Political Culture and Crisis of National Unity: The Nigerian Experience

Hillary I. Ekemam, Ph.D
Department of Political Science
Imo State University, Owerri
E-mail: larryimsu@yahoo.com

Abstract
As a political entity, Nigeria has since the amalgamation of 1914 faced the problem of disunity based on contending ethnic and regional group interests. Successive administrations have witnessed all forms of political instability which has affected national unity ever since. This paper focuses on the role of political culture in national unification and attempts to examine the extent to which Nigeria's heterogeneous political culture can offer a useful explanation for her lingering crisis of national unity which has by extension, hindered progressive governance which is a sine qua non for political growth and development. The paper is anchored on the central question: can the heterogeneity of political culture amongst the peoples of Nigeria offer a useful explanation for its crisis of national unity? The study adopted the 'Tossed salad' theoretical framework as opposed to the 'Melting pot' to drive our assumption that there is a relationship between politico-cultural heterogeneity and crisis of governance cum nation building in Nigeria. Data for the study is generated from secondary qualitative sources while our analysis is descriptively qualitative and historical. The paper finds that culture is a central ingredient for national unity as well as a centripetal force that binds a given society together and provides a common ground for articulation of issues of common interests that lead to growth and development. To lessen the manifest schism characteristic of the current milieu, the paper recommends among others: (1). a restructuring of the country as presently organized to a truly Con-federal political system where greater autonomy is given to regional entities on the basis of their political culture or (2). a constitutional amendment which recognizing the right of secession in the light of the intense contemporary agitations by "sovereign" nationalities for self-rule – agitation of which is manifestation of disunity characterizing contemporary Nigeria's political system.

Key Words: *Political culture, 'Tossed salad' or Melting pot?, Cultural heterogeneity, Political instability, Crisis of national unity.*

The political and cultural history of the territory later to be known as Nigeria following the 1914 amalgamation of its northern and southern protectorates by the British is very diverse. It goes far back into the cultural organization of the diverse ethnic groups or nationalities that made up Nigeria as presently constituted. A rough estimate of the language its language components of the area under study approximates 250. These languages could rightly be said to be the major yardstick to measure the distinctiveness of the political cultures of the people of Nigeria. Same thing can be said of its religion and political organization or systems before their colonial experience.

Nigeria of today lacks the binding and bonding force of a national entity caused by dissimilar

politico-cultural socialization of its component groups. Hence, except for that forced upon them by their colonial fathers who appear to have been reluctantly assimilated, enduring political stability has continued to elude Nigeria since her independence in October 1, 1960. This has by extension cause enduring crisis of nation building ever since.

During the colonial period, different regional governments established on the basis of cultural identities and affinities had different outlooks on the future of the entity called Nigeria. While the northerners had wished for the continuation of colonial rule, the south wanted self-rule as a matter of urgency. Even during that near half a century of dependent government, the colonists had to contend with the dilemma associated with lack of unity amongst different cultural groups – the unity that was needed for the sustenance of a governable political entity. This, occurring as each region formed on the basis of their cultural affinity sought to retain their individual religious and political structures.

Even when independence was finally won following the acquiescence of the core north, elections to the presidency has pitted one regional culture against another to the extent that even political parties are formed on regional and ethnic lines with each regional grouping voting along those lines (Sklar, 1963).

Since independence, Nigeria has fought a civil war that lasted three years (1967- 1970). This war was not fought on the basis of ideology nor was it on specific economic issues; instead it was fought strictly on regional and cultural lines. The Yorubas who had reluctantly joined the Hausa/Fulani in that war did so almost as a protest over what they considered as Ibo domination in the civil service of the federation with its capital in the Yoruba-dominated Lagos.

During the struggle for independence many political associations emerged in Nigeria which had been organized merely along ethnic and cultural line. Examples of these were the Urhobo Union representing the Urhobo language speaking people, Ibibio Union representing the Effik language speaking people, the Igbo State Union representing the Igbo language speaking people, and the Egbe Omo Oduduwa, representing the Yoruba speaking ethnic group.

Even the creation of states by General Yakubu Gowon which precipitated that civil war did not dilute regional and cultural identifications. Hence, today many still believe that the first military coup of 1966 in which its major victims were politicians of northern extraction, was an "Ibo coup" (Torduff, 1984). Almost in quick succession, several other military coups have taken place in Nigeria and the crises of succession that have ushered in the regimes have been interpreted along ethnic and regional lines and interests.

As we write, Nigeria as a "nation" has, in the past two decades, or so, been contending with the activities of different militant and non-militant groups whose activities manifest agitation for self-determination. These includes such organizations or groups as the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra, MOSSOB, Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta, MEND, O'odua Peoples' Congress, Arewa Consultative Forum, ACF, and most recently, the Indigenous People of Biafra, IPOB, and the Avengers, all of which are based on respective "sovereign" nationalistic sentiments (Ekemam, 2015).

In view of this seeming heterogeneous as opposed to homogeneous political and ethno-cultural consciousness amongst different peoples of Nigeria, the unity needed to organize a common political direction and common political interest has continued to elude Nigeria. These are the problematic that has informed the conduct of this research.

Objective of the Study
The objective of this paper is seeking to find explanation for the crisis of nation building or

political instability in Nigeria. Or in the alternative, the paper aims at finding out the relationship between Nigeria's heterogeneous political culture and the seeming endless crisis of national unity which has by extension affected its political development as a national entity.

In terms of scope, our study will cover mainly the period from the 1914 amalgamation by the British Crown till the contemporary period but will have a brief historical overview of the territory and its people before their colonial experience.

Our major assumption or hypothesis (if you will) for the study is in tandem with that of Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba who in their (1963: 23-26) work theorized that "a stable political system was more likely when the political culture is congruent with the structures of the political system". This postulate is compatible for our purpose when we consider the fact that amalgamated entities that formed the Nigerian "nation", as we shall see in later passages, were different peoples with different cultures, whose political systems, political organizations as well as structures were different from one another.

Political Culture: A Conceptual Clarification

The concept of political culture has found popularity in the works of eminent scholars like Gabriel Almond and Bringham Powell, Jr. (1978), as well as those of Lucian W. Pye & Sidney Verba (1965). For the former:

> *Political culture is the set of attitudes, beliefs, and feelings about politics current in a nation at a given time. This political culture has been shaped by the nation's history, and by the ongoing processes of social, economic, and political activity. This attitude patterns that have been shaped in past experience have important constraining effects on future political behavior. The political culture affects the conduct of individuals in their political roles, the content of their political demands, and their responses to laws…Political culture shapes the actions of individuals performing political roles throughout the political system (p. 25).*

Political culture as an attitude is acquired as one is sometimes unconsciously socialized into a political society through major agents of socialization. Political culture can equally be acquired through the operation of the legal system within a given society. This legal system defines boundaries or establishes constraint or freedom between what is acceptable of good citizenship and what is not. Thus political culture is to a very greater extent that political attitude that defines any given political society.

The seeming general opposition given to Donald Trump's candidacy to the ongoing presidential campaign in the United States is a reflection of the somewhat "un-American" disposition of his campaign rhetoric. It has been factually observed that this is the first time in the history of American electoral system where all living former Presidents and Vice Presidents, regardless of their party affiliations have opposed a flag bearer of a party going into the presidential election. The point being made is that American political culture could be characterized by inclusivity, an attitude Donald Trump's statements and vows do not reflect.

Theoretical Framework

For our theoretical framework, the study faces two competing paradigms, viz: the *melting pot* and the *tossed salad*. However, it will be necessary to explain the theories to offer a better grasp

of their respective appropriateness or otherwise their inappropriateness for this work**.**

The Melting pot Theory

The melting pot theory came into usage as a metaphor for a fusion of nationalities in the United States in 1808**.** It was employed as a paradigm to understand how immigrant races were "melting" into a new political and cultural environment, stripping themselves of their original cultural habits and traits through a process of socialization and assimilation into the way of life of the "majority" or dominant group.

This theory was later to be popularized by one Israel Zangwill in a play entitled: *The Melting Pot* (Zingwill**,** 2006). Also referred to as "*cultural assimilation"*, the theory revolves around the analogy that "the ingredient in the pot (people of different politico-cultural and religion) are mixed so they lose their distinctive identities and yield a final product of uniform constituency and flavor which is different from the original input. In this case, it is expected that by losing their original cultural identities, people of different political and cultural backgrounds would have assimilated into a totally different political culture *voluntarily***.** This theory does not appropriately explain the phenomenon of our interest for this study.

The Tossed Salad Theory

The theory of tossed salad has been adopted for our study for reasons that are in order here. But before that, the foundation of tossed salad theory which was explained in 1782 by a French immigrant to the United States, J. Hector Crevecoeur, envisioned America becoming a nation comprised of a completely new race that would eventually change to the world scene through its labor force and its subsequent posterity" (Laubeova'), without any losing their respective original cultural identity (Gloor,B.L., From The Melting Pot…). The *tossed salad theory* is analogous to or metaphor of how "*ingredients* retain their individuality thus retaining their individual integrity and flavor."

For our purpose, the germane point to be noted here is that while the *melting pot* describes a "voluntary immigration" or assimilation of diverse races and cultures into a new socio-cultural and political experience as the in the United States, the *tossed salad* (for which is compatible with our trajectory in this study) describes a "forced amalgamation" of peoples of diverse socio-cultural, religious, as well as political cum cultural ways of life - something completely alien to them. In that sense, different ingredients in the 'soup' or salad bowl retain their distinct coloration, texture, as well as flavor.

This theory is relevant for this study when we consider the political and cultural history of the pre-colonial, colonial, and contemporary Nigeria. It is even especially so as it relates to the difficulty faced by the colonists to find a unifying political arrangement or symbol around which different ethnic cum cultural groups in Nigeria could gravitate and to be peacefully governed. It is these divisive elements that our study has chosen to identify as the heterogeneity of Nigeria's political culture.

Brief Pre-Amalgamation Politico-Cultural History of Nigeria

Most studies on the pre-independent Nigeria essentially begin with the 1914 amalgamation of the protectorates of the north and south. But the territories later to be known as Nigeria existed in some form or fashion as culturally and politically distinctive peoples. Be that the case, Nigeria's political tradition has been long. Some historical scholarships trace this tradition to as way back as 800C.E. and its developments can be classified into three historical periods beginning with the

pre-colonial era, followed by the colonial era, and then the contemporary period that began with independence in 1960.

Though our concern in this chapter is principally the political culture that may have influenced or caused crisis of national unity, it needs be stated that certain characteristics defined this territory later to be known as Nigeria before the so-called *civilizing mission* of the white man), viz:

   (a). It was a territory where there was strong influence of Islam to its north, the characteristic is still very alive and well in the present era.
   (b).   Its politics was more or less kinship based so that even today in the north, particularly, the Emirs have tremendous influence on the direction of political affairs, loyalties, and interests.
   (c).   It had a complex political identity and
   (d). Democratic impulses were well rooted particularly in the south made up of the major ethnic groups of the Ibo (Igbo) and the Yoruba.

The history of the territories which since ca.1900 have been known under the name of Nigeria during that pre-colonial period (16th to 18th centuries) was dominated by a number of powerful West African kingdoms or empires, such as the Edo Benin Empire and the Islamic Songhai Empire in the north and west, and the Igbo kingdom of Onitsha in the southeast and various Hausa-Fulani kingdoms" (History of Nigeria, 2016).

The Socio-Cultural and Political Features

The territories of the north and south which were later to be amalgamated were referred to as protectorates following the coming of the British as we shall elaborate later. The protectorates of the north and south had within them language groupings of a little over 250 which was basically the framework for the constituted kingdoms and were ran as autonomous empires. For example, within the Southern protectorates were the *Binis* (now Benin). The Bini kingdom, where, in the main, Edo language is spoken spanned into some of the areas collectively known as the Southwest geopolitical zone of the present Nigeria. There were also other kingdoms as the *Ife* and *Oyo* of the Yoruba-speaking people and the Onitstha (*Nri*) kingdom of the Igbo-speaking ethnic group. However, within what was later to be administered as the South Eastern region following independence, which Igbo people were in the population majority, were the Efiks, Ibibios, and other minority ethnic groups with different languages that defined their peoples and their loyalties (Coleman, 1986).

The pattern above replicated markedly in the north with the Nupe, Tiv, Haus-Fulani, Jukun, Kanuri, Birom, etc, with their distinguishable language structures which provided a centripetal force for cohesiveness in those various sub-cultures and political organizations. These groups lived in such socio-cultural settings for centuries practicing their own religions before the Jihadist movement that took over the major part of the northern territory while Christianity came through the Atlantic shores to influence the people of the southern protectorates in what the colonists referred to as a "civilizing mission" with the white man's bible in one hand and eyes on the resources of the south.

 In the south-eastern region which harbor in the main, the Igbo language-speaking group, the creation of states which was a prelude to the Nigerian Civil war redirected the specific political focuses and interests inwardly. While the present Anambra, Imo, Abia, Ebonyi, Akwa-Ibom, Rivers, Bayelsa, Cross River, and Rivers states may now see themselves as states, in the earlier days, they were parts and parcel of the Eastern Region although with their sub-cultural identities (Coleman, 1986). This pattern of socio-political organization repeated itself in the western region

as well as in the northern regions after the Nigerian civil war. Orjiako (1980:1), captures the very essence of what could be called the pre-amalgamation socio-political character of what is now known and referred to as Nigeria when he observed that:

> *By 1906, the British military power had been firmly planted in territories now known as Nigeria. But the conquered communities were different in race, language, and political organization. The emirates of the northern Nigeria were Mohammedans. They had been under the impact of Islamic culture for over six centuries and had little in common with the Yoruba and Ibo (Igbo) tribes in the south.*

Pre-colonial Political Administration: The Hausa-Fulani (North)

First it is important to note that with the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate, the position of Islam was effectively established in Northern Nigeria. Islam became the official religion of the state, supplying the laws and dominating the intellectual, cultural, as well as the political life of the people. According to Gbadamosi and Ajayi (1999), "although some areas of the Middle belt were unconquered or remained resistant, Islam enjoyed a position of unparalleled favor and strength" (p 347). The form of political administration and institutions of government organized in the north was based therefore on theocracy. This means that leadership of the people was flowing from the clergy but in this case Islamic clergy where the Emirs occupied the seat of authority in a highly centralized political arrangement. Their rule could be said to be somewhat absolute in line with the religion of Islam although to function effectively, the Emirs had District Administrators and Village Heads who could not act outside the realm of the Islamic laws and order.

Pre-Colonial Political Administration: The Yoruba (West)

Unlike the Hausa-Fulani in the north, the form of political administration and institutions of government set up in the pre-colonial Yoruba territory was pretty much democratic. In some areas where there had been influence of Islam like Ilorin and some sections of the present-day Kwara state, however, political organization and administration was somewhat similar to what was organized as well as obtained in the Islamic north during the same period

In the core Yoruba areas, Obas were the heads of all political authority. They ruled with their Council of Chiefs who were graded accordingly in both horizontal and vertical hierarchical order and who it was that elected the Obas from amongst themselves (Coleman, 1986). The Yoruba political organization and administration of this period was said to be democratic as it forbade or frowned at absolutism. Hence an Oba who had ruled with shades of tyranny or absolutism was forced to commit suicide.

Like was the case in the Islamic north, the Obas appointed Village Heads to help in the administration of some communities to afford him administrative convenience (Awofeso, 2014). However, when major decisions were to be made, the Obas and their senior chiefs (today's Cabinet Chiefs) were responsible. It was also through those senior chiefs that the Obas conveniently administered the villages and communities that owe allegiance to them.

Pre-Colonial Political Administration: The Ibo (Igbo) (East)

The Igbos established and ran a comparatively different type of political system and administration vis-a-vis the other two major regions of the north and the west of what was the pre-independence Nigeria. In his recent work on the subject Awofeso (2014: 21-22)

described the pre-colonial Igbo political and administrative system as:

> *...esophagus, republican, fragmented, and segmented. This is because unlike the Hausa/Fulani and the Yoruba pre-colonial political structures which were highly and relatively centralized...the pre-colonial Igbo exhibited a non-centralized political structure. Consequently, political authority was not centralized, instead, it was shared among various individuals and groups such as the family, various title holders (the Nze na Ozo), the Divine Priests, the Council of elders and Age Grades.*

For this reason, three major characteristics have defined the pre-colonial Igbo political system as outlined below:

1. There was an absence of centralized authority. This gave rise to the now cliché among Igbos especially in deference to anyone regardless of his socio-economic standing in the community that "*Igbo enweghi eze"*, literally meaning that the Igbos have no king or Igbos have no recognition for kings.
2. Family is the basic unit of political authority, and
3. Indirect form of democracy existed where adult male members of the   community gathered in a meeting to decide issues of importance to the generality of the populace.

As it related to legislation, whatever was agreed at the square where those meetings were held became law. Penalties were apportioned depending on the degree of the offence or violation of any of the customary laws which were unwritten. For example, an act of incest may attract the punishment in which the culprits are forced to dance nude in the market square.

The executive functions were carried out by the title holders which were earlier identified as the *Nze na Ozo* as well as the Council of Elders or Chief Priests depending on the nature of the issue at stake.

Religion was not a group affair or congregational as we see them today instead individuals had deities they worshipped which they called their *Chi* or gods. However, Igbos of pre-colonial days believed in what they still today refer to as *Chukwu-abiama,* or *Eke-kere-uwa,* which translates to Almighty creator of the universe. There were inter-community and inter-empire relations in which standards and modalities were put in place for resolution of conflicts which were common occurrences during the period.

So what actually later became the Nigeria we can speak of as an independent nation state was an entity of previously self-ruling or self-governing political enclaves and empires who retained their individual sovereignties and economically did whatever they saw possible to sustain themselves in their respective socio-cultural settings.

Amalgamation of 1914 and After

Under the very milieu of different socio-political and cultural backgrounds as noted in the preceding passages, the British first faced the challenges of how to merge these discordant races into a unified governable entity and by extension into a unified political culture. To achieve the unifying goal and for its administrative convenience, the colony and protectorate of Lagos was merged with the colony of southern Nigeria. Hence, there were now two protectorates - the Northern and the Southern Protectorates. It was these protectorates that ushered in what has been described *indirect rule*. And to realize this, several constitutional arrangements and frameworks were made to firmly secure the territories for colonial rule before the subsequent constitutional conferences that would usher in an independent Nigeria in 1960.

Ethno-Cultural Origin of Political Party Formation:
It is a fact that Nigeria's national identity has been at odds given the heterogeneity of its political culture. This was even evident during the pre-independence Nigeria when the formation of political parties assumed ethnic coloration. For example, during the first Republic in the northern region emerged the Northern Peoples' Congress, NPC led by Sardauna of Sokoto, Sir Ahmadu Bellow. In the Western region emerged the Action Group, AG, led by Chief Obafemi Awolowo. The principal leadership of the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon, later changed to National Convention of Nigerian Citizens at the exit South-west Cameroon from Nigeria, was Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, an Igbo from the Eastern region.

Since that period of the First Republic, all political parties formed in Nigeria have continued to exhibit ethnic coloration. For example, attempt by the Federal Government to stop ethnicization cum tribalization of political parties failed. In 1979, a Decree No. 32 As Amended was promulgated to diffuse the ethnic character of political parties, yet parties formed in the Second Republic turned out to be a reincarnation of the old ethnic-based parties. Hence, the National Party of Nigeria, NPN, hqad both its leadership and stronghold in the Hausa-Fulani north. The Nigeria Peoples party, NPP had both its leadership and stronghold in the ethnic Igbo east, while the Unity Party of Nigeria, UPN had its leadership and stronghold in the ethnic Yoruba west. The only variation was the registration of two other parties, Peoples redemption Party, PRP and the Great Nigerian Peoples Party, which had more or less GNPP diluted the influence of the NPN in the north but of course did not have any significant attraction in the east and west.

Finally it should be noted that while UPN emerged as a reincarnation of the AG, so did NPN emerged as a reincarnation of the NPC. It is instructive to note that in 1979 presidential election, NPP received 80% of its votes from the three eastern Igbo states; GNPP pooled 77% of its votes only from states of Kano and Kaduna in the Hausa-Fulani-speaking north; the UPN secured 78.59% of its total votes from the Yoruba-speaking west while Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, an Igbo, who ran on the platform of NPN, received 83% of his total votes from Anambra ,his Igbo home state, Ekemam (2012).

The major point of interest to us in the preceding passage is the problematic of national integration and/or crisis of governance that are associated with heterogeneity of political culture and loyalty.

Summary and Conclusion
We have attempted in this paper to trace historically the cultural and albeit religious and political dissimilarities amongst at least the three major ethnic peoples of the entity called Nigeria and how these factors have affected its political development. We have as well attempted to discuss and describe how contemporary political milieu can find expression or explanation for the difficulty encountered over time in organizing a stable and sustainable national political entity.

This paper is of the view that this apparent problematic can be explained by looking at the distinctiveness of their cultural, religious, social and political structures, experiences, and/or history before their forced amalgamation by the colonist Britain for its administrative convenience.

When Nigeria is placed within the context of the experience described in this paper, we can conclude that as a product of forced amalgamation and as a "national" construct from a number of ethnic, cultural, religious, and political sub-nationalities who had no common politico-cultural bond, crisis of national unity has become Nigeria's bane over the length of her history. This is so because Nigeria is a country whose population by and large had little or no loyalties towards

another cultural grouping except to the extent of their mutually beneficial economic exchanges necessary for the sustenance their respective lives. Therefore it may become difficult if not impossible to expect the building of a stable national entity. Thus we make bold to conclude that in the strict sense of the word, political culture serves a veritable ingredient of national unity. Put differently, political culture is a sine-qua-non for the realization of the benefits derivable from sustained national unity.

As we write, new agitations are rife across the country particularly in the southern regions of Nigeria for self-determination by several militant and non-militant ethnic nationality groups such as MASSOB, MEND, IPOB, and the OPC (to a varying degree) suggesting the need for some form of restructuring. Finally, our deduction from this paper is that the absence of homogeneous political culture can offer the *modus-vivendi* for the manifest political instability that has affected nation building in Nigeria over its life span as an independent political entity. By the same token, the converse could equally be true.

Recommendations

In the light of the foregoing, we suggest generally that there is a need to revisit the recommendations of the 2014 National Confab convened by President Goodluck Jonathan where some of the ailing issues highlighted in this paper were discussed and their respective solutions proffered. But specifically, this study recommends any of the following solutions, viz:

1. Nigeria should strictly practice a true federal system of government as provided for in the 1999 Nigerian Constitution where the peripheries should feed the center as opposed to the present practice in violation of the same federal system. Federalism strictly adhered to in practice will effectively reduce to its barest minimum the overwhelming influence of the center on the state governments and to that extent reduce the manifest mutual distrust based on cultural value systems.

2. Nigeria should adopt a confederate system of government, especially considering its multi-cultural makeup and its heterogeneous political culture and history in such a way that regional governments (based on cultural affinity) will hold most of the power and the central government made weaker given that the amount of power it will hold would be a measure of what the smaller units (regional governments) are willing to allow it to exercise.

3. In light of the forced amalgamation (of the peoples of Nigeria) which binding force terminated in principle after one hundred years, and in the light of the intensity of agitations for self-rule by some ethnic nationalities, Nigeria should consider a constitutional amendment or provision which protects right of secession for any ethnic nationality wishing to do so as was the case recently in Sudan where South Sudan through a referendum opted to, and did secede from Sudan and is now a sovereign state.

References

Almond, G and Verba, Sidney (1963). The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations. New York: Sage Publications, Inc.

Almond, Gabriel A. (1978). Comparative Politics: System, Process, and Policy. Boston, Mass: Little Brown and Company.

Coleman, James (1958, 1986). Nigeria: Background to Nationalism. Berkely and Benin City: University of California Press.

Ekemam, H. I. (2012). Political Process and Contemporary Political Analysis: Selected Themes and Concepts. Owerri: Great Stars Publishers International Co.

Ekemam, H. I. & Iheanacho, E. (2016). The Futility of Nigeria's Flirtation with American Politico-Systemic Model: The Imperative of Political Culture. In *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences,* Vol. 6, No. 3, pp. 229 – 235.

Evans, Jim (2009). "America as Melting Pot? We're Really More of a Tossed Salad". Retreived from http://www.ethicsdaily.com/america-as-melting-pot-were-really-more-of-a-tossed-salad-cms-14446.

Gloor, B.L. "From the Melting Pot to the Tossed Salad Metaphor: Why Coercive Assimilation Lacks the Flavours Americans Crave" Retrieved August 22, 2016 from hilo.hawaii.edu.academiccs/hohonu…/vol04x06from themeltingpot.pdf.

History of Nigeria (1500-1800). Retrieved Aug 24, 2016 from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Nigeria_(1500-1800).

Igboeche, I.O. (2007). Dynamism in Party Politics, Pressure Groups, and Public Opinion. Owerri: Career Publishers.

Laubeova', Laura. "Melting Pot vs. Ethnic Stew." Encyclopedia of the World's Minorities, 2000. From http://www.tolerance.cz/courses/texts/melting.htm.

Maundeni, Zibani (2010). Political Culture As A Source of Political Stability. In *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations* Vol. 4, No. 4, Pp. 128-129.

Ojiako, J. O. (1981). Nigeria: Yesterday, Today, and…? Onitsha, Nigeria: Africana Educational Publishers.

Gbadamosi, T.G.O. & Ajayi, J.F.A. "Islam and Christianity in Nigeria" in Ikime, O. (1999) Eds. Groundwork of Nigerian History. Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books, Plc.

Pye, Lucian W. & Verba Sidney (1965 Eds.). Political Culture and Political Development. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Sklar, Holly (l963). Nigerian Political Parties: Power in an Emergent African Nation. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Tordoff, W. (1984). Government and Politics in Africa. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Zangwill, Israel. (2006). http://en.thinkexit.com/quotes/israel_zangwill. February 26.