Negotiating Individual and Group Citizenship through State Creation in Nigeria

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Abstract
Nigeria operates a citizenship model which recognizes the rights and belonging of ethnic and culturally identified groups (ethnos) as distinct from, and prerequisite to those of individual citizens (demos). The rights of the ethnos are enforced at the sub-national (state) level of the Nigerian federation and are embodied in the exalted position granted in Nigeria’s constitution to indigenous ethnic groups and serve as a precondition to the rights of the individual citizens within the demos. The struggle to exert the rights and privileges of these groups has led to a continuous mobilization to create states as groups’ homeland and spheres of influence.

The aim of my research is to investigate the dual levels of citizenship and how they are presented and negotiated in the process of state creation in Nigeria. The concepts of subjects, identity, ethnicity and nationalism are used as coding themes in the investigation of the research materials. Using data from 5 memoranda submitted to the parliament requesting the creation of new sub-units (states) in Nigeria; qualitative content analysis and supported by a theoretical discussion of identity, ethnicity, nationalism, the self and the other; this research sought to answer three research questions viz: How are identity and ethnicity conceived and deployed in the mobilization for the creation of new states in Nigeria? How is sameness (the ‘self’) and difference (the ‘Other’) presented in the mobilization for new states in Nigeria? How are the dual levels of citizenship explained and mobilized for state creation in Nigeria?

Findings from my analysis show that state creation strengthens the citizenship of the ethnic groups thereby weakening that of individuals. Ethnicity and nationalism are used in the mobilization of the ethnos while the discourse of sameness was used to homogenize the subjects of the memoranda at the same time emphasizing the distinctness of perceived Others. Finally, the inclusiveness of groups seeking creation of new states points to the exclusion of those who do not share the dominant collective identity thus hinting on the possible need for new states for all groups in Nigeria.

Keywords: Nigeria; Citizenship; State Creation; Identity; Ethnicity; Nationalism.
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Table of Contents
Abstract ........................................................................................................................................... ii
Acknowledgement ........................................................................................................................... iii
Table of Contents ............................................................................................................................ iv
Chapter One: Introduction .............................................................................................................. 1
  1.1 Introduction ............................................................................................................................... 1
  1.2 Research Problem ....................................................................................................................... 3
    a. Aim: ......................................................................................................................................... 3
    b. Research Questions: ............................................................................................................... 3
    c. Thesis Outline ....................................................................................................................... 4
Chapter Two: Historical Background ............................................................................................... 5
  2.1 Background ............................................................................................................................... 5
  2.2 State Creation in Nigeria .......................................................................................................... 8
Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework ......................................................................................... 11
  3.1 Identity ..................................................................................................................................... 11
    3.1. a. Psychoanalytical Identity ................................................................................................. 13
    3.1. b. Interactionist Identity ...................................................................................................... 14
  3.2 Ethnicity ..................................................................................................................................... 15
    3.2. a. Primordialist Conception of Ethnicity ............................................................................. 15
    3.2. b. Instrumentalist Conception of Ethnicity ....................................................................... 16
  3.3 Nationalism ............................................................................................................................... 18
  3.4 The Self and the Other ........................................................................................................... 19
Chapter Four: Research Methodology ........................................................................................... 20
  4.1 Content Analysis as a Research Method .................................................................................. 20
  4.2 The Research Material (Texts) ............................................................................................... 21
4.3. Data Coding .................................................................................................................. 22
4.4. Coding Scheme ............................................................................................................. 22
4.4. Ethical Considerations ................................................................................................. 24

Chapter Five: Data Analysis and Interpretation .................................................................. 26
5.1 Research Results ........................................................................................................... 28
   I. Adada State .................................................................................................................. 28
   II. Ibadan State ............................................................................................................... 31
   III. Lowland State .......................................................................................................... 33
   IV. Okura State .............................................................................................................. 36
   V. Warri State ................................................................................................................. 38

Chapter 6 Conclusion and Recommendation ........................................................................ 42
6.1. Summary ....................................................................................................................... 42
6.2. Conclusion ................................................................................................................... 42
      Research Findings ........................................................................................................ 43
      Research Conclusion .................................................................................................... 43
6.3 Recommendations for Further Research ...................................................................... 46

References .......................................................................................................................... 47
Appendices ........................................................................................................................... 52
Negotiating Individual and Group Citizenship through State Creation in Nigeria

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Nigeria is a West African country with a population of 165 million. The political history of modern day Nigeria could be traced to British colonial rule (1867-1960) which forcefully forged diverse groups into a single British colony. While colonialism succeeded in establishing a political authority over the country, differences and in some cases conflicts persisted among the different ethnic and cultural groups in the country.

Nigeria is today divided into about 250 cultural groups and the government structure is a 3-tiered system made up of the ‘Federal Government’ which is responsible for the whole country; 36 ‘State Governments’ at the mid-level and a total of 774 Local Government Areas at the lower level. This governance structure is represented in the following figure:

Figure 1.1 Representation of Nigeria’s governance structure

My thesis will focus on the on-going process of creating new state units, that is, on the middle level. It is important to clarify that while ‘state’ could be used to describe a whole country, its usage in the context of Nigeria refers to the sub-national units sharing power with the Federal Government. Similarly, a ‘nation’ could theoretically refer to a “large group of people sharing
the same cultural and possibly the ethnic or racial heritage” (Buzan, in Idowu, 1999:77) such that ‘national’ becomes an attribute that refers to a homogenous group. However, in the context of my research, ‘national’ is used to refer to attributes that pertain to the whole country. Therefore, while ‘national’ refer to qualities that apply to the whole of Nigeria, local or state qualities are limited to parts of the country.

The constitution of Nigeria requires that citizens must first be members of “a community indigenous to Nigeria” (Section 25:1a). The communities accepted as indigenous to Nigeria are not listed; however, they are expected to be in turn indigenous to the 36 states that make up Nigeria. Consequently, a proportional representation system (‘federal character’) is maintained to ensure equitable representation. The Constitution of Nigeria states that

The composition of the Government of the Federation or any of its agencies and the conduct of its affairs shall be carried out in such a manner as to reflect the federal character of Nigeria and the need to promote national unity, and also to command national loyalty, thereby ensuring that there shall be no predominance of persons from a few State or from a few ethnic or other sectional groups in that Government or in any of its agencies (The Constitution, Section 14:3).

This legal requirement creates a double-tiered system of citizenship whereby individuals belong first locally at their ‘state of origin’ and the secondly at the national level with the local membership being the precondition and determinant to opportunities at the national level.

Belonging at the state level is maintained through an intricate system of mobilization and patronage to the institutions of the ethnic group in which one is indigenous in return for endorsement and validation of national citizenship. Failure to make convincing claims of belonging in an ethnic group at the local level could exclude a person from most rights of citizenship at the national level leading to a condition of near-statelessness. Contesting local exclusion has therefore resulted in violent conflicts among ethnic groups.

According to Mamdani, the “ethnic character” of the Nigerian federation reinforces two tendencies: “First, given the way ‘federal character’ is defined, every ethnic group in Nigeria is compelled sooner or later to seek its own ethnic home, its own native authority, its own state in
the Nigerian federation. Second, with each new state, the number of Nigerians defined as nonindigenous in all its states continues to grow” (Mamdani, 2005:13).

Presently, there are on-going discussions concerning the possibility to create new states in Nigeria. Advocates of the new states present different arguments in support of the need to create new states. However, the proposal has also generated criticism especially concerning the motivation for the new states.

1.2 Research Problem
Diversity and coexisting collective identities exist in varying degrees in most countries and could serve as inspiration for various policies of multiculturalism. In Nigeria, the citizenship model in use grants both individually accorded rights of citizenship to the demos as well as indigenous group based citizenship to the ethnos. This model raises a number of important issues which will be studied in my research. With a point of departure in the process of state creation in Nigeria, my thesis will explore whether the requests for creating new states reinforce the demos or the ethnos strata of citizenship in Nigeria.

a. Aim:
My research seeks to achieve the following aim: to investigate the dual levels of citizenship and how they are presented and negotiated in the process of state creation in Nigeria.

b. Research Questions:
To address the stated research problem and aim, this research shall investigate the following related research questions:

i. How are identity and ethnicity conceived and deployed in the mobilization for the creation of new states in Nigeria?

ii. How is sameness (the ‘Self’) and difference (the ‘Other’) presented in the mobilization for new states in Nigeria?

iii. How are the dual levels of citizenship explained and mobilized for state creation in Nigeria?
c. Thesis Outline

My research is presented in 6 chapters divided as follows: Chapter One ‘Introduction’ gives a general introduction to the research and presents the research problem. Chapter Two ‘Historical Background’ presents the context within which the research is conducted. Chapter Three ‘Theoretical Framework’ discusses the concepts and theoretical models through which the findings of this research will be explained. Chapter Four ‘Research Methodology’ describes the chosen research method and how it is applied to the research question. Chapter Five ‘Data Analysis and Interpretation’ presents the findings from the analysis of the texts and explains same in relation to the theories. Chapter Six ‘Conclusion and Recommendation’ summarizes the findings of the research, gives the conclusion and flags areas for further research.
Chapter Two: Historical Background

2.1. Background

During British colonisation of Nigeria which began officially with the annexation of Lagos in 1861, citizenship and belonging were central themes in governance. Yet, they did not acquire their current contentious importance until after independence on 1st October 1960. This could be because the colonial authority determined public policy and belonging in the colony whose membership comprised indigenous peoples but also other Africans and Asians allowed entry by the colonial authority. Indeed there were many Africans (rather than Nigerians) who were “vociferous in clamouring for self-government, including some who contested and won elections in metropolitan Lagos and Calabar … from the Gold Coast and Sierra-Leone” (Osaghae, 1990: 595).

The diversity of Nigeria was recognised during colonial rule and colonial authorities deployed various strategies to manage relations among the 250 ethnic groups in the territory (Gandonu, 1978: 254). British colonial authority officially viewed Nigeria in terms of the ethnic groups rather than individuals in it. In defining the territory of the colony for example, the British annexed ethnic empires incrementally from the annexation of Lagos until the whole territory was brought under British rule through the Amalgamation law (1914).

Considering the vast territory of Nigeria estimated as 923,768 square kilometers (UNStats, 2011), the colonial authority lacked the human resources to effectively govern the whole colony directly; this led to the use of the ‘indirect rule’ system. Indirect rule meant that the few British colonial officials would determine government policy and legislation which are then communicated to hierarchically-organized ethnic chiefs to implement. Routine succession laws of the ethnic groups were interrupted and chiefs (called ‘Warrant Chiefs’) were appointed where the traditional authority system was not clear or acceptable to the British (Afigbo, 1972).

The traditional government which emerged was called the ‘Native Authority’ and it enjoyed enormous powers from the colonial authority. As independence approached, instead of declining, the Native Authority only increased in power and became the de facto leadership of the 3 regions.
(North, East and West) into which the country was divided in 1946. This was the structure of power to which independence was granted in 1960 (Coleman, 1958).

In Nigeria, there exists a 2-tiered system of citizenship – individual and group citizenship as represented in the following model:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Levels of Citizenship in Nigeria</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Composition</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 2.1 Model of Nigeria’s citizenship levels*

The first level of citizenship is the legal citizenship status which is by definition individually accorded to all by the constitution and without discrimination (The Constitution, Section 25-32.). For example, section 25 grants citizenship by birth to “every person born in Nigeria after the date of independence either of whose parents or any of whose grandparents is a citizen of Nigeria” (Section 25,1b) as well as to persons born before independence in 1960. The import of this law is that citizenship is an individual attribute and that holders of citizenship would have individual and direct relationship with the state. This then creates a tier of membership in which individual citizens make up the demos.

The second is level of citizenship is operative at the state level; that is, the citizenship status accorded to ethnic groups which are considered indigenous in each state. For example, Section 25,1a grants citizenship to “every person born in Nigeria before the date of independence, either of whose parents or any of whose grandparents belongs or belonged to a community indigenous
to Nigeria”. In this case although citizenship is accorded to an individual, it is not an individual attribute since it derives from membership in “a community indigenous to Nigeria”. Thus the citizenship granted at the group level creates an ethnos.

It is important to clarify the difference between the individual and group citizenship levels in Nigeria. Whereas citizens enjoy liberal and civic rights such as franchise and fundamental human rights which are universal, individually accorded and guaranteed by the government of Nigeria, each potential citizen is required to first be an indigene; that is to say, one must make convincing claims of belonging in an indigenous group in one of the states before enjoying the individual rights.

Consequently, access to the individual citizenship rights within the demos is based on the ability of the claimant to show sufficient proof of possessing citizenship in the ethnos (group) level. Although the ethnos citizenship “is mutually exclusive; precluding non-indigenes of a state from citizenship, the other [individual/demos] is all-inclusive, and provides that all citizens are equal” (Osaghae, 1990: 600). This two-tiered citizenship model highlights a problematic relationship between individuals and the country which has been described as the “pathology” of citizenship in Nigeria (Ostien, 2009).

Unfortunately, a citizen could not be an indigene individually as the requirement of indigeneity intrinsically implies belonging in an indigenous group. In other words, while the groups are made up of individuals, indigeneity is a group and not an individual phenomenon. The individuality of the indigene is lost to the group from which the indigenous status is traced. It is in this way that Nigeria accords citizenship both to the indigenous group and to the individual.

One major challenge of the group citizenship approach is that in Nigeria the ethnic groups are not equal in size and in access to power; membership in an influential ethnic group then implies a higher quality of citizenship both to the group and the individual citizen. Of the 2 levels of citizenship, the group level predominates and “the requirement of indigeneity at the local level as precondition for citizenship of the country implies that ‘citizenship is still largely a … group phenomenon rather than an attribute of individual political actors’” (Ekeh, in Osaghae, 1990: 597). The citizenship of the individual is thus based on membership in an ethnic group which is indigenous to one of Nigeria’s 36 States.
In order to understand the implication of the creation of states in Nigeria on citizenship, it is important to consider ‘regionalism’ and ‘statism’; the guiding principles for managing diversity and national unity in Nigeria since 1946 when Nigeria was first split into 3 regions. This fragmentation of the country into more units of governance continued between 1963 and 1996 when 36 states were created.

A ‘region’ from which ‘regionalism’ derives is “a unit within a federation, a distinct individuality, with a claim upon the loyalty of its inhabitants competing with, if not overriding, loyalty to the federal state” (Osaghae, 1990: 604). This is not a mere administrative delineation; instead, regionalism in Nigeria meant that a region existed “only for [its] indigenes as all non-indigenes were discriminated against in the schools, employment, land allocation, etc” (Osaghae, 1990: 605). In addition, there was intense competition between majority and minority ethnic groups within the regions; members of the minority groups were unable to rise to power locally in their respective regions and consequently could not get to power at the center, therefore Nigeria became known as a country of the Igbo, Hausa and Yoruba after the ethnic groups who controlled the East, North and the Western regions respectively (Osaghae, 1990: 605).

Osaghae defines ‘statism’ as “an entrenched system of discrimination” which is also “a negation of the constitutional provisions on national citizenship in Nigeria” (Osaghae, 1990: 609) because membership in a state is exclusionary; one could only belong to a single state. Those excluded in each state are called non-indigenes and are discriminated against and could not make claims to the rights of individual citizenship from a state in which they are non-indigenous (ibid).

It was the desire of the minority ethnic groups for opportunities first in their regions and subsequently in the central government that led to the struggle for the creation of new regions. When the then 4 regions of Nigeria were transformed into 12 states in 1967, the struggle between and within regions was transferred to the states and leading to the problem of statism.

### 2.2. State Creation in Nigeria

Nigeria is made up of 36 states and Abuja, the Federal Capital Territory which is administered by the Federal Government. The 36 states were created at different times first with 3 regions created in 1946 and the last state creation exercise in 1996. Presently, the Nigerian parliament is considering requests to create 57 new states out of, and in addition to the existing 36 states in the
federation; if these requests are all granted, Nigeria will have 93 states in total. Below is a timeline of state creation in Nigeria:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>No. of States</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>3 Regions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>4 Regions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>12 States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>19 States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>21 States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>30 States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>36 States</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 2.2 State Creation in Nigeria (summarized from Alapiki, 2005: 61)*

Since the last elections in Nigeria in April 2011, the parliament has indicated its desire to create new state units (Ndiribe et al, 2013). The current requests to create new states which have been forthcoming since Nigeria returned to multi-party democracy in 1999 are unique because if granted, it would be the first time since 1963 that states would be created in a democracy as all previous exercises were conducted by the colonial government (in 1946) and subsequently by Nigeria’s previous military authorities. The current attempt has not only generated a high number of requests but also an intense media and public debate. For each of the 57 proposed states to be approved, its sponsors must convince the national parliament as well as the local parliaments in the existing states on the reason for the creation of the new state in line with Section 8:1-2 of the Nigerian Constitution hence the intense lobby and mobilization.

The lobby process for dividing Nigeria into new states is proceeding in 2 dimensions which could affect citizenship in Nigeria: first it seeks to create or reaffirm sameness, inclusivity and a distinct local identity for the proposed new state, in other words; it adopts a discourse of sameness to affirm that its subjects (Self) are the authentic and autochthonous people indigenous to the proposed state. This is the claim of loyalty which Osaghae (1990: 604) argues is
competing with loyalty to the national government. Secondly, the justification of the proposed new state requires its sponsors to clearly distinguish themselves from the state to which they currently belongs (the Other) and make convincing arguments on how the splitting of the current state into 2 or more units is desirable. This then is an exclusionary logic that seeks to distinguish between the Self and the Other. My research will seek to study how citizenship in its individual and group dimensions is conceived within the discussion of state creation in Nigeria.
Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework

The goal of this chapter is to present a summary of relevant conceptual and theoretical positions from the literature as the background against which the specific data from Nigeria will be explained. The objective is not to subscribe to, to prove or disprove any specific theoretical position; it is rather to utilize the insight gained from the theories to establish a model through which the case study will be explained.

Drawing from the literature, I shall clarify the understanding of 4 important theoretical concepts namely identity, ethnicity, nationalism and the ‘Self/Other’. While the literature on these concepts and theoretical positions is broad, I shall restrict my review to the central themes relevant to my research questions.

3.1. Identity

Identity could be discussed both in terms of its levels of appearance and also in relation to its perceived origin and meaning. In the first dimension, identity is explained in tiers, beginning from the identity of the individual at the micro level to that of the group at the meso level and national identity at the macro level. In the second dimension, a distinction could be made between the psychoanalytical and the interactionist view of identity.

Generally, identity refers to “the ways in which individuals and collectivities are distinguished in their social relations with other individuals and collectivities” (Fearon, 1999:4-5). According to Benhabib, “identity includes differentiating oneself from what one is not, identity politics is always and necessarily a politics of the creation of difference” (in Jenkin, 2008:20).

As an individual attribute at the micro level, identity is seen as “some distinguishing characteristic (or characteristics) that a person takes a special pride in or views as socially consequential but more-or-less unchangeable” (Fearon, 1999:2). From this, identity is a stable individual attribute which is “socially consequential” – that is, affecting the social relations of the individual. Additionally, identity implies “those aspects of the self-concept that differentiate the self from all others” (Brewer and Gardner, 1996:83). Simmel sees individual identity as the “individuality that results from social differentiation” (in Joppke, 2010:119) – note again the
social implication of individual identity. This means that individuals possess a self-identity which make them unique and differentiated from others in society.

On the social level, that is both the meso and the macro levels, identity refer to the relational or the social self which is indicated by “those aspects of the self concept that reflect assimilation to others or significant social groups” (Brewer and Gardner, 1996: 83). It is also seen as “a set of persons marked by a label and distinguished by rules deciding membership and (alleged) characteristic features or attributes” (Fearon, 1999:2). Both at the meso and the macro levels of identity, interpersonal usage is implied since the identified self embodies more than the individual that is included at the micro level. However, a distinction is made between the conception of identity at the middle (group) level and at the national level. Brewer and Gardner refer to this as the distinction between the “two levels of social selves” (Brewer and Gardner, 1996: 83).

At the meso level, identity refer to attributes “that derive from interpersonal relationships and interdependence with specific others” and are based on personalized bonds of attachment and “networks of dyadic relationships” in society. This kind of identity could be observed in small and medium social groups such as ethnic group (Brewer and Gardner, ibid).

At the macro level identity “derive from membership in larger, more impersonal collectives or social categories” and are based upon “impersonal bonds derived from common identification with some symbolic group or social category” (Brewer and Gardner, 1996:83). The state is an example of the macro level of identity. Identity at the national level is equated to citizenship which is the formal membership of such a political community. In some countries, the possession of the national self-identity is measured in citizenship tests and if confirmed, then the applicant is granted citizenship (Joppke, 2010:123ff).

Joppke notes that “a complex society where high degree of difference is invested at the level of individuals [micro] and subgroups [meso] will have difficulty in sporting a distinct sense of collective self [macro], simply because a common denominator cannot be found” (Joppke, 2010:120). This means that the micro, meso and macro tiers of identity are incrementally interconnected and that the coherence of identity as citizenship at the macro level is based on the coherence of identity at the meso and the micro levels.
My research will focus on the two levels of social selves where identity is used in its meso and macro levels. Also, I select the *psychoanalytical* and the *interactionist* perspectives as the framework through which the appearance of identity will be investigated in the context of Nigeria.

3.1. a. Psychoanalytical Identity

In the psychoanalytical perspective, identity is described, drawing from the works of Freud and Erikson, as an attribute which lies at the sub-conscious level and could be studied psychoanalytically. In this perspective, identity is formed early in the life of an individual and forms a central core of their being. The process of socialization serves to nurture and reinforce identity later in life. Identity then becomes a subconscious layer of the individual and is manifested in emotional and non-rational behavior as a “subjective sense of an invigorating sameness and continuity” (Erikson, 1996:147).

According to Sigmund Freud, the Jewish identity is not traceable to a religious faith or to national pride. Instead, it is contained in “obscure emotional forces, which were the more powerful the less they could be expressed in words, as well as a clear consciousness of inner identity, the safe privacy of a common mental construction” (in Erikson, 1996: 148). The psychoanalytical identity is thus to be found in “the mental or moral attitude in which, when it came upon him [an individual], he felt himself most deeply and intensely active and alive. At such moments there is a voice inside which speaks and says: ‘This is the real me!’” (Erikson, 1996: 147).

At the psychoanalytical level, identity is at first an individual attribute; yet a group is vital for the formation and understanding of identity since “identity presupposes a community of people whose traditional values become significant to the growing person even as his growth and his gifts assume relevance for them” (Erikson, 1996: 149). This then means that while identity is formed at the subconscious level in an individual, it is socially and collectively expressed in what Freud refers to as “a common mental construction”.

Groups exhibit a psychoanalytical dimension of identity when the identity of the collective rest on the “obscure emotional forces” of its members. The psychoanalytical perspective conceives of
identity as inborn and fixed rather than as socially constructed through interaction. This point of view is similar to the primordialist conception of ethnicity discussed below.

3.1. b. Interactionist Identity

The interactionist perspective is taken from the work of Irving Goffman and George Herbert Mead among others who see identity as constructed within social interaction. According to Stryker and Burke, “society is seen as a mosaic of relatively durable patterned interactions and relationships, differentiated yet organized, embedded in an array of groups, organizations, communities, and institutions, and intersected by crosscutting boundaries of class, ethnicity, age, gender, religion, and other variables” (Stryker and Burke, 2000:285). Consequently, within the network of group interactions, identities are the “internalized role expectation” (ibid: 286); in other words they are the accepted social roles expected from members of the group based on the position they occupy.

Unlike the psychoanalytical perspective, interactionists see identity as originating within social relations in the group. This implies that although a group is made up of individuals, the identity of the collective does not derive from that of its individual members but it is collectively derived.

Jenkin, in agreement with the interactionist perspective noted that identity is a fluid concept relating more to the process of being or becoming, rather than about the state of being. Although essentialists such as the psychoanalyst present a reified and fixed view of identity, Jenkin advised that “[t]o insist that identity is not fixed, immutable or primordial, that it is utterly socio-cultural in its origin, and that it is somewhat negotiable and flexible is the right place to begin” (Jenkin, 2008:19).

Identity is as much about differences as it is about shared belonging or sameness (Jenkin, 2008:21). Therefore identification is not solely a process of proclaiming difference from societal Others, but also a process of proclaiming shared sameness with other members of the community (ibid: 20-22).

Citizenship is also conceived of as a dimension of identity. Joppke sees citizenship as a tripartite category comprising a status, a body of rights and also an identity. The identity dimension presents citizenship as a relationship with the State in which one is or is not a national. Those who are accepted as citizen posses this national (or macro) identity while those who do not
posses this identity are not to hold either the accompanying status or the rights that come with citizenship. Consequently, the practice of citizenship tests and oaths of allegiance seek to investigate and confirm this shared sameness among prospective citizens (Joppke, 2007: 44-46).

3.2. Ethnicity

Ethnicity implies the quality of belonging in an ethnic group or the characteristics people have on account of belonging in an ethnic group (Tonkin et al, 1989:22). From the onset, ethnicity is a group rather than an individual attribute and also derived from the quality of being ‘ethnic’. An ethnic group is defined as “a named human population with myths of common ancestry, shared historical memories, one or more elements of common culture, a link with a homeland and a sense of solidarity among at least some of its members” (Hutchinson and Smith, 1996:4).

Although discussions of ethnicity generally evoke considerations of majority and minorities (Schermerhon, 1970: 17), ethnicity is used in anthropology to refer to “aspects of relationships between groups which consider themselves, and are regarded by others, as being culturally distinctive” (Eriksen, 1993: 28). The understanding of one ethnicity therefore depends not only on the understanding of those who are included but also on those who are excluded. Below, I limit my investigation of ethnicity to the ‘primordialist’ and the ‘instrumentalist’ approaches.

3.2. a. Primordialist Conception of Ethnicity

Within the primordial school, the culturalist approach of Edward Shils and Clifford Geertz is singled out for my research. The approach of primordialism originated from Edward Shils and has proved to be very useful in the study of ethnicity. Primordialism as an approach conceives of ethnicity as being natural part of human life and exists from time immemorial (Ozkirimli, 2010:49). This approach accepts the origin of ethnicity as falling outside the frame of inquiry since they stem from the ‘givens’ of social existence. Ethnicity thus entails immediate contiguity and kin connection mainly, but beyond them the givenness that stem from being born into a particular religious community, speaking a particular language, or even a dialect of a language and following particular social practices. These congruities of blood, speech, custom, and so on, are seen to have an ineffable, and at times overpowering, coerciveness in and of themselves (Geertz, 1963:41-42).
According to Shils, society is held together by “an affinity of personal attachments, moral obligations in concrete contexts, professional and creative pride, individual ambition, [and] primordial ties” (in Ozkirimli, 2010: 49-50).

To avoid the critique of essentialism, culturalist have clarified that primordial ties are not necessarily ‘given’, ‘a priori’ and ‘underived’ in themselves; instead it is enough that they are so perceived by those who use them. The scholars of primordialism are thus not essentialist themselves, but analysts of ‘naturalizers’ who see ethnicity as “naturally given and immutable” (Ozkirimli, 2010:57). This given and immutable property of primordialist ethnicity is similar to the psychoanalytical conception of identity above.

Geertz stated that people in new States are often mobilized by 2 interrelated motives: “the desire to be recognized as responsible agents, whose wishes, acts, hopes, and opinions ‘matter’, and the desire to build an efficient, dynamic and modern state” (Geertz, 1963:40-41). Although Geertz’ argument pertain to new States as national units, it is interesting to investigate the claims for the assertion of identity on one hand and for progress and modernity on the other in relation to new states as sub-national units as is the case in the context of Nigeria.

Although the ties binding members of an ethnic group could be used as a tool to pursue mutual interests, Geertz argue that there exists “some unaccountable import attributed to the very tie itself” (Geertz, 1963: 42). The value of such ties then lead to what Ambedkar has described as ‘fellow feeling’ – “a feeling of a corporate sentiment of oneness which makes those who are charged with it feel that they are kith and kin” (in Geertz, 1963: 42).

Primordial ties are based on a number of roots including assumed blood ties; race; language; region; religion and custom (Geertz, 1963:43-45). Eller and Coughlan summarized the properties of primordial attachments as including apriority (stemming from assumed givens), ineffability (shared attachment and oneness on the basis of shared origins), and affectivity (based on strong and overpowering emotional strength of the primordial ties).

3.2. b. Instrumentalist Conception of Ethnicity

Opposed to the position of the primordialists, scholars have theorized on the ‘instrumental’ usage of ethnicity. This perspective argues that ethnic ties are not primordial but emerge as social constructions of society and are used as tools to achieve desired objectives such as in politics.
From the different strands of the instrumentalist approach, I adopt the ‘rational choice theory’ being at the extreme of the instrumentalist spectrum to contrast the primordialist approach discussed above.

Rational choice posits that individual behavior is a “function of interaction of structural constraints and the sovereign preferences of individuals” (Hechter, 1986: 90). This implies that though the structure within which the individual actor is located may place constraints, human actions emanate from the ‘sovereign preferences’ of the individual. Therefore, “individuals will only fulfill their corporate obligation when they receive a net benefit by doing so” (Hechter, 1986: 90). Thus to change human behavior, the premium placed on alternative courses of action should first be changed.

From this approach, ethnicity is not primordial or to be understood as given. It is instead the common positions that individuals adopt after rationally analyzing possible alternatives. Also, “the likelihood of collective action does not rest on factors – like the degree of inter-ethnic inequality … that affects members’ desires for structural change in the society at large. Instead, members of any ethnic group will engage in collective action only when they estimate that by doing so they will receive a net individual benefit” (Hechter, 1986: 92).

The argument that group action is undertaken in expectation of ‘net individual benefit’ is illuminating and challenges the rationale for the existence of the group. Groups such as ethnic based collectives serve 2 critical functions: first to reward or punish the rational choices of individuals and secondly they serve as the gateway through which access to information is controlled. Taking example from the Amish groups, Hechter argued that once the flow of information is restricted, members of the group are socialized to believe that the desired course of action of the group is not only desirable, but also highly beneficial to the members individually thus they choose it rationally (Hechter, 1986: 92, 96).

While individuals have sovereignty over their choices and arrive at their preferences rationally, their limited knowledge of other options as well as the implications of the suggested course of action leaves them unable to break away from the politics of ethnicity.
3.3. Nationalism

A survey of the literature by Haas shows the varied meanings associated with the concept of nationalism. For example, according to Benedict Anderson, nationalism could refer to a “manufactured linguistic identity” (in Haas, 1986: 707). Haas defines nationalism as “the convergence of territorial and political loyalty irrespective of competing foci of affiliation, such as kinship, profession, religion, economic interest, race, or even language” (Haas, 1986: 709). This implies that loyalty among a group is inspired by attachment to a territory regardless of other competing attachments to be found within the group.

Similar to ethnicity, nationalism could also be explained using the primordialist perspective outlined by Shils and Geertz. In this regard, nationalism is explained as stemming from the givens of social life and its origins are considered to lie outside of the frame of inquiry. On the other hand, the modernist perspective sees a modern (non-primordial) meaning of nationalism particularly, the arguments of John Breuilly and of Paul R. Brass which are very relevant to my research.

Breuilly saw nationalism as a form of politics (in Ozkirimli 2010:83). Nationalism thus refers to “political movements seeking or exercising state power and justifying such action with nationalist arguments” (Ozkirimli, 2010:84). The nationalist arguments could draw reference from ideas, class interests, economic modernization, psychological needs or from culture (ibid). Thus, nationalism is about politics while politics is in turn about power (Ozkirimli, 2010: 84-85). Consequently nationalism is about gaining access to power.

The deployment of nationalism could result in 3 possible outcomes that affect the relationship between a group and the state. These outcomes are namely to “(a) to break away from the present state (separation), (b) to reform it in a nationalist direction (reform), or (c) to unite with other states (unification)” (Ozkirimli, 2010:87).

Paul R. Brass’ discussion of nationalism as instrumentalism is also of importance in this study. Brass saw nationalism as the process through which “ethnic and national identities become convenient tools at the hands of competing elites for generating mass support in the universal struggle for wealth, power and prestige” (Ozkirimli, 2010: 88). From this perspective, the origin
and support of nationalism is explained not by primordial origins, but by the interests that nationalism serves; nationalism then becomes a means toward achieving certain ends.

Brass argues that over time, nationalist attachments are “continually redefined and reconstructed” in response to the changing conditions in which the nationalists find themselves (Ozkirimli, 2010:88). As a result of this, nationalism leads to a politically induced cultural change. It is “the process by which elites and counter-elites within ethnic groups select aspects of the group’s culture, attach new value and meaning to them, and use them as symbols to mobilize the group, to defend its interests, and to compete with other groups” (Brass, in Ozkirimli, 2010:88).

3.4. The Self and the Other

According to Edward Said, there is a process through which colonial authorities distinguish themselves from the colonial subjects through discourse thus creating the Self/Other or the ‘we/Them’ dichotomy. The Self is the subject of the discourse while the Other is the object. Othering – the process through which the Self and the Other are created and reinforced, implies “the reduction of a ‘person’ to a ‘nobody’ to the position of ‘other’” (Cixous in Young 2004: 33). Othering entails the 2 simultaneous and parallel discourses of sameness and of difference in society. In the discourse of sameness, the Self is presented as a unified whole made up of people with shared identity, interests and priorities. Conversely, through the discourse of difference, the Other is also solidified into a single object from which the Self is to be distinguished.

According to Pratt, the people being othered are “homogenized into a collective ‘they’... This abstracted ‘he’/‘they’ is the subject of verbs in a timeless present tense, which characterizes anything ‘he’ is or does not as a particular historical event but as an instance of a pregiven custom or trait” (Ashcroft et al, 1998: 172-173). While the process of othering establishes the existence of an inferior group (real or assumed), this is not its sole aim; theorizing the existence of others is crucial in defining the self and advancing the claims of the self.

Stereotyping plays a key role in the process of othering. Since the image of the Self is confirmed by that of the Other, the Self engage in a complex process of producing images of the Other and thus define itself. Note that the stereotypical images need not be proven; they are useful to the extent that they assist the Self to define itself and to advance its interests.
Chapter Four: Research Methodology

In order to systematically answer the research questions outlined above and to achieve the research aim, I adopt Content Analysis (CA) as my research method. The suitability of content analysis as the preferred research method is informed by its systematic and replicable procedures as well as its successful use in related research as found in the literature. The task of my research is to use content analysis to audit the content of selected texts from the process of state creation in Nigeria in order to determine how identity, ethnicity, nationalism, sameness and difference are presented and argued in relation to individual and group citizenship.

4.1. Content Analysis as a Research Method

Content analysis (CA) is a “research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the context of their use” (Silverman 2004:18). Holsti defined content analysis as “technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages (Holsti 1969: 14). Similarly, Krippendorff defined content analysis as a “research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context” (Prasad, 2008: 2). CA gives the researcher the research tool which “facilitates the description of the manifest and/or latent content of communication by measuring the frequency, order, or intensity of occurrences of words, phrases, or sentences” (Downe-Wamboldt: 1992:314)

Content analysis as a research method emphasizes 2 important components: first a body of texts must be identified as the research field and secondly an existing body of knowledge (or theory) regarding the research field is identified to explain the insights derived from the text. I have identified the texts of my research from the discussion of state creation in Nigeria; my analysis will therefore make inferences from the Nigerian texts to the relevant theoretical positions identified above.

Objectivity is crucial in CA as the method requires “transparency in the procedure for assigning the raw material to categories” and the consistent application of rules through coding (Bryman,
Although the requirement of reliability and validity are not be unique to CA, they are emphasized in CA more emphasized than in some other methods (Silverman, 2004:18).

The qualitative strand of CA which I use “focuses on the characteristics of language as communication with attention to the content or contextual meaning of the text” (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005:1278). Rather than quantitatively presenting the coded categories, the qualitative approach refers to relevant theoretical models to explain trends discerned from the text.

Content analysis could be used in 3 related scenarios: first to identify the characteristics of a text by exploring what it contains, how its argumentations are presented and to whom they are addressed. Secondly it is used to investigate the purpose and antecedents of the communication by focusing on the subject of the text (who is communicating) and also to understand why the text was written. Thirdly, a researcher could measure the effects of the text (Holsti, 1969). My thesis combines the first 2 scenarios.

4.2. The Research Material (Texts)

In Nigeria, the on-going discourse of creating new states has generated considerable amount of communication among supporters of each of the proposed states. These communications are addressed externally to the Nigerian parliament (which has the power to accept or reject the requests) as well as internally to the potential supporters of the proposed new state who are required by law to endorse the proposed state in a referendum.

My research analyses the content of 5 memoranda submitted to parliament requesting the creation of new states in Nigeria. Each of the 5 memoranda is considered as a text unit – that is the largest body of material subjected to coding and analysis (Smith, 2000: 320). The choice of these 5 texts is informed by a number of related factors including: (a) the availability of these memoranda in the public domain, either on the internet or from the files of relevant stakeholders, (b) the length and content of the documents are chosen to ensure that they provide adequate information which could be cross-analysed, and (c) the 5 texts chosen are as much as possible spread around Nigeria. The memoranda selected are from the proposed Adada State (South-Eastern Nigeria), Ibadan State (South-West), Lowland State (North-Central), Okura State (North-Central) and Warri State (South-South).
A number of assumptions regarding the nature of texts in social research as discussed by Silverman (2004: 22-23) are immediately relevant to my understanding of the research material. They are:

a. Texts have no objective reader-independent qualities. Therefore the process of CA is an analysis of the text in search of meanings.
b. Texts do not have single meanings waiting to be found since they have both manifest and latent contents.
c. Meanings invoked by texts need not be shared. This then implies that a given text could be probed for different meanings depending on the research questions.
d. The meanings or contents in a text could refer to something other than to the given texts. Therefore the theoretical understanding of contexts is crucial to the understanding and analysis of a text.
e. Content analysis requires that specific inferences are drawn from the body of texts to their chosen contexts.

Considering the foregoing, Merten has suggested that content analysis therefore entails “enquiring into social reality that consists of inferring of a nonmanifest context from features of a manifest text” (in Silverman 2004:25).

4.3. Data Coding

Coding is the technique used in content analysis to organise, classify or rate the data emerging from the text (Smith, 2000: 321). Through coding, the researcher is able to classify and organise the findings from a research into manageable units for the purpose of comparison and analysis. My analysis focuses on identifying and recording the appearance of ‘themes’ as the recording unit of my research. A theme represents the expression of a single idea in a text (Smith, 2000: 321). The use of themes as coding units is advised in the analysis of texts where part of the message might be latent, that is, not explicitly stated in the wording of the text. The latent contents of such texts are therefore located using the available theoretical information. My research codes themes drawing from both explicit and latent contents of the text.

4.4. Coding Scheme

Coding in my research shall be done manually and will investigate the presence of the themes of subjects, identity, ethnicity and nationalism. This coding scheme approach agrees with Merten’s
approach of inferring conceptual positions from what is contained in the texts. This is fitting in my research where there exists significant theoretical knowledge on the research themes in general. My research seeks to add to this knowledge by investigating the presence and use of these themes in the specific texts produced for state creation in Nigeria.

Elo and Kyngäs recommend that in coding, a researcher should identify and sort themes for investigation into a “categorization matrix” based on knowledge from the available literature on the subject and then search through the text(s) under review to confirm the existence or absence of these themes. Guided by literature (Elo and Kyngäs, 2007:111, Rapley, 2011: 274-275 and Smith and Osborn, 2008), I have developed the following guideline for my research process:

a. Studying the literature covering the theoretical framework and also the research texts and background.
b. Development of initial list of research themes for investigation.
c. Clustering of related themes based on their similarities to generate final research themes.
d. Create a table with research themes listed.
e. Careful and repeated reading of each text unit during which references to any theme on the matrix are highlighted and colour-coded (i.e. using different colours to differentiate different themes on the matrix) to indicate a ‘coding unit’.
f. Systematic review of highlighted coding units in order to confirm their suitability as representations of each theme.
g. Recording of coding units from the text on the categorization matrix.

Considering my research questions and from the positions of the theoretical foundation of my research, the data from my research shall be coded into the following categorization matrix upon which my analysis shall be based:
The first theme seeks to locate the use of subjectivity in each text unit (or memoranda). Mainly this shall establish whether the text utilizes individual or a group voice. The second theme will highlight the portrayal and use of identity in the text and also distinguish whether identity is used in its psychoanalytical or instrumental perspective. The third theme shall trace the use of ethnicity in the arguments of the text and also distinguish between primordial and instrumental contexts of ethnicity. The fourth theme will locate the use of nationalism either in its primordial or modernist form in the arguments of the text.

### 4.4. Ethical Considerations

The position of the social researcher in relation to both the field and the subject of research could have implications on the process and conclusions of the research. Consequently, the researcher is admonished to reflect on ethical considerations and be guided by professional integrity in the design of research plan, the generation and in the analysis of date (ESRC, 2012, Busher and James, 2007).

In researching about the possibility for creating new states in Nigeria, it is important to reflect on my position as a Nigerian citizen to determine how my position could interfere with the
reliability of my study. Being aware that my knowledge and personal experience of life in Nigeria could have an impact on my thesis, I have taken steps to ensure that my study is conducted in a professional manner.

In the first instance, the choice of content analysis as a research method allows the researcher to make verifiable and replicable inferences from a body of texts to a broader theoretical context. The steps of the research as outlined in the comprehensive discussion of the methodology above took into consideration the need for objectivity and consistency in engaging the research field. In this regard, the research method especially the research guideline and the categorization matrix outlined above guided and standardized the process of coding and allow for review and possible replication of the study.

Additionally, my theoretical framework as discussed above provided substantive conceptual background and serve as the lens through which the specific study texts under are reviewed. The analysis and conclusion of this research are therefore framed in relation to this theoretical background.

Yet my study is not without researcher’s agency. My citizenship and residence in Nigeria, my previous education and my work experience in Nigeria all contribute in shaping my interest and understanding of the subject of my study. This background has thus enabled me to easily understand the nuances of the state creation debate and to understand both the latent and manifest contents of the texts while the theoretical framework and the research methodology outlined for this research helped to guarantee scientific reliability and to minimize the possibility of researcher’s bias and interference in the study.
Chapter Five: Data Analysis and Interpretation

This chapter presents a summary of findings from the texts under review. The findings are grouped under four coding themes namely subjects, identity, ethnicity and nationalism. Out of the 57 requests for creation of new states in Nigeria, I select the memoranda for 5 proposed states for my analysis. The focal proposed states are: Adada State, Ibadan State, Lowland State, Okura State and Warri State. The choice of these states is based on a number of considerations including a) the availability of text in the public domain; b) the geographical spread of the proposed states c) the analytical value of each request following an initial survey of the available texts. Attempt is made to exclude memoranda that provide largely identical claims.

From such a selection criteria, the findings from the texts under review could give an indication of the nature of the state creation discourse in Nigeria although it would not be possible to generalize the findings from 5 texts as representative of all the 57 proposed states. Below is presented some background information on the proposed states under review:

a. Adada State: This proposed state has a land area of 3293.74sq/km and a population of 2.17 million. Adada is proposed to be carved out of the present day Enugu State in South-Eastern Nigeria. Enugu, the current state has 3,257,298 inhabitants and a 12,440sq/km land area.

b. Ibadan State: This proposed state is located in South-Western Nigeria and has a population of 2,550,593 people. It is proposed to be created in Ibadan, the capital city of the present Oyo State. Oyo State has a population of 5,591,589 and a land area of 27,460sq/km.

c. Lowland State: This area is located in North-Central Nigeria and is proposed to be created from Plateau State. The proposed Lowland State will have a land mass of 19,046.40sq/km and a population of 1.4 million while the current Plateau State has a population of 3,178,712 and a land area of 58,030sq/km.
d. Okura State: This state is proposed to be created from present Kogi State, located in North-Central Nigeria. The proposed Okura State will have a population of 1.5 million people and 12,753.92sq/km as its land mass while the present Kogi State has a population of 3,278,487 and a land area of 32,440sq/km.

e. Warri State: This state is proposed to be created from Delta State in South-South Nigeria. The proposed Warri State will have a population of 500,000 and a land area of 2,446sq/km while Delta, the current state has a population of 4,098,391 and land mass of 18,050 sq/km.

The map of Nigeria is presented below showing the 36 states now existing (and Abuja, the national capital). The location of the proposed states under review is shaded for emphasis.

![Figure 5.1: Map of Nigeria showing 36 States and Proposed States under review](image)

1 Original map from Google Images
5.1 Research Results

In this section I present and analyse the key findings from the content analysis of the memoranda for the creation of the 5 proposed states. The coding table is included as an appendix below.

I. Adada State

As stated above, Adada State is proposed to be carved out of the present day Enugu State. Although the present Enugu State and the proposed Adada State are both largely composed of the Igbo ethnic group, there is still a distinction made between Northern and Southern Igbo in Nigeria in the memorandum. Indeed the argument of the memorandum is hinged on the general interest of the Igbo ethnic group as explained below.

a. Subject of the Memorandum

The memorandum for the creation of Adada State was authored by the “Adada State Movement” but signed by His Royal Highness, Igwe C.A. Abangwu (Adada:1) who is the paramount ruler of the area. The leadership of the chief of the Igbo ethnic group in the area is very pronounced in the manifesto and also on the website of the Adada State Movement where readers are welcomed by the message:

I, His Royal Highness Igwe Charles Abangwu, CON, the traditional ruler of Eha-Alumona and Leader of Adada State Movement on behalf of all the people of the proposed Adada State welcome you to the official website of the Movement for the Creation of Adada State. The creation of Adada state is the ardent desire of my heart… History calls you to be part of this honourable and redemptive movement (Adada State Movement).

The Adada State memorandum was also endorsed by the Enugu State chapter of the Ohanaeze Ndigbo, a cultural organization for the Igbo ethnic group. The subjectivity in this memorandum is that of an ethnic group with the request for a state which affects over 2 million people argued as the desire of the leadership of the Igbo ethnic group.

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2 Formal title of the chief among the Igbo ethnic group in Nigeria
3 Quotations in this section are taken mainly from the memorandum for the proposed state in question. The first quotation gives name of relevant proposed state, there after only page numbers.
b. Identity in Adada State

Identity is described in the memorandum on the meso level where a distinct social self-identity is presented in the Adada State with the phrase “the entire people” repeated throughout the document. The request for Adada State is predicated on the need to provide a third state for what is identified as “Northern Igbos” who presently have 2 states as opposed to the 3 states occupied by “Southern Igbos”. The sense of identity in the Adada State request is very pronounced as the residents of the area are presented as one “people” who possess a “unanimity of purpose to stay together” as residents of Adada State (5). The understanding of the interests of “Igbo Land” and its northern and southern sections is therefore crucial to the understanding of the memorandum.

The characteristics of the “Northern Igbo” identity are not defined in the memorandum. However, this identity is used both to emphasize the sameness of the people in the area of the proposed state, but also to distinguish them from the “Southern Igbo” and other groups in Nigeria. The geographical adjective ‘Northern’ suggests that a sense of location and cohabitation in an area are the defining characteristics of the collective identity of the people; therefore, the usage of identity in Adada State is from the interactionist perspective.

c. Ethnicity in Adada State

As stated above, the memorandum is presented as a priority of the “Igbo Land”. The endorsement and sense of ownership by Igbo ethnic institutions clearly portray the state creation effort as an ethnic priority. The memorandum demands that “we must put our Igbo house in order, justice, equity and fairness demand that any additional state to be created in Igbo land should be in the northern Igbo land so as to balance the number of states (3:3) in the two sections of Igbo land” (5).

The argument here is that an Adada State should be created because the Igbo ethnic group only has 5 states. Primarily, an ‘Igbo house’ or the ‘Igbo Land’ is presented whose overall interest the memorandum seeks to pursue by creating a 6th Igbo state. However, the division between Northern and Southern Igbo also requires that the proposed 6th Igbo state should be created for the Northern Igbo since the Southern Igbo already have 3 states. The use of the Igbo ethnic appeal is very strong throughout the memorandum such that granting or refusing the request of
the memorandum implies granting or refusing the request of the broad Igbo ethnic group in Nigeria.

The sense of ethnicity used in the memorandum suggests a rational-choice where the ethnic identity is used to support rationally deduced conclusion such as that a 6\textsuperscript{th} state should be created for the Igbo ethnic group and this new state should be for the Northern Igbo. The origins of the Igbo ethnic group are not explained, but the need for 6 Igbo states divided equally between the Northern and Southern Igbos is made paramount. There is no coerciveness attributed to the tie of ethnicity itself, it is only an aspect of culture that is selected as the basis for collective action.

\textit{d. Nationalism in Adada State}

The memorandum identified a \textit{Northern Igbo} people who are a people distinguished from Others such as the \textit{Southern Igbo} whose enviable status of having 3 states it seeks for itself. There is thus the mobilization of the people of the area which is “the most underdeveloped area of Igbo Land because it has suffered repeated marginalization” (3) to compete against others to “bring Government nearer to the people” and promote “even and rapid development” (3) through the creation of Adada State.

Although the recourse to the discourse of “Igbo Land” and the role of ethnic institutions strongly imply ethnicity; the overall nationalism of the memorandum is rationally and instrumentally motivated as demonstrated by the following premises: a) the need to provide a third state for the Northern Igbos to match the 3 states already existing among the Southern Igbos; b) the proposed Adada State would bring development to “the most underdeveloped area of Igbo Land”; and c) there is the desire to “bring government nearer to the people for even and rapid development” (3).

The nationalism of Adada State matches the theoretical position of Breuilly that nationalism is a route to the exercise of power wherein politically motivated groups justify their desired political change with nationalist arguments. Moreover, the change being sought by Adada State is that of separation and of reform; 2 of the 3 common goals of political nationalism. Considering the role of named individual leaders of the ethnic group in the memorandum, there is an agreement with Brass’ suggestion that ethnic identities could be mobilized by elites while gathering mass support in their quest for wealth, power and prestige.
II. Ibadan State

Ibadan is presently the capital city of Oyo State in South West Nigeria. The memorandum to create an Ibadan State seeks to isolate Ibadan which is described as “the largest city in sub-Saharan Africa” (Ibadan: 13) and make it into a state of its own rather than its current status as a capital city for surrounding towns. Although 2 of the 3 senators as well as 2.6 million out of the current 5.6 million people in the present Oyo State are from the proposed Ibadan State, the memorandum does not consider that the people of “Ibadandland” are responsible for their current state, instead it advocates for separation from the rest of Oyo State.

a. Subject of the Memorandum

The Ibadan State memorandum is signed and presented to the parliament under the seal of the leader of the Yoruba ethnic group in the area, His Royal Majesty, Oba S.O. Odulana, the Olubadan of Ibadanland “for the Entire People and all Traditional Chiefs in Ibadanland” (2). The subjects of the proposed State are named as the “entire people of Ibadanland” (p.1), a united people who “have always demonstrated their desire to live together in an Ibadan State” (4). In addition, the memorandum is also countersigned by the president and secretary of the “Central Council of Ibadan Indigenes (CCII)” (15). Although elected public officials also signed endorsements, these come as supports to the official signature and submission made by the traditional chiefs and the indigenes.

b. Identity in Ibadan State

The argument of Ibadan State presents a people whose shared belonging is based on the long history of Ibadan, their city, as an administrative headquarter in Nigeria. This administrative history is traced to a Nigerian ‘administrative tripod’ which is said to have “rested on Ibadan, Kaduna and Enugu” (1). It is argued that while Kaduna and Enugu have since become states, Ibadan remained a “mere state capital” (1) in spite of their demonstrated desire to live in their own state (4).

The perceived victimhood of the people of the proposed Ibadan State is underpinned by the alleged failings of previous state creation exercises which must be made right through the creation of the new Ibadan state. The sense of identity in the Ibadan memorandum is based on a

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4 Formal title of the chief among the Yoruba ethnic group in Nigeria.
sense of shared peoplehood and the history of their city as an administrative capital in Nigeria. Phrases like “we the entire people of Ibadanland” (1) or “We, the people of Ibadanland” (4) are repeated throughout the text. What makes this people unique, united and having shared political ambitions is not at all expatiated in the memorandum.

This is again a sense of interactionist conception of identity based on shared belonging to ‘Ibadanland’ and a long history of common participation in Nigerian politics first as part of an “administrative tripod” and subsequently as the “the largest city in sub-Saharan Africa” (Ibadan: 13).

c. Ethnicity in Ibadan State

The ethnic tone of the Ibadan State request lies in the role of the traditional chiefs and indigenes in the memorandum. Note that the memorandum is signed by the head of the Yoruba ethnic group in the area on behalf of “the Entire People and all Traditional Chiefs in Ibadanland” (2) and by a council of indigenes – but there is no evidence of consultations among this “entire people” who are said to be 2.5 million in number.

The Ibadan State memorandum does not make primordial arguments as to the origin of its people; instead, the core of its request lies in the status of Ibadan as a capital city since 1946 along with Enugu and Kaduna and in its being the largest in sub-Saharan Africa at present. Ibadan presently seeks to be upgraded to its “deserved status” (1) as a state just as the other 2 defunct regional capitals. This quest is based on the perceived inferior status of Ibadan as a “mere state capital” (1) at the moment and the need to seek the greater prosperity of “great Ibadanland” (14). The appeal of ethnic and indigenous institutions reflects an instrumentalist perspective of ethnicity.

d. Nationalism in Ibadan State

There is a clear mobilisation of the identified people of Ibadanland in the memorandum to achieve a specific goal of upgrading the status of their city to a state. For example, it is argued that

[r]ight from inception, the Nigerian administrative tripod rested on Ibadan, Kaduna and Enugu. However, the reality now is that while Kaduna and Enugu have been recognized
and created as states, Ibadan is yet to enjoy the same deserved status, which she has consistently desired. By all rational consideration, Ibadan, which was undoubtedly the largest of the three should have been created as a state of the Federal Republic of Nigeria just like Kaduna and Enugu (4).

The nationalist argument states that “successive governments in the Western Region, Western State, Old Oyo State as well as the present Oyo State never prepared Master Plan for Ibadan – the largest city in sub-Saharan Africa… an Ibadan State will give priority to this” (13). It is implied that previous administrations have failed to develop Ibadan and thus the onus now lies on Ibadan people (or indigenes) to develop it. There is also the appeal to ensure competitive growth and development in Nigeria by creating the proposed Ibadan State (1).

The memorandum admits that there is a justified charge that the people of Ibadan are responsible for marginalising other parts of Oyo State; in justifying the proposed state, it is argued that “the persistent and justified cry of the people of Oke-Ogun, Ibarapa, Oyo and Ogbomoso areas against seeming marginalization would be a thing of the past. A big problem would have been solved and the entire country would be the healthier for it” (14). Here, the memorandum accepts the charge that Ibadanland is marginalizing Others in different areas of present Oyo States and recommends a separation as a solution to this problem.

Ibadan State again presents a case of the political mobilisation of nationalism as argued by Breuilly. The appeal to the people of “great Ibadanland” is made to support the goal of separating Ibadan from the present Oyo State thereby ensuring the development of Ibadan by its own indigenes. Breuilly’s argument that nationalism typically seeks separation, reform or unification is immediately relevant to Ibadan State where there is the search for separation from Oyo State, but also for reform and the modernization of Ibadanland.

III. Lowland State
Lowland State is proposed to be carved out of the present day Plateau State in the North Central part of Nigeria. The argument of the memorandum is for a new state to be created for the people living on the lowlands of Plateau State who have expressed their consent to live together in a new state.

a. Subject of the Memorandum
The Lowland State memorandum is signed by the Chairman and the Secretary of the “Movement for the Creation of Lowland State out of Plateau State” (Lowland: 1). The memorandum refers to a process of consultation among the people in which a committee report “was adopted by the people of the area” (1). This thus formed the basis of the memorandum to parliament on behalf of these “people of the area” who are the subjects of the proposed state.

b. Identity in Lowland State

The identity of the people of the Lowland State is based on their geographical location and the name ‘Lowland’ derives from “the landform on which majority of the local government [areas] comprising it [the proposed state] lay” (2). Furthermore, the people of the area are said to share cultural and geographical contiguity although 30 different ethnic groups live in the area.

It is important to note that the Lowland memorandum does not present endorsements from any ethnic institutions as is the case with the other memoranda. The Lowland request does not present endorsements from any civic authorities either – although this is a legal requirement for making such requests (The Constitution, Section 8). It is considered sufficient that the Movement for the Creation of Lowland State should sign such a memorandum that affects 1.4 million people.

This exemplifies and interactionist usage of identity. Although it is possible for the people of the area who share a common landform to hold differing opinions concerning their political destiny, the memorandum argues that their shared landform in addition to stated cultural contiguity is a basis for a collective identity that is best represented in a proposed Lowland State.

c. Ethnicity in Lowland State

As stated above, the proposed state is said to be made up of people of 30 different ethnic groups. However, the memorandum attempts to forge sameness by arguing that

the people of the area culturally contiguous as over 70% of the about 30 ethnic groups understand and speak each other’s dialect. For example, the name “NAAN” which means GOD is common amongst virtually all the tribes except a few (2-3, emphasis in original).
The need to prove an ethnic identity for the proposed state is a strong theme in the memorandum. It is not clear whether the reference to the similar meaning of the name of God in the languages of the area is a hint to a religious philosophy for the new state or merely an ethnographic detail. However, there are parallel discourses of sameness and of difference not only between the people of the Lowland area and the rest of Nigeria; but also within the proposed Lowland State itself. The sameness of the groups in the area contrasts to the Others residents in the area. It is claimed that “[t]he people [of Lowland] are accommodating as a result of which many other ethnic nationalities from different parts of the country live amongst them and pursue their normal businesses without any form of deprivation” (3). Although it is a good thing that the people of the area are said to be accommodating, already, the distinction is emergent between the Self – the accommodating people who actually belong to the proposed state and those Others who are merely residing there. Additionally, the claim that these Others are living in the area without deprivation suggest that deprivation was indeed to be expected for people who do not live in their indigenous states. This hint of deprivation conforms to Osaghae’s assertion of routine discrimination against those considered non-indigenous (Osaghae 1990: 605).

d. Nationalism in Lowland State

The memorandum makes clearly rational and modernist arguments in its presentation of nationalism. It argues that the “fundamental case for the creation of LOWLAND STATE out of Plateau State is based on the need to achieve development of the area, stable political structure, infrastructural development as well as the provision of basic social amenities” (2, emphasis in original). The memorandum also seeks to establish the credentials of the proposed state by listing 15 “eminent nationalist” (1) in Nigeria which the proposed state is said to have produced. According to Brass and as discussed above, ethnic elites have the tendency to select aspects of the culture of a group and recast new meaning and value to them and then use them to their advantage in political competition. Lowland presents an exploitation of this strategy in which elites ascribe sameness to over 30 ethnic groups and then isolate obscure features such as common word in languages, common geographical features as well as the stated previous nationalist contributions from the area and use this as the basis for a collective identity and for mobilization for the creation of a new state.
IV. Okura State

The proposed Okura State is requested to be carved out of the present day Kogi State in North Central Nigeria. The request is made on behalf of the Igala ethnic group who are said to have been moved haphazardly in previous state creation exercises in Nigeria and now need Okura as a final homeland for the Igala people.

a. Subject of the Memorandum

The memoranda is prepared and signed by the “National Movement for the Creation of Okura State” for the “peoples” of the affected areas in Kogi State and endorsed by all elected civic officials in the area (Okura: 1; 17). The Okura memorandum also does not present endorsement from any ethnic institution as was the case with Adada and Ibadan above. The historical background provided in the memorandum names the subjects of the proposed state as “the Igala Kingdom” (2) and “Igala/Bassa” (3). This is again a group request made for the benefit of an ethnic group. The argumentation of the memorandum is based on this ethnic identity of the Igala people.

b. Identity in Okura State

The identity of the peoples of the proposed state is based on the Igala Kingdom. The memorandum argues that “[s]everal Centuries before the coming of the British Colonial rulers to Nigeria, the Igala Kingdom was a well established Institution under its paramount ruler” (2). This identity trait is traced through the Igala Native Authority established during colonial rule and onward to the placement of the Igala people in 3 successive states in Nigeria where they were seen as “mere appendages” and “tenants” (2,3) and not real citizens of the state. The area for the proposed state is described as “Igala land” (10) while the proposed Okura State is envisaged to give the Igala people their own homeland and sense of belonging.

The use of identity in the Okura memorandum leans towards the psychoanalytical perspective where the Igala ethnic identity is simply stated to predate colonial rule and its own origin and persistence unchanged in modern Nigeria is left unexplained. Being a member of the Igala ethnic group therefore is one of the obscure emotional forces which shape a ‘clear consciousness of inner identity’ as described by Freud.
c. *Ethnicity in Okura State*

The proposed Okura State is based on the pre-colonial Igala Kingdom. The memorandum argues that the area is “inhabited mainly by Igala ethnic group with other groups constituting about 15% of the population” (4-5). Although the 15% who are not members of the Igala ethnic group are a significant population and should have a say in the process of state creation; the strong emphasis on the peculiarity of the Igala ethnic group in the memorandum does not suggest that these non-Igala groups have been consulted and are assenting to be part of the proposed state which will be founded on Igala land and with an identity that is based on the Igala ethnic group. Consequently, the 15% non-Igala peoples might not be considered to be real citizens in the proposed Okura State.

The presentation of the Okura memorandum suggests a primordialist understanding of the roots for the Igala ethnic group. The origin of the group is portrayed as lying outside of recorded time and only the history of the victimization of the group during colonial rule and previous state creation exercises is recorded. However, to a lesser extent, there is an instrumental usage of ethnicity as well since the memorandum cites the history and the alleged victimhood of the ethnic group to make its demand for state creation.

*d. Nationalism in Okura State*

As noted above, there is a strong appeal to the Igala Kingdom throughout the memorandum. The historical background argues of the uniqueness of the Igala people and also makes claims of victimization which ought to be rectified through the creation of Okura State. It is argued that “[o]ur people rightly see State creation as a veritable means of bringing the government nearer to the people and of ensuring equitable distribution of natural resources and accelerating the pace of socio-economic development of the country” (1). Furthermore, the creation of the proposed Okura State would “enable the indigenes to address their problem of underdevelopment and poverty” (8).

The memorandum makes claim of victimization in which other ethnic groups are alleged to have distorted census figures to reduce the Igala population and thus their opportunities in present-day Kogi State (11). Therefore, “our natural vantage position has been turned to a curse as we have been turned to mere human elements used to balance political vacuum during reshuffling of
states in this country” (11). The Okura State is thus proposed for the Igala people to overcome their current “mere human elements” status. Additionally, Okura is not proposed as a state for citizens but rather for indigenes since the memorandum argues that the proposed state “will enable the indigenes to address their problem[s]” (8). The exclusion of non-indigenes in the proposed state is already emerging.

The memorandum argues that the people of the area “have been marginalized in the scheme of things in Nigeria for a long time from colonial era” (11). The creation of Okura State is “the only way of reducing political marginalization of one ethnic group by another” (1) thus “it could not be blamed upon our people and other minority groups, for vigorously supporting the creation of more states in Nigeria” (3).

The use of nationalism in this memorandum typifies a primordial perspective. Reference is made to a perceived primordial ethnic group whose origins and sameness have remained intact over a long period of time and also after being moved to different states of Nigeria. The proposed course of action (creation of Okura State) can be explained as being motivated by what Geertz describes as “the givenness that stem from being born into a particular religious community, speaking a particular language, or even a dialect of a language and following particular social practices” (Geertz, 1963:41-42).

There is also a rational usage of nationalism in which the ethnic identity is mobilised to achieve a political objective and also to achieve the priorities of elites in a competitive environment. The ‘fellow feeling’ which is invoked leads to a corporate sentiment of oneness which is directed to a political goal. According to Brass, elites “select aspects of the group’s culture, attach new value and meaning to them, and use them as symbols to mobilize the group, to defend its interests, and to compete with other groups” (Brass, in Ozkirimli, 2010:88). The memorandum also prioritizes the search for separation for the Igalas and for reform and development of their homeland.

V. Warri State

Warri State is proposed to be created out of the present Delta State located in a region called South-South in Nigeria. The memorandum of this request was submitted to parliament by the ‘Itsekiri Leaders of Thought’ and presents the desire of the ‘Itsekiri Ethnic Nationality’. The proposed state is home to 500,000 people compared to 2.6 million, people for example, in the
proposed Ibadan State. To allay concerns over this small number, the memorandum compiles a list of 24 independent countries with a smaller population and land mass.

\[ a. \] \textit{Subject of the Memoranda}

The memorandum was signed by 8 leaders of the ‘Itsekiri Leaders of Thought’ and requests for state creation on behalf of the “Itsekiri Ethnic Nationality whose homeland is Warri” (Warri: 2, 11). Warri State is also proposed as an ethnic enclave for the Itsekiri ethnic group since repeated reference is made to the “Itsekiri Ethnic Nationality” as the subject of the request. The proposed state is argued to be the homeland for the Itsekiri people. The origin and role of the Itsekiri Leaders of Thought is not explained, yet the body makes a request for state creation which affects the whole population of the area. Note that in this memorandum also, endorsements from ethnic or elected representatives are absent.

\[ b. \] \textit{Identity in Warri State}

The identity of Warri State is based on the Itsekiri ethnic nationality which is in turn based on the continuation of the Warri kingdom which reigned between 1490-1884 prior to colonial rule then it was made part of the ‘Nigerian enterprise’ “without consultation with the Itsekiri people” (2). The Warri District of the Delta Province which was administered during colonial rule is said to be “coterminal with the territory of the Itsekiri” (2). Warri State is thus proposed to restore the lost independence and position of the Warri Kingdom and of the Itsekiri ethnic group.

A second component of identity in the Warri State memo is the production of petroleum in Nigeria. It is argued that the “Itsekiri produce 30% of the oil and gas that sustain the Nigerian nation” (3) and contributes about 80% of the revenues of Delta State where it is presently located (4). This claim of economic relevance corresponds with Geertz’s argument that proponents of new states are motivated by “the desire to be recognized as responsible agents, whose wishes, acts, hopes, and opinions ‘matter’” (Geertz, 1963:40-41).

The usage of identity in the Warri State memorandum is also at the meso level where the personalized relationship among the members of the Itsekiri ethnic group is explained as the basis for collective action in seeking the creation of Warri State. Additionally, the nature of the Itsekiri identity is explained psychoanalytically. There seem to be a perfect understanding of the
Itsekiri identity and the membership of this ethnic group; no attempt is made to justify the common position of the Itsekiris as well as the fate of any non-Itsekiris in the proposed Warri State. The root of the ethnic group is primordially described and it is argued that seeking an Itsekiri ethnic homeland in Warri State is only a logical progression. The organic nature of ethnic groups which are seen as the true components of Nigeria thus allow for a psychoanalytical understanding of identity.

**c. Ethnicity in Warri State**

The emphasis on the “Itsekiri Ethnic Nationality” throughout the memorandum is strong. It is argued that the “Itsekiri demand the creation of a Warri State as a solution to their minority problem” (3). Ethnicity is the lens through which Nigeria as a whole is seen in the memoranda since it argues that ethnic nationalities are

in the true sense ‘the federating’ units in the Nigeria Project, and not the artificially created states. The Nigerian Federation must be an expression of the diversity of the ethnic nationalities in the country … the cry of marginalization, fiscal federalism and resource control is expression of desire for ethnic self-determination. The artificially created states have not and cannot satisfy this desire (3).

This implies a denial of individual citizenship since Nigeria is explained as a federation of ethnic groups rather than a federation of individuals or of civic state units. The stated ‘desire for ethnic self-determination’ portrays a vision for Nigeria in which government would be based on the citizenship and participation of ethnic nationalities, not of individuals.

The memorandum also argues that “these ethnic nationalities are organic and are corporations in accordance with customary law. They have souls and are indestructible entities” (3) while states are artificial and unable to satisfy the desires for ethnic self determination. Evidently, the proposed Warri State would be an Itsekiri state while the whole country is seen as an ethnic federation, leaving no space for civic and individual citizenship.

It is a typically primordial discussion of ethnicity that is presented in the memorandum. Ethnic groups are described as being “organic”, having souls, are indestructible entities and are the genuine component units of Nigeria rather than the states which are mere “artificial” creations.
The memorandum makes appeal to the pre-colonial history of the Warri Kingdom and points to its independence and glory as justification for the creation of Warri State in a modern Nigeria. It argues that prior to colonial rule, “ethnic nationalities were administered as kingdoms, emirates, clans and other definitive political entities” (2). The memorandum describes its proposal for a new state as the “cry for the ethnic self-determination of the Itsekiris” (3). This then is a nationalist mobilization for the resurgence of the old Warri Kingdom and for the restoration of the “Itsekiri homeland” (3).

The mobilization is motivated by the need to “accelerate economic development in the area which had suffered criminal neglect in spite of its early and outstanding political and social history” (5). The memorandum questions the history of Nigeria which it describes as “a mere geographical expression. What make Nigeria are the ethnic nationalities which were brought together” (2). Based on population and the land area, the memorandum argues that the proposed Warri State is bigger or similar in size to 24 self-standing countries and therefore deserves to become a state in Nigeria.

Nationalism here is first a primordial appeal for the self-determination of a self-described ‘organic’ ethnic nationality. The strength of the ethnic identity as used in the memorandum is such that its appeal is said to originate in the pre-colonial independence of the Itsekiris and the claim of an ethnic self-determination for the Itsekiri’s and the call for ethnic federalism in Nigeria strongly resonates a primordial conception of nationalism.

Yet there is instrumental nationalism as well – the invocation of the claim oil production in the area of the proposed state as well as the deployment of a stated prehistoric ethnic self identity to compete with other groups in a modern state resonates a rational-choice dimension to nationalism.
Chapter 6 Conclusion and Recommendation

6.1. Summary
The focus of my thesis was on the negotiation of citizenship in Nigeria where a distinction is made between the citizenship of individuals and the citizenship of indigenous groups. The aim of my research was to investigate the dual levels of citizenship and how they are presented and negotiated in the process of state creation in Nigeria. To achieve this aim, I raised 3 research questions namely: (a) how are identity and ethnicity conceived and deployed in the mobilization for the creation of new states in Nigeria? (b) How is sameness (the ‘self”) and difference (the ‘other’) presented in the mobilization for new states in Nigeria? (c) How are the dual levels of citizenship explained and mobilized for state creation in Nigeria?

My research examined the proposals for the further division of Nigeria into new component units (states) and sought to explain the mobilization of identity, ethnicity and nationalism in relation to citizenship in this process using data from 5 requests (memoranda) for state creation. It was shown that the citizenship of the indigenous groups is accorded a higher priority and serves as the basis for the assertion of individual citizenship rights and for decision making.

Using qualitative content analysis as the method for examining the text of the memoranda and coding the data from the text under four coding themes namely (a) subjects, (b) identity, (c) ethnicity, and (d) nationalism, I analysed the findings from 5 memoranda on state creation in Nigeria against a theoretical framework which combines the discussion of concepts of the psychoanalytical and the interactionist perspectives on identity; the instrumental and primordial discussions of ethnicity; the primordial and instrumental conceptions of nationalism as well as the dichotomy between the Self and the Other. The coding sheet is included as an appendix below while key findings are summarized in the conclusion below.

6.2. Conclusion
A careful review of the coding themes as represented in the texts revealed a number of trends and patterns emerging from the state creation process which could have implications for the dual layers of citizenship in Nigeria. In the following section, I present the conclusion of my research
as Research Findings which summarizes overarching themes that emerged from the research while the Research Conclusions present the analysis in relation to the research questions.

**Research Findings**

i. The lobby for state creation strengthens the citizenship of the ethnos leading to a situation whereby groups are seeking to create new states as homelands for their ethnic groups where participation is dependent on being indigenous.

ii. The individual tier of citizenship (the demos) in Nigeria is not as influential as the group tier (ethnos). Far reaching decisions such as the request for the creation of new states are articulated on the basis of group citizenship while Others – residents of the area of the proposed state who are non-members of the ethnos are ignored in the presentation of the Self in the memoranda.

iii. State creation in Nigeria is largely motivated by the desire to confirm the agency of the people of the area as responsible actors in determining the development policies of their area. Additionally, the lobby for state creation in Nigeria creates “fellow feeling” and emphasizes a coherent identity for the proposed states. Selected aspects of culture such as the ethnicity of dominant groups dominate the proposed states’ identity thereby excluding all Others who fall outside the dominant groups. The exclusion non-members of the dominant groups from the memoranda could be an indication of future discrimination against the non-indigenous persons.

iv. Claims of victimization of the dominant groups and of lack of development of the area of the proposed state are central to the argument for state creation. The memoranda suggest that the creation of new state is a crucial step in the development of each area and it is the responsibility of the indigenous ethnic group to request for such a state. The implication of this position could be that more ethnic groups seeking development of their homeland would be expected to seek the creation of new states.

**Research Conclusion**

**a. Negotiating Identity and Ethnicity in State Creation**
From the 5 memoranda studied in this research, identity is understood and presented both in the strong psychoanalytical sense as well as in the weaker interactionist perspective. Both perspectives of identity are presented at the meso level where identity is conceived of as a group rather than an individual or a national attribute. Ethnicity is understood either in the coercive primordialist or in the instrumentalist perspectives. In some cases, both psychoanalytical and interactionist perspectives of identity as well as primordial and instrumentalist perspectives of ethnicity are identified within the same memorandum. However, the findings from the text allow for the 5 memoranda to be categorized using the dominant tendencies in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identity</th>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Psychoanalytic</td>
<td>Primordial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okura State</td>
<td>Okura State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warri State</td>
<td>Warri State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interactionist</td>
<td>Instrumental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adada State</td>
<td>Adada State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibadan State</td>
<td>Ibadan State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lowland State</td>
<td>Lowland State</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 6.1 Presentation of Identity and Ethnicity in the texts*

**b. Sameness and Difference in State Creation**

The images and distinction between sameness (the ‘Self’) and difference (the ‘Other’) as presented in the texts are shaped by the pattern presented in Table 6.1 above. The discussions of both sameness and difference are very crucial in the argumentations of each of the 5 memoranda.

Typically, a distinction is made between the Self being the group subject of each memorandum and its Others. The first Other identified is made up of the other members of the state from which the Self seeks a separation. The Nigerian government is also identified as an Other whose actions such as previous state creation exercises have motivated the requests of the memorandum.

There is also evidence of difference within the proposed state. For example, the *real* peoples of the Lowland who request the state are distinguished from Others who are described as merely residing in the area. The Igala ethnic group are distinguished from the Others who make-up 15%
of the population of the area of Okura State. This internal differentiation points to the distinction between indigenes and non-indigenes.

Throughout the texts there is a confirmation of Geertz position that new states are motivated on one hand by the desire to be recognized as “responsible agents, whose wishes, acts, hopes, and opinions ‘matter’” and on the other hand by “the desire to build an efficient, dynamic and modern state” (Geertz, 1963:40-41).

c. State Creation and Dual Levels of Citizenship

From the findings of my research, the following patterns are emergent in relation to citizenship and belonging in Nigeria.

i. First, the proposed states are being sought for by groups and explained as being to the benefit of the groups in question. Overall, there is the sense of peoplehood or “fellow feeling” in which those who are part of the proposed state are clearly identified as indigenous groups with shared identity and political destiny while those who do not belong to the group are assumed not to belong in the proposed state thus excluded in the argument and endorsements of the memorandum.

ii. Secondly, there is no discussion of citizenship and citizenship rights in the memoranda. Even in Lowland State where a collective identity is forged among up of 30 different ethnic groups; many non-indigenous groups are said to be resident in the area yet the memorandum does not discuss their rights and interests in the proposed state while in Warri State, it is assumed that only Itsekiris are to be found in the area.

iii. There exists a high degree of differentiation at the group (meso) level of identity in Nigeria as demonstrated by the arguments of the memoranda. Consequently, for the national (macro) level where citizenship is the defining collective identity, the emphasis on difference at the meso level points to the difficulty “in sporting a distinct sense of collective self, simply because a common denominator cannot be found” (Joppke, 2010:120).

The exclusionary trends observed in the memoranda confirm Mamdani’s argument that “every ethnic group in Nigeria is compelled sooner or later to seek its own ethnic home … in the
Nigerian federation” and that “with each new state, the number of Nigerians defined as nonindigenous in all its states continues to grow” (Mamdani, 2005:13).

From the present state creation debate, the desire for an ethnic homeland is visible and yet without safeguards to protect the citizenship rights of individuals and of non-indigenous ethnic groups. The excluded minorities in each state creation exercise are then compelled to mobilize to seek their own states as protection from marginalization sooner or later.

6.3 Recommendations for Further Research

This thesis attempted to contribute to the study of citizenship and the mobilization of identities and ethnicities in the process of state creation in Nigeria. The findings and conclusion of my research project which analysed 5 out of 57 requests for state creation cannot be generalized as fully representative of the wider state creation process in Nigeria. However, this study is indicative of the issues at stake in the Nigerian state creation and citizenship debate and could provide useful insights in framing the agenda for follow-up research and for the expansion of the research field. Some areas for consideration in future research could include the following:

i. In the first instance, it would be important to study all of the 57 memoranda for state creation in order to determine if their argumentations conform to, or differ from the conclusions established in this study.

ii. Secondly, future research parameters could be broadened to look beyond the parliamentary memoranda studied in this research and include more sources such as interviews with relevant actors and members of the Nigerian parliament.

iii. Thirdly, it would be illustrative to retroactively review memoranda from previous state creation exercises in order to establish whether the current state creation exercise is a departure or a continuation of an established trend of argumentation.

iv. Finally, it would be valuable to conduct an international and comparative study to establish similarities and differences in managing citizenship and collective identities in Nigeria with what obtains in other contexts.
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Appendices

- Appendix 1: Data Coding Scheme (Categorization Matrix)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Theme</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Identity</th>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Nationalism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Adada State</td>
<td>Memorandum is authored by “Adada State Movement” and signed by His Royal Highness, Igwe C.A. Abangu</td>
<td>• Strong sense of Identity. Ethnic leaders and all elected civic leaders of the area endorsing the request.</td>
<td>• The request is based mainly on the desire to create a third State for Northern Igbo to equal the 3 states existing among the Southern Igbo (p.5).</td>
<td>• Strong sense of mobilisation of “entire people” to “bring government nearer to the people for even and rapid development”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• “the entire people”; and “northern Igbo” are used as subject for the request.</td>
<td>• Memorandum is understood in the context “Igbo land” (pp. 3, 4, 5) and its “two sections” (p.5).</td>
<td>• Belief that the area of the proposed state is “the most underdeveloped area of Igbo Land” (p.3).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ibadan State</td>
<td>“southern Igbo”</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Memorandum is signed by His Royal Majesty, Oba S.O. Odulana, the Olubadan of Ibadanland “for the Entire People and all Traditional Chiefs in Ibadanland”.</td>
<td>Ibadanland is based on Ibadan which was the regional capital since 1946.</td>
<td>The role of traditional rulers in the application implies strong ethnic identity.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Memorandum prepared under the official seal of the paramount ruler.</td>
<td>Strong distinction between Ibadanland and Others in 3 ways: a) the Other is “the rest of Oyo State” where Ibadan is located; b) the Others are Kaduna and Enugu which were regional capitals like Ibadan but became states; c) there is contrast to other states of Nigeria which possess similar qualities to Ibadan.</td>
<td>Memorandum speaks of the “people of Ibadan” who “have always demonstrated their desire to live together in an Ibadan State” (p.4) and bases current request on earlier submissions by “the Central Council of Ibadan Indigenes (CCII)”.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Co-signed by all elected civic leaders in the area.</td>
<td>The request seeks the prosperity of a “great Ibadanland” (p.14) whose desire for the proposed state is said to be unanimous.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Lowland State</td>
<td>The identity of the proposed state rests on</td>
<td>The area for the new state contains 30 different</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>The Memorandum is</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The emphasis of the request lies on the need to develop</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| 4. Okura State | The request is made on behalf of the Igala ethnic group and signed by Moses Adah and Alidu Jibrin. | The people of Kogi East are identified as being “Igala” or “Igala/Bassa”.  
- Request highlights previous split of the group in different states (Kwara and Benue before their present  
- The Igala tribe is the principal subject of the memorandum. In some cases, the subject is named as a merger of the Igala and the Bassa people or “the people of Kogi East Senatorial District” (p.11).  
- The memorandum traces the greatness of the Igala Kingdom centuries before colonialism.  
- Seeks to restore the greatness of the Igala Native Authority and end the placement of the Igala people across different ethnic groups (p.2).  
- In spite of this diversity, the ethnic groups are said to be similar, speaking Bantu based languages which are mutually understandable to 70% of residents and having shared cultural practices (p.3).  
- The similarity of these groups is demonstrated by the use of “Naan” (God) in “virtually all the tribes” of the area (pp.2-3).  
- There is no reference to either traditional rulers or civic institutions. | signed by the Chairman and the Secretary of the Movement for the Creation of Lowland State out of Plateau State.  
- The memo refers to a process of consultation and endorsement of the request by the people of the area.  
- The geographical contiguity of the area; on the cultural contiguity and the similar anthropological characteristics of the people in the area.
- The memorandum speaks of Others from the “mother state” from which the state is to be created (p.6). As well as some Others from other parts of Nigeria who live among them.  
- The geographical contiguity of the area; on the cultural contiguity and the similar anthropological characteristics of the people in the area. |
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<td>5. <strong>Warri State</strong></td>
<td>The request for Warri State is made in a memorandum submitted by the Itsekiri Ethnic Nationality. The subject of the request is the Itsekiri Nation whose homeland is Warri.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• The Itsekiri ethnic nationality identifies itself as the continuation of the Warri kingdom which was independent prior to colonial rule.</td>
<td>• Memorandum presents the “cry for ethnic self-determination for the Itseki” (p.3).</td>
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<td>• The distinctness of the Warri State is supported with examples from India and Belgium.</td>
<td>• Argues that “ethnic nationalities are organic and …have souls and are indestructible entities”.</td>
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<td>• It is based on Warri Kingdom, the “independent political kingdom” founded by the Itsekiris between 1490 and 1884 (p.2).</td>
<td>• “Nigerian Federation must be an expression of...”</td>
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<td>• “Nigerian Federation homeland produces 30% of the oil and gas that sustains...”</td>
<td>• Strong mobilisation of the Itsekiri ethnic nationality to preserve inalienable rights; preserve and control ethnic lands; preserve their language; inviolability of their traditions; and the right to participate in governance in Nigeria (p.3).</td>
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<td>• Nigeria is said to be “a mere geographical expression. What makes Nigeria are the ethnic nationalities” it contains (p.3).</td>
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<td>• Emphasises that the Itsekiri homeland produces 30% of the oil and gas that sustains...</td>
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Memo discusses marginalisation of the Igala people in all the states to which they have been previously assigned. Creation of new state is pursued as “the only way of reducing political marginalization of one ethnic group by another” (p.1).
<table>
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<tr>
<th>the diversity of the ethnic nationalities in the country” (p.3).</th>
<th>the Nigerian nation” (p.3).</th>
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<td>• Emphasises the forceful building of Nigeria by British colonial rule without consent of the Itsekiris (p.2).</td>
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