated in the early 1990s, sought to continue this federal structure but was aborted by yet another military intervention in **1993**.

6. Fourth Republic (1999–Present)

The advent of the Fourth Republic in 1999, following prolonged military rule, marked the restoration of democratic governance under a federal system. The 1999 Constitution (as amended) is the operational legal framework that guides Nigeria's federalism today.

Under this constitution, the principle of federal character was introduced to ensure equitable representation of all ethnic groups in public institutions. Federalism in this era places emphasis on decentralisation, democratic governance, and power-sharing across different tiers of government.

However, contemporary debates surrounding resource control, fiscal federalism, state police, and restructuring reveal the continuing struggle to realise a true and functional federal system. While

federalism remains the official political structure, the quest for its refinement and strengthening is ongoing.

Evaluation

WAEC/NECO Essay Past Questions on Nigerian Federalism

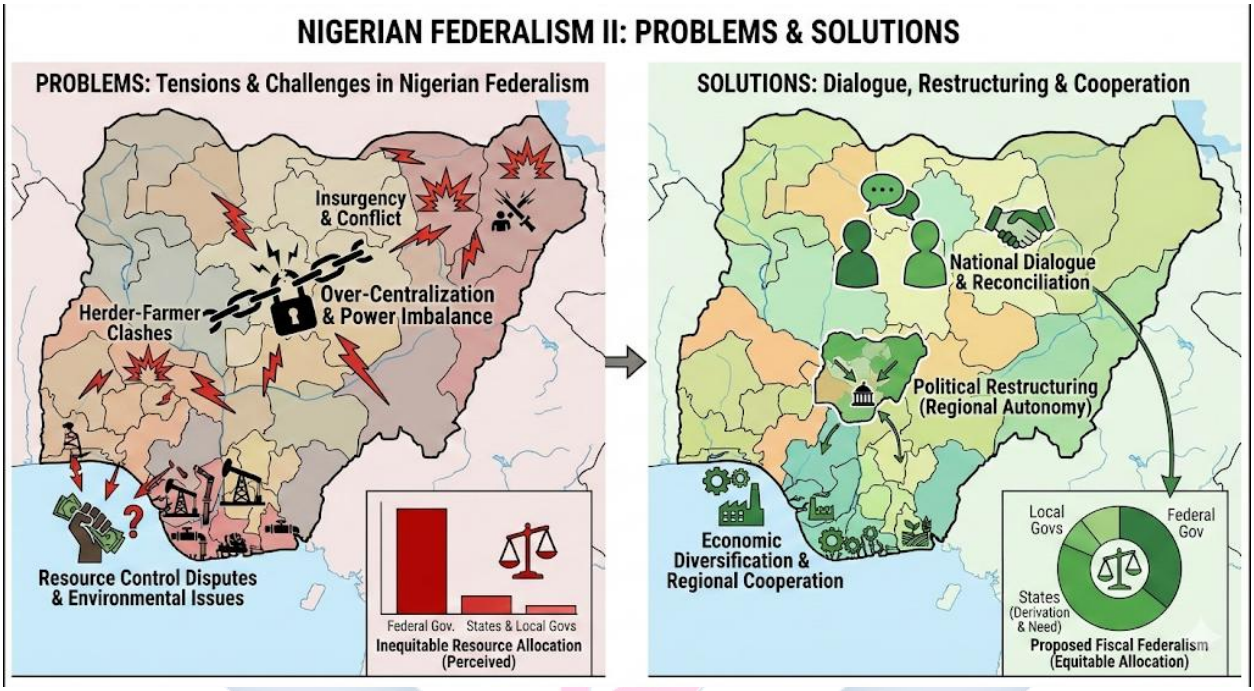
1. **WAEC 2016**: Outline five features of Nigerian federalism.
2. **NECO 2018**: Discuss the historical development of federalism in Nigeria.
3. **WAEC 2014**: Explain five reasons why federalism was adopted in Nigeria.
4. **NECO 2015**: Highlight five major challenges of federalism in Nigeria.
5. **WAEC 2022**: Examine the evolution of federalism in Nigeria from 1946 to 1999.

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WEEK TEN: NIGERIAN FEDERALISM II

Problems of Nigerian

Federalism



The Nigerian federal system is challenged by a number of structural, political, economic, and socio-cultural issues:

1. Over-centralisation of Power

Although federalism promotes the sharing of power, in Nigeria, the federal government controls the bulk of political and economic powers, such as defence, policing, mineral resources, and revenue. This makes the states excessively dependent on the centre.

2. Resource Control and Revenue Allocation Disputes

The current revenue-sharing formula is viewed by many states, especially oil-producing ones, as unfair. The principle of **derivation**, which allows resource-rich states to benefit directly from their resources, is often under-emphasised, leading to agitation and restiveness.

3. Ethnic and Regional Rivalry

Nigeria's federalism is deeply influenced by ethnic, regional, and religious sentiments. These divisions have led to mutual distrust, marginalisation complaints, and violence, undermining national unity.

4. Imbalanced Structure of the Federation

Some claim that the creation of states was politically motivated rather than based on equity, resulting in uneven development, representation, and access to federal resources.

5. Weak Fiscal Federalism

States rely heavily on monthly allocations from the federal government. Most states are unable to generate sufficient internal revenue and are not economically viable, which contradicts the principle of autonomy in federalism.

6. Lack of State Police

Security remains centralised, with only the federal government controlling the police. This weakens local capacity to address security challenges, especially in rural areas.

7. Political Instability and Electoral Malpractices

Frequent electoral fraud and political instability undermine the legitimacy of the federal structure and erode trust in democratic institutions.

8. Poor Implementation of Federal Character Principle

The federal character principle, which aims to ensure equitable representation across regions, is often abused. Appointments and recruitment into public offices are frequently politicised or ethnically skewed.

9. Judicial Inefficiency

Federalism requires a strong and impartial judiciary to resolve disputes between federating units. However, the judiciary in Nigeria is often compromised, slow, or subject to political pressure.

10. Inadequate Autonomy of Local Governments

Local governments, which form the third tier of government, are often under the firm control of state governments. This violates the principle of autonomy and reduces grassroots development.

Solutions to the Problems of Nigerian Federalism

To strengthen Nigerian federalism, the following solutions have been proposed:

1. True Federalism (Restructuring)

There is widespread advocacy for restructuring to ensure proper devolution of powers, granting states more control over their affairs, including policing, resource management, and taxation.

2. Review of the Revenue Allocation Formula

The revenue-sharing formula should be reviewed to favour derivation and local resource control. This would incentivise states to develop their resources and reduce dependence on the federal government.

3. State Policing

Introducing state police would allow individual states to effectively address internal security challenges and reduce the burden on the central police.

4. Strengthening Institutions

Independent and accountable institutions such as INEC, EFCC, ICPC, and the judiciary should be strengthened to enhance the rule of law, transparency, and fair political competition.

5. Balanced State Creation and Boundary Adjustment

New states and boundary adjustments should be based on genuine socio-economic needs and population data rather than political calculations.

6. Promotion of National Integration

Programmes such as **citizenship education, exchange programmes**, and the **National Youth Service Corps (NYSC)** should be reformed and strengthened to promote national unity and reduce ethnic bias.

7. Fiscal Autonomy of States

States should be encouraged and empowered to generate internal revenue through taxation, agriculture, mining, tourism, and industrialisation. Fiscal discipline and innovation should be promoted.

8. Autonomy of Local Governments

Local governments should be granted full autonomy to manage their finances and affairs, as enshrined in the constitution. This will promote grassroots development.

9. Effective Implementation of Federal Character Principle

The federal character principle should be applied strictly to ensure fair representation of all ethnic and regional groups in national affairs, without compromising merit and competence.

10. Public Awareness and Civic Education

Civic education should be prioritised to enlighten citizens about their rights and responsibilities in a federal system. This will promote political participation and accountability.

Evaluation

WAEC/NECO Essay Past Questions on Problems and Solutions of Nigerian Federalism

1. **WAEC 2019**: Explain five challenges facing Nigerian federalism.
2. **NECO 2017**: Identify five factors hindering the practice of true federalism in Nigeria.
3. **WAEC 2016**: Highlight five possible solutions to the problems of Nigerian federalism.
4. **NECO 2014**: Discuss five constitutional measures that can enhance the practice of federalism in Nigeria.

5. **WAEC 2021**: Suggest five ways to promote national integration in a federal state like Nigeria.

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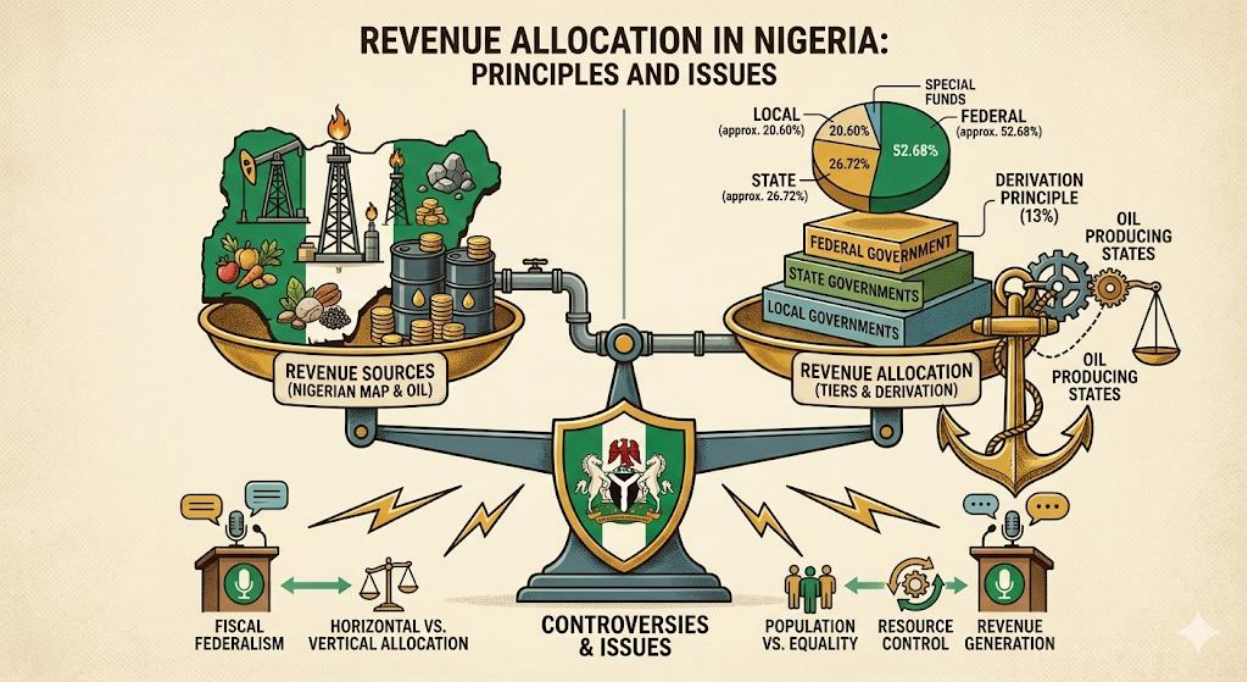
SS2 GOVERNMENT LESSON NOTES

SECOND TERM

1. Revenue Allocation in Nigeria: Principles and Issues
2. Inter-Governmental Relations
3. Political Crisis in Nigeria: 1962 (Census Crisis), 1963 (Tiv Crisis)
4. Political Crisis in Nigeria: 1964 (Election Crisis), 1965 (Western Region Crisis)
5. MIDTERM EXAMINATION
6. The Nigerian Civil War: Causes, Effects, Resolution
7. MIDTERM BREAK
8. Civil Society and Popular Participation
9. Citizenship Education and National Integration
10. Political Apathy: Causes, Effects and Solutions
11. Revision and Examination

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WEEK ONE: REVENUE ALLOCATION IN NIGERIA



INTRODUCTION

Revenue allocation refers to the distribution of national financial resources among the different tiers of government—Federal, State, and Local Governments. In a federal system like Nigeria, where power and responsibilities are shared among levels of government, the equitable allocation of revenue is vital to ensure efficient governance, balanced development, and political stability.

Nigeria's history of revenue allocation has been complex and controversial, often sparking debates and reforms over time. Several principles have been used at various stages to determine the formula for revenue sharing, and numerous issues have continued to arise, including resource control, fiscal imbalance, and derivation concerns.

Historical Development of Revenue Allocation in Nigeria

The evolution of revenue allocation in Nigeria mirrors the country's complex political, economic, and social transformations from the colonial era to the present day. As a country made up of

diverse ethnic groups and regions with unequal access to natural resources and development, Nigeria has grappled with the challenge of equitably distributing national wealth. Various commissions have been established at different stages of the country's history to develop formulas that promote fairness, national unity, and economic development. These commissions have adopted different principles such as derivation, equality, need, and population in proposing allocation models.

a. Phillipson Commission (1946)

This was the first official attempt to structure revenue allocation in colonial Nigeria. The Phillipson Commission introduced the principle of derivation, which suggested that each region should benefit from the revenues generated within its boundaries. This principle was particularly important at a time when the regions were beginning to develop distinct economic strengths. For instance, the Western Region was earning from cocoa, the East from palm produce, and the North from groundnuts. The commission's approach, though basic, laid the foundation for formalised revenue sharing in Nigeria by acknowledging the importance of local resource control.

b. Hicks-Phillipson Commission (1951)

Building on the foundation laid by the earlier commission, the Hicks-Phillipson Commission sought to refine the derivation principle by introducing a new emphasis on regional fiscal autonomy. While it maintained that regions should benefit from their own resources, it also recognised the importance of balancing this with the need for equity and support for less developed regions. This marked a shift toward considering the disparities in development and resources among the regions, setting the stage for future debates on balancing derivation with national unity and development.

c. Raisman Commission (1958)

As Nigeria moved closer to independence, the Raisman Commission proposed significant reforms that would influence the post-independence revenue allocation system. One of its major contributions was the introduction of the principle of even development and need-based allocation. It recommended the creation of the Distributable Pool Account (DPA)—a central

fund into which revenues were paid and from which they were then allocated to the regions. This system attempted to reduce regional inequality by distributing funds according to need, not just derivation. The DPA marked a decisive shift towards greater central control of national revenue in anticipation of independence.

d. Dina Interim Committee (1968)

Established during the Nigerian Civil War, the Dina Interim Committee reflected the urgency of maintaining national unity. In the spirit of stabilising the federation during crisis, the committee recommended a reduction in derivation and advocated for greater centralisation of revenue control. It placed more emphasis on population and equality as guiding principles in revenue allocation. The idea was that centralisation would allow the federal government to direct resources where they were most needed, especially in war-affected or underdeveloped areas. This marked a turning point in diminishing regional autonomy in favour of national cohesion.

e. Aboyade Technical Committee (1977)

The Aboyade Committee took a more technical and development-oriented approach to revenue allocation. It attempted to develop a scientific method for sharing revenue by introducing complex criteria such as social development indicators, population, tax effort, and internal revenue generation. Although innovative, the proposal was criticised for being overly complicated and difficult to understand by policymakers and the public alike. Nevertheless, it was a bold attempt to make revenue sharing more responsive to actual development needs rather than relying solely on traditional principles like derivation or equality.

f. Okigbo Commission (1980)

In response to the technical complexity of the Aboyade Committee, the Okigbo Commission sought to simplify the revenue allocation system while still maintaining fairness and development focus. It recommended a formula that balanced derivation, equality, population, and national interest. The commission placed emphasis on improving transparency and ease of implementation. It also attempted to address the grievances of oil-producing states by recognising their contribution to national income while still prioritising national unity.

g. Post-1980s to Present: The RMAFC Era

With the return to civilian rule in 1999, revenue allocation was institutionalised through the Revenue Mobilisation Allocation and Fiscal Commission (RMAFC). The commission is constitutionally empowered to propose, monitor, and review the revenue sharing formula among the three tiers of government—federal, state, and local. The current revenue allocation formula assigns 52.68% to the Federal Government, 26.72% to State Governments, and 20.60% to Local Governments. Additionally, 13% of oil revenue is allocated to oil-producing states as derivation to compensate for environmental degradation and resource contribution. This formula represents a balance between federal dominance and regional claims to ownership of natural resources.

Principles of Revenue Allocation in Nigeria

Revenue allocation in Nigeria is guided by a set of well-established principles aimed at ensuring fairness, equity, and national cohesion. These principles are applied in determining how funds from the Federation Account are distributed among the federal, state, and local governments. Below are the major principles:

1. Derivation Principle

The derivation principle holds that a portion of the revenue generated from natural resources should be returned to the area from which those resources were extracted. For instance, if crude oil is extracted in Rivers State, the federal government must allocate a percentage of the earnings back to Rivers State.

- **Merit:** This principle is seen as fair because it rewards regions contributing significantly to the national purse. It also encourages local communities to protect, maintain, and support economic activities related to their natural endowments.
- **Controversy:** However, this principle is contentious. Non-resource-producing states argue that it disproportionately benefits states that are already rich in natural resources, thereby widening economic inequality across the country.

2. Equality of States

Under this principle, each state receives an equal share of federally allocated revenue, regardless of population size, level of development, or contribution to the national economy.

- **Merit:** The equality principle promotes national unity and a sense of belonging among all states. It ensures that no state is marginalised purely because of its geography or demographic size.
- **Limitation:** A major criticism is that it ignores the varying needs, challenges, and revenue-generating capacities of different states. It offers no incentive for states to improve internal revenue generation or manage resources prudently.

3. Population

This principle considers the number of people residing in a state. States with higher populations are allocated more funds because they have more citizens to serve and greater infrastructural and social needs.

- **Merit:** It ensures that funds are directed towards areas where the demand for services is naturally higher due to population density. In theory, it helps address mass needs such as healthcare, education, housing, and sanitation.
- **Limitation:** A major challenge is the credibility of census data, which is often disputed in Nigeria. There are fears of manipulation or inflation of population figures to gain financial advantage.

4. Need

The need principle takes into account the level of socio-economic development in each state. States considered to be economically disadvantaged or underdeveloped are given more funds to stimulate development and reduce poverty.

- **Merit:** It helps in addressing historical and structural imbalances by channelling more funds to poor and marginalised regions. This can promote inclusive growth and national cohesion.

- **Challenge:** The subjective nature of "need" makes this principle difficult to apply consistently. Accurate assessment of need requires robust data and political will, which are not always present.

5. National Interest

This principle suggests that revenue should be allocated in a way that supports the country's overarching priorities—such as national security, economic development, infrastructure, and unity.

- **Merit:** It ensures that critical national projects that benefit all citizens receive the necessary funding, even if they are located in particular states or regions.
- **Challenge:** While pursuing national goals is important, this principle can sometimes lead to the neglect of pressing local needs. It also opens the door for political interference, where decisions may favour certain regions under the guise of "national interest."

6. Fiscal Efficiency

This principle rewards states and local governments that manage their finances responsibly and generate significant internal revenue. It encourages prudent financial management and innovation in revenue mobilisation.

- **Merit:** It promotes accountability, good governance, and reduced dependence on federal allocations. States are motivated to improve their financial performance and reduce waste.
- **Limitation:** The downside is that economically weaker states may be unfairly penalised, as they may lack the infrastructure, investment climate, or human capital to generate sufficient internal revenue.

ISSUES IN REVENUE ALLOCATION IN NIGERIA

Nigeria's revenue allocation has always generated significant debate due to several recurring issues:

1. Resource Control Agitations

Oil-producing states, especially in the Niger Delta, have long demanded greater control over the natural resources in their regions. They argue that despite being the economic backbone of the country, their communities remain underdeveloped.

- This has led to militant activities and sabotage of oil infrastructure.
- The **13% derivation formula** was introduced to partly address this concern.

2. Vertical and Horizontal Allocation

- **Vertical allocation** refers to the sharing of revenue among the three tiers of government.
- **Horizontal allocation** is the sharing among the 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory.

Disputes often arise over the percentages assigned to each tier, with states and local governments frequently demanding a higher share.

3. Over-centralisation of Revenue

The federal government controls the majority of national revenue, leaving states and local governments financially dependent. Critics argue this undermines the federal principle and stifles local development.

4. Inadequate Internally Generated Revenue (IGR)

Most states rely heavily on federal allocations, showing little initiative in boosting their own internally generated revenue. This over-reliance hampers economic innovation.

5. Political Interference

Revenue allocation in Nigeria is often influenced by political considerations rather than objective and transparent criteria. This results in inefficiency and inequality.

6. Lack of a Permanent Revenue Formula

The absence of a constitutionally backed, stable revenue allocation formula has created uncertainty and inconsistency. Various commissions and committees have suggested different formulas, often altered by changing governments.

ROLE OF THE REVENUE MOBILISATION ALLOCATION AND FISCAL COMMISSION (RMAFC)

The **RMAFC** is a constitutional body established by Section 153 of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (as amended). It plays a central role in revenue allocation.

Key Functions of the RMAFC:

a. Revenue Sharing Formula

It formulates and reviews revenue allocation formulas for the federation and advises the federal and state governments accordingly.

b. Monitoring Disbursements

It monitors the accruals into and disbursement from the **Federation Account** and ensures compliance with revenue sharing formulas.

c. Fiscal Matters Advisory

The Commission advises the federal and state governments on fiscal efficiency and revenue generation strategies.

d. Remuneration of Public Officers

RMAFC determines the salaries and allowances of public officeholders, including political officeholders and judicial officers.

e. Advocacy and Policy Development

It organises stakeholder consultations and public hearings to gather input on revenue allocation reforms.

f. Enforcement

Ensures that all revenue collected by agencies is remitted into the Federation Account, including revenue from oil, customs, and taxes.

CURRENT REVENUE SHARING FORMULA (As at 2024)

According to the Revenue Mobilisation Allocation and Fiscal Commission (RMAFC), the current vertical formula is:

- **Federal Government – 52.68%**
- **State Governments – 26.72%**
- **Local Governments – 20.60%**
- **Derivation (to oil-producing states) – 13%**

Note: This formula is subject to periodic review and amendment.

EFFORTS TO ADDRESS REVENUE ALLOCATION CHALLENGES

Revenue allocation in Nigeria has been a persistent source of contention due to issues of imbalance, perceived injustice, and uneven development. In response, various efforts have been made by successive governments and stakeholders to improve the allocation system and promote national unity, equity, and development. These efforts include constitutional reforms, enhancement of internally generated revenue, public engagement, and institutional strengthening.

1. Constitutional Review Efforts

One of the foremost steps taken to address revenue allocation challenges in Nigeria is through constitutional amendments and reviews. Over the years, there have been increasing calls for the practice of fiscal federalism, where federating units (states) are granted greater control over the

resources within their domain. Several constitutional conferences and national assemblies have deliberated on altering revenue sharing formulas to reflect this demand. These reviews aim to decentralise resource control, allowing states to retain a larger portion of revenue generated within their borders, while contributing a fair share to the federal purse. Although progress has been slow, the clamour for a more equitable revenue system remains strong.

2. Improved Internally Generated Revenue (IGR) Mechanisms

Another important effort is the encouragement of states to improve their internally generated revenue. Rather than solely relying on allocations from the federal government, state governments have been urged to develop their own tax collection systems, strengthen revenue boards, and harness local economic potentials such as agriculture, tourism, and small-scale manufacturing. This approach not only increases each state's financial autonomy but also reduces the strain on the federal allocation system. In recent years, some states like Lagos and Rivers have recorded significant improvements in IGR, setting an example for others.

3. Public Advocacy and Dialogue

Public dialogue and civic engagement have also played a role in addressing challenges in Nigeria's revenue allocation framework. Civil society organisations (CSOs), community groups, policy experts, and even the media have continued to advocate for a more transparent, accountable, and inclusive revenue-sharing process. National conferences, stakeholder meetings, and public hearings have served as platforms where different interests and grievances are presented and debated. These engagements help foster public understanding and can influence policy changes when sustained.

4. Strengthening of Institutions

Efforts have also been made to build the institutional capacity of bodies involved in revenue mobilisation and allocation. The Revenue Mobilisation Allocation and Fiscal Commission (RMAFC) has received support through policy and legislative interventions to enhance its effectiveness. Similarly, state revenue boards have benefited from digitalisation, improved staffing, and reforms to reduce leakages and corruption. Strengthening these institutions is

essential to ensure that revenue allocation is based on reliable data, implemented efficiently, and free from political manipulation.

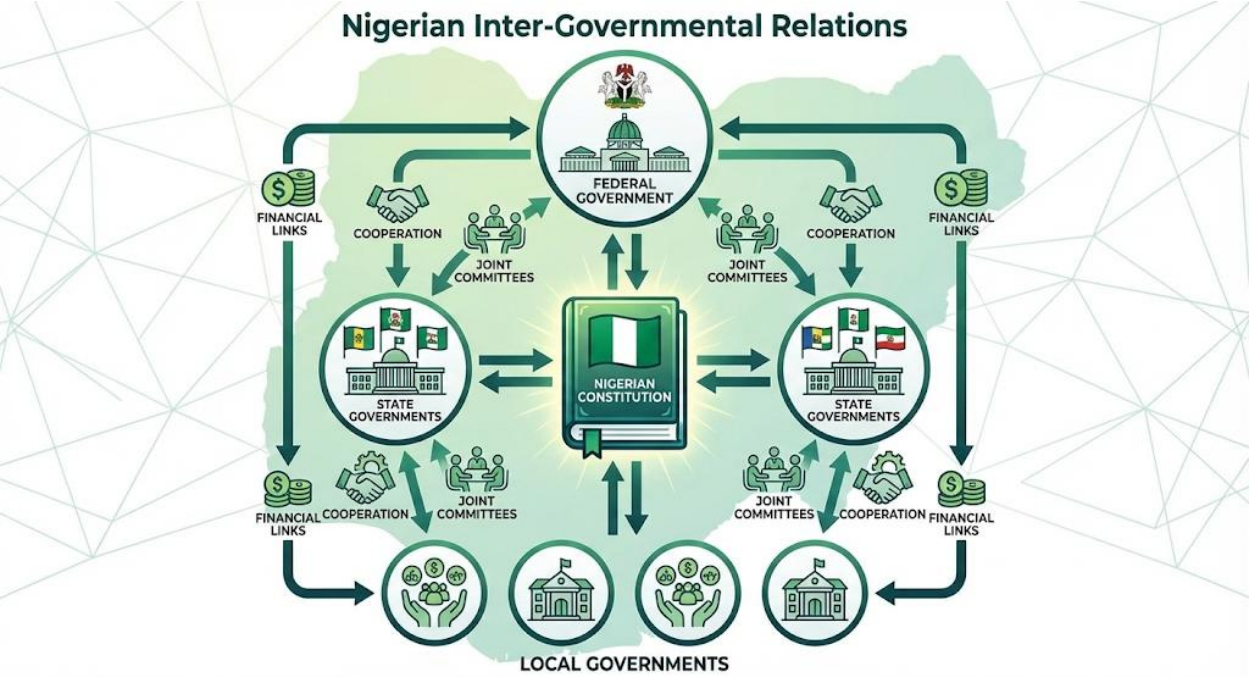
Evaluation

WAEC/NECO PAST ESSAY QUESTIONS ON REVENUE ALLOCATION

1. **WAEC Government, 2017 (Theory – Paper 2, Q3)**
   Explain five principles of revenue allocation in Nigeria.
2. **NECO Government, 2020 (Essay – Paper 2, Q5)**
   Discuss five problems of revenue allocation in Nigeria.
3. **WAEC Government, 2015 (Theory – Paper 2, Q6)**
   Examine the historical development of revenue allocation in Nigeria.
4. **NECO Government, 2021 (Theory – Paper 2, Q4)**
   Highlight the issues associated with the current revenue allocation formula in Nigeria.
5. **WAEC Government, 2013 (Essay – Paper 2, Q7)**
   Describe five roles of the Revenue Mobilisation Allocation and Fiscal Commission (RMAFC) in Nigeria's federalism.

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WEEK TWO: INTER-GOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS (IGR)



INTER-GOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

Inter-Governmental Relations can be defined as the system of interactions and collaborative arrangements among units of government in a federal or decentralised system. These relations include cooperation in areas of shared responsibilities such as education, health care, security, infrastructure, and taxation.

It involves communication, negotiation, consultation, and sometimes conflict resolution mechanisms to ensure efficient governance and service delivery.

OBJECTIVES OF INTER-GOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS IN NIGERIA

To Promote Cooperation: It encourages collaboration between the federal, state, and local governments in making and executing policies for national development.

To Avoid Duplication of Functions: It helps clearly define roles and responsibilities, especially in areas where more than one level of government has jurisdiction (like education and health), preventing overlap and confusion.

To Ensure Efficient Resource Utilisation: By working together, governments can make better use of available resources, reducing waste and improving service delivery.

To Foster National Unity and Integration: It builds stronger ties among diverse ethnic and regional groups by encouraging joint efforts and understanding across government levels.

To Promote Accountability and Transparency: Cooperation ensures that each level of government is held responsible for its actions, leading to better governance and public trust.

To Strengthen Democratic Governance: Shared responsibilities and mutual respect among government levels help deepen democracy and ensure inclusive governance across the country.

TYPES OF INTER-GOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

Inter-Governmental Relations (IGR) refer to the formal and informal interactions that take place among the different levels of government within a federal system. In Nigeria, a country operating a federal structure, there are generally three major types of inter-governmental relations: Federal–State, Federal–Local Government, and State–Local Government relations. Each type of relationship is critical for effective governance, equitable resource distribution, and national development.

1. Federal–State Relations

The relationship between the Federal Government and the State Governments is one of the most significant components of inter-governmental relations in Nigeria. This relationship involves collaboration in several areas, particularly where national and state interests intersect. For example, in the area of education, the Federal Government operates Federal Government Colleges within states, while the state governments run their own institutions. In the area of

security, joint task forces may be formed to address regional threats, such as insurgency or communal violence, thereby requiring cooperation between federal security agencies and state officials. Similarly, in the domain of infrastructure, federal roads run through various states, demanding joint responsibility in maintenance and repair.

Despite the importance of cooperation, this relationship is not without challenges. Conflicts often arise concerning the interpretation of constitutional powers, especially in areas of concurrent legislative responsibility, where both federal and state governments are empowered to make laws. Disputes may also occur over the distribution of funds, federal government interventions in state matters, or perceived encroachment on state autonomy. As such, the relationship requires constant negotiation, mutual respect, and effective coordination to function smoothly.

2. Federal–Local Government Relations

Though the 1999 Constitution of Nigeria recognises local governments as the third tier of government, their direct relationship with the Federal Government is somewhat complex. Ideally, the Federal Government is expected to interact with and support local governments, particularly through direct allocation of funds from the Federation Account. In practice, however, the implementation of these allocations is often mediated by state governments, as the Constitution places local governments under their supervision.

This creates tension in federal–local relations. While the Federal Government may wish to support local development initiatives directly, state governments frequently act as intermediaries, controlling access to funds and, in many cases, determining how they are utilised. This often leads to complaints from local government officials about lack of autonomy and interference by both federal and state authorities. Moreover, constitutional ambiguity and administrative bottlenecks have weakened the capacity of local governments to establish a robust relationship with the Federal Government. For inter-governmental relations at this level to be truly effective, reforms are needed to clarify roles, enhance financial autonomy, and strengthen institutional mechanisms.

3. State–Local Government Relations

The relationship between state governments and local governments in Nigeria is the most direct and often the most impactful, given the proximity of both tiers of government. State governments are empowered by the Constitution to supervise, guide, and support the activities of local governments within their jurisdiction. This includes providing technical assistance, conducting capacity-building programmes, and in some cases, providing supplementary funds to enable local governments to perform their statutory responsibilities effectively.

However, this close relationship has also been the source of considerable controversy. In many instances, state governors have been accused of excessive interference in local government affairs. For example, rather than allowing the democratic election of local government chairpersons, some states appoint caretaker committees, effectively undermining the autonomy and accountability of local councils. Moreover, the joint state–local government account, through which federal allocations are disbursed, has been criticised for reducing transparency and allowing state governments to exert undue control over local finances.

To address these issues, there have been growing calls for constitutional amendments and policy reforms that would guarantee greater local government independence, while still maintaining necessary supervision by the states to ensure consistency and quality in governance.

MECHANISMS FOR INTER-GOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS IN NIGERIA

1. National Council of State

The National Council of State is a high-level advisory body established by the 1999 Constitution of Nigeria to enhance coordination and promote harmonious inter-governmental relations. It is composed of the President, the Vice President, all former Presidents and Heads of State, all serving State Governors, the Senate President, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the Chief Justice of Nigeria, among others.

The primary function of the Council is to advise the President on issues of national importance such as national population census, the prerogative of mercy, and national honours and awards.

By bringing together top political figures from both the federal and state levels, the Council fosters dialogue, encourages consultation, and promotes mutual understanding across tiers of government. This platform helps to reduce political tensions, align federal and state priorities, and maintain unity and stability in the governance of the country.

2. National Economic Council (NEC)

The National Economic Council (NEC) is another constitutionally recognised body designed to promote economic coordination between the Federal Government and the States. Chaired by the Vice President, it comprises all the 36 State Governors, the Governor of the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN), and other key ministers in charge of the economy.

The NEC advises the President on economic policy and matters concerning the management of the national economy. It serves as a forum where federal and state governments discuss fiscal policies, budget implementation, revenue generation, investment opportunities, inflation control, and other macroeconomic issues. The NEC also monitors the implementation of national development plans and ensures that economic strategies are inclusive, reflective of local realities, and consistent across all levels of government. This body plays a crucial role in promoting cooperative federalism and ensuring the economic wellbeing of the nation.

3. Joint Allocation Committees

The Joint Allocation Committees are mechanisms created to supervise and manage the distribution of revenue from the Federation Account to States and Local Government Areas (LGAs). These committees exist at both the federal and state levels. At the federal level, they ensure that all the constitutional and statutory requirements for revenue allocation are strictly adhered to, in line with the recommendations of the Revenue Mobilisation Allocation and Fiscal Commission (RMAFC).

At the state level, the State Joint Local Government Allocation Committees (SJLGA Committees) oversee the sharing of funds from the State Allocation among the LGAs within the state. These committees are critical for promoting transparency, accountability, and equity in the revenue sharing process. They help prevent disputes and ensure that lower tiers of government receive

their due entitlements to fund local development and service delivery. However, concerns have been raised about the abuse of these committees by some state governments, especially in terms of undue deductions and interference in local government finances.

4. Inter-Ministerial and Inter-Governmental Committees

Inter-Ministerial and Inter-Governmental Committees are often formed to address specific policy issues or to coordinate joint initiatives between different tiers of government. These committees include representatives from relevant federal ministries, state governments, and, in some cases, local government councils.

A notable example is the coordination of the Universal Basic Education (UBE) programme, where the Federal Government, through the Universal Basic Education Commission (UBEC), partners with State Universal Basic Education Boards (SUBEBs) to implement educational reforms. These committees help to align programmes and policies across different jurisdictions, avoid duplication of efforts, and ensure uniformity in implementation standards.

Such committees are also common in sectors like agriculture, healthcare, environment, and emergency response. By fostering collaboration and shared responsibilities, these structures enhance policy coherence, promote mutual respect, and improve service delivery throughout the federation.

5. Revenue Mobilisation Allocation and Fiscal Commission (RMAFC)

The Revenue Mobilisation Allocation and Fiscal Commission (RMAFC) is a strategic institution established by Section 153(1) of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. It plays a critical role in Nigeria's inter-governmental fiscal relations by recommending equitable revenue sharing formulas and ensuring fairness in the distribution of national wealth among the three tiers of government—federal, state, and local governments.

One of the key responsibilities of the RMAFC is to formulate and periodically review the revenue allocation formula**.** This formula determines what percentage of revenue from the Federation Account is allocated to each tier of government. By doing this, the commission helps

maintain a balance in the federation and ensures that no tier of government is unfairly disadvantaged in terms of access to funds needed for development and governance.

In addition to this, the RMAFC is tasked with monitoring the accruals to and disbursement of revenue from the Federation Account**.** This oversight function is essential in promoting transparency and accountability, as it helps prevent financial mismanagement and encourages prudent fiscal management at all levels of government.

Another important function of the RMAFC is to advise the federal and state governments on fiscal matters**,** especially with regard to revenue generation, mobilisation, and fiscal efficiency. The commission conducts research and policy analysis that aid in improving Internally Generated Revenue (IGR), reducing over-dependence on oil revenue, and addressing inequalities in fiscal capacity across regions.

Furthermore, the RMAFC plays an advocacy role by engaging with stakeholders to promote fairness and equity in fiscal federalism. It makes recommendations aimed at reducing tension among states over resource control and derivation issues. This is particularly significant in a country like Nigeria, where resource allocation has historically been a source of conflict.

In essence, the RMAFC serves as a neutral and professional body working to ensure that the revenues of the nation are shared fairly, efficiently, and in accordance with constitutional provisions. Its efforts contribute significantly to the stability of inter-governmental relations, national integration, and the overall development of the country.

PROBLEMS OF INTER-GOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS IN NIGERIA

1. Constitutional Ambiguity: One of the persistent issues undermining effective inter-governmental relations in Nigeria is the lack of clarity in constitutional responsibilities. The Nigerian Constitution, especially in concurrent legislative areas like education, health, and agriculture, often assigns overlapping duties to both federal and state governments. This overlap leads to confusion, duplication of efforts, and, in some cases, policy conflicts or implementation paralysis.

2. Resource Control Conflicts: Tensions between the federal government and resource-rich states—particularly in the Niger Delta—have led to prolonged disputes over control and benefit from natural resources. While the Constitution places natural resource ownership under federal jurisdiction, oil-producing states have persistently demanded greater control and a higher share of revenue. These conflicts have not only strained federal-state relations but also fuelled agitation and unrest in affected regions.

3. Political Rivalry: Political competition between parties at different levels of government can impede cooperation. For instance, a state governor from an opposition party may resist aligning with federal government policies or projects, not based on merit, but for political gain. This rivalry often results in stalled development projects, misaligned priorities, and public distrust in governance.

4. Lack of Autonomy for Local Governments: Although local governments are recognised in the Constitution, they lack genuine autonomy. State governments often exert overwhelming control over their finances and administration. In some cases, state governors divert funds meant for local councils, rendering them ineffective and dependent, and thereby weakening the federal structure.

5. Corruption and Mismanagement: Rampant corruption and financial mismanagement at all levels of government diminish transparency and trust. Funds allocated from the Federation Account are sometimes diverted or poorly managed, creating suspicion and reducing the willingness of tiers of government to cooperate meaningfully.

6. Poor Communication: Inadequate communication among federal, state, and local government institutions hampers coordination and the efficient execution of policies. Without reliable channels for dialogue and information-sharing, policies are often implemented in silos, resulting in fragmented governance and duplication of efforts.

RECOMMENDED SOLUTIONS TO IGR CHALLENGES IN NIGERIA

1. Clearer Constitutional Definition of Roles and Responsibilities: To reduce conflict and confusion among the different tiers of government, there is a need for a clearer constitutional

definition of duties. Ambiguities in the current constitution, especially in concurrent areas, should be reviewed to ensure that responsibilities are well-defined. This will prevent duplication of efforts and promote efficiency in service delivery.

2. Strengthening Institutions: Key inter-governmental institutions like the National Economic Council (NEC) and the Revenue Mobilisation Allocation and Fiscal Commission (RMAFC) should be empowered with greater authority, resources, and independence. Strengthening these bodies will enable them to coordinate economic policies better, mediate fiscal disputes, and ensure fairness in revenue sharing.

3. Political Will and Patriotism: Improving inter-governmental relations requires strong political will and a sense of national responsibility among leaders. Politicians must rise above party differences and work towards the common good. Patriotism, rather than partisanship, should guide policy decisions and foster cooperation among the federal, state, and local governments.

4. Capacity Building for Local Governments: Local governments are the closest to the people, yet many lack the capacity to function effectively. Strengthening their administrative, financial, and human resource capacity will enable them to deliver services efficiently and fulfil their constitutional mandates. Regular training, better funding, and oversight mechanisms are necessary in this regard.

EVALUATION

WAEC/NECO PAST ESSAY QUESTIONS

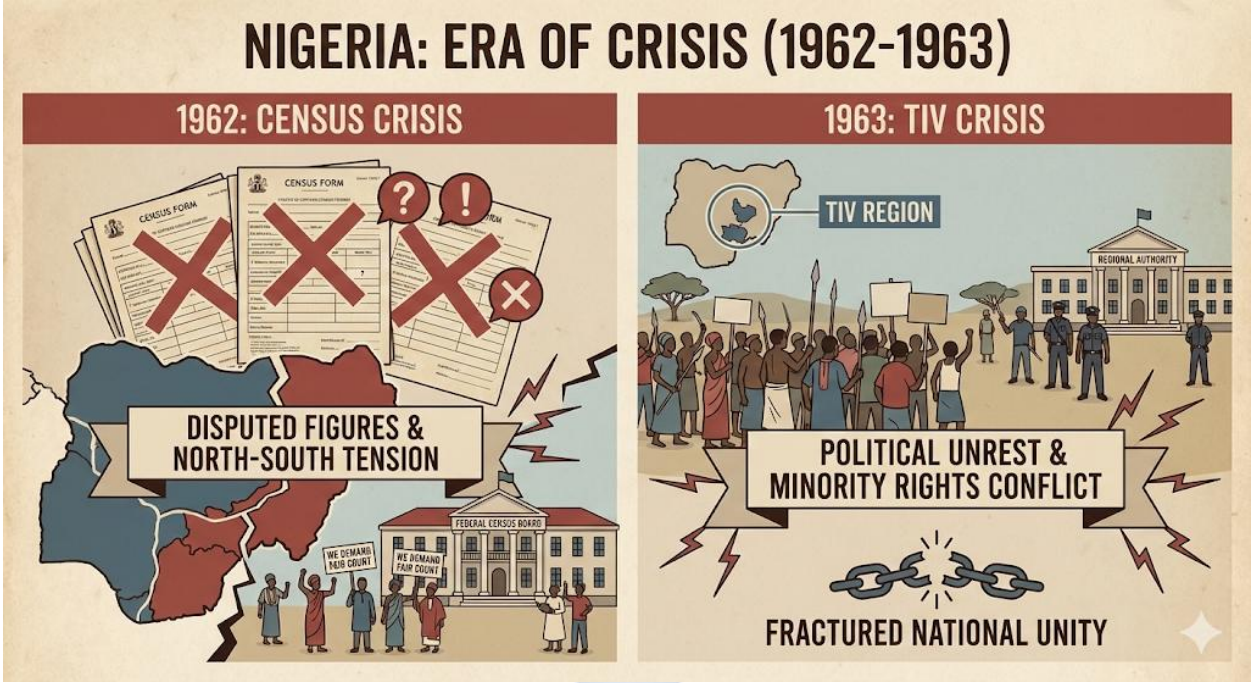
1. **WAEC Government, 2016 (Essay – Paper 2, Q5)**
   Define Inter-Governmental Relations and discuss three types of inter-governmental relations in Nigeria.
2. **NECO Government, 2019 (Essay – Paper 2, Q3)**
   Explain four mechanisms for promoting inter-governmental relations in Nigeria.

3. **WAEC Government, 2014 (Theory – Paper 2, Q6)**
   Identify and explain four problems associated with inter-governmental relations in Nigeria.
4. **NECO Government, 2022 (Essay – Paper 2, Q5)**
   State five objectives of inter-governmental relations in a federal system.
5. **WAEC Government, 2011 (Essay – Paper 2, Q4)**
   Examine the role of the National Economic Council in promoting inter-governmental relations in Nigeria.

WEEK THREE: POLITICAL CRISIS IN NIGERIA I

INTRODUCTION

Nigeria, since independence in 1960, has experienced numerous political crises that have threatened national unity, development, and democratic stability. Among the earliest and most significant were the 1962 Census Crisis and the 1963 Tiv Crisis**.** These crises exposed deep-rooted ethnic, political, and regional tensions, and served as warning signs for the fragile nature of the Nigerian federation.



1. THE 1962 CENSUS CRISIS

Background

Census in any nation is a critical tool for planning, development, and political representation. In Nigeria, census figures determine the allocation of seats in parliament, revenue distribution, and even the creation of states. The 1962 census was the first to be conducted after Nigeria gained independence in 1960.

Causes of the 1962 Census Crisis

1. Political Rivalry; The 1962 census crisis was significantly driven by the intense political rivalry among Nigeria's major political parties at the time: the Northern People's Congress (NPC), the Action Group (AG), and the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC). Each party represented different regions and ethnic interests, and the census was seen as a means to consolidate political power. Since population figures influenced the allocation of parliamentary seats and federal revenue, each party aimed to ensure that its region had the highest population. This competition led to mutual suspicion, manipulation, and accusations of bias, ultimately discrediting the census process.

2. Ethnic and Regional Tensions: Nigeria's three major regions—the North, West, and East—were dominated by different ethnic groups. These regions viewed the census as a tool to affirm their demographic and political dominance. Any perceived undercounting was interpreted as a threat to regional influence. As a result, regional leaders were highly sensitive to population figures and reacted negatively to any result that could reduce their share of political representation or national resources, fuelling tension and mistrust between regions.

3. Allegations of Manipulation: Another major cause of the 1962 census crisis was widespread allegations of manipulation and fraud. Reports surfaced that certain regions, particularly the North and West, had inflated their population figures through practices like multiple registrations and ghost counting. These manipulations undermined the integrity of the census, and the data was eventually rejected by many stakeholders. The perception that the results were engineered for political gain led to a national outcry and the eventual cancellation of the exercise.

4. Lack of Trust in Census Conduct: The credibility of the institutions and officials responsible for conducting the 1962 census was seriously questioned. Many Nigerians doubted the neutrality and professionalism of the census officers, suspecting them of bias towards certain regions. Additionally, poor planning, logistical challenges, and administrative irregularities further eroded confidence in the process. This lack of trust contributed to the rejection of the results and escalated the crisis.

Outcome of the 1962 Census

The 1962 population census in Nigeria was mired in controversy and failed to achieve national consensus. Due to the widespread allegations of manipulation, over-counting, and political interference, the Federal Government ultimately cancelled the results. This unprecedented action underscored the lack of credibility in the data collected and the deeply polarised nature of Nigerian politics. In response to the national embarrassment and growing tension, a fresh census was ordered in 1963. However, the damage had already been done, as the 1962 crisis further fuelled political mistrust and deepened ethnic and regional divisions in the country.

Consequences of the 1962 Census Crisis

1. Loss of Trust in Governance: The cancellation of the 1962 census damaged public confidence in the government's ability to manage national affairs impartially. The perception that the exercise had been hijacked for political gains fostered deep scepticism about the sincerity and transparency of governance processes. This erosion of trust had long-term effects on citizen engagement and loyalty to national institutions.

2. Deepening of Regionalism: The crisis heightened regional consciousness and hardened ethnic loyalties. Each region accused others of falsifying figures, and cooperation between regional leaders became strained. The spirit of national unity was significantly undermined, and regionalism became more entrenched in the political system, affecting future interactions and policies.

3. Foundation for Future Crises: The 1962 census crisis did not just cause short-term disruptions; it sowed seeds of discord that contributed to more serious national conflicts. The continued politicisation of population figures played a role in the 1966 military coups and the Nigerian Civil War. It demonstrated how administrative failures could escalate into political instability.

4. Failure of National Planning: One of the most significant practical consequences of the 1962 census crisis was the absence of reliable demographic data for national development. Without accurate population figures, planning for education, healthcare, infrastructure, and economic policies became difficult. This gap weakened the effectiveness of national development programmes and resource allocation.

THE 1963 TIV CRISIS

Background

The **Tiv people** are an ethnic group predominantly found in the Middle Belt region of Nigeria, especially in what is now Benue State. In the early 1960s, the Tiv community expressed dissatisfaction with their political representation and traditional authority structure, which led to a violent conflict.

Causes of the 1963 Tiv Crisis

The 1963 Tiv Crisis in Northern Nigeria was one of the most significant ethno-political uprisings in post-independence Nigeria. It was primarily driven by systemic marginalisation, forced political structures, and perceived repression. The major causes of the crisis include:

1. Political Marginalisation: The Tiv people, a major ethnic group in the Middle Belt region, felt politically marginalised within the Northern Nigerian political landscape, which was dominated by the Northern People's Congress (NPC). They were underrepresented in the regional decision-making process and denied meaningful participation in governance.

2. Rejection of the Native Authority System: The imposed Native Authority system, modelled on emirate traditions, clashed with the Tiv people's democratic and egalitarian social structure. The traditional chieftaincy roles created under the Native Authority were seen as alien, imposed, and lacking legitimacy within Tiv society.

3. Conflict with the NPC and the Police: The Tiv perceived the NPC government as authoritarian and repressive. Their resistance to the party's dominance led to frequent confrontations with law enforcement agencies. The arrest and persecution of Tiv political activists and community leaders only served to intensify the hostilities.

4. Allegations of Electoral Manipulation: Widespread allegations of rigged elections and the manipulation of electoral processes by the Northern Regional Government further fuelled

distrust and unrest. The Tiv believed that their political voice was being deliberately silenced through fraudulent practices.

Nature of the Crisis

The crisis manifested as an intense and violent uprising in Tivland. It involved:

- Attacks on police stations and administrative centres;
- Destruction of government property;
- Large-scale protests and civil disobedience;
- Clashes between Tiv youths and security operatives.

The nature of the conflict revealed a deeply rooted rejection of imposed political structures and a demand for democratic representation. It was a profound expression of ethnic identity and regional discontent with the centralised authority of the North.

Consequences of the 1963 Tiv Crisis

1. Military Suppression: In response to the unrest, the Federal Government deployed military forces to Tivland to quell the uprising. This resulted in numerous casualties, the destruction of villages, mass arrests, and documented human rights violations. The aggressive response further alienated the Tiv population.

2. Political Reforms: In the aftermath of the crisis, there were efforts to restructure the Native Authority system to better reflect the socio-cultural realities of the Tiv. Additionally, limited attempts were made to increase Tiv political representation in the Northern Region's government structure.

3. Increased Awareness of Minority Rights: The crisis brought national attention to the plight of minority groups in Nigeria, particularly their marginalisation and exclusion from mainstream governance. It laid the groundwork for the subsequent advocacy for minority rights and regional autonomy.

4. Strengthening of Military Involvement in Civil Matters: The use of the military to resolve a domestic political crisis set a dangerous precedent. It contributed to the normalisation of military intervention in internal political affairs and can be seen as a precursor to the military coups that began in 1966.

COMPARISON BETWEEN THE 1962 AND 1963 CRISES

Feature	1962 Census Crisis	1963 Tiv Crisis
Nature	Political manipulation of data	Ethno-political uprising
Main Actors	Federal & Regional Governments	Tiv ethnic group & Northern Regional Government
Cause	Rivalry over population figures	Resistance to political and traditional marginalisation
Outcome	Census cancelled and redone in 1963	Military suppression and reforms in Tivland
Impact	Distrust in national planning	Highlighted minority marginalisation

General Consequences of Early Political Crises in Nigeria

1. **Erosion of National Unity:** Early political crises deepened ethnic and regional divisions, weakening the sense of national identity.
2. **Rise in Ethnic Suspicion:** Ethnic mistrust increased as political parties and crises became aligned with tribal and regional interests.
3. **Precedent for Military Involvement in Politics:** The inability of civilian governments to manage crises paved the way for the military to intervene and eventually take over governance.
4. **Weakening of Democratic Institutions:** Frequent conflicts undermined the credibility and independence of democratic institutions like the judiciary, legislature, and electoral bodies.

5. **Constitutional Reforms and State Creation Movements:** The crises exposed flaws in the regional structure, leading to demands for constitutional changes and the eventual creation of more states to accommodate minority interests.

WAEC/NECO PAST ESSAY QUESTIONS ON POLITICAL CRISES IN NIGERIA

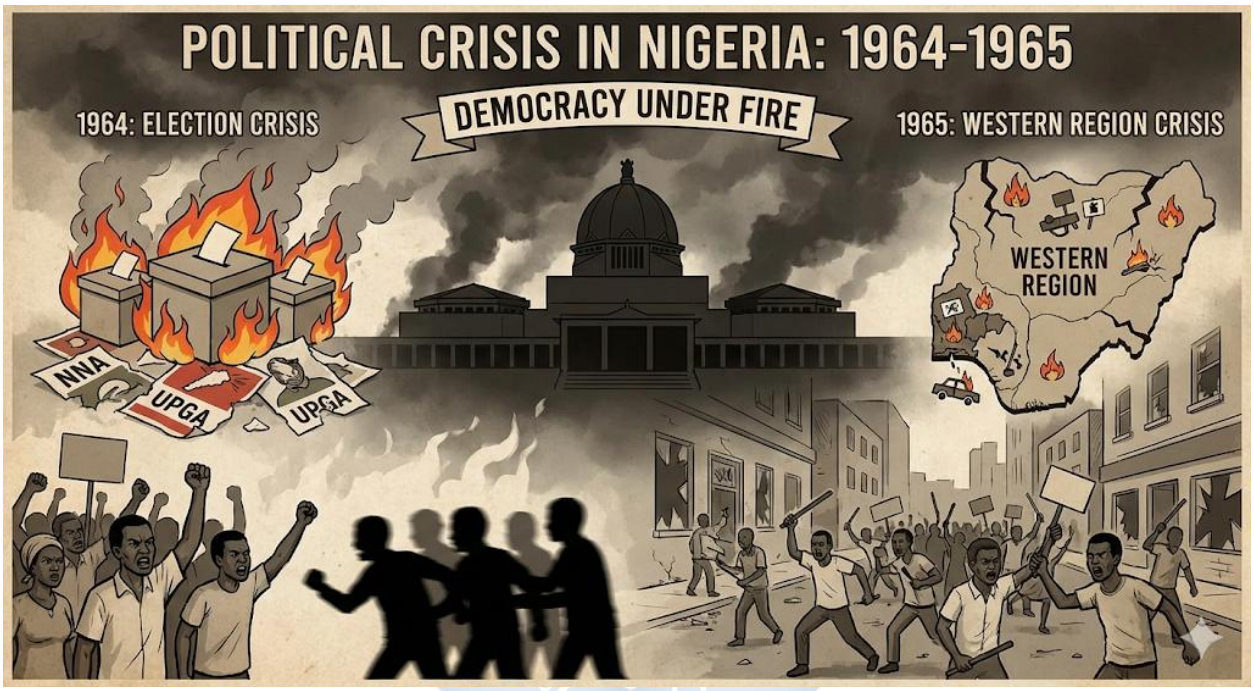
1. **WAEC Government, 2015 (Essay – Paper 2, Q5)**
   Discuss the major causes and consequences of the 1962 Census Crisis in Nigeria.
2. **NECO Government, 2018 (Essay – Paper 2, Q6)**
   Explain five causes of the Tiv Crisis of 1963.
3. **WAEC Government, 2019 (Essay – Paper 2, Q7)**
   Assess the effects of political crises on national development in Nigeria, using the 1962 and 1963 incidents.
4. **NECO Government, 2014 (Essay – Paper 2, Q5)**
   Highlight the roles played by ethnic and regional rivalry in the early political crises in Nigeria.
5. **WAEC Government, 2022 (Essay – Paper 2, Q6)**
   Compare and contrast the 1962 Census Crisis and the 1963 Tiv Crisis in terms of causes and consequences.

WEEK FOUR: POLITICAL CRISIS IN NIGERIA II

1964 Federal Election Crisis

Background

The 1964 Federal Election was the first general election after Nigeria's independence. It was expected to be a landmark in democratic consolidation.



Causes of the 1964 Federal Election Crisis

The events leading up to the election turned it into a political crisis due to several factors:

1. Ethnic and Regional Rivalries

A major underlying cause of the crisis was the dominance of regionalism in Nigeria's political culture at the time. The political system was deeply polarised along ethnic and regional lines, with three main political parties representing the interests of the major ethnic groups:

- The **Northern People's Congress (NPC)** dominated the Northern Region and was largely supported by the Hausa-Fulani ethnic group.

- The **National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC)** was dominant in the Eastern Region, with majority support from the Igbo ethnic group.
- The **Action Group (AG)** was based in the Western Region and largely supported by the Yoruba people.

Rather than promoting national integration, these parties often pursued parochial and regional interests, leading to political friction, mutual suspicion, and a lack of national consensus. This competition for dominance among the regions created a fragile political environment that became easily combustible during elections.

2. Formation of Rival Alliances

In preparation for the 1964 federal elections, the major political parties formed alliances that further entrenched the ethnic and regional divide. The **NPC**, along with a few smaller parties, came together to form the **Nigerian National Alliance (NNA)**. On the other hand, the **NCNC** and the **AG** merged their efforts under the banner of the **United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA)**.

These alliances effectively turned the election into a regional contest between North and South, rather than a national exercise in democracy. As each bloc became more determined to secure power, the atmosphere surrounding the election grew increasingly tense and confrontational. The alliances portrayed the election as a zero-sum game, where winning for one group meant total exclusion for the other.

3. Allegations of Electoral Malpractices

A critical flashpoint in the crisis was the widespread allegations of electoral fraud, particularly by the UPGA. The opposition accused the ruling NNA of engaging in gross misconduct, including:

- Rigging of election results in favour of NPC candidates.
- Use of intimidation and state security forces to suppress UPGA supporters.
- Manipulation of voter registers and ballot boxes.

These accusations were especially prominent in the Northern Region, where the NPC had strong control over local authorities and electoral officers. The credibility of the electoral process was significantly undermined, as the public perception grew that the elections were neither free nor fair.

4. Disqualification of Opposition Candidates

Another significant cause of the crisis was the mass disqualification of UPGA candidates in several constituencies, often on questionable or politically motivated grounds. In many areas, nomination papers submitted by UPGA candidates were either rejected or declared invalid, leaving many NNA candidates unopposed.

This deliberate exclusion of opposition candidates created the impression that the government was determined to manipulate the outcome of the elections. As a result, UPGA threatened to boycott the elections, which led to increased political tension and demonstrations in parts of the South. In some constituencies, elections could not hold due to the lack of credible participation, leading to further constitutional and political uncertainty.

Consequences of the 1964 Election Crisis

1. Election Boycott and Parallel Governments: One of the immediate consequences of the 1964 Federal Election Crisis was the widespread boycott of the polls by the United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA), especially in the Eastern and Western regions. UPGA alleged that the election process had been heavily manipulated in favour of the Nigerian National Alliance (NNA), particularly in the North, and therefore chose not to participate in what it considered a fraudulent exercise. As tensions escalated, some regions began to threaten the formation of parallel governments, creating a scenario that could have fractured Nigeria's fragile unity and possibly plunged the nation into outright secession or civil unrest.

2. Constitutional Crisis: The outcome of the election presented a serious constitutional dilemma when President Nnamdi Azikiwe refused to invite the NNA, led by the Northern People's Congress (NPC), to form the federal government despite their claimed majority. This decision created a constitutional deadlock, as it challenged the convention that the party with the majority

in parliament should form the government. The political uncertainty weakened public confidence in the rule of law and showcased the lack of consensus among the ruling elites regarding the interpretation and implementation of constitutional provisions.

3. Intervention by the Military: The inability of the civilian government to resolve the election dispute and restore political stability significantly undermined the credibility of democratic governance in Nigeria. Public frustration with the political class grew as accusations of corruption, rigging, and manipulation became rampant, eroding the legitimacy of the electoral process. This set the stage for military intervention, as the army positioned itself as a neutral arbiter capable of restoring order, which eventually culminated in Nigeria's first military coup on January 15, 1966.

4. Deepening Ethnic Tensions: The 1964 election crisis further entrenched ethnic divisions in Nigeria, as political loyalties largely followed regional and ethnic lines. The perception that certain ethnic groups were being systematically excluded from power exacerbated feelings of marginalisation and resentment. This polarisation heightened mistrust among the major ethnic groups—Hausa-Fulani in the North, Yoruba in the West, and Igbo in the East—fueling future conflicts and playing a significant role in the outbreak of the Nigerian Civil War.

1965 Western Region Crisis

Background

The 1965 Western Region Crisis was rooted in a deep political rift within the Action Group (AG), the dominant party in the region. A leadership struggle between Chief Obafemi Awolowo and the then Premier, Chief Samuel Ladoke Akintola, led to a split. Akintola, disagreeing with Awolowo's confrontational stance against the federal government, broke away to form the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP), which aligned with the ruling Northern People's Congress (NPC) at the centre.

This political realignment intensified regional tensions. During the 1965 Western Region elections, widespread electoral fraud and violence accompanied the declaration of an NNDP victory. The public perceived the results as rigged, leading to mass protests, arson, and killings.

The crisis exposed the failure of democratic institutions, heightened regional instability, and paved the way for military intervention in 1966.

Causes of the 1965 Western Region Crisis

1. **Factional Division in Action Group (AG):** One of the root causes of the 1965 Western Region Crisis was the internal division within the Action Group (AG), a major political party in the South-West. A bitter leadership tussle emerged between Chief Obafemi Awolowo, the party's founder and ideological leader, and Chief Samuel Ladoke Akintola, the Premier of the Western Region. Awolowo's camp favoured a more radical and confrontational approach towards the federal government, while Akintola advocated for cooperation. This ideological and personal rift weakened the AG and eventually led to its fragmentation, creating deep political instability in the region.
2. **Formation of the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP):** Following his fallout with Awolowo, Chief Akintola was expelled from the AG. In response, he established a new political party known as the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP). Unlike the AG, the NNDP aligned itself with the Northern People's Congress (NPC), which was the ruling party at the federal level. This alliance gave the NNDP access to federal support and resources, further polarising the Western Region's politics and deepening hostilities between opposing factions.
3. **Rigged Election and Lack of Credibility:** The Western Regional elections held in October 1965 were widely seen as a sham. The electoral process was marred by serious irregularities, including voter intimidation, ballot stuffing, and result falsification—mostly to the benefit of the NNDP. The public overwhelmingly viewed the announced victory of the NNDP as fraudulent. This loss of electoral credibility not only outraged the opposition and their supporters but also triggered spontaneous unrest across the region. The manipulation of the democratic process undermined confidence in civilian governance and created a breeding ground for conflict.

Consequences of the 1965 Western Region Crisis

1. **Violence and Chaos:** The immediate aftermath of the 1965 election was an explosion of violence throughout the Western Region. Angry citizens, feeling disenfranchised, took to the streets in protest. The violence escalated into full-blown anarchy, including acts of arson, looting, and murder. The crisis gave rise to what became known as *Operation Wetie*—a gruesome episode where political opponents and suspected traitors were doused with petrol and set on fire. The region became virtually ungovernable.
2. **Breakdown of Law and Order:** As the situation worsened, law enforcement agencies proved either ineffective or complicit. The police failed to contain the violence or protect citizens, and the government seemed paralysed. The complete breakdown of law and order meant that political structures and public institutions could no longer function. The crisis rendered the Western Region a failed state within the federation, with widespread fear, destruction, and loss of life.
3. **National Security Threat:** The unrest in the Western Region had far-reaching implications beyond its borders. It destabilised the national political climate and created panic in other regions of the country. The crisis heightened ethnic divisions and led to growing distrust among the major political and ethnic blocs. The sense of insecurity and national unease made governance at the federal level increasingly difficult, as leaders struggled to hold the country together.
4. **Military Coup of 1966;** The Western Region Crisis significantly undermined the legitimacy of the First Republic. The inability of political leaders to peacefully resolve conflicts and the failure of institutions to manage the crisis fuelled dissatisfaction with civilian rule. Consequently, on 15th January 1966, a group of young military officers led a coup that overthrew the civilian government. The chaos in the Western Region was one of the primary justifications for this intervention, marking the end of Nigeria's First Republic and the beginning of military involvement in governance.

Impact of the Crises on Nigerian Politics

- **Weakening of Democratic Institutions**: The inability of the judiciary and electoral bodies to resolve electoral disputes peacefully undermined their credibility.
- **Rise of Military Intervention**: The political class's failure to manage disputes democratically provided a pretext for the military to intervene in governance.

- **Erosion of National Unity**: Ethnic and regional crises further deepened disunity, making nation-building more difficult.
- **Legacy of Electoral Violence**: The precedent of violence as a response to electoral injustice has remained a recurring problem in Nigerian politics.

Evaluation Questions

1. Discuss the causes and effects of the 1964 Federal Election Crisis in Nigeria.
2. Explain the term "Operation Wetie" and its significance in the 1965 Western Region Crisis.
3. Describe how electoral malpractice contributed to political instability in Nigeria's First Republic.
4. Evaluate the impact of the 1965 Western Region Crisis on Nigerian democracy.
5. Compare and contrast the 1964 Election Crisis and the 1965 Western Region Crisis.

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WEEK SIX: THE NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR

Introduction

The Nigerian Civil War, also known as the Biafran War, was a major internal conflict that lasted from July 6, 1967, to January 15, 1970. It was triggered by deep-rooted ethnic, political, and economic tensions, especially following a series of coups and the massacre of Eastern Nigerians in the North. The immediate cause was the secession of the Eastern Region, led by Lt. Colonel Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu, who declared the independent Republic of Biafra, prompting the Federal Government to launch a military campaign to preserve national unity. It was a bloody internal war fought between the Nigerian Federal Government and the secessionist state of Biafra, led by Lt. Colonel Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu**.** The war had devastating consequences on national unity, economic development, and the social fabric of Nigeria.



Causes of the Nigerian Civil War

1. Ethnic and Regional Tensions: Nigeria is a multi-ethnic nation with over 250 ethnic groups. However, political power during the post-independence period was largely concentrated in the hands of the three dominant ethnic groups: the Hausa-Fulani in the North, the Yoruba in the

West, and the Igbo in the East. The rivalry among these groups for control over political and economic resources heightened ethnic nationalism and deepened regional divisions. Accusations of domination, marginalisation, and exclusion from national affairs created mutual distrust. This fragile sense of unity deteriorated further with the political crises that followed independence, ultimately setting the stage for armed conflict.

2. The 1966 Military Coups: The first military coup in Nigeria occurred on 15th January 1966. It was led by Major Chukwuma Kaduna Nzeogwu and a group of mostly Igbo officers. The coup resulted in the assassination of key political leaders, particularly from the Northern and Western Regions, including the Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, and the Northern Premier, Sir Ahmadu Bello. Though the coup failed, Major General Johnson Aguiyi Ironsi, also of Igbo origin, took over as Head of State.

The perception that the coup had an ethnic bias in favour of the Igbos provoked anger in the North. This led to a retaliatory coup on 29th July 1966, known as the counter-coup, which brought Lt. Colonel Yakubu Gowon to power after the assassination of General Ironsi. These coups deepened ethnic divisions and planted the seeds of further instability.

3. Massacre of Easterners in the North: Following the July 1966 counter-coup, Northern Nigeria witnessed a series of pogroms against Igbos and other Easterners living in the region. These attacks were brutal and widespread, resulting in the death of thousands and the displacement of many more. The inability of the Federal Government to protect its citizens and the apparent ethnic targeting led to mass migration of Easterners back to their region. These killings reinforced the Eastern Region's feeling of insecurity and alienation, and significantly contributed to the push for secession.

4. Secession of Biafra: On 30th May 1967, in response to the massacres and the breakdown of trust in the Federal Government, Lt. Colonel Ojukwu, the Military Governor of the Eastern Region, declared the region as an independent nation—the Republic of Biafra. This declaration of secession was viewed as unconstitutional and rebellious by the Federal Government under Yakubu Gowon. Consequently, efforts to resolve the issue peacefully failed, and the Federal

Government declared war on Biafra on 6th July 1967, marking the beginning of the Nigerian Civil War.

5. Failure of Peace Talks (Aburi Accord): In a final attempt to avoid war, representatives of the Federal Government and the Eastern Region met in Aburi, Ghana, in January 1967. The meeting, known as the **Aburi Accord**, resulted in agreements that were expected to promote a loose federation and restore trust. However, upon return to Nigeria, the Federal Government reneged on some parts of the agreement, interpreting it differently from the Eastern delegation. This failure to implement the accord dashed hopes for a peaceful resolution and led Ojukwu to proceed with Biafra's secession, thereby paving the way for full-scale conflict.

Major Events of the Civil War

- **July 1967**: War broke out as federal troops moved to reclaim seceded territories.
- **1968–1969**: Biafra suffered major setbacks; starvation became a weapon of war due to blockades.
- **January 1970**: Biafra surrendered after heavy casualties and humanitarian crises.

Consequences of the Nigerian Civil War

1. Loss of Lives and Humanitarian Crisis:

The war resulted in the death of an estimated one to three million people**,** mostly civilians who died from starvation, disease, and warfare.

2. Destruction of Infrastructure

The war led to the destruction of roads, buildings, schools, hospitals, and other social amenities, particularly in the Eastern region.

3. Economic Disruption

Trade and commerce collapsed in Biafra. Nigeria's economy suffered as resources were channelled into prosecuting the war.

4. Increased Militarisation

The civil war entrenched the military in Nigerian politics. The army became stronger and more involved in governance after the war.

5. Reintegration and Reconciliation

After the war, General Gowon introduced the policy of "No Victor, No Vanquished", focusing on the 3Rs: Reconstruction, Reconciliation, and Rehabilitation**.**

6. Restructuring of the Federation

To weaken the regional powers that threatened national unity, the federal government created new states during and after the war, decentralising power from the former regions.

Lessons from the Nigerian Civil War

- The importance of **national unity** and tolerance among ethnic groups.
- The need for dialogue and negotiation over the use of force in resolving political disputes.
- The dangers **of** ethnic and regional politics**.**
- The role of fair and just leadership in promoting peace.

Efforts at Preventing Future Conflicts

- Establishment of Federal Character Principle to ensure equitable representation.
- Creation of National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) to foster national unity.
- Introduction of state creation policies to decentralise power and reduce ethnic tensions.

WAEC/NECO Essay Past Questions on the Nigerian Civil War

Essay questions from past WAEC/NECO examinations:

1. **WAEC Government, June 2019 (Q6):**
   Highlight five major causes of the Nigerian Civil War.

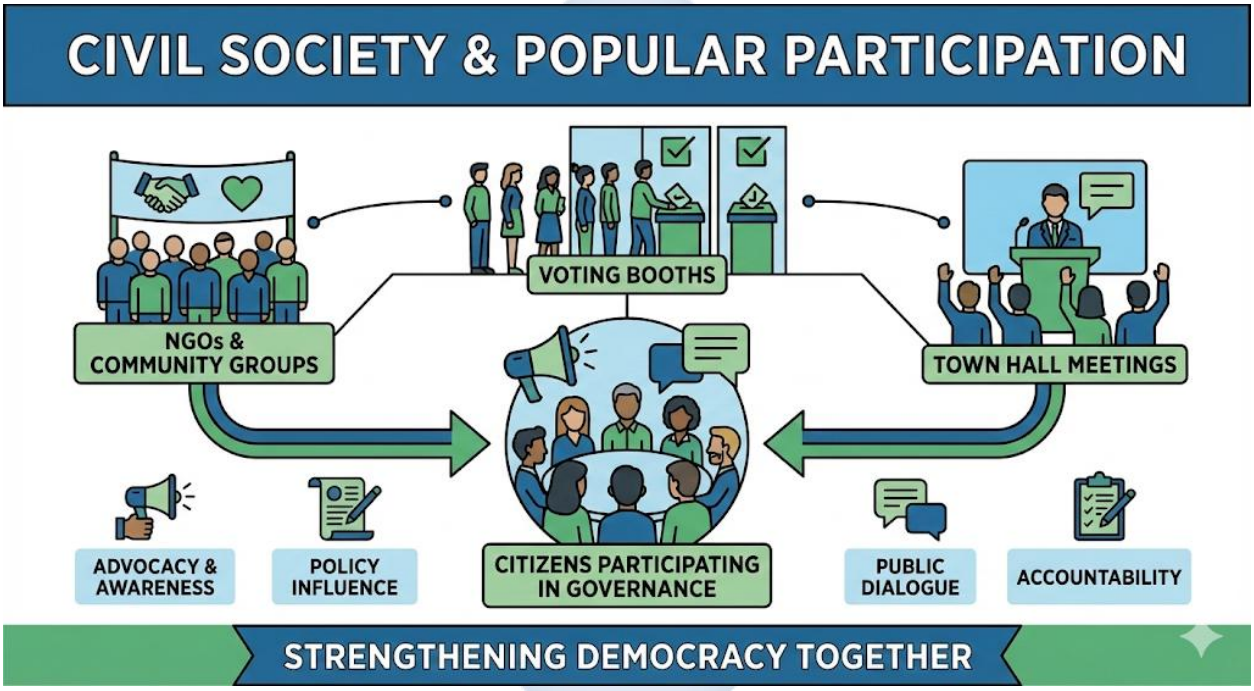
2. **NECO Government, June 2017 (Q5):**
   Discuss the consequences of the Nigerian Civil War on national development.
3. **WAEC Government, June 2016 (Q4):**
   Analyse the role played by the Aburi Accord in the Nigerian Civil War.
4. **WAEC Government, June 2014 (Q6):**
   Explain the efforts made by the Nigerian government to promote national integration after the civil war.
5. **NECO Government, June 2012 (Q7):**
   Examine five lessons Nigeria should learn from the 1967–1970 civil war.

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WEEK EIGHT: CIVIL SOCIETY AND POPULAR PARTICIPATION

Civil Society

Civil society refers to all non-governmental organisations and institutions that represent the interests, will, and values of the citizens. These include community-based organisations, professional associations, religious groups, labour unions, human rights groups, student movements, and non-governmental organisations (NGOs).



Civil society operates independently of the state and political parties but can interact with them constructively or critically. It functions as a bridge between the people and the government, ensuring that the voices of citizens are heard in governance and policy formulation.

Features of Civil Society

1. **Voluntarism:** Civil society organisations are formed and sustained by individuals who choose to join willingly. Participation is not enforced by law or authority but is driven by

shared interests and goals. This voluntary nature encourages genuine commitment and grassroots mobilisation.

2. Independence from the State: Civil society functions autonomously from direct government control or political interference. This independence allows it to criticise, monitor, and hold the state accountable without fear of suppression. It also strengthens checks and balances in governance.

3. Advocacy and Representation: Civil society gives a voice to underrepresented and vulnerable groups within the society. It advocates for policies, rights, and reforms that promote equity and justice. Through campaigns and dialogue, it ensures that citizens' concerns reach decision-makers.

4. Promotion of Democratic Values: Civil society fosters values like transparency, accountability, tolerance, and civic participation. It educates citizens on their rights and responsibilities within a democratic system. This helps to build a politically conscious and active population.

5. Non-profit Orientation: Most civil society organisations operate without the motive of profit-making. Their resources are usually reinvested into social causes, advocacy, or development projects. This non-profit nature reinforces their focus on public interest rather than personal gain.

Roles of Civil Society in Government and Politics

1. **Promoting Accountability and Transparency:** Civil society monitors government activities and exposes corruption, inefficiency, and abuse of power. Organisations like SERAP (Socio-Economic Rights and Accountability Project) in Nigeria are examples.
2. **Civic Education and Awareness:** It educates citizens about their rights, responsibilities, and the workings of the democratic process.

3. **Policy Advocacy:** Civil society engages in dialogue with the government to influence policies and reforms in sectors such as health, education, and the environment.
4. **Conflict Resolution and Peace-building:** Civil society often plays a role in mediating between conflicting groups and promoting national unity.
5. **Defending Human Rights:** Civil society organisations challenge laws and practices that violate human rights and provide support to victims of injustice.
6. **Promoting Inclusiveness:** It ensures that minority and vulnerable groups (women, youth, persons with disabilities) are represented in the political process.

Popular Participation

Popular participation refers to the active involvement of the people in decision-making processes that affect their lives and communities. It is a cornerstone of democracy and includes activities like voting, joining political parties, engaging in protests, community meetings, and public discussions.

Forms of Popular Participation

1. Voting in Elections: Voting is the most basic and vital form of popular participation in a democracy. It allows citizens to choose their leaders and influence how they are governed. Regular elections give the public a chance to hold political leaders accountable.

2. Political Party Membership: Citizens can join political parties to contribute to national conversations and participate in political processes. Party members help shape party policies and may contest for leadership positions. This form of participation strengthens democratic competition and representation.

3. Protests and Demonstrations: When citizens are unhappy with government actions or social issues, they may organise or join peaceful protests. Demonstrations provide a way to publicly express discontent or support for a cause. They are essential tools for drawing attention to public concerns.

4. Petition Writing: Petitions enable individuals or groups to formally request changes or challenge government decisions. It is a legal way of making demands or expressing opposition to certain policies. When supported by many, petitions can influence policy and legislative decisions.

5. Community Development Participation: This involves people contributing time, skills, or resources to improve their local areas. Projects like constructing schools, roads, or clinics benefit everyone and foster community spirit. It is a practical way of participating in governance at the grassroots level.

6. Public Hearings and Town Hall Meetings: These forums allow citizens to directly interact with public officials and express their opinions on government plans. They encourage transparency and citizen engagement in decision-making. Public input during these meetings can influence policy outcomes.

Factors Promoting Popular Participation

1. Education: Education enlightens citizens about their rights, responsibilities, and the importance of involvement in governance. Literate and informed individuals are more likely to question, contribute, and participate in political processes. It also promotes critical thinking and civic engagement.

2. Freedom of Expression and Association: When people can express their opinions and associate freely, they feel empowered to get involved in public affairs. Such freedoms allow for the formation of groups, protests, and dialogue. It creates an open environment where democratic participation thrives.

3. Free and Fair Elections: Credible elections build public trust in the political system and motivate voter turnout. When people believe their votes count, they are more willing to participate. Transparent processes ensure legitimacy and inclusion.

4. Effective Civil Society Organisations: Civil society groups like NGOs and community-based organisations create platforms for civic engagement. They educate, mobilise, and amplify the

voices of the people. Their presence increases participation, especially among marginalised groups.

5. Functional Media: An independent and vibrant media keeps the public informed about governance and current affairs. It raises awareness and encourages citizens to get involved. Media also serves as a watchdog, holding leaders accountable.

6. Responsive Governance: When governments listen to public input and act on citizens' needs, participation improves. People are more likely to engage when they see that their contributions lead to real change. A responsive system builds trust and commitment to democracy.

Factors Hindering Popular Participation

1. **Illiteracy:**
   People who cannot read or write are often unaware of their civic rights and duties.
2. **Poverty:**
   Basic survival takes precedence over political engagement for many poor citizens.
3. **Political Violence and Intimidation:**
   Threats during elections or protests discourage participation.
4. **Corruption and Lack of Trust:**
   When citizens believe their votes do not count or that leaders are corrupt, they may withdraw.
5. **Cultural and Religious Barriers:**
   In some areas, women or youth are discouraged from political involvement.
6. **Weak Institutions:**
   Ineffective electoral bodies and lack of rule of law reduce confidence in participation.

Importance of Popular Participation

1. It legitimises government decisions: When citizens take part in decision-making, it gives credibility and authority to government policies. Leaders are seen as representing the will of the people. This makes laws and programmes more acceptable and easier to implement.

2. Promotes good governance and accountability: Popular participation ensures leaders are constantly monitored and held accountable by the public. It reduces corruption and misuse of power. Active involvement helps maintain transparency in governance.

3. Empowers citizens and encourages development: Participation gives people a voice and the confidence to shape their communities. Citizens can demand services, contribute ideas, and partner with government for progress. This leads to sustainable development at all levels.

4. Prevents tyranny and dictatorship: A politically active population makes it difficult for leaders to impose oppressive rule. Regular checks by the people discourage abuse of power. Democracy is protected when citizens are vigilant and involved.

5. Ensures national integration and inclusion: When people from all regions, backgrounds, and groups are involved, unity is strengthened. Participation fosters a sense of belonging and shared responsibility. It reduces marginalisation and promotes social harmony.

Relationship Between Civil Society and Popular Participation

Civil society facilitates popular participation by creating awareness, providing platforms for engagement, and advocating for citizens' rights. Through civil society, people who may otherwise be marginalised get involved in governance, thus strengthening democracy.

WAEC/NECO Essay Past Questions on Civil Society and Popular Participation

1. **WAEC Government, June 2017 (Q5):**
   Discuss five roles of civil society in ensuring good governance.
2. **NECO Government, June 2019 (Q4):**
   Explain five ways through which civil society promotes popular participation in politics.
3. **WAEC Government, June 2021 (Q6):**
   Highlight five challenges facing civil society organisations in Nigeria.

4. **NECO Government, June 2020 (Q7):**

   Describe five forms of popular participation in Nigeria.

5. **WAEC Government, June 2015 (Q6):**

   Examine five factors that promote popular participation in a democratic state.

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WEEK NINE: CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AND NATIONAL INTEGRATION

Citizenship Education

Citizenship education refers to the process of educating individuals, especially students and young citizens, about their rights, duties, responsibilities, and roles in society. It aims to produce law-abiding, patriotic, and participatory citizens who will contribute positively to the development and stability of the nation.



Objectives of Citizenship Education:

1. To instil the spirit of patriotism and nationalism: Citizenship education helps individuals develop love and loyalty to their country. It encourages pride in national identity and commitment to national development.

2. To promote civic responsibility and accountability: It teaches citizens their rights and duties in society. This helps them act responsibly and hold leaders accountable.

3. To encourage democratic values and active participation: The subject promotes respect for rule of law, fairness, and inclusion. It motivates citizens to engage in governance and democratic processes.

4. To create awareness about human rights and social justice: Citizens learn to understand, respect, and defend their rights and those of others. It also promotes fairness and equal treatment in society.

5. To build tolerance, respect for diversity, and peaceful coexistence: Citizenship education fosters understanding among people of different cultures, religions, and backgrounds. It promotes peace and discourages discrimination and violence.

Content of Citizenship Education

Citizenship education in Nigeria typically includes:

The Constitution and its provisions: It teaches students the supreme law of the land and the structure of government.

Fundamental human rights and the rule of law: Learners are exposed to their basic rights and the importance of obeying laws.

Democracy and political participation: It emphasises the roles of citizens in electing leaders and engaging in democratic processes.

Duties and obligations of citizens: Citizens are taught their responsibilities such as obeying laws, paying taxes, and promoting peace.

Electoral processes and good governance: It highlights how elections work and the need for transparency and accountability in leadership.

Civic values such as honesty, tolerance, integrity, and discipline: Students are encouraged to adopt moral values that promote harmony and national development.

Importance of Citizenship Education in National Integration

National integration refers to the process of uniting people from diverse ethnic, religious, and cultural backgrounds into a single national identity. Citizenship education plays a vital role in this process by:

a. Promoting National Unity:
Citizenship education teaches people to see themselves first as Nigerians before identifying with ethnic or regional affiliations. This fosters a shared sense of identity and commitment to national goals.

b. Fostering Peaceful Coexistence: It instils values such as tolerance, dialogue, and respect for diversity among citizens. These values help reduce hostility and promote harmonious living in a multi-ethnic society.

c. Enhancing Democratic Culture: Citizenship education empowers individuals to understand and exercise their political rights and civic duties. This leads to greater participation in democratic processes and accountability in governance.

d. Reducing Ethno-Religious Conflicts: It discourages negative practices like tribalism and religious intolerance by promoting mutual understanding. This helps reduce tension and promotes peaceful relationships among diverse groups.

e. Encouraging Patriotism: Citizenship education nurtures love for the country and encourages citizens to contribute to its progress. It inspires national pride and a willingness to defend and uphold the nation's values.

Challenges to Effective Citizenship Education

Despite its importance, there are certain challenges facing citizenship education in Nigeria:

1. Lack of qualified civic education teachers:

Many schools do not have trained teachers who fully understand civic concepts.

This limits students' ability to grasp and apply the principles of citizenship effectively.

2. Poor funding of educational programmes:

Inadequate funding affects the availability of learning materials, training, and classroom resources.

This makes it difficult to deliver comprehensive citizenship education.

3. Ethnic and religious biases in curriculum delivery:

Some teachers allow personal, ethnic, or religious sentiments to influence how they teach civic topics.

This undermines national unity and can reinforce divisions among students.

4. Inadequate emphasis on practical citizenship:

Citizenship education often focuses too much on theory rather than active engagement.

As a result, students do not gain real-life experience in civic participation or public service.

5. Political interference and poor leadership examples:

When leaders act contrary to democratic values, it sets a bad example for young citizens.

This discourages students from taking citizenship seriously and weakens their trust in the system.

Solutions to Enhance Citizenship Education for National Integration

- **Curriculum Reform:** Update civic education content to address current national issues.
- **Teacher Training:** Equip educators with the right tools and knowledge.
- **Public Campaigns:** Promote civic responsibility through media and community outreach.
- **Involve Civil Society:** Partner with NGOs and civil groups in promoting civic values.
- **Encourage Youth Participation:** Engage young people in leadership and community development.

Evaluation Questions

WAEC/NECO Essay Past Questions

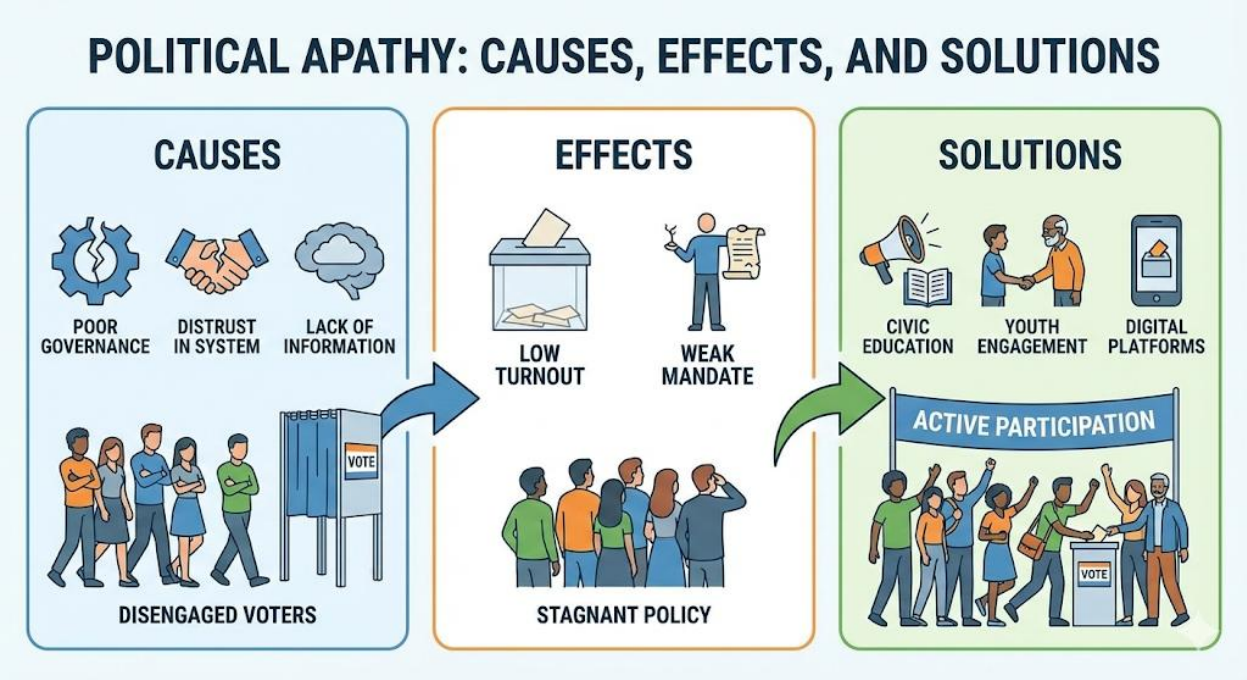
1. **WAEC Government, June 2020 (Q6):**
   Discuss the relevance of citizenship education in fostering national integration in Nigeria.
2. **NECO Government, June 2018 (Q4):**
   Explain five ways in which citizenship education can promote unity in Nigeria.
3. **WAEC Government, June 2016 (Q5):**
   Identify and explain five roles of civic education in developing responsible citizens.
4. **NECO Government, June 2014 (Q6):**
   How does the teaching of citizenship education contribute to national development?
5. **WAEC Government, June 2012 (Q7):**
   Explain five benefits of citizenship education to the political development of Nigeria.

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WEEK TEN: POLITICAL APATHY

Political Apathy

Political apathy refers to the lack of interest, concern, or participation by citizens in political activities such as voting, joining political parties, attending political rallies, or engaging in civic discourse. It is a situation where individuals or groups deliberately choose to stay away from the political process, often due to disillusionment or indifference.



Forms of Political Apathy

Political apathy may manifest in the following forms:

1. **Non-voting:** This occurs when eligible citizens deliberately refuse to participate in elections. It reflects a lack of trust in the electoral process or disinterest in choosing political leaders.

2. **Lack of civic engagement:** Some individuals avoid participating in community or governmental meetings and debates. They show no interest in decisions that affect public life or local governance.

3. Disinterest in political news: People exhibiting this form of apathy ignore political reports in newspapers, radio, or television. They remain uninformed about government policies and national developments.

4. Avoidance of political association: Many citizens avoid joining political parties, pressure groups, or advocacy movements. This limits their involvement in shaping public policies or defending public interests.

Causes of Political Apathy

Several factors contribute to political apathy in a society, including:

a. Bad Governance and Corruption:
When public officials fail to deliver on their promises and misuse public resources, citizens lose confidence in the system. This disillusionment discourages participation in political processes.

b. Electoral Fraud and Violence:
Election rigging, ballot box snatching, and political violence make the electoral process unsafe and unreliable. These threats deter people from voting or getting involved in politics.

c. Ignorance and Illiteracy:
Many citizens lack basic knowledge about their rights and the importance of participation in governance. This ignorance often leads to apathy and political disengagement.

d. Economic Hardship:
In times of severe poverty and unemployment, people tend to focus on meeting their basic needs. As a result, they pay little attention to political involvement or civic responsibilities.

e. Youth Disempowerment:
When young people feel excluded from leadership and decision-making, they become discouraged. This sense of alienation fosters frustration and political indifference.

f. Lack of Transparency:

When government activities are shrouded in secrecy and accountability is low, public trust erodes. People see little value in engaging with a system they believe hides the truth from them.

Consequences of Political Apathy

The effects of widespread political apathy are often detrimental to national development and democracy. Some of these include:

a. Emergence of Unpopular Leaders: When few people vote, it is easier for incompetent or corrupt politicians to win elections.
b. Weak Democratic Institutions: Lack of public engagement erodes the effectiveness of democratic processes and institutions.
c. Continued Misrule and Injustice: A passive citizenry allows bad leaders to perpetuate poor governance and abuse of power.
d. Decline in Political Accountability: Elected officials may not feel compelled to fulfil campaign promises when citizens are apathetic.
e. Civil Unrest: Over time, frustration may build up and result in mass protests or social instability.

Solutions to Political Apathy

a. Political Education: Introducing civic and political education in schools helps citizens understand their roles in governance. This awareness encourages active participation in political and civic duties.

b. Electoral Reforms: Reforming the electoral system to guarantee credible, transparent elections restores faith in democracy. When people trust the process, they are more likely to vote and engage politically.

c. Youth Inclusion in Politics: Creating opportunities for young people in political leadership fosters a sense of belonging. It motivates them to contribute ideas and become active in nation-building.

d. Transparent Governance: When government actions are open and accountable, public trust increases. Citizens feel more confident to participate, knowing their voices count.

e. Media Engagement: Radio, television, and social media platforms can be used to educate the public on their civic duties. Constant sensitisation combats ignorance and inspires political interest.

f. Civil Society Advocacy: Non-governmental organisations and pressure groups can champion civic awareness campaigns. Their efforts encourage more citizens to overcome apathy and participate in democratic processes.

Evaluation Questions

WAEC/NECO Essay Past Questions

1. **WAEC Government, June 2022 (Q5):**
   What is political apathy? Discuss four causes and three consequences of political apathy in Nigeria.
2. **NECO Government, June 2021 (Q4):**
   Explain five reasons why many Nigerians do not participate in the electoral process.
3. **WAEC Government, June 2019 (Q6):**
   Identify and explain five consequences of political apathy in a democratic society.
4. **NECO Government, June 2017 (Q7):**
   Discuss five ways in which political apathy can be reduced in Nigeria.
5. **WAEC Government, June 2015 (Q4):**
   List and explain five factors responsible for political apathy in Nigeria.

SS2 GOVERNMENT LESSON NOTES

THIRD TERM

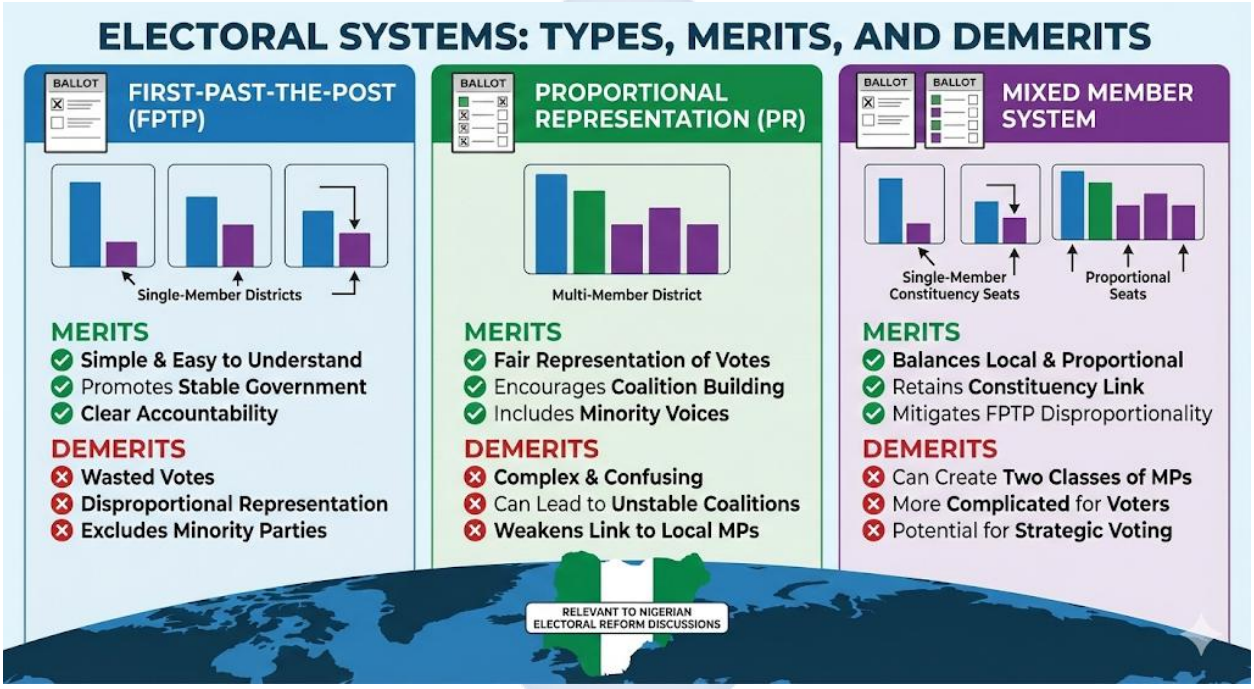
1. Electoral Systems: Types, Merits and Demerits
2. Electoral Commissions in Nigeria: Past and Present (NEC, FEDECO, INEC)
3. Electoral Malpractices: Types, Causes, Consequences
4. Democratic Processes in Nigeria
5. MIDTERM EXAMINATION
6. Judiciary: Structure, Functions, Independence
7. MIDTERM BREAK
8. Human Rights: Meaning, Categories, Protection and Limitations
9. Public Corporations in Nigeria: Meaning, Types, Roles, Control
10. REVISION
11. EXAMINATION

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WEEK ONE: ELECTORAL SYSTEMS: TYPES, MERITS AND DEMERITS

Electoral System

An electoral system refers to the set of rules, procedures, and laws that govern the conduct of elections in a country. It determines how votes are cast, counted, and translated into seats in a legislature or the selection of candidates for political offices. It is a core mechanism in democratic governance, as it ensures representation, accountability, and peaceful transitions of power.



Electoral systems vary widely across countries and are shaped by political, historical, and cultural factors. The type of electoral system adopted in a country can significantly influence political behaviour, party structure, and the level of political participation.

Types of Electoral Systems

Broadly, electoral systems can be grouped into four major categories: the Plurality System, the Majoritarian System, Proportional Representation, and the Mixed Electoral System. Each of these systems operates differently and serves distinct political and institutional goals.

1. Plurality System (First-Past-The-Post – FPTP)

The Plurality System, also known as First-Past-The-Post (FPTP), is one of the simplest and most widely used electoral systems, particularly in former British colonies. In this system, the candidate who receives the highest number of votes in a constituency wins the election, regardless of whether they secure an absolute majority (over 50%) of the votes.

The key characteristic of this system is its simplicity. It operates on a single-member district basis, where each constituency elects one representative. Voters cast one vote for their preferred candidate, and the one with the most votes is declared the winner. There is no requirement for a run-off or second ballot, even if the winning candidate receives less than half of the total votes cast.

A major advantage of the FPTP system is that it tends to produce clear winners, often leading to single-party majority governments, which can promote political stability and effective governance. However, critics argue that it can be unrepresentative, as a candidate can win without the support of the majority of voters. It may also discourage smaller parties and lead to wasted votes.

Examples of countries that use the Plurality System include **Nigeria** (for elections into the House of Representatives) and the **United Kingdom** (for parliamentary elections).

2. Majoritarian System (Second Ballot or Run-off)

The Majoritarian System, also referred to as the Second Ballot or Run-off System, requires that a candidate must obtain an absolute majority—more than 50% of the votes—to be declared the winner. If no candidate achieves this threshold in the first round of voting, a second round is conducted, usually between the top two candidates. This ensures that the winner has the support of the majority of voters.

This system is designed to enhance the legitimacy of elected leaders by ensuring they have the backing of over half of the electorate. It also encourages coalition-building, consensus politics, and moderation, since candidates must appeal to a broader section of the population to secure majority support in the second round.

However, the Majoritarian System can be expensive and time-consuming because it involves organising two rounds of elections. Additionally, voter fatigue may reduce turnout in the second ballot.

Examples of this system include **Nigeria's presidential elections**, where a candidate must win a majority of the votes and at least 25% of votes in two-thirds of the states, and **France's presidential election**, which also employs a run-off if no candidate achieves an outright majority in the first round.

3. Proportional Representation (PR)

Proportional Representation (PR) is an electoral system designed to allocate seats in the legislature in proportion to the number of votes each political party receives. Unlike the FPTP and Majoritarian systems, which often operate in single-member constituencies, PR systems typically use multi-member constituencies where several representatives are elected.

Voters usually cast their votes for political parties rather than individual candidates. Seats are then distributed based on the percentage of the total vote received by each party. For example, a party that wins 30% of the votes would ideally receive 30% of the seats in the legislature.

This system is praised for its fairness and inclusivity. It allows for greater representation of minority groups and smaller political parties, thereby fostering political diversity and broader participation. However, it can also lead to fragmented legislatures, coalition governments, and sometimes unstable governance if no single party gains a majority.

South Africa is a notable example of a country that uses the Proportional Representation system, particularly in its **National Assembly elections**, where parties are allocated seats in line with their share of the national vote.

4. Mixed Electoral System (Hybrid)

The Mixed Electoral System, also known as a hybrid system, combines elements of both the Plurality or Majoritarian system and the Proportional Representation system. Under this model, some members of the legislature are elected using FPTP or majority voting in single-member districts, while others are elected using the PR method in multi-member districts.

This approach seeks to balance the strengths and weaknesses of the different systems. It maintains the close link between constituents and their representatives, as in the FPTP system, while also ensuring fairer representation of parties in the legislature through PR.

Mixed systems can be complex to administer and understand, but they offer a compromise that reflects both individual candidate appeal and proportional party strength. They are particularly useful in countries with diverse populations and multiparty systems.

Germany's Bundestag elections are a prime example. German voters cast two votes: one for a candidate in their constituency (FPTP) and another for a political party (PR). The final composition of the Bundestag reflects both votes, with mechanisms in place to correct any disproportionate outcomes

Merits of Electoral Systems

Each system has advantages depending on the political context and desired outcomes.

1. Merits of the Plurality System (First-Past-The-Post – FPTP)

The Plurality System, often referred to as the First-Past-The-Post system, is popular for its simplicity and straightforward nature. Its advantages include:

- **Simple and Easy to Understand:** One of the biggest strengths of FPTP is its simplicity. Voters cast a single vote for one candidate, and the candidate with the highest number of votes wins. This ease of understanding promotes greater voter participation and reduces confusion at the polls.

- **Promotes Stability by Favouring a Two-Party System:** FPTP often leads to the dominance of two major political parties. This can result in more stable governments with clear majorities, reducing the likelihood of coalition or fragmented parliaments that may struggle to make decisions.
- **Encourages a Close Relationship Between Representatives and Constituents:** Since representatives are elected from single-member constituencies, they tend to develop strong personal ties with their constituents. This accountability can enhance local representation and responsiveness to community needs.
- **Fast Results and Inexpensive to Administer:** The system allows for quick vote counting and fast announcement of results. It is cost-effective, requiring only a single round of voting without complex tallying procedures.

These advantages make FPTP particularly attractive in emerging democracies and countries seeking efficiency and clarity in electoral outcomes.

2. Merits of the Majoritarian System (Second Ballot or Run-off)

The Majoritarian System seeks to ensure that elected leaders enjoy the broadest possible support by requiring a candidate to win over 50% of the vote. Its merits include:

- **Ensures That the Elected Leader Has Majority Support:** The system guarantees that the winning candidate has the support of more than half of the voters, enhancing the legitimacy of the leadership and reflecting the popular will.
- **Legitimises the Mandate of Leadership:** A leader elected through a majority system has a strong democratic mandate, which can translate into more effective governance and confidence in leadership decisions.
- **Encourages Formation of Alliances and Consensus:** The need for a second round often pushes candidates to reach out to other political groups or ideologies, promoting political dialogue, coalition-building, and consensus.
- **Reduces the Influence of Extremist Groups:** Since candidates must appeal to a broad electorate to win a majority, the system tends to discourage extremism and promotes moderation in political discourse.

These merits make the Majoritarian System suitable for presidential elections, where the need for a strong and widely accepted leader is crucial for national unity.

3. Merits of Proportional Representation (PR)

Proportional Representation is widely acknowledged for its fairness and inclusivity. It allocates seats in proportion to the number of votes received by each party. Its advantages include:

- **Fairer Representation of Smaller Political Parties:** PR allows smaller parties a better chance of gaining representation, as seat allocation reflects the actual percentage of votes received, rather than favouring the majority.
- **Reduces Wasted Votes:** In PR systems, almost every vote contributes to the outcome, minimising the number of "wasted" votes—those that do not help elect any candidate. This can improve voter satisfaction and confidence in the electoral process.
- **Encourages Inclusivity and Coalition Governments:** PR promotes the inclusion of diverse political voices, often resulting in coalition governments. Such governments can be more balanced and considerate of varied interests across society.
- **Reflects Diversity in Multi-Ethnic Societies:** Countries with diverse ethnic, cultural, or religious groups benefit from PR, as it enhances the chances of minority groups being represented in decision-making bodies.

Due to these merits, PR is often adopted in countries that seek to build consensus-driven governance and reflect the multiplicity of their population in the legislature.

4. Merits of the Mixed Electoral System (Hybrid System)

The Mixed Electoral System combines elements of both plurality/majority and proportional representation systems. It attempts to harness the advantages of both, thereby limiting their individual weaknesses. Its key merits include:

- **Balances Constituency Representation with Proportional Fairness:** Mixed systems provide voters with both a local representative (as in FPTP) and a fairer overall

distribution of seats (as in PR), ensuring that both individual and party preferences are respected.

- **Limits the Disadvantages of Each System When Used Alone:** By blending the two systems, the mixed model addresses the disproportionality of FPTP and the fragmentation risk of PR, thereby creating a more balanced and effective electoral outcome.
- **Promotes Stable Yet Inclusive Government:** Mixed systems can produce stable governments through strong constituency links while ensuring that minority voices and smaller parties are not entirely excluded from legislative processes.

This system is particularly effective in advanced democracies or countries transitioning from one electoral model to another, where a balance between stability and inclusivity is desired.

Demerits of Electoral Systems

Demerits of the Plurality System (First-Past-The-Post – FPTP)

Despite its simplicity and cost-effectiveness, the Plurality System presents several serious disadvantages, particularly in diverse or multi-party democracies:

- **A Candidate Can Win Without Majority Support:** Under FPTP, a candidate only needs to secure more votes than others, not an absolute majority. This can result in leaders being elected with less than 50% of the vote, meaning the majority of voters may have preferred other candidates. Such outcomes can undermine the legitimacy of elected officials.
- **Disadvantages Smaller Parties and Independents:** The system tends to favour dominant parties and marginalise smaller ones, even if they have substantial support. Independent candidates and new parties often struggle to win seats, which can restrict political diversity and innovation.
- **Encourages "Wasted Votes" for Losing Candidates:** Votes cast for losing candidates in a constituency have no impact on the final result, leading to the notion of "wasted votes." This discourages voter participation, especially in areas where one party is strongly dominant.

- **Can Lead to Unrepresentative Outcomes:** The national distribution of seats may not reflect the overall vote share. For instance, a party could win a majority of seats with a minority of national votes, leading to a distortion of public preferences in the legislature.

These demerits highlight the system's limitations in ensuring fairness and broad-based representation.

Demerits of the Majoritarian System (Second Ballot or Run-off)

The Majoritarian System, although effective in ensuring majority-backed leadership, also has significant drawbacks:

- **Expensive and Time-Consuming Due to Run-Offs:** Conducting two rounds of voting requires additional financial, logistical, and human resources. This can place a strain on the electoral body and the national budget, especially in developing countries.
- **Voter Fatigue May Lead to Low Turnout in Second Round:** The need for voters to return to the polls in a short interval may result in lower participation in the second round. This reduced turnout can weaken the legitimacy of the eventual winner.
- **Can Heighten Political Tension Between First and Second Rounds:** The period between ballots can intensify political competition, propaganda, and even violence, especially in countries with a history of political instability. Candidates and supporters may become more aggressive in trying to secure victory in the final round.

Though the Majoritarian System aims to secure majority consent, these disadvantages can undermine the very stability and legitimacy it seeks to guarantee.

Demerits of Proportional Representation (PR)

While Proportional Representation is praised for its fairness and inclusiveness, it also has several shortcomings that can hinder effective governance:

- **May Lead to Unstable Coalition Governments:** Because PR often prevents any single party from securing an outright majority, coalition governments become common. These

coalitions can be unstable, marked by fragile alliances and frequent disagreements, which can disrupt governance.

- **Weak Relationship Between Voters and Individual Representatives:** In many PR systems, voters cast ballots for parties rather than individual candidates. This weakens the personal link between representatives and constituents, reducing accountability and responsiveness.
- **Complicated and Costly to Administer:** PR systems often require complex vote counting and allocation mechanisms, which demand skilled personnel and advanced technology. This increases the administrative burden and costs of running elections.
- **Encourages Fragmentation of Parties:** PR systems may encourage the formation of many small parties, some of which may represent narrow interests. This political fragmentation can lead to gridlock in decision-making and make it difficult to pass legislation or form stable governments.

Thus, while PR promotes inclusiveness, its technical complexity and potential for political instability are critical concerns.

Demerits of the Mixed Electoral System (Hybrid System)

Although the Mixed Electoral System is designed to combine the best features of both FPTP and PR, it still has its own inherent flaws:

- **Complex to Implement and Understand:** The dual nature of the system, involving different types of votes and allocation procedures, can confuse voters. It also complicates the tasks of electoral administrators, increasing the risk of errors or misinterpretations.
- **May Result in Overrepresentation or Duplication:** If not carefully designed, the mixed system may allow some parties or candidates to benefit disproportionately. For example, a party might win more seats than warranted by its total vote share, leading to overrepresentation. Duplication of roles among elected officials may also occur, especially when both constituency and party-list representatives claim to speak for the same population.

- **Disputes May Arise on How to Balance the Two Systems:** Determining the correct proportion of seats allocated through FPTP versus PR can be politically sensitive. Disagreements over this balance can lead to legal and constitutional challenges, undermining the credibility of the electoral process.

Despite its intention to strike a fair balance, the Mixed System's operational complexity and potential for conflict make its implementation a delicate task.

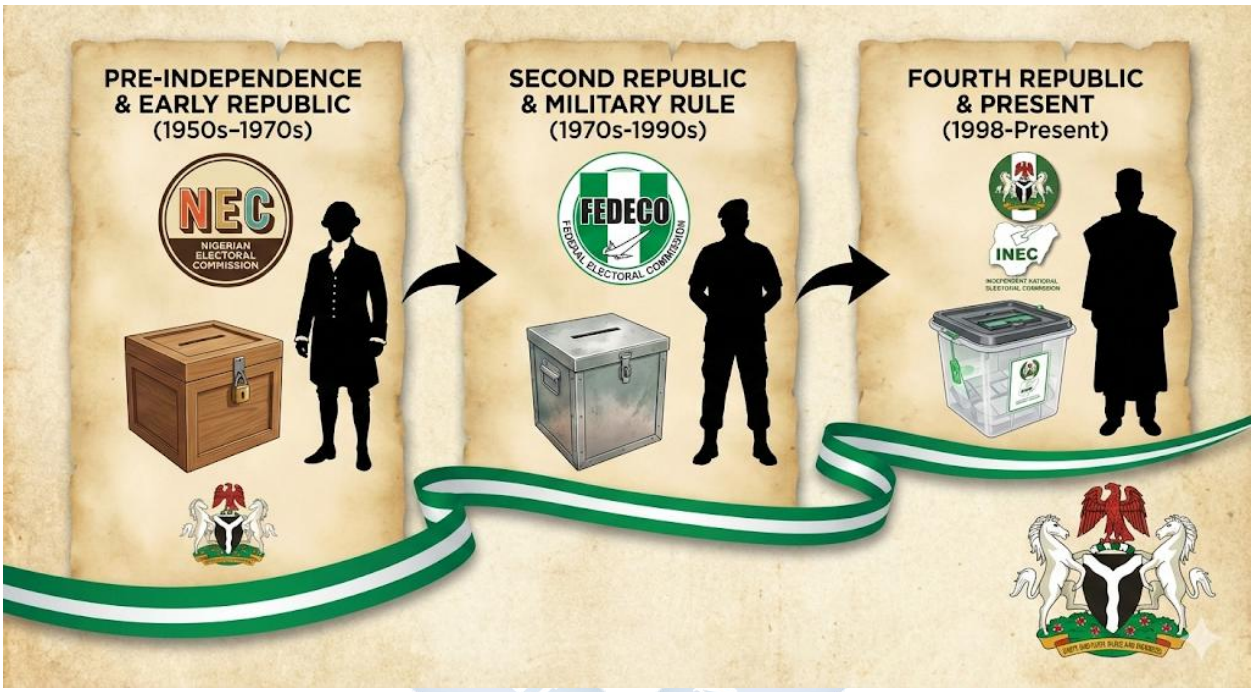
WAEC/NECO Essay Past Questions on Electoral Systems

1. **WAEC Government, 2019 (Q6):**
   Identify and explain four types of electoral systems.
2. **NECO Government, 2018 (Q5):**
   Discuss three merits and three demerits of the proportional representation system.
3. **WAEC Government, 2016 (Q3):**
   Highlight and explain four major differences between the plurality and proportional representation systems.
4. **WAEC Government, 2014 (Q7):**
   What is an electoral system? State and explain any three types of electoral systems.
5. **NECO Government, 2013 (Q6):**
   Analyse five reasons why the choice of an electoral system is important to democratic consolidation.

WEEK TWO: ELECTORAL COMMISSIONS IN NIGERIA

Electoral Commission

An Electoral Commission is an independent body set up by the government to organise, supervise, and manage elections within a country. Its main aim is to ensure free, fair, and credible elections, thereby enhancing democratic governance.



Historical Evolution of Electoral Commissions in Nigeria

Nigeria has witnessed the establishment of several electoral commissions since independence, especially during both military and civilian regimes. These include:

1. Electoral Commission of Nigeria (ECN) – 1959

The **Electoral Commission of Nigeria (ECN)** was Nigeria's first national electoral body. Established in 1959 during the twilight of colonial rule, the ECN was tasked with conducting the pre-independence general elections that would usher in indigenous governance.

One of the defining features of the ECN was its limited autonomy. Although its mandate was to organise a credible election, the commission functioned under the supervision of the British colonial administration**.** The appointment of **Ronald Edward Wraith**, a British national, as its chairman, symbolised the continuing control of colonial authorities over Nigeria's political processes, even on the eve of independence.

Despite this limitation, the 1959 general elections organised by the ECN were crucial in shaping Nigeria's post-independence political structure. They laid the groundwork for the emergence of Nigeria's First Republic in 1960. However, the commission's lack of full independence meant that it could not serve as a truly neutral and authoritative electoral umpire. It functioned more as an administrative body than a watchdog for electoral fairness.

The experience of the ECN illustrated the need for future electoral commissions to be institutionally independent and nationally accountable in order to strengthen democratic governance.

2. Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO) – 1979–1983

The **Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO)** was created during a military administration with the intention of returning Nigeria to democratic rule. Established by the **military regime of General Olusegun Obasanjo** in the late 1970s, FEDECO played a central role in transitioning the country from military to civilian governance under the **Second Republic**.

Under the initial leadership of **Chief Michael Ani**, FEDECO was tasked with organising and conducting the **1979 general elections**, which saw **Shehu Shagari** elected as President. These elections marked a significant moment in Nigerian history, as they symbolised a return to civilian rule after years of military dominance.

FEDECO also conducted the **1983 general elections**, intended to consolidate democratic governance. However, these elections were marred by widespread **allegations of electoral malpractice, voter intimidation, and rigging**. Accusations of **partisanship and political bias** severely damaged the credibility of FEDECO and disillusioned many Nigerians about the integrity of democratic institutions.

The flawed conduct of the 1983 elections contributed directly to the **military coup of December 31, 1983**, which ended the Second Republic and re-installed military rule under General Muhammadu Buhari. FEDECO's experience underscores the danger of electoral commissions being manipulated by powerful political interests, and it highlighted the need for institutional reform and legal safeguards for electoral integrity.

3. National Electoral Commission (NEC) – 1993

The **National Electoral Commission (NEC)**, established under **General Ibrahim Babangida's** military regime, is perhaps best remembered for organising **one of the most credible elections in Nigerian history**. Headed by **Professor Humphrey Nwosu**, NEC represented a serious attempt to restore democratic governance through a carefully supervised and transparent electoral process.

One of NEC's most notable innovations was the introduction of the **Option A4 voting system** and the **Open Ballot System**. Under this arrangement, voters queued openly behind their preferred party candidates in full view of election officials and observers. This method increased transparency, reduced ballot fraud, and eliminated the anonymity that often allows electoral malpractice to thrive.

The NEC successfully conducted the **June 12, 1993 presidential election**, widely acclaimed as **free, fair, and credible** by both local and international observers. Preliminary results indicated a clear lead for **Chief Moshood Kashimawo Abiola**, the presumed winner of the election.

However, in a shocking turn of events, the military government **annulled the election results**, citing vague national security concerns. This decision sparked widespread **protests, civil unrest, and political instability**, plunging Nigeria into a prolonged crisis. The annulment undermined NEC's credibility and demonstrated how even well-organised elections can be rendered meaningless without institutional safeguards against executive interference.

The NEC era remains a powerful reminder of how military control over electoral processes can derail democratic progress, regardless of the competence and professionalism of the electoral commission.

4. Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) – *1998–Present*

The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) is the current electoral body responsible for the conduct of elections in Nigeria. It was established in 1998 by the military regime of General Abdulsalami Abubakar, following the country's return to democratic governance. The establishment of INEC marked a significant phase in Nigeria's electoral history as it aimed to ensure a more credible, transparent, and independent electoral process. Its creation was backed by legal provisions in Section 153(f) of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, which institutionalised its independence and defined its responsibilities within the framework of Nigerian democracy.

Justice Ephraim Akpata served as the first chairman of INEC and oversaw the 1999 general elections, which marked the return to civilian rule after a prolonged period of military dictatorship. Since its inception, INEC has conducted several general elections in Nigeria, including those of 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011, 2015, 2019, and 2023. Each election presented its own set of challenges, but also demonstrated progressive improvements in the commission's capacity and integrity in managing the electoral process.

Under the current leadership of Professor Mahmood Yakubu, who was appointed chairman in 2015 and continues to serve in that capacity as of 2025, INEC has introduced a series of technological and procedural innovations aimed at enhancing the transparency and credibility of elections in Nigeria. One of the notable innovations is the introduction of the Permanent Voter Cards (PVCs), which replaced the previous temporary cards and serve as a more secure and reliable means of voter identification.

INEC also implemented the Biometric Voter Registration (BVR) system, which captures voters' fingerprints and facial data to prevent multiple registrations and impersonation during elections. Another major advancement is the deployment of the Bimodal Voter Accreditation System (BVAS), which combines fingerprint and facial recognition to authenticate voters before they cast their ballots, thereby reducing the chances of electoral fraud.

Furthermore, INEC launched the IReV portal, an online Election Result Viewing platform that allows the public to access real-time uploads of polling unit results. This initiative has greatly

improved transparency and public confidence in the collation and announcement of election outcomes.

Despite facing numerous logistical, political, and security challenges, INEC has continued to evolve and adapt its operations to ensure that the democratic process in Nigeria remains credible, inclusive, and reflective of the people's will. Its reforms have not only modernised Nigeria's electoral system but have also positioned the country as a model for electoral innovation within the West African sub-region.

Functions of Electoral Commissions in Nigeria

Electoral commissions in Nigeria are responsible for registering political parties that meet the stipulated constitutional and legal requirements. This involves verifying their administrative structure, offices, and compliance with national guidelines. The aim is to ensure that only legitimate and credible political organisations contest elections.

They monitor the conduct of political parties and their campaigns to ensure strict compliance with electoral laws and fair campaign practices. This includes regulating campaign finances, discouraging hate speech, and promoting issue-based campaigns. Such oversight helps foster peaceful and credible elections.

Electoral commissions register eligible voters and issue voter cards to all qualified citizens across the country. This process involves continuous voter registration, biometric data capture, and the issuance of Permanent Voter Cards (PVCs). It ensures that only legitimate voters participate in elections, reducing fraud and multiple registrations.

They are mandated to conduct and supervise national and state elections in Nigeria. This includes the preparation of election timetables, deployment of personnel and materials, and oversight of voting, collation, and announcement processes. Their involvement guarantees that elections are credible, transparent, and reflect the people's choice.

The commissions delimit constituencies by creating or adjusting electoral boundaries to reflect population growth and demographic changes. This ensures equal representation and

prevents unfair political advantages. It also helps in aligning constituencies with administrative realities.

Educating the electorate on the electoral process is another core function of electoral commissions. They provide voter education through campaigns, workshops, and public announcements to enlighten citizens on their rights and responsibilities. This increases voter participation and strengthens democratic culture.

Electoral commissions announce and publish election results after votes have been collated and verified across polling units. This function ensures transparency, credibility, and public trust in the electoral process. Official publication also helps prevent misinformation and post-election disputes.

Challenges Faced by Electoral Commissions in Nigeria

Political interference remains a significant challenge faced by electoral commissions in Nigeria. Government officials or influential politicians often attempt to manipulate the commission's independence and decisions. This undermines public confidence in the electoral process and affects the integrity of elections.

Electoral violence frequently mars elections, posing risks to voters, officials, and the entire process. Such violence may involve intimidation, clashes between party supporters, or attacks on polling units. It discourages voter turnout and compromises the credibility of the election.

Vote rigging and ballot box snatching are common practices that distort the true will of the people. These criminal acts are often orchestrated by desperate political actors to manipulate results in their favour. They damage the legitimacy of elections and threaten democratic principles.

Logistical problems and the late arrival of electoral materials affect the smooth conduct of elections. These include transportation delays, faulty equipment, and poorly

coordinated distribution of sensitive and non-sensitive materials. Such issues lead to voter frustration, postponed elections, or even cancellations in some areas.

Judicial disputes over election outcomes are frequent, with many aggrieved candidates seeking redress in court. While the legal process is part of democracy, excessive litigation due to poorly managed elections raises questions about electoral integrity. It can also delay governance and deepen political instability.

Inadequate funding and staffing hinder the capacity of electoral commissions to perform effectively. Limited resources affect planning, recruitment, training, and the deployment of personnel and materials. This challenge weakens the commission's ability to deliver free, fair, and credible elections.

Achievements of INEC

Improved voter registration system has been one of the notable achievements of INEC. The introduction of biometric registration and continuous voter registration exercises has helped to reduce cases of multiple registrations and ineligible voters. This has enhanced the integrity and accuracy of the national voters' register.

Increased public awareness through voter education has played a vital role in encouraging civic participation. INEC has partnered with civil society organisations, media, and educational institutions to sensitise citizens on their voting rights and the importance of credible elections. As a result, more Nigerians are becoming politically informed and active.

Technological innovations such as the Bimodal Voter Accreditation System (BVAS) and the INEC Result Viewing (IReV) portal have significantly transformed the electoral process. These tools have improved the credibility of elections by reducing human interference, enhancing transparency, and curbing electoral fraud. They mark a step toward modernising Nigeria's electoral system.

Efforts toward greater transparency and credibility in electoral processes have yielded noticeable improvements. INEC has adopted policies aimed at ensuring open collation of results, timely release of information, and engagement with stakeholders. These efforts have gradually strengthened public trust in the commission and the democratic process.

WAEC/NECO Essay Past Questions on This Topic

1. **WAEC Government, June 2020 (Q6):**
   Discuss the functions and problems of electoral commissions in Nigeria.
2. **NECO Government, June 2019 (Q7):**
   Examine the performance of INEC in recent elections in Nigeria.
3. **WAEC Government, June 2017 (Q5):**
   Explain the structure and functions of any past electoral commission in Nigeria.
4. **NECO Government, June 2015 (Q6):**
   Compare the performances of NEC and INEC.
5. **WAEC Government, June 2013 (Q8):**
   Describe any three major electoral reforms introduced by INEC since 2011.

PAWILLS CONSULTING

WEEK THREE: ELECTORAL MALPRACTICES

Electoral Malpractices

Electoral malpractices are unlawful and unethical actions that undermine the integrity of elections and violate the principles of free, fair, and credible democratic processes. These malpractices include vote rigging, voter intimidation, bribery of electoral officials or voters, falsification of election results, multiple voting, and the use of hired thugs to disrupt polling activities. Such acts not only compromise the legitimacy of election outcomes but also erode public trust in democratic institutions.



These malpractices can occur at different stages of the electoral process;

i. During the **pre-election phase**, offences like fraudulent voter registration, vote buying, disqualification or intimidation of political opponents, and the manipulation of party primaries are common. These actions are aimed at tilting the playing field even before the actual election begins.

ii. On **election day**, malpractices may include ballot box snatching, impersonation of registered voters, physical assault on voters and election officials, and other forms of

violence and disruption that interfere with the smooth conduct of the polls. These acts often create fear and discourage voter turnout, thereby undermining the democratic process.

iii. In the **post-election phase**, electoral fraud can take the form of falsification or manipulation of announced results, refusal to upload or release accurate figures, and the denial of access to legal remedies or fair hearing in election petition tribunals. Such actions not only threaten peace and stability but also encourage political apathy and cynicism among citizens.

Forms of Electoral Malpractices in Nigeria

Multiple Voting:

Multiple voting occurs when a single individual casts more than one vote during an election, which undermines the principle of "one person, one vote." This is often achieved through the use of fake or duplicate voter cards, or by colluding with corrupt electoral officials who allow it to happen. It distorts the actual will of the people and gives an unfair advantage to certain candidates or parties.

Ballot Box Snatching:

This involves the use of violence or force by thugs or political agents to seize ballot boxes during or after voting. The purpose is usually to destroy votes in an opponent's stronghold or to manipulate the content of the boxes in favour of a preferred candidate. Such acts create fear among voters and compromise the credibility of the entire electoral process.

Falsification of Results:

Falsification occurs when election officials or party agents deliberately alter vote counts to favour a particular candidate. This may involve changing figures on result sheets or inputting incorrect data into result collation systems. It betrays the trust of the electorate and can lead to post-election conflict or loss of faith in the democratic process.

Underage Voting:

Underage voting happens when children below the constitutionally required age of 18

are registered and allowed to vote. This malpractice is often facilitated by local authorities or electoral officials who turn a blind eye or are complicit. It undermines the legitimacy of the election and raises serious questions about the integrity of the voters' register.

Vote Buying and Selling:

Vote buying involves offering money, food, or other material items to voters in exchange for their votes, while vote selling is the acceptance of such inducements by the electorate. This corrupt practice turns elections into a marketplace rather than a platform for making informed choices. It undermines democratic values and encourages the election of unqualified or corrupt leaders.

Violence and Intimidation:

Electoral violence includes physical assaults, destruction of property, and the use of threats to scare voters, election officials, or opposition party members. Such acts are intended to suppress voter turnout or manipulate voting behaviour, especially in opposition strongholds. It creates an atmosphere of fear and discourages citizens from participating freely in the democratic process.

Impersonation:

Impersonation occurs when an individual votes using the identity of another registered voter, often someone who is absent, deceased, or unaware. This is usually done with the help of compromised polling officials who fail to enforce identification protocols. It inflates the votes of certain candidates and deprives rightful voters of their democratic right.

Illegal Disqualification of Candidates:

Sometimes electoral bodies, under political influence or without just cause, disqualify candidates from contesting in elections. This can be done through the manipulation of screening processes or by citing unsubstantiated legal or administrative reasons. It denies voters the opportunity to choose from all available options and can spark legal disputes or political unrest.

Causes of Electoral Malpractices in Nigeria

i. **Desperation for Political Power:**

Many Nigerian politicians view politics as a means of personal enrichment rather than public service. As a result, they are willing to engage in electoral malpractices to secure victory at all costs, even if it undermines democracy. This desperation often leads to violence, bribery, and manipulation of the electoral process.

ii. **Weak Electoral Laws and Enforcement:**

Nigeria's legal framework for elections contains gaps and loopholes that can be exploited by political actors. Even when electoral fraud is detected, the lack of strict enforcement or meaningful punishment means that offenders often go free. This lack of accountability encourages a cycle of impunity and repeated electoral misconduct.

iii. **Poverty and Illiteracy:**

A significant portion of the Nigerian population lives in poverty and lacks formal education, making them vulnerable to exploitation. Politicians take advantage of this by offering small amounts of money, food, or promises in exchange for votes. Because many voters are not well-informed about their rights, they may not understand the long-term consequences of selling their votes.

iv. **Partisanship of Electoral Bodies and Security Agencies:**

Electoral officials and security operatives are sometimes influenced by political interests and may act in favour of certain candidates or parties. Instead of maintaining neutrality and fairness, they may assist in rigging, intimidation, or cover-up of malpractices. This compromise in their integrity undermines public trust in the electoral process.

v. **Lack of Political Will:**

The government often lacks the genuine commitment to overhaul the electoral system and bring perpetrators to justice. Without strong leadership and political resolve to address electoral fraud, efforts to reform the process remain weak or superficial. This inaction signals to corrupt politicians that they can get away with wrongdoing, thereby sustaining the cycle of malpractice.

vi. **Desperation for Political Power:**
Politicians are often driven by selfish interests and will go to any length to win elections.

vii. **Weak Electoral Laws and Enforcement:**
Loopholes in electoral laws and failure to punish offenders encourage fraud.

viii. **Poverty and Illiteracy:**
Poor and uninformed citizens are more susceptible to vote-buying and manipulation.

ix. **Partisanship of Electoral Bodies and Security Agencies:**
INEC officials or security forces may be compromised to favour certain candidates.

x. **Lack of Political Will:**
Government's failure to reform the system and punish electoral offenders emboldens future offenders.

Consequences of Electoral Malpractices

1. Undermining Democracy

Electoral malpractices distort the democratic process and render elections unfair and non-competitive. When leaders emerge through fraud rather than the will of the people, the essence of democracy—government by the people—is destroyed. This leads to widespread disillusionment and a weakening of democratic institutions.

2. Political Violence and Instability

When elections are rigged or manipulated, those who feel cheated often resort to protests or violence to express their grievances. Such unrest can escalate into full-blown political crises, damaging lives, property, and national unity. In extreme cases, electoral violence can lead to prolonged instability or civil conflict.

3. Loss of Public Trust

When citizens see that their votes do not count or that elections are constantly rigged, they begin to lose faith in the electoral system. This disillusionment often results in voter apathy, where

people refuse to participate in future elections. A disengaged citizenry ultimately weakens democratic governance and accountability.

4. Poor Leadership

Electoral fraud often allows incompetent, unqualified, or corrupt individuals to gain political power. Such leaders are more likely to mismanage public resources, neglect development, and violate human rights. Their lack of genuine mandate also makes them unresponsive to the needs of the people, deepening poverty and inequality.

5. International Embarrassment

Persistent electoral malpractice gives Nigeria a negative reputation in the international community. It damages the country's credibility as a democratic nation and may affect its relationships with donor countries and international organisations. This can lead to reduced foreign investment, sanctions, or exclusion from global democratic initiatives.

Measures to Curb Electoral Malpractices

1. **Electoral Reforms:** One of the most effective ways to tackle electoral malpractice is by strengthening existing electoral laws and closing loopholes that enable fraud. Comprehensive reforms should include stricter penalties for offences such as vote-buying, result falsification, and ballot box snatching. These laws must be consistently enforced to serve as a deterrent and restore public confidence in the electoral system.
2. **Use of Technology:** Technological innovations like biometric accreditation (such as BVAS), electronic voting, and online result transmission (such as IReV) help reduce human interference and manipulation. These systems ensure that only registered voters are accredited and that election results are recorded and transmitted transparently. The reliability and automation brought by technology significantly curb traditional methods of rigging.
3. **Voter Education:** Educating the electorate is crucial to combating electoral fraud. Citizens must understand their rights, the value of their votes, and the dangers of

accepting bribes or selling their votes. A well-informed voter population is more likely to resist manipulation and hold political actors accountable.

4. **Empowerment of INEC:** The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) must be given full autonomy to operate without political pressure or interference. Adequate funding, staffing, and legal backing will enable the body to carry out its duties impartially and efficiently. Strengthening INEC's independence is essential for credible and transparent elections.
5. **Security and Monitoring:** Neutral, well-trained security personnel should be deployed to polling stations to protect voters, election officials, and materials. Their presence helps prevent violence, intimidation, and illegal activities such as ballot box snatching. Additionally, election monitors from both local and international organisations should be allowed to observe the process and report irregularities.
6. **Judicial Intervention:** The judiciary plays a critical role in resolving election-related disputes. Timely, impartial, and transparent handling of election petitions ensures that justice is served and deters future offenders. When the courts are trusted and efficient, political actors are less likely to resort to violence or fraud to win elections.

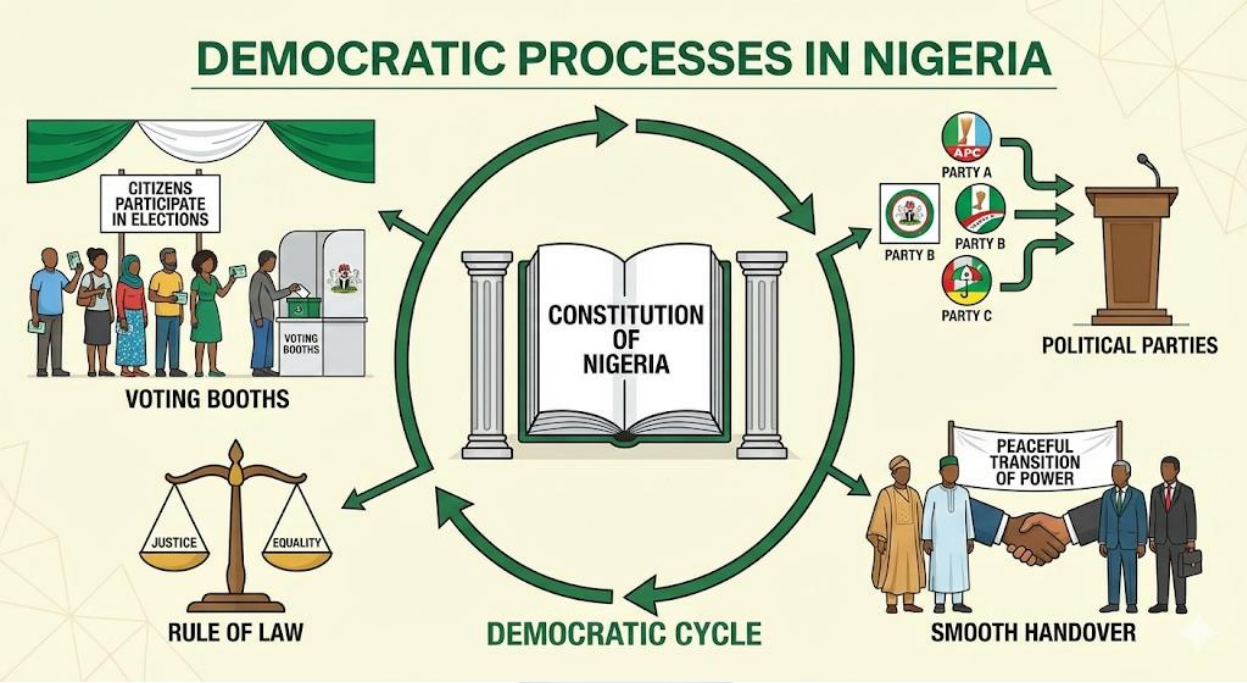
Five WAEC/NECO Essay Past Questions on Electoral Malpractices

1. **WAEC Government, June 2021 (Q6):**
   Highlight five causes and five effects of electoral malpractices in Nigeria.
2. **NECO Government, June 2019 (Q5):**
   Explain five forms of electoral malpractice and suggest five ways to reduce them.
3. **WAEC Government, June 2017 (Q7):**
   Discuss five consequences of electoral malpractices on democratic development in Nigeria.
4. **WAEC Government, June 2015 (Q6):**
   Describe five electoral offences and their impact on the credibility of elections.
5. **NECO Government, June 2013 (Q4):**
   Examine the role of electoral bodies in preventing election malpractice in Nigeria.

WEEK FOUR: DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES IN NIGERIA

Democracy

Democracy is a form of government in which the supreme power is vested in the people and exercised directly by them or by their elected representatives under a free electoral system. The concept originates from the Greek words *demos* (people) and *kratos* (rule), meaning *rule by the people*. In Nigeria, democracy implies that the citizens have the right to participate in the decision-making process, especially through voting in periodic, free, and fair elections.



Democratic Processes

Democratic processes refer to the mechanisms, institutions, and activities through which democratic governance is established, maintained, and consolidated. These processes ensure the participation of the citizens in governance, promote accountability, guarantee the rule of law, and protect fundamental human rights and freedoms. In Nigeria, democratic processes include elections, political party activities, law-making procedures, judicial oversight, civil society participation, and periodic public consultations.

Key Democratic Processes in Nigeria

1. Electoral Process

The electoral process is central to democracy. In Nigeria, elections are held periodically to choose leaders at the federal, state, and local government levels. The process involves voter registration, political campaigns, voting, vote counting, and result declaration. The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) is responsible for conducting these elections. Free, fair, and credible elections are essential to the success of democracy in Nigeria.

2. Political Party Participation

Political parties are essential organs in the democratic process. They serve as platforms for political mobilisation, interest aggregation, and recruitment of candidates for elections. In Nigeria, registered political parties such as the People's Democratic Party (PDP), the All Progressives Congress (APC), and others play a vital role in shaping the direction of governance. They present manifestoes, canvass for votes, and engage in opposition or ruling party duties.

3. Separation of Powers

Democracy thrives on the principle of separation of powers among the three arms of government—legislature, executive, and judiciary. In Nigeria, this principle is enshrined in the 1999 Constitution (as amended). It ensures checks and balances to prevent abuse of power and promote good governance.

4. Rule of Law

The rule of law is the principle that all individuals and institutions are subject to and accountable to law that is fairly applied and enforced. In Nigeria, democracy requires that government actions must be based on established legal frameworks, and that the rights of individuals are protected by the courts.

5. Free Press and Freedom of Expression

Democracy demands a free and independent press. In Nigeria, the media serves as a watchdog of government activities, educates the public, and provides a platform for debate and discussion. Despite challenges such as censorship and harassment of journalists, the press remains an important element of Nigeria's democratic process.

6. Civil Society Participation

Civil society organisations (CSOs) such as NGOs, professional associations, labour unions, and faith-based groups contribute significantly to democratic development. They mobilise citizens, advocate for policies, monitor elections, and hold government accountable. In Nigeria, civil society has played an essential role in promoting transparency and human rights.

7. Judicial Oversight and Constitutionalism

The judiciary interprets the laws and adjudicates disputes in accordance with the Constitution. In Nigeria, democratic governance relies heavily on the judiciary's impartiality and independence. Courts play a pivotal role in resolving electoral disputes, enforcing the rights of citizens, and upholding the Constitution.

8. Public Consultation and Accountability

Public consultations through town hall meetings, public hearings, and stakeholder forums enable citizens to participate in policymaking. Nigerian democracy also emphasises accountability, where leaders are answerable to the people through mechanisms like legislative oversight, media scrutiny, and audit reports.

Challenges Facing Democratic Processes in Nigeria

Despite progress since the return to civil rule in 1999, Nigeria's democratic processes face several challenges:

- **Electoral violence and rigging** which undermine the credibility of elections.

- **Corruption** which weakens institutions and erodes public trust.
- **Political godfatherism** that limits merit and suppresses internal party democracy.
- **Low political participation** especially among youths and women.
- **Judicial compromise and executive interference** in court decisions.

Importance of Democratic Processes

Democratic processes are crucial for:

Promoting Political Stability and Peaceful Change of Government: Free and fair elections allow leaders to be changed through the ballot, not violence, reducing political tension and instability.

Ensuring Transparency and Accountability in Governance: Elected leaders know they can be voted out, so they are more likely to govern transparently and be accountable to the people.

Protecting Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms: Credible elections uphold citizens' rights to vote, speak freely, and choose their leaders without fear or oppression.

Enhancing Development Through Participatory Policymaking: When citizens choose their representatives, those leaders are more likely to make inclusive and people-focused development policies.

Legitimising Leadership and Enhancing National Unity: Leaders elected through a credible process gain public trust, which promotes unity, patriotism, and national cohesion.

WAEC/NECO Past Essay Questions on Democratic Processes

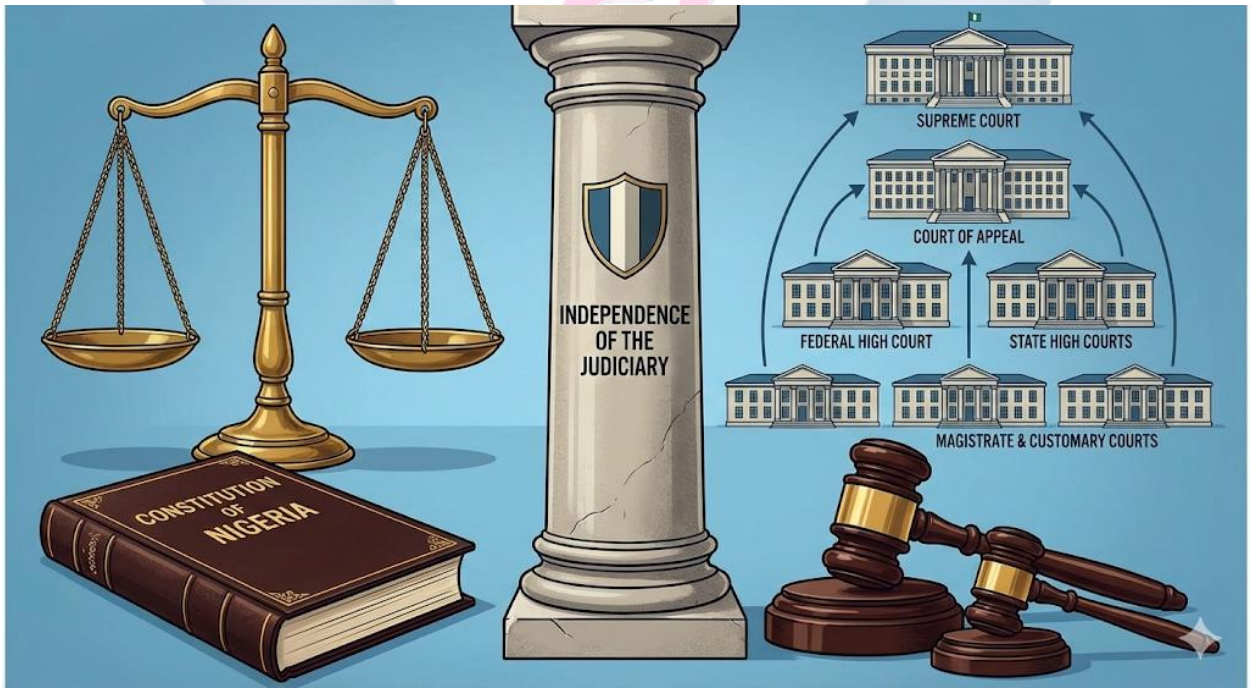
1. **WAEC Government, June 2019 (Q5):**
   Explain five democratic processes that are essential for effective governance in Nigeria.
2. **NECO Government, June 2021 (Q4):**
   Discuss the role of political parties and civil society in Nigeria's democratic process.
3. **WAEC Government, June 2017 (Q6):**
   Identify and explain five ways through which democracy can be sustained in Nigeria.

4. **NECO Government, June 2016 (Q3):**
   Examine the challenges facing democratic governance in Nigeria.
5. **WAEC Government, June 2014 (Q7):**
   Highlight five roles played by the judiciary in sustaining democratic governance in Nigeria.

WEEK SIX: JUDICIARY

Introduction

The judiciary is the third arm of government, alongside the executive and the legislature. It is primarily responsible for interpreting laws, resolving disputes, and upholding justice within a society. A strong, independent, and impartial judiciary is essential in maintaining the rule of law and sustaining democratic governance. In Nigeria, the judiciary plays a significant role in interpreting the constitution, safeguarding citizens' rights, and checking the powers of the other branches of government.



Structure of the Judiciary in Nigeria

The structure of the Nigerian judiciary is hierarchical, operating at both federal and state levels. It is organised as follows:

a. The Supreme Court

The Supreme Court is the highest court in Nigeria. It has original jurisdiction in disputes involving the federal government and a state or between states. It also has appellate jurisdiction and serves as the final court of appeal in Nigeria. Its decisions are binding on all other courts.

b. The Court of Appeal

This is the second highest court. It hears appeals from the Federal High Court, State High Courts, Election Tribunals, and other lower courts. It has jurisdiction across all 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory.

c. The Federal High Court

The Federal High Court handles cases that relate to federal laws, such as revenue, taxation, banking, and copyright issues. It has branches in various states across Nigeria.

d. The State High Courts

Each state has a State High Court, which serves as the highest court within the state's judiciary. It hears both civil and criminal cases and also entertains appeals from lower courts in the state.

e. The National Industrial Court

This court is concerned with disputes arising from labour and industrial relations. It has original jurisdiction over matters relating to employment and industrial conflicts.

f. The Sharia Courts of Appeal

These exist in states that implement Sharia law, primarily in the northern parts of Nigeria. They handle Islamic personal law cases involving Muslims.

g. The Customary Courts of Appeal

These handle appeals from Customary Courts and deal with matters relating to customs and traditions, mainly in southern Nigeria.

h. Magistrate Courts and Customary Courts

These are the lowest courts. Magistrate Courts handle minor civil and criminal cases, while Customary Courts deal with local customary issues.

Functions of the Judiciary

The judiciary performs several vital functions in a democratic society. These include:

a. Interpretation of the Law

The judiciary interprets the constitution and laws enacted by the legislature. In doing so, it provides clarity and ensures uniform application of the law.

b. Adjudication of Disputes

One of the judiciary's core duties is to resolve conflicts between individuals, organisations, and government entities. Courts act as impartial arbiters in civil and criminal matters.

c. Protection of Fundamental Human Rights

The judiciary protects the rights and freedoms of citizens as enshrined in the constitution. It provides legal remedies when these rights are violated.

d. Judicial Review

The judiciary has the power to review the actions and decisions of the executive and legislature to ensure they conform with constitutional provisions. This helps maintain the rule of law.

e. Settlement of Electoral Disputes

Election petition tribunals and appellate courts play a crucial role in resolving conflicts that arise from electoral processes, ensuring democratic credibility.

f. Punishment of Offenders

The judiciary determines guilt or innocence in criminal cases and imposes penalties or sentences where appropriate.

Independence of the Judiciary

Judicial independence is a fundamental principle of democracy. It implies that judges must be free from external pressures and influences in the discharge of their duties.

a. Security of Tenure

Judges are appointed to serve until a mandatory retirement age (70 years for the Supreme Court and Court of Appeal, 65 for other courts), ensuring they are not easily removed from office.

b. Financial Autonomy

The judiciary is supposed to have a separate budget from the executive, giving it financial independence. This reduces the likelihood of undue influence from the executive arm.

c. Appointment and Discipline by the National Judicial Council (NJC)

The NJC ensures that judicial appointments, promotions, and discipline are based on merit and integrity, shielding the judiciary from political manipulation.

d. Immunity from External Influence

Judges are not subject to public or political pressure. Their rulings must be based on facts, evidence, and the law alone.

e. Code of Conduct

Judges are expected to uphold high moral and ethical standards. The Code of Conduct Bureau and the NJC monitor compliance to prevent corruption or bias.

Challenges to Judicial Independence in Nigeria

Despite constitutional provisions, the judiciary in Nigeria faces challenges that affect its independence. These include:

- Political interference, especially in high-profile cases.
- Delays in judicial processes and case backlogs.
- Corruption and lack of transparency.
- Inadequate funding and poor infrastructure.

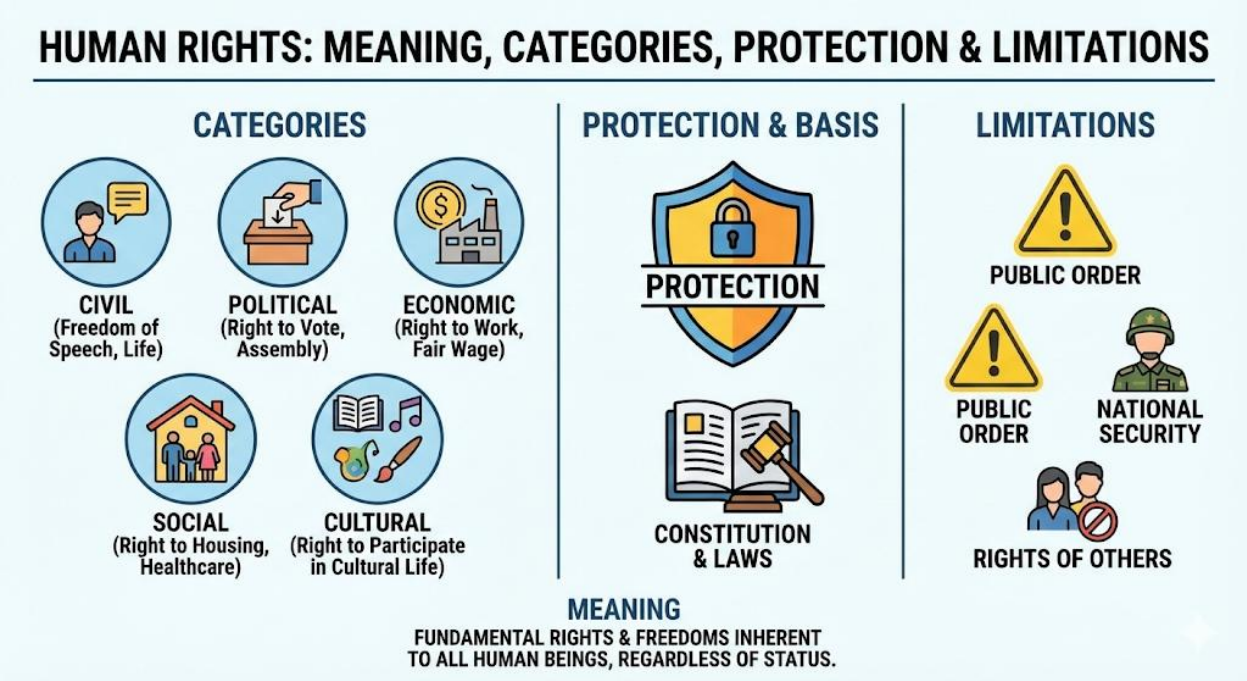
WAEC/NECO Essay Past Questions on Judiciary

1. **WAEC Government, June 2019 (Q7):**
   Discuss the structure of the Nigerian judiciary.
2. **NECO Government, June 2016 (Q6):**
   Explain five functions of the judiciary in a democratic state.
3. **WAEC Government, June 2015 (Q5):**
   Highlight the importance of judicial independence in a democracy.
4. **NECO Government, June 2014 (Q8):**
   Discuss five problems affecting the Nigerian judiciary.
5. **WAEC Government, June 2012 (Q6):**
   Enumerate five ways of ensuring the independence of the judiciary in Nigeria.

WEEK EIGHT: HUMAN RIGHTS

Introduction

Human rights are fundamental rights and freedoms that are guaranteed to all individuals regardless of nationality, ethnicity, gender, religion, or social status. These rights are regarded as universal, inalienable, and inherent to human dignity. In Nigeria, human rights are enshrined in Chapter IV of the 1999 Constitution (as amended), and they reflect the global consensus as recognised in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) of 1948.



These rights ensure that every citizen can live freely, participate in governance, and enjoy social, economic, and political opportunities without fear of oppression or discrimination.

Human Rights

Human rights are legal, moral, and ethical entitlements which individuals possess by virtue of being human. These rights are protected by law and international conventions. In democratic states like Nigeria, human rights are essential in promoting freedom, justice, and equality among citizens.

They include rights such as the right to life, freedom of expression, right to fair hearing, and freedom from torture or inhuman treatment.

Categories of Human Rights

Human rights are generally grouped into several categories based on their nature and focus. These categories are:

a) Civil and Political Rights

These are rights that protect individuals from state abuse and ensure participation in political and civil life. Examples include:

- Right to life
- Right to personal liberty
- Right to fair hearing
- Freedom of expression
- Freedom of movement
- Freedom of association
- Freedom from discrimination

These rights are often referred to as "first-generation rights" and are considered fundamental to democratic governance.

b) Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

These rights promote the economic well-being and cultural participation of citizens. They include:

- Right to education
- Right to work and fair wages
- Right to adequate healthcare
- Right to social security
- Right to own property

- Right to participate in cultural life

These are sometimes known as “second-generation rights” and are critical for social development and equality.

c) Environmental and Developmental Rights

These are relatively new categories of rights (third-generation rights) that recognise the need for a sustainable environment and global cooperation. Examples include:

- Right to a clean and healthy environment
- Right to development
- Right to peace

These rights promote international solidarity and collective responsibility for the planet and its inhabitants.

Protection of Human Rights in Nigeria

Human rights in Nigeria are protected through various legal, institutional, and constitutional mechanisms:

a) The Constitution

Chapter IV of the 1999 Constitution guarantees the fundamental rights of citizens. The courts have the power to enforce these rights when they are violated.

b) Judiciary

The judiciary plays a pivotal role in the protection of human rights by interpreting and enforcing the Constitution. Citizens can approach the High Court, Court of Appeal, or the Supreme Court for redress.

c) National Human Rights Commission (NHRC)

The NHRC was established to investigate complaints of human rights violations and promote respect for human dignity. It serves as a watchdog and advocate for the rights of citizens.

d) Civil Society Organisations (CSOs)

Organisations such as the Civil Liberties Organisation (CLO), Legal Aid Council, and others engage in public awareness, legal support, and advocacy for the protection of rights.

e) International Treaties and Conventions

Nigeria is a signatory to several international human rights conventions such as the UDHR, African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, and others. These instruments reinforce domestic human rights protection.

Limitations to Human Rights

While human rights are fundamental, they are not absolute. The Constitution allows for certain limitations in the interest of national security, public morality, or public order.

a) Security Concerns

During times of war, insurrection, or emergency, some rights may be suspended to maintain public safety.

b) Public Morality

The state may limit certain rights to prevent immorality or indecent conduct in society.

c) Protection of Others' Rights

One's rights may be limited where their exercise infringes upon the rights and freedoms of others.

d) Legal Restrictions

Rights may be restricted through court orders or legal penalties (e.g. imprisonment following due process).

Importance of Human Rights

- **Promotes dignity and equality:** Everyone is treated with respect, irrespective of background.
- **Ensures democratic participation:** Citizens can freely express opinions and participate in governance.
- **Protects from abuse:** Shields individuals from arbitrary arrest, torture, or exploitation.
- **Fosters peace and justice:** Human rights encourage fair treatment and conflict resolution.

Evaluation:

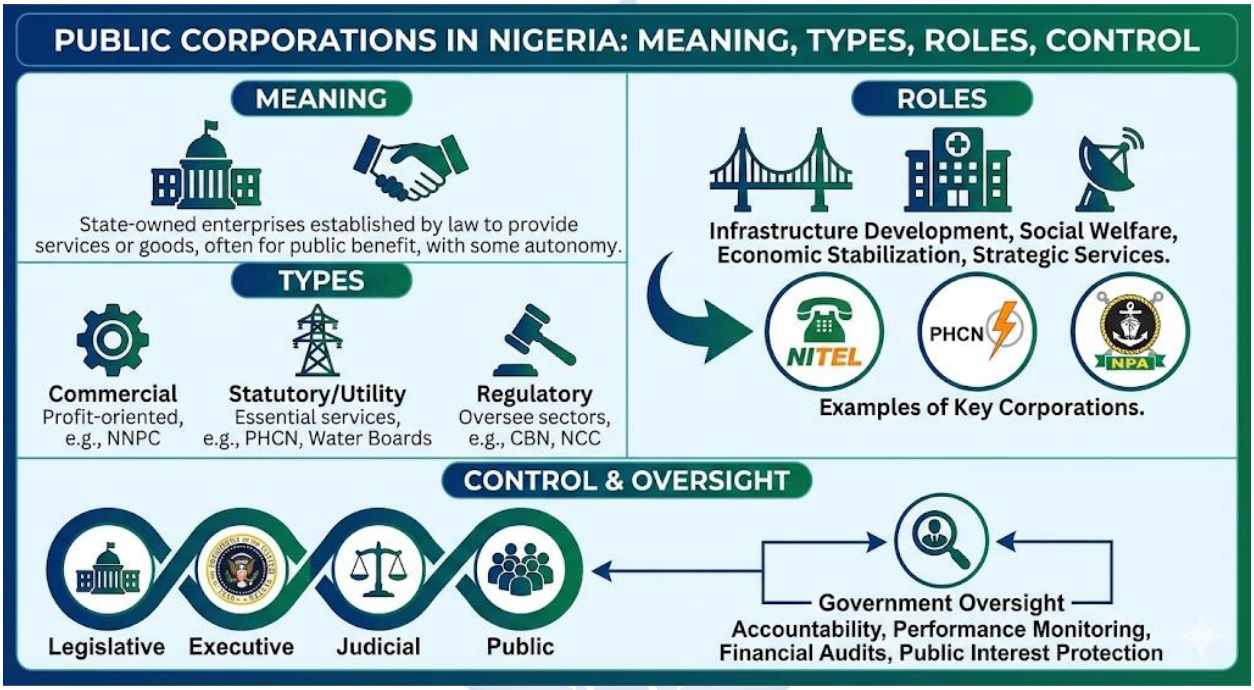
WAEC/NECO Essay Past Questions on Human Rights

1. **WAEC Government, June 2018:**
   Explain five ways through which fundamental human rights can be safeguarded in Nigeria.
2. **NECO Government, June 2015:**
   Discuss five fundamental human rights enshrined in the Nigerian Constitution.
3. **WAEC Government, June 2013:**
   Outline the limitations to the enjoyment of human rights in Nigeria.
4. **WAEC Government, June 2010:**
   Examine the importance of human rights in a democratic society.
5. **NECO Government, June 2008:**
   Highlight five roles of the judiciary in the protection of human rights in Nigeria.

WEEK NINE: PUBLIC CORPORATIONS IN NIGERIA

Public Corporations

A public corporation is a business organisation owned and managed by the government in the public interest. It is usually established by an Act of Parliament or Decree and operates independently of government ministries, though it is accountable to the government. It is also referred to as a statutory corporation**.**



Public corporations are set up to provide essential services that may not be efficiently or profitably managed by private enterprises, such as electricity, water supply, railway transport, postal services, and petroleum regulation.

Examples of Public Corporations in Nigeria include:

- The Nigerian National Petroleum Company Limited (NNPC Ltd)
- National Electricity Regulatory Commission (NERC)
- Federal Airports Authority of Nigeria (FAAN)
- Nigerian Ports Authority (NPA)

- Nigerian Communications Commission (NCC)

Types of Public Corporations

Public corporations in Nigeria can be classified based on their **functions** or **sector of operation**:

a. Utility Corporations:

These provide essential public services such as water, electricity, and transportation.
Examples: PHCN (Power Holding Company of Nigeria, now unbundled into DISCOS), Water Boards.

b. Regulatory Corporations:

They regulate specific industries or services to ensure standards, fair pricing, and protection of consumer rights.
Examples: NCC (Nigerian Communications Commission), NERC.

c. Financial Corporations:

These provide financial services, credit support, or regulate financial operations.
Examples: Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN), Bank of Industry (BoI).

d. Development Corporations:

These focus on economic and industrial development.
Examples: Nigerian Investment Promotion Commission (NIPC), Industrial Training Fund (ITF).

Roles and Functions of Public Corporations

Public corporations play a vital role in national development and service delivery. Their key functions include:

a. ***Provision of Essential Services:*** They offer basic services such as electricity, water, and postal services that are necessary for the well-being of the people and economic growth.

***b. Employment Generation*:** They provide jobs to thousands of Nigerians across various sectors.

c. ***Economic Development:*** They invest in sectors where the private sector is either unwilling or unable to operate due to high risks or low profit.

d. ***Revenue Generation:*** Some public corporations generate revenue for the government through tariffs, charges, and licensing.

e. ***Regulation and Control:*** Regulatory public corporations ensure that industries and service providers comply with national laws and standards.

f. ***Bridging Infrastructure Gaps:*** They develop infrastructure in areas such as transport, energy, and communication to promote national development.

Control of Public Corporations

Though public corporations operate with relative autonomy, the government still exercises various forms of control to ensure accountability, efficiency, and alignment with national objectives. These controls include: ***a. Ministerial Control:*** The minister of the supervising ministry may issue directives, approve policies, or demand reports from the corporation.

b. Parliamentary Control: The National Assembly can question the operations of public corporations through oversight functions, especially during budget defence.

c. Auditing: Public corporations are required to submit their financial records for regular auditing by bodies like the Auditor-General of the Federation.

d. Judicial Control: The courts may intervene where the public corporation acts beyond its legal powers (ultra vires) or violates citizens' rights.

e. Board of Directors: Each corporation is run by a board that includes government appointees who oversee operations and policy implementation.

f. Budgetary Control: Government may influence their operations through approval or withholding of funds.

Challenges Facing Public Corporations in Nigeria

Despite their important roles, public corporations face several issues:

Corruption and Mismanagement: Many public corporations suffer from fraudulent practices such as embezzlement, inflated contracts, and favouritism. These actions weaken the financial health and operational efficiency of the corporations. Consequently, services rendered to the public are often substandard or completely absent.

Political Interference: Government officials often interfere in the day-to-day running of public corporations, imposing decisions that serve political interests rather than public good. This undermines professionalism and hinders the autonomy required for effective management. It also discourages competent experts from leading or managing such institutions.

Inefficiency and Bureaucratic Delays: Cumbersome administrative procedures and red tape often slow down decision-making and service delivery. This inefficiency affects productivity and discourages innovation. Customers and stakeholders are left frustrated by slow responses and unresolved issues.

Poor Funding and Resource Constraints: Many public corporations are underfunded and lack the resources necessary to operate optimally. This results in outdated infrastructure, inadequate staffing, and poor service delivery. Without proper investment, their long-term survival and competitiveness are threatened.

Lack of Accountability: There is often no effective system in place to monitor performance or punish wrongdoing. As a result, officials act with impunity, knowing they will not be held responsible for failure or corruption. This weakens public trust and hinders the goal of national development through public institutions.

WAEC/NECO Essay Questions

1. Define a public corporation and explain five reasons why public corporations are established in Nigeria. *(WAEC 2017)*
2. List and explain four types of public corporations in Nigeria. *(NECO 2015)*
3. Discuss five functions of public corporations in Nigeria. *(WAEC 2019)*
4. Highlight and explain four ways public corporations are controlled by the government. *(WAEC 2014)*
5. What are the problems facing public corporations in Nigeria today? Suggest possible solutions. *(NECO 2018)*