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Editorial Brief

We have in the second volume of IJMGS articles that were peer reviewed by scholars in the field. All, but one, were presented at various times on virtual weekly webinar organized by the Centre. They were then revised and independently reviewed as part of intellectual rigour the Journal editorial is noted for. The coverage is multidisciplinary in contents, and trans-global in analyses. The current world discourse is predicated on three main issues: health and development in the midst of ravaging COVID-19 pandemic; climate change; and food security. The commonality with the three challenges, and scholar's interrogation, is the phenomenal transdisciplinary Migration and its global context. The articles in this volume are rich in contents, informative in analyses; and refreshing in evidence. They are useful in all parameters and will add value to finding solutions to some of the issues raised on all topics.

Hakeem I. Tijani
Editor

Migrants and the National Question: A Study of the Nigerian Migration Experience

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Abstract

This paper examined the proposition whether centuries of internal migration by various ethnic groups in Nigeria before, during and after colonial rule and the emergence of Nigeria as an independent nation-state has helped to achieve national unity, national identity, national integration and inclusiveness (all issues of interest to the concept of the “National Question”). The methodology adopted saw the development and distribution of 110 research questionnaires to respondents of Nigeria’s three major ethnic groups and 20 other minority ethnic groups resident in Nigeria’s capital, Abuja, through the purposive sampling technique to generate the primary data that was the basis of the data analysis in the paper. Secondary data was also generated both online and offline to support the primary data. Major findings revealed that unlike most nation-states in the industrialized North like the USA, Britain and Germany which have been able to achieve some high degree of integration and national identity from the diverse immigrants, who arrived there and largely able to resolve its National Question, Nigeria has not been able to achieve the same goal and it is still a work-in- progress. The paper recommends further constitutional action similar to the Federal Character principle and sanctions regimes to create a more enabling environment for attaining national inclusiveness.

Keywords: Migration, Internal Migration, Migrants, National Question and Migration Experience

Introduction

Historically, numerous independent kingdoms, empires and nations existed in the territories that constitute what is now contemporary Nigeria, even before the idea of a Nigerian State was conceived by the British Colonialists preceding the amalgamation of 1914 (Biose, 2018, 10). According to Biose, in Nigeria on the basis of this antecedent, internal migration is not a new phenomenon as the histories of the different ethnic groups cannot be told except in relation to migration.

Indeed, the histories of the different ethnic groups that constitute contemporary Nigeria are histories of movements and counter-movements. For instance, the Yoruba were believed to have migrated from the Middle East to Ile-Ife, the cradle of Yoruba civilisation, from where they further migrated to other subsequent Yoruba villages, towns and cities in pre-colonial Nigeria. The origin of the Binis, classified as a sub-ethnic group of the Yoruba is traced to the latter. The Itsekiri, Urhobo and some other ethnic groups around the Niger Delta are traced to Edo and Awka. While, the Bayajidda story whose offspring were the founders of the Hausa states chronicled a story of migration from Baghdad through the Sudan to pre-colonial Northern Nigeria (Davidson, 1965, p 34- 56).

In over a century from the amalgamation of 1914, to independence from colonial rule in 1960, to the civil war (1967-70), the long military interregnum and the return to civil rule in 1999, Nigeria had witnessed seismic shifts in its political configuration in which internal migration had been further spurred. Indisputably, since independence in 1960, Nigeria had the requisite

characteristics of a state namely; a defined territory, population, government, common currency and international recognition.

It however lacks the qualities of a nation. There is a clear absence of a strong feeling of affinity, what can be described as “Nigerian Nationalism” among diverse ethnic groups within the country necessitating periodic resort to force to compel some sections to remain within it. The British political theorist and philosopher, Edmund Burke (1729-1797), declared that “a nation is not governed that is perpetually to be conquered” (Mustapha, 1986, 17).

The “National Question” is a derivative of *Nationalism*, in which ethnic groups within a State are able to develop a strong feeling of the “spirit of the nation”, have a passionate buy-in, believe that it has the capacity to provide an equitable environment for individual and sub-national aspirations to be achieved (Mustapha, 1986, 18). A fundamental poser was raised by First Republic Prime Minister, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa at the Legislative Council in Lagos in 1947: “Since 1914, the British government has been trying to make Nigeria into one country, but the Nigerian people themselves are historically different in their backgrounds, in their religious beliefs, and customs and do not show themselves any sign of willingness to unite” (Mustapha, 1986, p.18)

In the face of these dynamics, is there a Nigerian nation? What role have internal migrants played in driving national integration and resolving the National Question? This paper will seek to examine whether the country’s long history of internal migration has blurred the lines of division, increased the prospects of integration and national unity or not.

Nigeria's Internal Migrants: A Historical Background

Internal migration of diverse ethnic groups across the territories of pre-colonial Nigeria has been impacted by a critical component of colonial rule which created the need to *define* and *delineate* the colonised peoples (ACP, 2011, 14). In Africa, the European colonial powers splintered ethnic groups into subgroups which were grouped with others to form new nation-states. However, these colonially created African states are not successors of their pre-colonial counterparts; sub-ethnic groups still retain kith and kinship ties with the others in the pre-colonial kingdoms and empires. For example, the Igbomina of Kwara in Nigeria are separated from their kin in Osun, Ibarapa are split between Oyo and Ogun, Yoruba are in Kogi and Kwara states aside from the core South West. The Ketu of Benin Republic are separated from their kin in South West Nigeria. The Hausa are spread across the seven North West states and separated from their kin from Niger and Mali (Oyeniya, 2020, 33).

Subsequently, movement by migrants across much of Africa's porous borders neither respect nor recognise these international modern-day borders created by the colonial enterprise. An analysis of these patterns of migration is therefore divided into three time periods: *pre-colonial*, *colonial* and *post-colonial* (ACP, 2011, 12).

Pre- Colonial Period

In pre-colonial Nigeria, internal migration had largely been a function of movement and counter-movements by the diverse ethnic nationalities across each other's territories. For example, local slave trade, especially the predation of the Igbo and Ibibio areas by Itsekiri, Urhobo and Efik, led to the displacement of thousands of Igbo and Ibibio peoples who fled into the forests to escape capture and enslavement (Davidson, 1965). This evidence also suggests that the phenomenon of internally displaced persons (IDPs) arising out of conflicts is not new to Nigeria. The use of cavalry in the 19th century Yoruba Civil War has been traced to the movements of men and merchandise from pre-colonial Northern Nigeria (Davidson, 1965, 34). There is also historical evidence of long-distance Central and Western Nigeria merchants interacting with traders in Kano and Sokoto. Clapperton, an early English explorer to pre-colonial Nigeria reported that in the 1830s herders from Sokoto were destroying farm products in Ancient Oyo which resulted in large fights. In 1830, a strong and vibrant Hausa community had been established in Iraye quarters in Ile-Ife (Davidson, 1965, 52). This evidence also suggests that farmers-herders' clashes predates modern Nigeria, and is a spin-off of our migration experience. This is further corroborated by Abner Cohen in his study of the Hausa in Sagamu entitled "Custom and Politics in Urban Africa: A study of Hausa Migrants in Yorubaland" (routledge.com).

Colonial Period

In the colonial period, there were three major developments – *the spread of Islam and Christianity, western education, and the requirement for new labour* by the European trading firms which came with colonial rule and created an internal migration trajectory from urban-rural and rural-urban areas. The missions of the two religions posted preachers, teachers, imams and pastors

from one location to another, while, the siting of educational institutions in urban centres enhanced rural-urban migration. Trading firms opened shops around Lagos, Abeokuta and Ibadan, and the plantations for export crops such as cocoa, coffee, cotton and rubber in different locations helped to create migratory labour across the country (ACP, 2011,12).

Post- Colonial Period

In the post-colonial period especially after independence in 1960, the location of industries, government offices, public and private agencies, infrastructural and development projects in urban centres, which started in the colonial period, and was continued in this period further enhanced the attraction to migrate to urban centres by migrants, especially young ones from rural areas. Economic boom and decline have also stimulated migration in post-colonial Nigeria. The oil boom in the 1970s created a boom in structural and infrastructural developments in major urban cities which led to high rural-urban migration. Conversely, an economic decline in the 1980s due to the fall in crude oil commodity prices led to the harsh structural adjustment policies (SAP) and screated a huge urban-rural drift (Adepoju, 1977, 16).

Objectives of the Study

- i. Examine the effect of internal migration on national integration in Nigeria.
- ii. Determine if the National Question in Nigeria has been resolved by the century's old migration experience of internal migrants.
- iii. Evaluate other internal migration related factors, if any, to the realisation of a Nigerian Nation.

Research Questions

1. The Nigerian Nation is thought to be directly tied to value addition by internal migration to national integration?
2. What is the impact of the centuries old Nigerian migration experience towards resolving the National Question in Nigeria?
3. Extraneous factors related to internal migration may have inhibited the realisation of a Nigerian Nation?

Methodology

Due to the need to highlight the experience of Nigeria's internal migrants to the issues of national integration, resolving the National Question and their migration experiences as related to these dynamics, primary data was generated through questionnaires distributed to 110 respondents selected through purposive sampling technique. *Empiricism* was deployed through this process to enable the researcher know firsthand the real-life experience of Nigeria's internal migrants. The rest of the literature was generated through secondary data.

Conceptual Discourse

In this analysis, there is an absolute need for the clarification of these key concepts – *Migration, Internal Migration, Migrants, Migration Experience* and *National Question*.

Migration

The literature on migration is largely tilted towards *international migration* which involves people crossing state boundaries and staying in the host state for a minimum length of time, in most cases, people internationally migrate for reasons related to work, family and study. In some other tragic circumstances, they leave due to conflict, persecution and disaster creating refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) (IOM World Migration Report, 2020, 46). Migration is a process of movement and involves action. International migration has seen the USA often cited as the best example of a nation that has created a common national identity and sense of belonging for immigrants through what is described as the concept of the *melting pot*, but yet there are variations producing a hyphenated identity such as Nigerian-American, Indian-American, Arab-American and Italian-American among others. Indeed, it is viewed from its foundation as a nation of immigrants as it has created various policies to drive inclusiveness such as the Affirmative Action and anti-segregation (IOM Report, 2020, 47).

Internal Migration

However, the focus in our study is on *internal migration*. Although, no universally accepted definition of internal migration currently exists, the consensual definition of internal migration is any temporary or permanent movement of people from one area of a country to another area of the same country for the purpose, or with the effect of establishing a new residence (ACP Observatory on Migration, 2011, 23). Nigeria's National Population Commission (NPC) in its 2010 Estimation Survey on Internal Migration

(IMS,2010, 23) defined internal migration as any change of residence that has taken place within national borders and across local government areas, but also that such movement must have lasted for a period of not less than six months.

In some other literature, a time frame of between ten days and three months, as well as any location whether or not such location lies within the same local government area as the place of habitual residence or not, have been suggested (Bilsborrow, 1987, Kingsley, 1974 quoted in ACP, 2011). On this basis, an IDP, a transferred civil servant, a graduate on National Youth Service Scheme (NYSC), a trader relocating to another area for business and so on are all internal migrants, as most often stay beyond the threshold of six months.

Given this analogy in this paper, it is safe to conclude that internal migration in what later became Nigeria is an experience transcending century spread over three historical periods – pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial. This paper seeks to examine this centuries old *migration experience* to see whether it has helped the cause of national integration. Deepak K. Mishra writing on the Indian migration experience in his treatise” Internal Migration in India” alluded to the same experience.

Migrants

Migrant is a person so described in the context of migration. It is a concept more readily applicable to international migration and there are aspects that also easily fit into description of internal migrants. There are instances where some people who have never undertaken migration are described as migrants – children born overseas are commonly called second or third generation migrants. International migrants are categorized into nine (9) groups. These

are- temporary labour, irregular, illegal or undocumented, highly skilled/business, refugees, asylum seekers, forced migration, family, return, and long-term/low skilled. Both are divided into two large groups – permanent and temporary (IOM Migration Report, 2020, 28). Both types of migrants often have a significant effect on the political economies of their localities.

Internal migrants may not be illegal, asylum seekers, irregular or undocumented but most of these other categorisations apply to them – temporary labour, forced migration (IDPs), family, business, highly skilled (public and private sector employees), and low skilled (artisans and farmers etc.) (ACP, 2011, p. 17).

Migration Experience

The concept *migration experience* refers to the fact that different causes for migration among individuals will produce different outcomes observable from a sociological perspective. For example, an internal migrant within a nation may not have the same migration experience as a political refugee going abroad, but IDPs fleeing conflict from their localities and some other refugees from conflict zones going abroad fleeing their homeland and leaving family behind may have shared experiences of psychological trauma (JRank, 2020).

National Question

The concept of the *National Question* is historical, sociological and has political and economic underpinnings. It takes off from the understanding that a nation

may not necessarily be homogeneous; it could be multi-national or heterogeneous. Its binding force is a spirit of nationalism and a strong sense of national unity – a subjective sentiment of belonging together, in spite of racial, ethnic, religious, language or cultural differences. For example, Switzerland is a nation with three races, four official languages and many local dialects. While Great Britain is made up principally of the Irish, Scots and Welsh. Both countries are bonded by strong nationalism (Anifowoshe and Enemu, 1999, 34).

This sense of nationalism is greatly enhanced by the ability to achieve this critical purpose for a state as posited by Adam Smith, “the duty of protecting subjects from injustice, that is, the duty of establishing a clear system of justice (inclusiveness)”. Herbert Spencer stressed that further when he stated that, “the state is nothing but a natural institution for preventing one man from infringing on the rights of another; it is a joint –stock protection company for mutual assistance” (quoted in Anifowoshe and Enemu, 1999).

Eastern Question

A major historical development that exposed the frailty of the National Question if not properly managed in a political system was the “Eastern Question”. The Eastern Question referred to the political crisis in the 19th century in Eastern Europe where Turkey the colonial power had conquered the Balkan Peninsula – made up of the Serbs, Romanians, Greeks and Bulgarians. Turkey lost control as these colonised peoples rebelled against Turkish political authority due to the rise of nationalism and foreign interference by the Great Powers – Britain, Russia, France and Prussia who

were competing for influence in Eastern Europe. The failure of the Turks to provide an inclusive political system that accommodated other nationalities led to the eventual revolts and *balkanisation* (break up) of the Balkan colonies (Peacock, 1971, 76).

Therefore, in any nation where the National Question is improperly managed there is always a potential threat for break away or secession by aggrieved sections that could lead to the balkanisation of a state. The case made here is to the effect that the failure of the Ottoman Empire to properly integrate and run an inclusive governance process of the various nationalities under its sovereignty under the unanswered Eastern Question which balkanized its empire could also occur in a modern state that has many nationalities which fails to integrate effectively.

Issues on Nigeria's National Question

In Nigeria, therefore, despite the centuries of internal migration and the emergence of Nigeria as an independent nation, how far has the National Question been addressed? The concept of *inclusive governance* is central to good governance and is dictated by the ideals of equity and a sense of belonging to all bonafide citizens of a state. Inclusive governance is critical because nationalities or component parts of the Nigerian Federation are not interested in the constitutional provisions of the structures to provide equity in appointments, promotions, admissions and representation but on *actual implementation*. What is the reality on the ground? How much of all these 'national cake' and largesse actually gets to the ethnic groups. The Federal Character Principle (FCP) introduced by the Murtala Administration and

enshrined in the 1979 constitution was expected to eliminate in the Public Service, ethnic domination induced by emotions, nepotism, tribalism and gerontocratic traditionalism (Idike et al, 2019, 46). Similarly, the Quota System admissions policy into public schools was expected to liberalise and provide an inclusive admissions policy for all ethnic groups.

The constitutional creation of the Federal/State structure, the creation of the Federal Character Commission (FCC), the strenuous debate and effort to break the indigene/settler dichotomy, the unofficial six geopolitical zones structure and North-South Rotational policy for nomination of candidates to elective positions adopted by political parties since 1999 are all parts of efforts to create a sense of belonging for all nationalities within the Nigerian political space (Idike, 2019, 47).

Sir Tafawa Balewa according to *The Hansard* (March 20- April 2, 1947) declared that, "Since the amalgamation of Southern and Northern Provinces in 1914, Nigeria has existed as one country only on paper...it is still far from being united, Nigeria's unity is only a British intention for the country" (Mustapha,1986, p.36). The Western Nigeria Premier, Chief Obafemi Awolowo echoed a similar sentiment as published in *Path to Freedom* (1947), "Nigeria is not a nation: it is a mere geographical expression. There are not 'Nigerians' in the same sense that there are 'English' or 'Welsh' or 'French'; the word 'Nigeria' is merely a distinctive appellation to distinguish those who live within the boundaries of Nigeria from those who do not" (cited in Mustapha,1986,36).

Theoretical Underpinning

It is generally accepted in migration studies that the dominant theory is that of Ernest Ravenstein's "Push- Pull theory" which he developed in his "Laws of Migration" (1889). Many subsequent theorists followed in Ravenstein's footsteps, and the current theories are more or less variations of his conclusions (Piche, 2003). This paper focused its theoretical underpinning on Wilbur Zelinsky's (1971) *theory of mobility*. Zelinsky argued that migration is mostly interlinked with demographic expansion as throughout history; each society had developed reproduction strategies by combining the reproductive mechanisms of fertility, mortality and migration (Piche, 2003). Of the four stages outlined by Zelinsky in his theory, this paper narrowed its interest to the second stage that has to do with the extent that internal migration of ethnic groups in Nigeria over time at the *urbanizing/industrial* stage had been concerned with the demographic expansion of settler communities wherever they were found. More came from their ancestral land to join those who already had a foothold in the host communities and soon through rapid reproduction they were competing in numbers with indigenous communities. This later became a source of resentment and potential conflict.

Methodology

Several centuries after, despite the migration experience of Nigerians and the numerous policies and efforts at inclusiveness, do some or most Nigerians still feel like outsiders? Is there really a Nigerian nation that has been able to resolve the National Question? We sought to provide some answers through

the data analysis provided by the distribution of questionnaire made up of 5 questions.

110 questionnaires were distributed to Abuja based respondents selected through *purposive sampling* in which the researcher deliberately distributed 30 questionnaires each to Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa (the 3 major ethnic groups or the tripod on which Nigeria stands according to popular perception), 20 others were given to minorities (at 2 each) – Ijaw, Tiv, Urhobo, Jukun, Egbira, Bolewa, Angas, Kanuri, Ette and Bajju. As had been clearly stated in the abstract on the methodology, this is not an omnibus survey that cuts across Nigeria, but through purposive sampling targeted at Abuja, the nation's capital alone. By the provisions of the 1976 Federal Military Government Decree (Decree No.4, 1976) which created the new Federal Capital – the original inhabitants and indigenes were the Gwari ethnic stock. Every other ethnic nationality which subsequently came to seek for work, relocating for business opportunities or other reasons were migrants of a kind. The other important explanation for this approach is that though the respondents are based in Abuja they are from different states of the Federation so on the basis of their experiences they were also asked to show how much they think that their ethnic groups have been integrated in an inclusive process in their home states in the light of the controversy over such issues as indigene/settler dichotomy and constitutional provisions such as the Federal Character principle which explains the responses in Tables 3, 4 and 5.

Data Analysis and Findings

Table 1: Configuration of Ethnic Groups (Respondents)

ETHNIC GROUPS	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Hausa	30	27.2
Igbo	30	27.2
Yoruba	30	27.2
Ijaw	2	1.8
Tiv	2	1.8
Urhobo	2	1.8
Jukun	2	1.8
Egbira	2	1.8
Bolewa	2	1.8
Angas	2	1.8
Kanuri	2	1.8
Ette	2	1.8
Bajju	2	1.8
Total	110	100

Source: Field Survey, 2020

Table 2: Employment Profile

OPTION	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Unemployed	15	13.6
Self- employed	26	23.6
Private Sector	18	16.3
Public Sector	51	46.3
Total	110	100

Despite the disparity in the proportion between those who are informally and formally engaged in the national economy, there seems to be some subsequent alignment in the responses between both cleavages on the mutual issues of integration and inclusiveness.

Table 3: The settler/indigene dichotomy has been largely resolved to provide equal opportunities for you and your children anywhere in the country (either in the FCT or your home state) despite the failure of the constitution to address it?

OPTION	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Strongly agree	5	4.5
Agree	2	1.8
Undecided	3	2.7

Strongly disagree	92	83.6
Disagree	8	7.2
Total	110	100

Source: Field Survey, 2020

90.8% respondents do not think that the settler/indigene dichotomy has been resolved.

Table 4: You feel very *Nigerian* and have a sense of belonging and national unity from your experience (either in the FCT or your home state) because discrimination is no longer an issue in your interaction with other ethnic groups?

OPTION	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Strongly agree	3	2.7
Agree	7	6.3
Undecided	1	0.9
Strongly disagree	96	87.2
Disagree	3	2.7
Total	110	100

Source: Field Survey, 2020

About 90% still believe discrimination is an issue in their interaction with members of other ethnic groups.

Table 5: Constitutional provisions such as the Federal Character principle, Quota system and Federalism as a system of government have created an inclusive and equitable environment for you to achieve your aspirations as a Nigerian (either in the FCT or your home state)?

OPTION	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Strongly agree	20	18.1
Agree	18	16.3
Undecided	0	0
Strongly disagree	61	55.4
Disagree	11	10
Total	110	100

Source: Field Survey, 2020

Over 65% do not have a favourable impression of the integrative influence of the listed policies, but almost 40% think they have a positive effect on the search for integration and inclusiveness.

Table 6: There is a visible evidence of Nigerian nationalism as a sense of national unity and identity has been created due to an equitable sharing of national resources and opportunities for your nationality from your experience (either in the FCT or your home state)?

OPTION	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Strongly agree	12	10.9
Agree	14	12.7
Undecided	4	3.6
Strongly disagree	50	45.4
Disagree	30	27.2
Total	110	100

Source: Field Survey, 2020

72.6% view negatively the idea of a Nigerian nationalism faulting that on inequitable sharing of national resources and access to opportunities.

Table 7: The National Question (meaning fair and equitable opportunities in the political, economic, and social spheres, and public service for all ethnic groups) is no longer an issue as the Nigerian nation has emerged to address concerns of group marginalisation (either in the FCT or your home state)?

OPTION	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Strongly agree	9	8.1
Agree	15	13.6
Undecided	2	1.8
Strongly disagree	72	65.4

Disagree	12	10.9
Total	110	100

Source: Field Survey, 2020

76.3% affirmed that the National Question still remains unresolved with its potentials as a disaggregative factor against nation-building.

Findings:

1. Nigerians sampled in this survey believe that despite centuries of migration and co-habitation the settler/indigene dichotomy (a barrier to real inclusiveness) is still an issue in inter-ethnic relations based on their experience, and that despite the centuries old migration experience and processes, real integration and inclusiveness is yet to be achieved.
2. Discrimination according to the respondents in interaction between ethnic groups in group relations has had a negative influence in failing to create a sense of belonging and national unity.
3. The survey revealed that despite constitutional provisions and policies such as the Federal Character principle there has been a noticeable failure in effective implementation, and Federalism as a governance mechanism has largely not been able to create the desired level of integration and inclusiveness.
4. Nigerian nationalism, according to the respondents has failed to gain traction because a good number of Nigerians believe there has not been

an equitable sharing of national resources and access to opportunities in the nation's political economy.

5. The National Question in Nigeria is still unresolved because majority of Nigerians sampled in this survey think that the goals of national integration and inclusiveness (stem the tide of marginalisation) which are expected to have been addressed are still intractable.
6. The Nigerian migration experience as shown in this research has failed to serve as a catalyst for national integration. Unlike in most other states in Europe who have overcome the artificial barriers of religion, marriage, indigenous customs, practices and other peculiarities, migration has not been a useful instrument in nation building in Nigeria.

Conclusion:

The study has so far shown that the goal of the Nigerian migration experience to build Nigeria as a nation is still work-in-progress as several centuries of internal migration and constitutional and political measures since independence in 1960 have not yet created the desired sense of belonging, national unity, national identity, integration and inclusiveness for its diverse nationalities. These are the requirements needed to resolve the dilemma of the National Question as far as it concerns the Nigerian State.

Recommendations:

1. Further constitutional interventions like the Federal Character principle in the 1979 constitution should be considered by the current National Assembly to abrogate the settler/indigene dichotomy by legalising *state of residence* as an additional qualification to *state of origin* for access to national opportunities.
2. A sanctions regime should be put in place against violators of the implementation requirements for Federal Character principle, Quota system and other such policies meant to provide a level playing field and equitable access to recruitments, appointments, promotions, and admissions into the Public Service and Public Schools respectively which are now observed to be more in the breach in this regard.
3. Resolving the National Question is an incremental process that could be achieved by concrete pro-active policies and actions on the ground to promote national unity, integration and inclusiveness rather than mere lip service.

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