CITIZENS-INDIGENES AND SETTLERS DICHOTOMY AS PROMOTED BY GOVERNMENT: CAUSES AND IMPLICATIONS ON PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS

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ABSTRACT

The crises associated with Citizens-Indigenes and Settlers dichotomy (C-ISD) in Nigeria has been on the increase. Governments' actions and or inactions often exacerbate the age-long social relationship amongst people that have lived together for years, a tendency that reflect in many aspects of the people's lives, including Public Organizations (POs) established to provide basic services to the people. Recently, where superiority of the concepts is experimented, government's meddlesomeness has led to the low performance of such organizations. The general causes and consequences of this ugly practice on POs need to be identified in other that the constitution will address them. By using an eclectic approach for data generation and analysis with field works in two states that were purposively/regionally selected within North and South regions in Nigeria, this paper identified the causes, consequences and how government promoted the dichotomy in Public Organizations in Nigeria. We further employed documentary method for data collation while content analysis and narrative analytical technique were adopted. Given that issues relating C-ISD is one of the key problems that work against output performance POs, we recommend that the 1999 Constitution be amended immediately, perpetrators of the dichotomy be punished and that the federal character principle be replaced with more robust ideas that would make POs productive.

Key Words: Citizens, Indigenes, Settlers, Public Organizations, Nigeria's 1999 Constitution.

1. INTRODUCTION

In recent decades, there has been sustained argument on the management of Nigeria's plural composition (Osaghae 1996, Asike 2019). Most times, the argument focused on how to manage the corporate existence amidst some contending variables like regime response to the diverse opinions representing ethnic and intra-ethnic interests, elitist manipulations and power contestation, religious intolerance, the impact of rising ethnic centrifugal forces on public organisations and so on. Incidentally, these issues have resulted to ethnic trivialisation of different high profile frauds in the public sector, insecurity, leadership questions (Yagboyalu, and Akinola, 2019) and indeed poor service delivery in public organizations (POs) *(Rasul and Daniel* 2015). The impact of all these on the people including POs is huge and can be rooted in citizens' indigenes settlers' dichotomy (C-ISD) due to the ethnic and communal allegiance of greater population that defines the Nigerian state (Nwagwu, 2016). The pattern of governance especially in Nigeria (Yagboyaju and Akinola, 2019; Ayuba, 2018) and the important role of bureaucrats who are communitarians in the administration of POs as unifying institution has been acknowledged (Bourgon, 2007). Therefore, the crises arising from C-ISD are central to public organizations' management (Lemonakis, and Zairis, 2020). There is a connection between political and ethnic identity (Alita and Lucinda 2020), and establishment and performance of public organisations

(Adeleke and Charles, 2015). That there are about 350 ethnic nationalities in the country attests that Nigeria is a highly pluralist state (Afolabi, 2016) as this would likely promote dichotomy amongst the different ethnic groups and citizens, indigenes and settlers within the same ethnic groups.

It is of essence to note that C-ISD in Nigeria may have bifurcated, and as such, plays out in two main areas of violent outbreak of civil unrest (Stewart, 2002), mediocrity and poor decisions in Pos. These have substantially defined Nigeria as a less developed country. In order to address these problems, both the colonial government, and past and present governments have embarked on several reforms as noted in the FRN, 1999 Constitution (as amended). Also, several reforms have been done to improve productivity in POs (Ukwandu & Ijer, 2020). Despite the provisions and reforms, crisis relating to C-ISD is still persistent with attendant consequences on POs. Currently, we know little as to why C-ISD crisis appears intractable and exerts further consequences on POs. Now, what are the causes and implications on POs in particular and the Nigerians in spite of the efforts made by both the colonial and post-colonial political leaders?

Being the most populous country in Africa, irrespective of her huge natural and human resource potential , Nigeria is confronted with problems in POs, some of which are underperformance arising from lack of patriotism in public institutions (Apeh, 2018), fraudulent political environment (Sa'id, and Azim, 2020). These problems are attributes of C-ISD manifesting in POs (Lemonakis, and Zairis, 2020). Incidentally, these problems are experienced across ethnic groups in Nigeria irrespective of the believe that they are all Nigerians. These problems have traversed public institutions and organizations established to provide fundamental services for the good of every Nigerian citizen.

Despite the reforms in the constitution and public policy aimed at stemming the tides, public organizations still experience C-ISD with unprecedented consequences. The Nigerian state at large is still confronted with insecurity, systemic corruption, rent-dependent economy, and hostility in social relationship. The factors identified have direct and indirect links to C-ISD as they have weighed down productivity in POs. The expectation is for government to think out of the box and match words with actions. This is critical because reforms notwithstanding every country is seemingly identifiable with certain characteristics and therefore needs the leadership style that would respond to the uniqueness of their environment. If a state is pluralistic in nature, it manifests in the management of POs, and there would be likely emergent crisis from C-ISD.

Management of C-ISD as it relates to POs performance in Nigeria predicts state failure. Studies have further demonstrated that issues such as sustained agitation for restructuring (Fuad, Binti & Shehu, 2019), conflicts and instability (Herbert, & Husaini, 2018) and agitation for inclusive representation are prevalent in Nigeria (Idike *et al.,* 2019); these explain primordial preference to national patriotism. Other issues such as corruption and bad leadership are also attributes of a failed state and they have great consequences for bureaucracy. No PO can perform optimally in an antagonistic work environment of mistrust, suspicion, lack of loyalty or outbreak of violence. The introduction of certain reform policy such as the Federal Character Principles has equally not improved the services of PO in Nigeria (Idike *et al.,* 2019). As such, this study intends to point out how the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria has deepened the crises of C-ISD in Nigeria and how this has affected productivity of POs. This study further narrated how C-ISD in Nigeria has been practiced, particularly within POs and the magnitude of violent caused by the dichotomy. Beyond the observed weakness in the Constitution to nip the dichotomy, this study carefully aimed at identifying some of the factors that promote the dichotomy.

Essentially, this study supports Ex-post facto research design and relies on qualitative research method. The use of Ex-post facto was informed by the fact that all events under study had taken place in the past, prior to this study. Relevant data used in the cause of this study were gleaned from documentary evidences of secondary sources, notably the internet, newspapers, textbooks, official government gazettes and other extant library materials. Content analysis formed the anchor for data analysis as we focused on the manifestations of citizens' indigenes' and settlers' controversies and their attendant consequences on public organizations.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW
2.1 Conceptualizing Citizenship: Focusing on Nigeria Constitutions

Scholarly and documented postulations on the concept of 'citizenship' have been off-cited. Etymologically, citizenship as a concept derives from the French word–*citoyennette* which means to explain how an individual relates to the state. Formerly, it means "the free man of the city". It was at first understood in connection with towns and cities especially relationship during the primordial era and that has continued to the recent time (Afolabi, 2016 and Adejumobi, 2001). Section 42 of the FRN (1999) Constitution explains that "citizen of Nigeria who is of a particular community, ethnic group, and place of origin, sex, religion or political opinion shall not, by reason only that he is such a person, be subjected either expressly by, or in the practical application of, any law in force in Nigeria or any executive or administrative action of the government, to disabilities or restrictions [nor any privilege or advantage] to which citizens of Nigeria of other communities, ethnic groups, places of origin, sex, religious or political opinions are not made subject'. The section further states that 'No citizen of Nigeria shall be subjected to any disability or deprivation merely by reason of the circumstances of his birth'. Relevant sections of the 1976 and 1979 Constitutions made efforts to address issues of C-ISD by providing Federal Character Principle (FCP) which the 1999 Constitution, as amended, adopted.   Fundamental to FCP is that appointments to public organizations must not only reflect plurality of the Nigerian state, but indigenous identities of the appointees representing the different states. On the other hand, Jones (2012) said that "indigenous peoples" as a group of people who are the first inhabitants of an area who have been living in the place during European colonization, especially in Africa, Asia, America and Australia. Both concepts have commonality confirming originality of an individual to a particular area. The concept of indigene was first documented officially in the FRN (1979) Constitution. It defines 'indigene' as someone whose biological parents or grandparents belonged to an indigenous community within the state of residence. The concepts of citizens and indigene versus settlers have been in the front burner of public discourse due to the plural nature of Nigeria. The consequences of its practice on public organizations are monumental as it has continued to pose dangers to their output performance.

2.12 The Nature of C-ISD in Nigeria and the POs Management

During the pre-colonial days, the geographical entity known as Nigeria was, before 1914, a loose "state" with Oyo, Benin, Bornu, Igbo, Hausa, Fulani (and many other smaller empires or kingdoms within the South–South geopolitical region) migrating and operating independently, practising republicanism, monarchism, aristocracy and so on. During the colonial era, the diverse people were fused by the British colonisers, thus giving birth to Nigeria through the amalgamation of Northern and Southern protectorates. The former was mainly inhabited by the Hausa and Fulani, while Igbo, Benin, and Yoruba lived in the southern Nigeria. Scholars' perception on the merits

and demerits of the amalgamation (Mohammed, 2013; Isiani, & Obi-An, 2019) varied significantly.

Immediately after the amalgamation in 1914, Nigeria had to struggle to accommodate issues of indigeneity (Human Rights Watch, 2006) leadership (Achebe, 1983; Ejimabo, 2013 and Olukayode, 2015), followership (Onwuegbuchunam, 2020), and ethnicity, (Okwudiba, 1978; Jacob, 2012; Olaniyan and Omotola, 2015). The issues exacerbated in many areas of national life, including establishment, appointment and employment in those institutions. The nascent state had also to contend with institutional weakness (Wenibowei, 2017) and religious differences (Sampson, 2012; Umwanolue, 2019).Very fundamentally, lack of political-will largely rooted in the disbelief in one Nigeria among its various peoples has, in no small measure, continued to threaten its corporate existence as a country, and all the noted issues are linked to C-ISD. Of significance is how to ensure stability and growth of all sectors of the country so that there would be less pressure of expectations on government.

From the foregoing, people have to move outside their places of birth either for better living condition or natural circumstances that they cannot easily control (such as civil war/political or civil unrest, disease outbreak etc.). In Nigeria, citizens often referred to as indigenes (FRN 1979), have over the years contested enjoying equal rights and opportunities with settlers or non-indigenes. In recent time, the contestation among others is the claim by some Nigerians who for any reason reside in some other area outside their native community claim equal right in all aspects of life with the natives because they are equally Nigerians. Those who are natives, however, query the claim, especially in relation with allocation of resources, political appointments as well as employment and career progression in public organization.

The intractable nature of Citizens-Indigenes Settlers or Squatters debacles has gained significant scholarly attention in Nigeria, (Kraxberger, 2005; Olakunle, Joseph & Segun, 2016; Bouchat, 2013). In Nigeria, as in other plural states, both citizens or indigenes and state bureaucrats refer to those who are not from the area as settlers or visitors who do not and should not be considered to have a share to land, employment or enjoy equal natural rights with indigenes (Isa-Odidi, 2004). He further states that justification for such discrimination is based on the idea that "first in time is first in right." Notably, in the pre-colonial days, land and territorial acquisition were not the root cause of crises because land was sufficient but in contemporary time, it is no longer so, as land, being a major means of production is also an important determinant in the allocation of resources and possible mineral deposits.

Location of POs has equally become a political issue, especially considering that most times employment opportunities and certain positions are reserved for the host communities. It may equally attract such other subsidiary developmental projects like hospitals, schools, roads and electricity which are luxuries to many communities in Nigeria. As for Sayne (2012), officials use this term "indigene" to claim sole access to public positions, land, schools and government jobs and this has produced two retrogressive results, namely, outbreak of violence and mediocrity as mentioned earlier. Different tiers of government in the Nigerian federal structure grant indigenes preferential access over settlers in POs. Those described as settlers maybe Nigerians, but unfair treatment to them would likely affect their output performances in Pos and such can provoke violent outbreak.

Madueke (2018) noted that series of crises between indigenes and squatters or settlers in Plateau State include, but not limited to, Mangu-Bokkos crisis in 1992 and 1994, the Birom and Hausa communities crisis of 1997, and the Mangu-Chagal crisis of 1992. In 2006, it was estimated that for the past ten years, clashes between rival ethnic and religious groups in the state have claimed the life of about four thousand persons (Madueke, 2018; Krause, 2010; Human Rights Watch, 2006). Also in the neighbouring state, Nassarawa, there were also similar crises between Bassa and Igbirra, and Awe and Kean. Other flash points of indigene-settler wide-spread violence include the Tiv and Jukun of Taraba state in the 1990s, Ugep and Idomi of Cross River State in 1992 (Eme, Ekekwe, & Okonkwo, 2019) among the people of Igbo-Ora, Idofin, Sagan-un, Iberekodo, Pako and Igbole of Oyo State in the 1940s and 1990s, respectively; Ife and Modakeke of Oyo state from the 18th century and most pronounced in the 19th century, (Otite & Albert, 1999). Others include the Zango Kataf crisis in Kaduna State in February 1992 as well as the Ezza and Ezillo communal crisis in Ebonyi State in 2004. These resulting chaos have opened-up space for organized crime, such as kidnapping, smuggling and banditry, terrorism and multiplication of ethnic militias, institutional corruption and nepotism which, undoubtedly, have damaging consequences on POs located in the affected areas.

The success of POs, to a very large extent, depends on workforce management (Saxena, 2014; Obasi, Samuel, and Ilesanmi,2018), work environment and government's policies because issues relating to discrimination or inclusiveness (Patrick and Kumar, 2012) affect the performance of the workforce. Output performance of any PO could be significantly linked to the disposition of the workforce; hence POs in Nigeria are faced with the daunting challenges of C-ISD. In order to reconcile the divergent interests that arose from the forced merger of formerly independent ethnic groups by European colonisers and improve on the output performance of POs, both the British Colonial Government and Nigerian Governments embarked on several constitutional reforms, especially in 1954, 1976, 1979 and 1999, respectively, with the hope of adequately responding to conflicting interests of C-ISD in particular, reconcile the different ethnic nationalities within the country as well as balance workforce of POs through the Federal Character Commission.

2.3   Theoretical Framework:

The paper adopts Communitarian theory of citizenship as its theoretical framework of analysis. Citizenship refers to establishment of contractual bond between the citizens and the community (Miller 1995; Etzioni, 2003). In essence, citizenship status, therefore, becomes a concept used to qualify the relationship established based on agreements which define the rights of citizens and obligations of the powers and duties of the State. Accordingly, Etzioni posited that communities can be defined as having two characteristics: first, a group of individuals whose relationship is beyond one-on-one close tie or close biological tie; and second, a group of people with common cultural values and norms, a shared history and identity (Etzioni,1996). The communitarian's point of view was anchored on the emphasis of community belonging. A society is made up of a communities and each community is made up of individuals. Individual needs make-up community needs. In a bid to solve their problems and attend to their complex needs, different POs are established and people are employed based on their skill. The ultimate essence of the employment is to solve individual needs which culminate to community needs. The Communitarians holds that when members of a community defy their differences in terms of religion and race, the community will progress because they see the community need as their

individual or personal needs. This is done because the community recognises their importance and protects them.

Communitarians do not believe in the justification of discrimination or the principle of exclusionism. An individual's sense of identity and commitment is generated when he or she feels that they are part of the community. In order to achieve this, the individual must prove to be a dependable citizen by contributing to the common needs of the community, the economy and wealth production, and most importantly protecting the rights and privileges of all members of the community. Such feeling if not truncated, would reflect in the workforce relationship at POs.

The import of the Communitarian theory of citizenship becomes germane to a holistic understanding of the subject matter, especially when taking cognizance of deep seated community-laden identities crisscrossing the length and breadth of the Nigerian State. Citizenship in Nigeria finds more meaning and attachment to sub-national identities and indigeneity whereby high premium is placed on one's genealogy as basis for access to state resources, employment to POs and their loyalty to the management of any public organization. This conception notwithstanding, what is in practice is a situation where a Nigerian whose father or grandparent did not come from their place of residence will find it difficult, if not impossible, to get a job in POs, get elected or even appointed to a political office, even though they were born or have lived in that area for the whole of their life.

Public Organizations (POs) established to provide basic services to the people. Recently, where superiority of the concepts is experimented, government's meddlesomeness has led to the low performance of such organizations. The general causes and consequences of this ugly practice on POs need to be identified in other that the constitution will address them. Relying on the axioms of *ex-post facto* research design and qualitative research method, this paper identified the causes, consequences and how government promoted the dichotomy in Public Organizations in Nigeria. We further employed documentary method for data collation while content analysis and narrative analytical technique were adopted. Given that issues relating C-ISD is one of the key problems that work against output performance POs, we recommend that the 1999 Constitution be amended immediately, perpetrators of the dichotomy be punished and that the federal character principle be replaced with more robust ideas that would make POs productive.

3. DATA METHODS AND ANALYSIS
3.11 Research Design:

A study of this nature requires triangulation approach for its data collection and analysis due to wider range of individuals (citizens) and institutions involved in the study. Hence, combining different methods proved enriching because these methods reinforced one another about the generation and analysis of data on the present conundrum between citizenship and indigeneship dilemma in the Nigerian state. This paper employs combination of documentary research analysis; survey research which includes In-depth interviews approach (IDIs), Key Informant Interview (KII), descriptive research design, historical design, and interpretative analysis. Documentary approach and analysis to this study gives uncommon assess to archival documents within the bureaucracies' in Nigeria. This approach gives room for thorough scrutiny and analysis of archival documents that are relevant to government and politics in Nigeria especially critical areas that borders on citizenship and constitutions.

On its part, historical designs links the researchers to the archival information within the various institutions of governments visited. Descriptive analysis and design illuminates our

understanding about the important characteristics respondents (citizens, policy-makers, Opinion Leaders) during interviews to elicit information about citizenship conundrum and indigeneship dilemma in Nigeria. Most importantly, interpretative design/analysis permits detailed interrogation and clear questioning more than the rhetoric of ordinary description. Hence, some relevant problematique raised are: What accounts for the dichotomization between citizenship and indigeneship dilemma within public organizations in Nigeria? How does federal character principle, quota system within public organizations work against citizenship definition and indigeneship practice within public organizations in Nigeria? Of what role does the predatory elitism play in conundrum? Most importantly, what are useful insights offered by the Nigerian intelligentsias to overcome this ugly dilemma and trends regarding citizenship and indigeneship dichotomy within public organizations in Nigeria? This study attempts to interrogate these problematique.

3.12 Data sources and its area:

This paper utilizes the combination of both primary and secondary data. Primary data took the form of different interview techniques(KII and IDIs), Focus Group Discussions'(FGDs) among policy-makers in legislative assemblies' in Ebonyi state within the southern region and also Benue state within the Northern region, as well as academic colleagues in the two universities within the above states where field study data were collected. The selected respondents from the two states are at a vantage positions to contribute meaningfully to the constitutional conundrum and practices between citizenship and indigeneship crises within public organizations in Nigeria. Not only this, selected states represent a purposively random selection between the South and North divide geopolitical zone as evident in Nigeria politics. On its part, secondary data were generated from archival documents, both 1979 and 1999 constitutions of the Nigerian state; published academic thesis, internet materials, scholarly journals, texts, commentaries that are published in national dailies, magazines as well as other classified documents in the archives. Essentially, using content analysis based on page by page scrutiny, these important views were deeply analyzed contextually and it complements and reinforced other factual information elicited from our various respondents during interviews within the two states in the Northern and Southern regions of Nigeria.

3.13 Method of Data Gathering:

As earlier mentioned above under research method, this study utilized triangular method of data gathering which includes: interview method, documentary method, FGD method, and survey method. For the interviews, four variants of respondents were selected. Firstly, policy-makers in the legislative assemblies who are the law-makers and also the originators of constitution that creates lacuna between citizens and indigenes within public organizations. Secondly, senior public servants within some selected bureaucracies across the two purposively/regionally selected states from the North and South in Nigeria. Thirdly, some opinion leaders and community-based organizations within the selected states where major public organizations and bureaucracies in the two selected states are found. Fourth, selected indigenes and other foreign citizens chosen within the two states. These respondents gave different accounts and stories that reinforce our findings in the literature about the dilemma between citizenship and indigeneship crises in Nigeria since independent without any concerted efforts to stem the tide. In this study, these respondents were interviewed independently amidst different cities in the two selected states where the researchers carried out the study. Consequently, researchers' relied on information that was collected from

these respondents about the aged-long conundrum within public organizations between citizenship and indigeneship dilemma in Nigeria. Personal challenges and life experiences of the various interviews/respondents in this research work constitutes the major foundation upon which our primary data were sourced from. The respondents' life experiences formed the bedrock of the primary data to this study. As such, these interpersonal experiences and information that were primarily sourced from different individuals help to reinforce secondary data to the study.

4.THE NIGERIAN CONSTITUTION AND CITIZENSHIP-SETTLER CONTROVERSY

Without doubt, the 1979 and 1999 Constitutions of FRN confers equality of citizenship on every Nigerian on equal basis. The Constitutions pledges that every Nigerian may chose to reside in any part of the country without obstruction. Chapter III, sections 25, 26 and 27 of the 1999 Constitution stated that 'the citizenship of Nigeria could be by birth, registration and naturalization' (FRN, 1999). Probably, inclusion of citizenship as well as human rights in Chapter four of the 1999 Constitution (as amended) were aimed to promote unity and, as much as possible, promote reciprocal obligations between the state and citizens (Chapter, III and IV, 1999 Constitution). In the same vein, the constitution was aimed at 'promoting the good government and welfare of all persons in our country, on the principles of freedom, equality and justice, and for the purpose of consolidating the unity of our people', (Constitution of Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999: 1). Afolabi (2016) has decried that due to problems associated with the application of citizenship in the Nigerian context most Nigerians seem to be more loyal to their sub-national or primordial bases. Incidentally, the experience has dovetailed in all national life, including appointment and employment, loyalty and discharge of responsibilities among Nigerians working in public organizations or even receiving their services.

Citizenship in the Nigerian context is often contested, resulting to inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic conflicts, as well as the virus of mediocrity found in many government agencies. Meanwhile, suffice it to state at this juncture that vagueness in the definition of citizenship is still an unresolved question in Nigeria. In the 1979 Constitution, the indigeneity clause was introduced to diffuse discriminatory practices in the conduct of government businesses and to promote unity in Nigeria. However, the problem continued unabated. Again, the 1999 Constitution attempted to resolve the malady but its (indigene) consideration in the appointment of public office holders such as Ministers (Sec, 147 (b) of FRN, 1999) further made it an intractable clause. Most probably, the introduction of federal character principle was to dowse tension generated by the feeling of marginalization in the conduct of government businesses and to ensure nation unity; but its application created more suspicion and makes this section of the Constitution vague (Afolabi, 2016).

Section 147, sub-section (3) of the 1999 Constitution stated that, '...any appointment under sub-section (2) of this section by the President shall be in conformity with the provisions of Section 14 (3) of this Constitution; provided that in giving effect to the provisions aforesaid, the president shall appoint at least one Minister from each state, who, shall be an indigene of such state' (FRN, 1999). By this, the 1999 Constitution recognizes that there are indigenes and settlers in Nigeria. Similarly, the 1999 Constitution also compounds issues when it specifies three ways of obtaining Nigerian citizenship, i.e. by birth, registration and naturalization. While the birth option derives from genealogy, registration and naturalization citizenships are obtained through marriage and domiciliation.

As observed, more often than not, settlers and indigenes engage in violent conflict over resource allocation, public service positions, thus affecting national development (Nwagwu, 2016; Madueke, 2018). The situation in Ife/Modakeke conflict, Zango-Kataf crisis, Bassa/Ebira conflict, Tiv-Jukun conflict, Hausa-Fulani-Berom conflict in Jos and other ethnic-communal conflicts have reasonably contributed in the description of Nigeria as a failed state.

5. FINDINGS OF THE STUDY
5.11 Selected Factors Reinforcing C-ISD

The perennial problems of inter-communal and ethno-religious rivalries in various parts of Nigeria are very worrisome, as they negate the assumptions of communitarian theorists. Surprisingly, the crises are simply being managed rather than being resolved. It is therefore imperative for the study to identify and analyse other fundamental factors outside the constitutional ambiguity that reinforce this intractable phenomenon of citizenship controversy and indigene-settler dichotomy as below;

- *Land Ownership*:

In Nigeria, indigene is associated with land ownership. This is not only limited to Nigeria; land ownership is an issue all over Africa. As such, anything that affects the land affects the people. This explains why indigeneity is strong in Nigeria, especially in the contemporary days. People see land as a primary form of property in the traditional society and its source of wealth because POs could be cited on it or mineral resources deposited in it which will attract investors. For instance, the crises in Plateau state are not unconnected with land ownership contestation between farmers and herders, just as the Igbo, Urhobo and Yoruba, have problems in other parts of the country they live because they dominated the business life in those areas. Similarly, Nwagwu (2016) posited that the Zango-Kataf conflict in Southern Kaduna is traceable to religious and cultural distortion by Muslims that migrated from the Zaria Emirate against the indigenous Atyaps.

- *Pattern of Regime Responses:*

The manner at which a regime responds to conflict among citizens of a particular area is very critical. Government has the capacity to control every conflict among the citizens especially if there is no external influence. Section 14(2) (b) of FGN 1999 Constitution provided that "the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government". Conversely, when government appear nonchalant, the conflict would graduate to full-scale conflict. In the alternative, if government confronts the conflict at the earlier stage, it would be put under control (Akpuru-Aja, 2007).

Nwagwu (2016) was of the view that past regimes in Nigeria appear to have little or nothing to control many conflicts that have erupted in different parts of the country that relates to maintaining egalitarian state where preference is not given to either indigenes or the settlers. This can be seen in most of the conflicts that have erupted in different parts of Nigeria.

- *Elitist Manipulation and Power Contestation:*

Within the Nigeria political space, the phenomenon of indigene-settler syndrome and its attendant conflict has been manifest. Elite political groups have continued to rely on their pejorative definition of human movement which could be caused by many reasons and the dynamics in citizenship claim as available strategy to sensitize and mobilize people to support their egocentric socio-economic and political gains. This is evident in most communal crises in Nigeria. At the face value it would be presented "as them versus us either to intimidate us or to take over what belongs to us". For instance, there were the2001 Jos crisis (Afolabi, 2016), Ezillo versus Ezza-

Ezillo crisis, 2008; and many others. These crises capture the extent to which power tussle and elite contestation have contributed to further entrench indigene-settler dilemma in the fabrics of Nigerian polity; a development that has resulted in incessant wanton destruction of lives and properties, stifling of foreign direct investment and institutionalizing economic chaos.

- *Religious Intolerance:*

Issues relating to indigene and settler syndrome are essentially reinforced by religion factor. Since independence, the majority of Nigeria's worst conflicts relate religious or ethnic lines or both. The flash points of religious intolerance orchestrated by indigene-settler violence in Nigeria include North Central and North West geopolitical zones. In Plateau state, there are so many ethnic groups and settlers claiming ownership to land, positions in government institutions as well as management of POs. Proponents of indigene-settler conflicts often use that to win support from the grassroots to influence management of public institutions. A communal conflict in Kaduna was regarded a "war against political Islam" and a "clean-up campaign against ignorant monkeys" and "second-class citizens" (Sayne, 2012). Much as the elites try to down play the religious factor in the whole saga, religion remains a sore point, such that the law enforcement officers who were promptly drafted to quell the conflagration were alleged to have taken sides depending on what faith they professed (Salawu, 2010; Çancı and Odukoya, 2016).

From the forgoing, the so called settlers are Muslims and the so-called natives are Christians. So when one group is organized by the cults that bounce on one another, these managers of chaos tell the world that the people are fighting because of their religious difference. Thus, C-ISD in the country is rooted in religion and as an emotive thing; the people therefore are easily manipulated into fighting, all in the name of God, even as its reinforcement and bifurcation is a creation of the elites who do this for economic or political advantage.

- *Government Sanctioned Discriminatory Identity Practices in POs:*

It is also worrisome to realise that the issue of indigene-settler syndrome is, to a large extent, sanctioned by the institutions of the state and their operators. It is ridiculous to witness that settlers would enjoy rights and privileges that contribute to the development of an area except sharing resources, positions in government institutions of such other benefits that will enhance their personal development. It seems practical for a person to prove beyond reasonable doubt that are indigenous to a place by, for instance, getting a letter of identification from a traditional ruler or councillor before a local government council or a state could issue a certificate of indigeneship, not citizenship.

In a more succinct note, Ehusiani (2012:1) captures it thus: 'many of us remember the injustices, the pains and dislocations that attended the creation of states and local government areas in this country, where many people have to move, not because they wanted to, but because they were told they had no place in the new state'. This was witnessed after the creation of Ebonyi from Enugu and Abia in 1996, creation of Enugu from Anambra in 1991, Oyo state created from Osun in 1991, among others.

The former Nigerian President, Goodluck Jonathan, during the 13th session of the Osigwe Anyiam Osigwe lecture organized by the Osigwe Anyiam Foundation decried that 'our diversity is our strength, it is time for change; a situation whereby a Nigerian child has to travel many distances to pick a state of origin form because they are not recognized where they live is not good. The indigene-settler syndrome is a threat to our nation and we must not tolerate it' (Utebor, 2012:1).

This is a clear pointer to the magnitude of the phenomenon as it affects all facets of the country's national life.

5.12   Implications of Citizens-Indigenes and Settlers Dichotomy on Public Organizations

The implications of C-ISD on POs in Nigeria have been of immense concern to the people. There is no clear distinction on the set goals of PO, organizational workforce and the masses. Management of organizational workforce are rapidly and consistently affected by emerging issues such as diversity and discriminations, exclusionism and nepotism, organizational environment and culture, team work, conflict, job security and satisfaction etc., (Li *et al,* 2020, Saleem, *et al*, *2020*). Managing public organizations' workforce in a pluralist Nigeria where ethnic loyalty is placed above national patriotism might seem a bit complex but not insurmountable.

Efforts by several regimes through constitutional and public organization reforms to resolve national questions such as application of Federal Character Principle and Quota system (Okeke, 2019; Okorie and Esheya, 2013; Demarest, Langer and Ukiwo, 2020), derivation principle (Akinola and Adesopo, 2011) true federalism, (Chinwendu, 2017) rather resulted in more centrifugal tendencies and altercations with damaging implications on Pos are faced with bureaucratic bottlenecks mostly caused by ineffective and corrupt political leadership, lack of requisite manpower and financial resources, personal interest, prejudice and the influence of primordial values in the conduct of official business by bureaucrats (Ugwuanyi and Emma, 2013: pp 64-66). In a similar vein, Makinde (2005) notes that non-consideration of environmental compliance and cultural composition lead to poor implementation of policies in POs.

The fundamental implication of C-ISD on Nigeria's POs is poor output performance. Often time, these organizations perform below set targets either because the ethnic interest of the head of the establishment is not accommodated or is frustrated by the sub-ordinates who are not of the same ethnic origin. What seems predominant with POs management in Nigeria is not about the policy but the origin of beneficiaries. Public Organizations' policies are yet to be analyzed on the basis of its objectivity but with origins' or indigenes' bias. With this, the growth and performance of these organizations are truncated to the detriment of the wider citizenry. Citizens-Indigene and Settler dichotomy results in mediocre heading important public organizations. The introduction of Federal Character Principle and quota system in the 1999 constitution as amended could be seen as legalizing C-ISD in Nigeria. These provisions permit that employment and heads of POs should strictly represent the ethnic composition of Nigeria. With this development, merit is sacrificed for ethnic representation with damaging consequences on the performance of PO.

6. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE STUDY
6.1   Conclusion:
This paper investigated causes of Citizens-Indigenes Settlers' dichotomy in the Nigerian context. It equally analysed consequences of C-ISD on public organizations established that crises generated by C-ISD have adverse effects on the output performance of POs. The paper utilized the postulations of communitarian theorists. Against the postulations of Communitarian theorists, the consequences of C-ISD fan mostly the ember of rent dependent economy, systemic corruption, mediocrity and low productivity by POs. On the other hand, high level of insecurity prevalent in Nigeria in recent times could be largely attributed to C-ISD which also affects output performance of POs. The paper has further presented different perspectives in the analysis. We presented diverse definitions of the concepts of citizens, indigenes and settlers both from scholarly and constitutional

perspectives. The nature of C-ISD was reviewed and we established its link with POs performance which is antithetical to the postulations of Communitarian theorists. Also, we presented a number of factors that reinforce C-ISD, focussing on land ownership, pattern of regime response, elitist manipulation and power contestation, religious intolerance, government sanctioned discriminatory identity in POs, as well as the effects of C-ISD on POs.

One outstanding findings noted in course of this study is the implication of contestation of right to position, lands and so on by people that have lived together for many years on the basis indigenes and non-indigenes or natives and settlers. Consequently, most POs in Nigeria perform below expectation. This can be attributed to C-ISD, inclusion of Federal Character Principle and Quota System in the Constitution of FRN. The constitution is less explicit on the concepts of citizens, indigene and settlers. Again, government at different levels have contributed to entrench indigene-settler syndrome and citizenship confusion by drawing such administrative lines like indigene and non-indigene in the distribution of public resources. Equally, the struggle for position among colleagues or co-workers in POs, land, religion and elite political manipulation constitute the most reinforcing factors that pitch natives against settlers in Nigeria. The political class uses this as a basis for mobilizing sentiments and support for the ultimate actualization of political ends.

Indigene-settler violence in Nigeria is further compounded by the ambiguity surrounding the indigeneity clause as enshrined in both 1979 and 1999 Constitutions of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The clause further ridicules naturalized or registered citizens of Nigeria and effectively deprives them of political, economic and social rights. The state and its forces are often seen taking sides in matters of grave state security as evidenced in the partisan disposition of successive regimes' seeming support of the Hausa/Fulani's claim of traditional authority and superiority over the native inhabitants of Zango-Kataf in Southern Kaduna. The present disposition of the Federal Government in farmers/killer herder's crisis in most parts of the country is rooted in indigenes settlers' dichotomy. The Federal government seems not to have done enough to resolve the deadly attacks by the killer herders (Settlers and Nigerian Citizens) on the host communities who equally are Nigerian citizens. The claim of killer herders is that Nigeria is one.

The crises surrounding citizens-indigene and settler dichotomy further complicate the issue of unity in diversity in a pluralist Nigeria. There is the need for serious rethinking on how to prevent, rather than resolve, Nigeria's citizen-indigene and settler violence given its devastating consequences on POs. As often in the country, existing analyses are stronger on problems than on solutions. Deadly conflicts and poor performance of POs end only when individuals and the state make new preferences of unity, patriotism and political-will to introduce changes that would solve problems arising C-ISD. One way to get started is to have the political-will to introduce reforms and changes that conform to the postulations of Communitarian theorists. Currently, prevailing indicators of good governance (obedience to the rule of law, purposeful leadership and committed followers, security of life, quality life) eludes Nigerians, and this has led many to conclude that Nigeria is now a failed state.

In the light of all these, we submit that it is expedient that the 1999 Constitution be amended in order to properly define citizenship of the Nigerian state in line with universal understanding and application of the concept. This will, to a large extent, engender and promote genuine unity, especially within POs which are so divided against their set targets. This is very important since these organisations are housing people from different ethnic backgrounds. If there is no discrimination of any type in POs, such cordiality would dovetail to the communities. Again, government must have the political-will to hold perpetrators of C-ISD accountable to reduce

indigene-settler violence given its devastating effects on POs in Nigeria. This is because public organizations misplace the set target and pursue primordial interest against national aspirations or the very objective of the organization. For now, the Nigerian state rarely punishes those responsible for indigene-settler violence especially the elites that have applied such in the discharge of official duties in public organizations. A state law, or policy, granting the people designated as 'indigenes' and those designated as 'settlers' equal access to schools (including payment of equal tuition fee) and public jobs should be enacted and enforced nationwide. The idea and practice of discriminatory tuition fees in public schools, colleges and universities do not do any good to the project of nation building.

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