

**Resource Control and Federalism in Nigeria**

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## Certification

This is to certify that Kemi Arinola Akinmoye with matriculation number LCU/PG/002308 carried out this research work titled “The Challenges of Resource Control and Practice of Federalism in Nigeria” in the Department of Politics and International Relations, Faculty of Management and Social Sciences, Lead City University, Ibadan, Oyo state, for the award of Master Degree (M.Sc) in Public Administration and that this has not been previously submitted.

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## **Dedication**

I dedicate this thesis to God

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## Acknowledgement

My deepest gratitude goes to God Almighty who has provided all that was needed to complete this dissertation and the program for which it was undertaken, and the strength He gave me during my difficult times.

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## Abstract

The practice of federalism in Nigeria has elicited several reactions and thus generated critical debates by scholars, politicians, journalists, commentators and more particularly the oil producing communities of the Niger Delta Region. A recurring decimal in Nigerian federalism is the issue of resource allocation and sharing of revenue between the federal government and the component units. The Nigeria physical federal arrangement is unique because by the nature of the Nigerian arrangement, the federal government controls all the resources, hence distributes revenue to the states and local governments based on criteria, which she determines. The problem, has always been there with which criteria should take precedence in the revenue allocation formula, public expression for a new formula that will favor them. Therefore, this study analysed the challenges of resource control and practice of federalism in Nigeria. The study utilized the Frustration - Aggression theory to describe the challenges federalism and resource control in Nigeria. The research adopted a descriptive research design. The findings of this research revealed that, leadership crisis, elite interest, revenue allocation formula, as well as corruption are some of the challenges of true federalism and resource control in Nigeria. The study concluded that fiscal federalism is very crucial for the functioning of any federal system. It is one of the key features of balanced federalism. The study recommended that, there should be a redefinition of the statutory roles of each tier of government and a modification of the current fiscal jurisdiction. The changes must be reflected in a new Nigerian Constitution if the country is to achieve fiscal sustainability, balanced development, and equitable distribution of the federation revenue in the years ahead.

**Keywords:** Federalism, Financial Autonomy, Resource Control, Political Restructuring

**Word Count:** 273

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## List of Acronyms

<b>Abbreviation</b>	<b>Meaning</b>
AU	African Union
BZM	Biafra Zionist Movement
CSO	Civil Society Organizations
EFCC	Economic and Financial Crime Commission
EU	European Union
ICPC	Independent Corrupt Practices and other related offence Commission
INEC	Independent National Electoral Commission
IPOB	Indigenous People of Biafra
LGAs	Local Government Areas
MASSOB	Movement for Actualization of Sovereign State of Biafra
MEND	Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta
MOSOP	Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People
NDDC	Niger Delta Development Commission
NDM	Niger Delta Militants
USA	United State of America
WIC	World Igbo Conference

## **Chapter One**

### **Introduction**

#### **1.1 Background to the Study**

Federalism, according to K.C Wheare, is the method of dividing powers so that the central and regional governments are each, within a sphere, co-ordinate and independent. He said that the characteristics of this Federal Principle are the division of powers among levels of government, a written constitution showing this division of powers and co-ordinate not subordinate supremacy of the two levels of government with respect to their functions<sup>1</sup>. Wheare's central argument is that federalism will be adopted if people in the constitutional units. From Wheare's definition of federalism, the constitutional provision protects the autonomy of different regional levels of governments and as such neither the central or regional governments are subordinate to each other, but rather the two levels of government are coordinate and independent.

Federalism as a system of governance is pragmatic, dynamic, utilitarian and evolving. It can only thrive on consultation, negotiation, compromise, bargaining and agreement between the constituent governments. It grows under a system of mutuality and interdependence<sup>2</sup>. Federalism represents a unique form of governmental arrangement. This is because, it involves organization of the state in such manner as to promote unity while at the same time preserving existing diversities within an overarching national entity.

Federalism in its modern form, has been shaped by the existing realities surrounding the concept of a market economy. Thus, the new political economy of federalism has provided refreshing ideas about federal sustenance. Based on these emergent ideas, economic prosperity generated by local freedom is regard as a key factor that unites citizens on the

limits of state power and also forces political actors at the national and local levels to keep within their respective spheres<sup>3</sup>. This is especially so because, federalism, with its interacting levels of government, was thought to be capable of offering a way of mediating the variety of citizen preferences.

Constitutional federalism emerged not only as a mechanism that provided a limited, overarching governmental framework for a shared political market, but also as a basis for preserving significant powers and functions for the political communities that joined the market, defined as federation<sup>4</sup>. This division and sharing of powers (or competencies) between a general union government and the constituent political communities could resolve not only the need to restrain the power of both the federal government and the constituent governments for the sake of freedom but also the cultural and political demands of the constituent political communities for the preservation of their governmental integrity.

Federalism is a system meant to integrate people in a society who are diverse ethnically, culturally, geographically and even religiously. It therefore becomes imperative that once a government is in place, it must endeavour to adequately and equitably distribute powers, functions and resources among these diverse groups. But in Nigeria, there are instances where governments have openly violated this principles of federalism. Suffice it to say that in theory, Nigeria can be said to be operating the federal system of government, whereas in actual practice, the country is tending towards a unitary system. Therefore, the problem with federalism in Nigeria is the mix-application or non-application of this clause especially as it has to do with power distribution. Federalism is the bedrock of democratic edifice for a country of Nigeria's size and bewildering diversities<sup>5</sup>.

An important characteristic which distinguishes federal character systems from non-federal systems is contractual, non-concentration of power<sup>6</sup>. There is an irrevocable division of

power as a product of constitutional compact among the nationalities or sub-communities that compose the Federation in Federal state<sup>6</sup>.

The Nigerian State is presently divided into six geo-political zones for administrative purposes and they are North-West, North-East, North-Central, South- West, South-East, and South-South. . The South-South states are minority in Nigeria and this minority status have adversely affected them in revenue allocation in Nigeria since oil became the mainstay of the Nigerian economy. The structural composition of the Nigerian state presently derived its root from the colonial era. For administrative convenience, the colonial masters bifurcated the country into regions after the amalgamation of the protectorate of Southern and Northern Nigeria in 1914 by Lord Frederick Lugard<sup>7</sup>.

The amalgamation of 1914 was considered to be a doctrine of necessity that attempt to unite the people but, became a mistake which ended in juxtaposing them as a result of structural imbalance that ensues between the two protectorates. This asymmetric imbalance is what re-enforced a persistent struggle and competition among various ethnic, religious, and regional groups whose diversities have also compounded the fear of domination leading each groups to embark on different strategies on how one could dominate and monopolized the political system and economic allocations to its advantage hence, the calls for restructuring<sup>8</sup>.

In this vein, specifically, the country was divided in 1946 through Richard's constitution into three regions; the Northern region, Western region and Eastern region. The division was done in such a way that each region comprised of a particular major ethnic group in Nigeria, that is, North for the Hausa-Fulani, West for the Yoruba and the East for the Igbo. This shows that Nigeria is made up of diverse ethnic and religious groups in such a way that there are the 'majority' and 'minority' ethnic groups. To a large extent, the minority ethnic

groups are the oil producing states such as Akwa-Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross-river, Delta, Edo, Ondo, and Rivers. The majority ethnic groups are the non-oil producing states.

Ironically, the majority ethnic groups determine the nature of revenue allocation in Nigeria. This condition has over the years tended to constitute a cog in the wheel of equitable revenue allocation in Nigeria with its attendant consequences. The revenue allocation system remains one of the critical destabilizing factors in Nigeria's federal experiment. Revenue allocation has a very great potential for conflicts, especially between rich and poor regions or state in Nigeria. In fact, it was ethnic conflict which largely explains the origin of centralization of fiscal powers in Nigeria today<sup>9</sup>.

Due largely to the politicization of ethnicity, attempts have been made over the years by the politically dominant ethnic groups to allocate resources in their favour. This scenario has been the major source of conflicts, agitation for resource control by the oil producing states spearheaded by the governors and animosity in the Nigerian federation. Resource control agitation was borne out of deep-seated feeling of marginalization in spite of the huge petroleum wealth that Nigeria has taken from the oil producing region<sup>10</sup>. The principle of derivation which was the basic formula for sharing revenue when agriculture was the mainstay of the Nigerian economy was consigned to history books as oil replaced agricultural products as the mainstay of the economy<sup>11</sup>.

This situation was seen as a conspiracy by the power elite of the three major ethnic groups (Ibo, Yoruba and Hausa-Fulani), particularly, because of the absence of oil in any significant quantity in their regions. However, recent development has led to the clamour for restructuring with the oil belt region of Nigeria called the Niger Delta with the South-South been the fore front of this political-economic struggle. The region is not only the hub of oil in the country but also the epic center of the resource-related conflict<sup>12</sup>.

Since 1958, exploration activities have been attended by the wanton destruction of the environment, disruption of agricultural production, which have caused most of the families the means of the livelihood- fishing and farming. They suffer neglect and mass poverty, which resulted in a potent lack of development. To them, they are the “marginalized of the marginalized” in Nigeria. The people of the Niger-Delta embarked on and designed a strategy for ensuring political equation in the distribution of the resources regarded as theirs. Since the beginning of 2016, there has been resurgence in violence activities in the region and the new militant groups that have emerged are re-echoing the age-long demands of the people of the region resource control and self-determination. Control to the federal idea is granting financial autonomy to the different levels of government<sup>13</sup>.

Observers of Nigeria’s federalism have always said that, while the underlying principles of federalism have often been ignored by successive Nigerian governments, efforts were made earlier to implement the policy of fiscal federalism based on the principles of derivation. The 1960 and 1963 constitutions not only granted greater fiscal autonomy to the regions, but also empowered them to compete with one another<sup>14</sup>. The current movement for better treatment of the people of the Niger Delta region has brought to fore the demand for resource control. The calls for reforms from different parts of the country are evidently clear. From the East of the Niger, there have been called for the actualization of the independent state of Biafra by the Indigenous People of Biafra and the Movement for the Actualization of Sovereign State of Biafra.

In the West, the demand for restructuring of the polity otherwise known as true federalism is still top of the agenda of the people of the region. From the North is the insurrection or insurgency of the dreaded Islamic fundamentalist group called Boko Haram whose major goal is to establish an Islamic theocratic state. Indeed, the country is not at peace; it is

experiencing economic recession, farmer-herdsmen clash, the upsurge in kidnapping and ritual killings.

From the pre-colonial to post-independence era and up to the present democratic dispensation, resource control has remained the most contentious issue among the tiers of government. Of note, like most federal systems, Nigeria operates a system in which the federal government harnesses the natural resources and shares revenue with the States and Local Government. This explain the point of departure from an ideal federal constitution in which, the regions or states are the federating units and control resources located in their territories. The implication of this is a pointer to the fact that fiscal federalism in Nigeria has not been able to contribute optimally to socio-economic development of the States. This study therefore seek to investigate the issues and challenges of federalism and resource control in Nigeria.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Federalism and resource control have today remained a major theme on all issues bothering politics and governance as this has been one of the major problems facing the Nigerian state. Most scholars have contended that resource control has remained a contentious issue in Nigerian federalism and they agreed that it is this development that is responsible for the polarization of the country into North, South, East and West divide. The issues have resulted into civil unrest and general conflicts that have affected the peaceful and corporate existence of the country as most ethnic nationalities, especially those from the oil-rich region, argued that by the virtue of their contribution to the nation's purse, the principles of justice and equity demand that they should be allowed to control and manage their resources.

Resource control is seen as the ownership, control, management of a natural resource by a community or state and payment of an agreed percentage of the proceeds of the natural

resources by the owners who may be community or state to the central government for the overall running of its assigned duties by the constitution. The quest for change or restructuring by way of constitutional amendments to reflect the interests of the federating units or states is not strange to post-colonial Nigeria as it had been there from Nigeria's colonial inception except that the methodologies leading to each process varied to an extent.

The resource control agitations generated mixed feelings right from the onset; because there are some group of people who believe that, if the resource control agitation is granted, it will drastically affect their revenue base and for that they have gone all out to oppose it in total disregard to equity, natural justice and the practice of true federalism. However, the practice of federalism in Nigeria has remained a nightmare due to the asymmetric nature of relationship between ethnic, religious and regional groups as well as the components units in relations to power sharing and resource allocation. As a result, serious problem of mistrust and contestations among various social interest groups for power positions and access to resources at various levels have efficient and viable frame-work that would help preserve national unity while allowing diversity to thrive at all levels. This study seeks to investigate federalism and resource control in Nigeria.

### **1.3 Aim and Objectives of the Study**

The aim of the study is to investigate federalism and the challenges of resource control in Nigeria. However, the objectives of the study are to:

- i. examine the contemporary challenges around federalism and resource control in Nigeria.
- ii. assess the ethical evaluation of the calls for resource control and restructuring in Nigeria
- iii. evaluate the challenges of political restructuring in Nigeria.

#### **1.4 Research Questions**

1. What are the contemporary challenges around federalism and resource control in Nigeria?
2. What the ethical evaluation of the calls for resource control and restructuring in Nigeria?
3. What are the challenges to political restructuring in Nigeria?

#### **1.5 Significance of the study**

The purpose of this work is to add new vistas to the ever growing literature on federalism, resource control, revenue allocation and other emerging scenario in national politics. In that stead, students, scholars, civil servants, administrators and other members of the public with interest in the field of politics, conflict management and international Relations will find this piece very rewarding. It will also provide information through recommendations on the practical ways of resolving issues of governance and national development. This study is important because despite the challenges of resource control, revenue allocation and fiscal federalism, Nigerian nation has to appreciable extent spread resources for the development of its component parts.

#### **1.6 Scope of the Study**

The scope of the study covers the system of federalism in Nigeria as it poses problems to resource control. The study traces the advent of federalism in Nigeria political history and locates its lopsidedness, which affects the component units called state.

## 1.7 Limitations of the Study

Limitations are common features of any scientific research especially in the social sciences where researchers are directly involved in the phenomenon under study, One of the limitations that confronted this research is the inability to get and identify reliable data and resource for the analysis of this research. It was indeed a rigorous one but nevertheless, this and other limitations did not serve as obstacles to achieve the objectives of this research.

## 1.8 Operational Definitions of Terms

**Administration:** Administration is a process of systematically arranging and coordinating. The human and material resources available to any organization for the main purpose of achieving stipulated goals of that organization

**Federalism:** Federalism is defined as the practice or method of dividing powers so that general and regional government are each, within a sphere, coordinate and independent. It is also a system of government that is essentially about the distribution of political and economic decision-making power among constituent units or levels of government”.

**Resource Control:** In the context of this research, resource control as the control and management of resources by the state or local government where the resources are found, under the guidance of the central government and then pay agreed percentage to the central government.

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## Chapter Two

### Literature Review

#### 2.1 Conceptual Review

##### 2.1.1 The Concept of Federalism

Few national issues have provoked profound debate and lengthy discussions than the practice of federalism and resource control within the past four decades. Indeed these twin concepts formed the focal points among other things at the well-attended Constitutional Conference in 1957 at Lancaster House, London and the 1958 Conference which led to the enactment of the 1960 Independence and 1963 Republican Constitutions. The 1960 Independence and the 1963 Republican Constitutions respectively enshrined some fundamental principles of fiscal federalism and elements of resource control in view of the level of derivation percentage that the regions enjoyed<sup>1</sup>.

In the course of the nation's political evolution, these constitutions were either suspended modified or repealed by the ruling military leadership and the country tilted to a unitary system with a very strong centre. The concept federalism is etymologically derived from the Latin word *foedus*. The Latin word *foedus* means treaty or agreement. Hence federation means a union of state based upon treaty or agreement. Federalism did not begin as a concept that has to do with social or political organization. Earlier writers on federalism interchangeably used such terms as federal, confederacy, federation and confederation but that these terms are not the same in their modern usages<sup>2</sup>.

Federalism is a system in which two levels of government, federal and regional (state) exist side by side with each possessing certain assigned powers and function<sup>3</sup>. Federalism has also been seen as a situation whereby geographical distribution of power to govern is

desired or has been achieved in a way of giving several governmental units of the system, some degree of security- some guarantee of continue existence as organization and shareholders of power<sup>4</sup>. Another author defined federalism as a situation whereby the federal and regional (state) governments are limited to their spheres and within those spheres should be independent of the other<sup>5</sup>. In other words, federalism is also conceived as a political arrangement meant to reconcile national unity and diversity with the maintenance of the rights of the state<sup>6</sup>.

Fiscal federalism is all about the management of the resources within a federation, sharing, and distributing of these resources, according to the approved formula, among the various levels of government. Fiscal federalism amounts to the control and management of resources within the territory of the federating unit<sup>7</sup>. Federalism is a political system in which several states defer some powers to a central government while retaining a limited measure of self-government. A federal body gives rise to fiscal federalism, a concept that is often used to describe the fiscal relationship between tiers of government and the public finance practice in a federal system of government. It is viewed as the subfield of public economics concerned with the division of policy responsibilities among different levels of government<sup>8</sup>. As a subfield of federalism, fiscal federalism is a specific form of public finance organization involving the co-existence of varying degrees of fiscal powers.

Fiscal federalism refers to the fiscal operations of a federation whereby each tier of government (federal, state and local), operate separately, distinct from a unitary government whereby the central government is all-powerful and only delegate duties to the lower tiers<sup>9</sup>. In other words, fiscal federalism is a mechanism or process of the sharing of resources among the federating units to enable them to fulfill their constitutional obligations. It is a concept used to explain a system of government wherein the fiscal responsibilities rests with the various tiers of government in the country<sup>10</sup>. Apart from the

United States, Russia and Canada, countries that are known as federalist include Australia, Brazil, Germany, India, Malaysia, Mexico, Nigeria, and several others. On the other hand, Switzerland, Cameroon, France, Italy, Japan, Kenya, Morocco, South Korea, Sweden, and Uruguay are models of unitary systems. Furthermore, confederation is a group of loosely confederated States or a group of States that became a political entity wherein they retain their independence but function together for purposes, for example, defense - examples are African Union (AU) and European Union (EU) Nigeria's fiscal federalism, similar to those of other federations, is predominantly characterized by the sharing of fiscal resources between the different levels of government that constitute the federation<sup>11</sup>,

Nevertheless, the country's social and economic inequality has persistently made the issue of revenue allocation, the most contentious feature of Nigeria's federal system. Currently, no single fiscal theory has been developed to ensure the equitable distribution of revenue in a federal system; federations adopt principles that seem to favour their circumstances. And most importantly, they ensure the design of their fiscal policies to realize and sustain economic development. In perfect and close-knit federations, such revenue-sharing formulae as the principle of need and equalization are principal, while loose federations like Nigeria are typically inclined to the derivation principle, which is the process of distributing centrally generated revenue to constituent units with regards to the contribution made by a group to the country's more substantial income<sup>12</sup>.

However, the practice of fiscal federalism in Nigeria is a negation of true federalism. Moreover, the social-economic conditions and development in Nigeria, in general, portrays a perplexing paradox. Despite a robust endowment in natural and human resources, the height of poverty of the citizens stands in contrast to the nation's immense wealth. Nigeria is amongst the 20 countries in the world with the widest gap between the rich and the poor<sup>13</sup>. Nigeria is challenged seriously by poverty. Out of every 10 Nigerians, seven live on

less than \$1 a day, and the picture is getting worse by the day<sup>14</sup>. Thus, the necessity to survey the possibility of redeploying a new revenue-sharing model that would ensure the tenet of true federalism and that revenue allocation among the federating states of the nation is justifiable, inspire exploitation of its viable natural resources and ultimately result in the reasonable economic development of the entire country<sup>15</sup>.

In addition to the above, a scholar writes that a federal state is one in which there is an explicit and constitutional demarcation of powers and functions among national and sub-national units. Moreover, the powers and responsibilities are distributed in such a manner as to protect the existence of authority of both levels of polity each of which is independent within its own sphere ... federalism refers to the doctrine which advocates and promotes the form of organization of a state in which power is dispersed or decentralized by contract as a means of safeguarding local identities and individual liberties<sup>16</sup>. He further states that federalism describes not only the structure of a state; it also designates its political culture and political process.

An important characteristic, which distinguishes federal system from non-federal systems, is non-centralization of power. For in a federal polity, there is division of power between the central and component units. It is pertinent to note that in Nigeria's federal experience, the reasoning propounded by some authors does not hold in practice. This is because the Federal Government has usurped virtually all the powers, which were formerly exercised by the state governments<sup>17</sup>.

A federal state is conceived as "a political entity or country where powers and indispensable decisions are exercised and made at two or multilateral levels of government in accordance with the strict mutually-agreed constitutional provisions of the country concerned"<sup>18</sup>. It could be argued that these positions formed the basis of the claim that

“federalism is anchored on considerable tolerance of diversity and willingness to take political action through conciliation tolerance of diversity and willingness to take political action through conciliation even when the power to act unilaterally is available<sup>19</sup>.

Some authors adopts United State of America as the model federal state. Following his references for American style federalism, he chose to call other constitutions that do not make the component units autonomous as quasi-federal states. For example, their concept of federalism regards the pre-1966 Nigerian constitution as quasi-federal because section 66 allowed the Federal Government to declare a state of emergency on any region and to take over the running of the government of that region for a specific period of time<sup>20</sup>. Some equally observed that protagonists of resource control began to push forward the argument that the country cannot be said to be a federation when the elements of federalism are lacking – elements such as – state police, control of natural resources by the federating unit”.

Although, Nigeria is supposed to be a federation, nothing in its structure and administration lends credence to this claim. A scholar asserts that the manifestation semblance of a federation in Nigeria is merely the 36 states – otherwise the country is to all intents and purposes – a unitary state. The government at the centre is stronger than the states, with latter depending mostly on allocations from the former for survival.

Two salient reasons could be adduced for the erosion of true federalism that characterized the Nigerian nation in the First Republic before the onslaught of the military in 1966. One of the reasons he gave us was the collapse of the first republic when the military intervened in January 1966<sup>21</sup>. The intervention by the military marked the end of true federalism in Nigeria. The visionary development of federalism specifically from 1954 to 1965 abruptly ended with the mutiny of January 15, 1966, which not only eliminated some of the

founding fathers of federalism in Nigeria, but also killed the essence of federalism itself through a coup d'état. Though Nigerian has remained a federation, it has not been able to build on the dreams of the founding fathers to go forward into a truly federal entity in the mode of the United States of America writes that two interrelated developments accounted for the abortion of the evolution of the Nigerian federal state.

First, the coup and the eventual threat to the unity of the country following secession and the civil war were traumatic events that called for centralized authority capable of pulling things back into one fold. Secondly, there was, and still has always been the professional practice of unified command with which soldiers are familiar. He sees the centralized federalism in Nigeria today as one of the disruptive heritage of military rule in Nigeria<sup>22</sup>.

The second reason he puts forward is that true federalism is still a mirage in Nigeria because most states in Nigeria are feeble, particularly in their executive capability and, consequently can hardly perform as federating units. He argued that states are feeble not because they lack the resources and manpower that would make them strong economically and administratively, but “the fiscal and legislative relationships between them and the federal government render them feeble”<sup>23</sup>.

### **2.1.2 Nature and Characteristics of Nigerian Federalism**

In any discussion of the origin and nature of federal system of government, it is usual to distinguish between aggregative or voluntary coming-together federations and involuntary, colonial-foisted type. Aggregative federalism reflects the classical method of federation-building in which a federal state is constituted or organized through a covenant or bargain to bring together previously sovereign entities into a new or formative federation. The federal systems of government of both the United States of America and Switzerland, for instance, evolved in this way. Conversely, the Nigerian federation was rather foisted on the

people of Nigeria. It was established to hold together the diverse, desperate ethnic nationalities that had been forcibly and arbitrarily incorporated into a unitary colonial state under British imperialism.

The 1914 Lugardian amalgamation of the Southern and Northern Protectorates was precursory to this form of federalism. The federal structure began to be formed in 1939 under Sir. Bernard Bourdillon, who divided the Southern protectorate into two protectorates. The Richards and Macpherson Constitutions of 1946 and 1951, respectively, created a decentralized unitary system. The Nigerian federation has always had peculiar features: the most evident being that it was not created by the coming together of separate states, but was the result of the subdivision of a country which had, in theory, been ruled as a single unit<sup>24</sup>.

Devolutionary federations like Nigeria tend to lack the integrative identities and the values of civic reciprocity and mutual respect associated with a voluntary compact or bargain to join a federal union. Rather, it tends to be besieged by the disruptive traditional local ethnic loyalties that lead to constitutional fragmentation or desegregation of the nation-state necessary. Reflecting their unitary constitutional origins and the need to contain disruptive centrifugal pressures, devolutionary federation tends to develop relatively centralized constitutions and political institutions. Essentially, “holding-together” federations like Nigeria tend to be more formally and institutionally centralized, but less politically integrated and structurally coherent than the “coming-together federations”<sup>25</sup>.

### **2.1.3 Evolution of Federalism in Nigeria**

Some scholars have traced actual British administration in Nigeria in the twentieth century to 1898, which marked an epochal attempt by the British government to establish and maintain colonial state<sup>26</sup>. To ensure the central direction of policy and to pull economic

resources together, the British government then adopted the policy of gradually amalgamating various administrative units in Nigeria which culminated in the 1914 episode of amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorates. From this period they maintained that Nigeria developed constitutionally till 1954 when the Lyttleton Constitution introduced federal principles into her body politics.

Since then, the Nigerian federation has had chequered history. It has been through four phases, namely, colonial, civilian, military and post-military. Between May and July 1966, it briefly ceased to be a federation and became instead, through military fiat, a unitary system of government. Each of these phases has left its mark on both the nature and the operation of the country's federation. Each phase put it through some stress that, in some cases, forced some adjustments to the character of the nation's federalism. Our colonial masters responded to the peculiar problems of the country in various ways, notably through constitutional arrangements<sup>27</sup>. They wrote four constitutions for the country between 1922 and 1954 (Clifford, Richards, McPherson and Lyttleton).

Each of these constitutions served its immediate and limited purpose but none produced the formula for an effective management of the great rainbow coalition in the Nigerian federation. The pre-military federal system that Nigeria operated in the period now known as the First Republic was fundamentally different from the post-military federal structure. In the former, the three and later four regions, were fully autonomous federating units. Each region, with a premier as head of government, operated its own laws and constitution. Each of them had native authority police while the federal government maintained the Nigeria police. Each region was allowed to have its representatives in some foreign countries. They were designated agents, not ambassadors although they functioned practically in that capacity. Each region also had the symbol of its own authority<sup>28</sup>. None of

them was totally or near totally dependent on the centre for its fiscal and other needs. Each region was strong enough and rich enough to take care of itself.

The main criticism of this arrangement was that the regions were too powerful and the centre was too weak for a meaningful federal system and national unity. The regions, given the degree of their autonomy, tended to treat the federal government with disdain. The federal government could not impose its will on the federating units. It was generally felt that if this continued, things would eventually fall apart. From January 15, 1966 to October 1, 1979, Nigeria had a military government. The military administration effected some fundamental changes in the nation's political and administrative system of governments<sup>29</sup>.

The first of such fundamental changes was Decree 34 of 1966 promulgated by the first military head of state, the Late Major General Aguiyi-Ironsi. Under that decree, Nigeria operated a unitary system of government. Given the political crisis at the time and what was clearly perceived as serious threats to the federation, General Ironsi felt that what the nation needed was a unitary form of government with an over-bearing centre. By the time the military quit the stage on October 1, 1979, in the first instance, they had succeeded in changing the character of the federation in response to the nation's historical problems of fear and domination. The centre became, and remains, powerful and the constituent units became, and remain, weak<sup>30</sup>.

#### **2.1.4 The Military Intervention in Governance: 1966-1999**

Nigerian federalism had a serious setback in 1966 when the military took over the government of the country and not only suspended the constitution but also turned the government into a unitary one. While evaluating this subject matter, an author wrote that, "both historically and structurally, it is possible to speak of two distinct phases of post-colonial military rule in Nigeria, namely the initial phase from 1966 to 1979, and a second

phase, from 1984 to 1999. The first phase of military rule was largely one of hegemonic-exchange<sup>31</sup>.

This was a period in which the country's military rulers allowed the military administrators in the states to exercise most of the powers assigned to the regions under the suspended democratic constitution. Compared to the first phase, the second phase of military rule has been characterized by the excessive personalization and concentration of state authority on the military Head of State; an increasing reliance on hegemonic repression in managing state-ethnic and state-society relation; the willful frustration and abortion of the country's democratic aspiration, and most crucially, the near total abrogation of the federal system, through the imposition of crushing central controls on the sub-federal units of government<sup>32</sup>.

The more prominent examples of such over-centralization include: the complete subordination of constituent state governments to the unified military command system via the centre's appointment and frequent redeployment of relatively junior officers as state governors or administrators; the direct intervention of the central military government in the organization and reorganization of local government councils; the continued overwhelming, indeed near total, dependencies of states and localities on central funding; the systematic (and apparently unchangeable) manipulation of statutory inter-governmental revenue that has reinforced the financial hegemony of the centre and the fiscal emasculation of the states and localities, the complete erosion of the autonomy of the judiciary, which has prevented this arm of government from playing its normal federalist role in arbitrating inter-governmental constitutional disputes; and the mollification of new units of centrally-funded state and local government as part of a strategy to consolidate the centre's hegemony, gratify sectional distributive pressures and promote the continuity and legitimacy of military rule<sup>33</sup>.

In this environment and situation, the Nigerian federation has assumed its unique nature and character. Nigerian federalism has oscillated from the regionalism that characterized the First Republic, to the similarly excessive centrality of the military federalist era and, to some extent, the prevalent post-military dispensation<sup>34</sup>. This changing form has also been accompanied by structural alterations that have moved the nation from her initial tripodal regional arrangement at independence to the quintuple, in 1963, and to the present thirty six states structure and local units numbering about 774.

Nigeria, certainly, is a devolutionary, not an aggregative federation. It is also apt to add that what has informed this dynamism is incessant agitation for state and local government creation, occasioned by the desire to have a balanced federation in which all constituent nationalities will have self-fulfillment and actualization. Needful as these changes seemed, they have on the contrary, resulted in greater imbalances, one notable effect of which is that it rather gave greater force to centralization and concentration of power at the centre, with their attendant consequences<sup>35</sup>.

State and local government creations have doused fears of ethnic domination, spread development to nooks and crannies of the country, unevenly though. It also limited intra-state rivalry, among others. Yet, the said structural changes notwithstanding, one geopolitical region, the North, had all the while remained dominant over others, to the extent of being the decider on issues of joint deliberation. This domineering character of the region over others is historical; it is traceable at the singular act of Lord Lugard in amalgamating the north and south, which was precursory to the later federal structuring. According to some estimates, the landmass of the north constitutes roughly three quarters of the country's total land area. As a result of this asymmetry, even when new states and local units are created, the North continues to be the prime beneficiary, occupying more than fifty percent of states in the country<sup>36</sup>.

The obvious implication of this is that the exercise confers upon the said region, considered as a megalithic geopolitical bloc, some advantages, both in resource allocation, federal appointments and other perquisites, especially where the criterion of states is used. It is no gainsaying that this arrangement obviously violates one of the cardinal principles of federalism, which is that of equality of component units in a federation.

To this extent, it also proves the validity of the law of federal instability, which asserts that no federation can be stable when one component part constitutes a permanent majority in joint deliberations<sup>37</sup>. Were this to be the case, it will go to validate Roberto the iron law of oligarchy which, simply stated, asserts that when a few people are privileged to be in position of legislation or policy making, there is a most-likely tendency that such a group shall take self-serving decisions, which are usually masked as egalitarian<sup>38</sup>.

Nigerian brand of federalism, despite changes in structure, as per above, has so far not succeeded in finally reconciling the centrifugal and centripetal forces acting on it. This assertion is manifested in series of expression of disenchantments by various groups. Isaac Adaka Boro made a secessionist attempt in the Niger Delta; the Biafran attempt was another; recent armed insurrection in the Niger Delta involving oil revenue allocation and environmental politics, and the on-going Boko Haram imbroglio are also examples. In terms of fiscal management, it is a veritable fact that in Nigeria, access to political power is a key factor in resource accessibility and distribution. It is said that “he who pays the piper, dictates the tune”<sup>39</sup>.

Therefore, a situation in which accessibility to political power is the ultimate determinant factor of who allocates available resources, then such a situation only provides a rare opportunity for the controller’s own advantage, even at the detriment of the wealth producers and the commonwealth. While commenting on federalism and dimensions of

marginalization in Nigeria noted that “in a country where whoever controls the central political power is god, others are bound to suffer discrimination<sup>40</sup>.”

### **2.1.5 The Effects of Military Regimes in Nigeria Federalism**

Military regimes in Nigeria started with the January 15th 1966 coup d’etat led by Major Kaduna Nzeogwu. The coup d’etat brought Major General J.T.U Aguyi-Ironsi to power. Major General Ironsi introduced decree 34 of 1966 (Unification decree) that abolished federalism in Nigeria. The decree 34 intended to bring cohesion in the government structure but the regions would remain but addressed as group of Provinces. General Yakubu Gowon who succeeded Ironsi divided Nigeria into twelve (12) states<sup>41</sup>.

General Murtala Muhammed that succeed General Gowon increased the number of states to nineteen (19). Further creation of states made it 21 in 1987, 30 in 1991 and 36 in 1996. Local Government Areas were also created during those years and in 1996, the number of local government areas in Nigeria came up to 774, which is the number till date<sup>42</sup>. The then military government promulgated the revenue allocation formular of the federation in such a way that favoured the federal government. Nigeria is a heterogeneous nation with pluralism of languages, religion, sociopolitical and diverse economic formulations<sup>43</sup>. Even though Nigeria obtained its independence in 1960 and has practiced the current unbroken democracy for over twenty (20) years, it is one of the developing nations characterized by high external debt, high inflation figure, poverty, institutional decay especially in health as exposed by the Corona Virus (Covid-19) that exposed the inadequacies of our health system, causing avoidable deaths due to closure of over-seas medical trips; education and general infrastructure, as well as high rate of unemployment<sup>44</sup>.

These issues are in place despite the nation's enormous and abundant natural resources and endowments as well as high human population. These issues were exposed and made Nigerians to realize more, the unpalatable state of affairs of the nation.

### **2.1.6 The Agitations for Resource Control in Nigeria**

Advocates of resource control have argued that in any true federalism, powers are shared between the federating units and the central government in such a way that each government has its own apparatus for the conduct of its own affairs. It is argued in any true federalism, the oil, gas or any other mineral found in state belongs to the state. They maintained that the fact that the areas that the national wealth are the poorest in the country is unfair. The conditions of these areas and their people is aptly captured by an author when he observed that; "Foremost is that although the bulk of crude oil, the country's main source of revenue is derived from their land, they belong to the ranks of the most marginalized groups in the country"<sup>45</sup>.

Another is that several years of exploration and hazards of spillage and gas flaring which accompany it have degraded their environment and left the communities desolate. Not only have farming and fishing, the major occupations of these mostly riverine minorities been decimated, their territories have continuously lacked basic infrastructure and amenities like electricity, roads, schools, hospitals, portable water ..."<sup>46</sup>. The fact is that resource control is meant for the diversification and revamping of the solid minerals sector which has been neglected over the years.

To this end, the belief is that the practice of resource control will improve the pace of economic development of the whole country in general and particularly make the

respective states to identify their comparative advantages which best serves the country. The overdependence on oil has resulted in the abandonment of the solid mineral sector by promoting the activities of illegal miners. However, as succinct as the points raised by the advocates for resources control, mostly from the south, their northern counterparts have on the other hand consistently seem to be working against this agitation. The history of the Niger Delta is dominated by agitation for resource control.

First, after the abolition of slave trade in 1807, local traders engaged in „resource control“ struggles to participate actively in the trade in oil palm<sup>47</sup>. Similarly, resource control was one of the highlights of the Ijaw’s representation to the Willink Commission to Enquire into the Fears of the Minorities and the Means of Allaying Them in 1957. Resource control struggles in the post-crude era that began with the botched Boro-led attempt to create the Niger Delta Republic in 1996 has culminated in contemporary oil-related restiveness in the region<sup>48</sup>. Since the Ijaw representatives were unsuccessful to achieve their desired results to be left out of independent Nigeria, or, alternatively have a state created subsequent resource control struggles have suffered a similar fate. However, the Ijaw’s argument that the peculiar problems of those living in the creeks and swamps if the delta were not understood and indeed were deliberately neglected by both the region and Federal Governments remains true till date and feeds into the resource control struggle.

The contemporary notions of resource control have been characterized by both peaceful and violent activities. While the period when the Ogoni’s were at the forefront of the struggle was largely peaceful, the recent shift of focus to the Ijaw’s witnessed an escalation in military and violence. The response of the federal government has typically included the creation of development boards, state creation, pacifications and more recently, the amnesty initiative<sup>49</sup>. The relative peace in the region and consequent increase in oil

production figures is touted as evidence of the success of the amnesty initiative by the Federal Government.

Basking in the euphoria of allegedly curbing the consequences of the malaise, the federal government has neglected to resolve the underlying issues that instigated and or exacerbated the agitation for resource control and resultant restiveness in the region. Thus, while the government is spending billions of naira in stipend payments as well as educational and vocational training for (ex) militants, it has not vested any meaningful resources to remedy the root causes of the agitation for resource control. In a sense, the agitation for resource control has not recorded any meaningful success<sup>50</sup>.

#### **2.1.7 Characteristics of Resource Control in an Emerging Economy**

Resources are controlled by a few individuals (Elites). There are the elites, who are the rulers monopolizing power and resource control, but few in number; and the masses who are ruled by the elites, but always larger in number<sup>51</sup>. The elites are the few who wield control, consolidate and manage the state's societal power and resources in more or less, the interest of the ruled masses. Like many other developing states, politics and statehood in Nigeria are built and hovered around the elites who decide what is to be done, where, when, how and by whom. The Nigerian elites also build their networks on patron-client pyramids which ensure both consolidation and transfer of powers from them to their cronies, loyalists and cynics, who carry out the rule on their behalf or at least in servitude to their interests<sup>52</sup>. The patron-client relation centres on persons of unequal wealth, status, prestige and influence dependence for patronage and reward with state power, support, resources and influences<sup>53</sup>.

The patron-client relation is governed by the collective individual interests of the elites who make up a class for canvassing, p consolidating and protecting their collective interests, but

do have where their individual differences those of am; as fractions<sup>54</sup>. The agitate restructuring Naira partly engineered by the elites, who have lost out in the power change and handshake game over a period of time in Nigerian politics. This has manifested form of raising the dust for restructuring where no political accommodations are offered upon transition from one government to another or circumstances there into public offices, resource (oil) allocation and control of political power would relevance are lost<sup>55</sup>.

The affected elites then res podia's of opposition, change and seeking relevance/accommodation, including. The calls/agitation for restructuring. On the other hand, the elites vested with at the same time hardly agitate or support such calls/agitations having been write time status quo. This explains why the much and incessant pressure or opposite to governance comes mostly from the opposition, the disadvantaged, or those who fed aggrieved. Imbalances, Mutual Fears of Domination and Marginalization: These are critical features of resource control; they have resulted in mutual suspicion and fear among Nigerians.

The pre-colonial political, economic socio-cultural and rescues backgrounds and experiences of the North and West, on one hand, arc the East am the other; the arrival of the colonialists through the Atlantic Ocean located finite South; the nature and character of the various ethno-religious and get-incikical nationalities welded in January 1914; the involuntary Ike pattern of colonial domination and rule - direct and direct; the nature and character of colonial socio-economic development; the embedded pattern of ckimcarional inequalities between North and South, which persist till the primacy of the North in terms of geography and population; and the perceived, feared and resented Northern hegemony in Nigerian politics are all unaticarie fit resulted in the imbalances of the Nigerian state and culminating the of domination and marginalization with mutual fears and suspicion am among the component parts of the Nigerian federation<sup>56</sup>.

These have occupied the political thought and atmosphere of all the regions and discourse of Nigeria, irrespective of whether advantaged or disadvantaged in one aspect or the other. Despite the federal character principle, there still exist imbalances that are more and relatively tilted towards one region-against the others in different perspectives. There are similar, other areas where the imbalance/character reflects disadvantaged positions to other sides/regions of Nigeria, and each of the geopolitical, ethno-religious parts of the country is disadvantaged and or marginalized in one way or the other, depending on location, type of public service provided, the top leadership of the establishment in question and precedence of its pioneer/preceding leadership character<sup>57</sup>.

#### **2.1.8 Salient Reasons for Resource Control**

The perpetuation of environmental pollution and neglect of the Niger Delta by the Federal government, Shell Nigeria and Chevron Nigeria created a perceived need to take violent action especially by the youths from the early 1990s. At this time, the destruction of the Delta environment, especially agricultural land that became un-productive, and pollution of the water courses had encouraged the local people's demand for the control of oil resources found on their land<sup>58</sup>.

Problematic distribution of oil resources in Nigeria provided further motivation for the Delta struggle. Other protagonists of resource control like, Itse Sagay, Nnimmo Bassey, Ebeku and Saro-Wiwa, argued that the state's 50 percent of the proceeds should be paid to the state in which it was produced, especially on the continental shelf off its land. It is noted that in order to perpetuate its central control and ownership of the oil wealth, the Federal government (both military and Obasanjo's civilian Fourth Republic) reacted to oil agitation from the 1990s onwards by attempting to suppress it through violent means.

For example, the politicization of oil through militarization or armed occupation of the Niger Delta oil-producing area by the central government in the early and mid-1990s was required for effective maximization of the production and sale of oil. The Federal government's repressive action shows its negative response to the demand for resource and environmental control by the oil-producing areas of the Niger Delta. Their demands were portrayed as secessionist and resistance movements that had to be crushed, as was the case in a repressive attack on Ijaw protesters in Yenogoa in December 1998. Despite the repressive means employed by the Federal government, resource-related demands have increased among the Delta people, because many believed it was their fundamental right to have a clean environment and sustainable income for survival<sup>59</sup>.

#### **2.1.9 Democracy and Federalism Experience: The Experience of the Fourth Republic**

Federalism can be seen as the pathfinder to the practice of true federalism. Nigeria democratic and federalism experience since 1999 till 2007 is nothing to write home about from Nigerian's expectations after years of military government. Nigeria political system has been with the Khaki men for years, many democrats and human right activists fought for democracy, some died in cause of the struggle, some were imprisoned, some went on self -exile, for the sack of democracy The military plundered and buttered our economy, encumbered human rights and quarantined press freedom for many years. The military government headed by General Abusalami Abubakar initiated a transition programme from military to civilian. Election was conducted on 27th February 1999, Olusegun Obasanjo was elected president of the country and he assumed office on 29th May 1999<sup>60</sup>.

The democratic process that brought him to power was characterized with irregularities. Obasanjo was not the rightful candidate for the post but his choice was influenced by the

military cabal to pacify the Yoruba tribes for June 12 1993 election and the demise of Abiola. The regime of former president made little or no impact to the welfare and development of the nation Nigeria. The much expected hope from the new civilian administration was dash a total mirage to Nigeria masses as Obasanjo's government did nothing to ameliorate the suffering of Nigerians. The tenure of Obasanjo marked monumental corruption; recently Buhari accused him of spending ₦816 billion naira on power sector with nothing to write home about on ground<sup>61</sup>.

Obasanjo institutionalized corruption with the inauguration and formulation of (ICPC) Independent Corrupt Practices and other related offence Commission -Economic and financial crime Commission (EFCC). These agencies were used to diplomatically institutionalize to perpetrate corruption and cover up corrupt leaders, in the same vein used to deal with people that are not loyal to the government mostly the opposition. The same scenario operates till date. They are against the opposition parties. It was in the former president's regime that Nigeria lost all federal owned public corporations in the name of privatization<sup>62</sup>. It was Obasanjo's regime that fuel rose from N20 to N75 all under his watch. In his memoir, an elder statemen described Obasanjo's regime as a tragedy and calamity for Nigeria describing his score card as nothing to write home about.

The regime of former president destroyed Odi town, Zakin Brian, all these military action in civilian uniform. He didn't consider human right. There were numerous cases of corrupt changes under his watch; there was religious intolerance, frictions, unlawful military actions, kidnapping and high rate of unemployment. Obasanjo's projects such as National Economic Empowerment Development Strategy, National Poverty Eradication Programme were projects to satisfy his cronies, all ended up in corruption<sup>63</sup>. He handed over to another civilian president Musa YarAdua after an election in 21st April, 2007.

The former president had vision for the country but his vision was truncated by his demise. His seven point agenda came to nothing. He died on 5th May, 2010. His deputy Ebele Jonathan Goodluck took over from him and he came up with his own transformation agenda, which was basically a forum to share our national wealth. On 21st May, 2015 President Buhari came as the President of the most populous nation in Africa with a change mantra. Buhari not too strong for some time travelled abroad for medical treatment for months, so many things went wrong<sup>64</sup>. The fight against corruption without policies that will make life meaningful is tantamount to nothing. The same EFCC, ICPC are used negatively.

The judiciary and Independent National Electoral Commission are not independent. Nothing has changed in Nigeria from 1999 till date. A nation that produces crude oil yet imports fuel, a nation that cannot build one refinery for many years. A blessed nation where people beg to eat. A nation where impunity is taken for immunity. A nation where thugs and militants are rewarded. A nation where election is always characterized with killing, violence, arson and other electoral abnormalities. A nation where political office holders are paid what a professor emeritus cannot take home for one year in two months. A nation where insecurity, killing, robbery is growing on alarming rate. A nation where godfatherism is a passport for any political office. A nation where cultism is a passport for higher political offices. Membership of fraternal bounds is tied to aspiration for political office. A nation where election gets much budget than education. A nation where budget is been padded and sometimes disappear<sup>65</sup>.

A nation where over 80% of the nation's budget goes to National Assembly. A nation where corruption is glorified, and corrupt officers given higher position. A nation where independence of the judiciary is quagmired by political party in power. A nation where democracy is taken as demo-crazy. From 1999 till date nothing has changed in Nigerian

federal and democratic experiment as experience. As the nation has been under the siege of corruption, high cost of governance, over concentration of power at the national level, electoral malpractices, killing, high cost of living, prebendalism, secessionist clamor, religious intolerance, unemployment, underdevelopment, intimidation of opposition party members, money laundering and power failure<sup>66</sup>.

### **2.1.10 Democracy**

It was in 1863, at the Gettysburg Address, at a time when the American civil war was tearing the Union (which later to metamorphose into the United States of America) apart that Abraham Lincoln, in his avid appraisal on the American Declaration and the Constitution, the very documents which midwived present day federalism in the United States of America and indeed popular government the world over as championed by Thomas Jefferson simply referred to it as the “government of the people, by the people, for the people”<sup>67</sup>.

The definition of Lincoln on democracy has become the fundamental and classical and generally accepted definition of democracy the world over. One of the obvious facts that informed this definition by was the assurance he got that his government and indeed the United States’ Constitution was set up in defense of human rights. He was also urged on by the fact that in addition, the American system also supported a large proportion of the people to have and develop active interest in their political affairs as it concerns the masses of the people<sup>68</sup>.

In 1942, a scholar on democracy articulated the meaning of democracy. For him he said democracy is a system of government under which the people exercise governing and administrative powers either directly or through representatives that are required to be elected periodically by the people. The will of the people in a democratic regime are

supreme. A democratic government is one in which everyone has a right to contribute his opinion to the end result of all government process or policy, there is economic, political equality and fundamental basic rights and fraternal feeling among the constituents of the state<sup>69</sup>.

The author examined that in a democratic government, there is free franchise, general and continuous political participation by all, free discussion in the expression of Helvetius that “I detest your opinions, but I will contend to the death for your right to utter them.” He also included free association and party formation, periodical elections, tolerance, compromise, subordination of the differences of the members or citizens to the general will, and adequate opportunity to everyone to develop his personality and access to knowledge, criticality and means of livelihood and education in the spirit of the constitution<sup>70</sup>. The leaders in a democratic setting are expected to be honest, self-reliant, sense of responsibility and “readjustment of democratic institutions in accordance with hanging conditions”<sup>71</sup>.

The definition of democracy has had a winding path throughout history, being taken for different things by the different periods in the history of human development and politics. In Athens, democracy meant the system of governance whereby “the administration of the city was in the hands of many and not a few”, even though the state also practiced aristocracy, which revolved around old families who had good interest in landed property<sup>72</sup>. In view of this, all citizens were required to have a share of governance at least once in every six months, or in the discussion of politics in the general assembly, or participate in public discussions of public matters.

This might seem odd if taken in the light of today’s society, but it was the means on enabling all its citizens to participate in the overseas commerce and military activities,

while the aristocrats concern themselves with the heavily armed infantry and economic decisions. What was indeed practiced in Athens was “perverted form of government” because the aristocrats take the said practice to be “a device for exploiting the rich and outing money into the pockets of the poor”<sup>73</sup>. This, we think was a subtle way to not the general take interest in his family matters and in the affairs of state.

Democracy is a state that is governed by and for the interest of the many, who do not have both birth and property, which is why he approved communism as the best form of government because of its abolition of the family and permanent monogamous sexual relationship and training of the children by the state; and prohibition of private property. He was minded to use democracy for the production of the greatest degree of unity in the state and private property if not contained<sup>74</sup>. He seemed to suggest, would be a hindrance to that thus Plato sought to equalize wealth in order to remove the disturbing influence of private property in government and politics<sup>75</sup>.

This is why the philosopher made a distinction between the six forms of government in his book, *The Statesman* – Monarchy, Aristocracy and Moderate democracy, which he sees as the constitutional states and the three perverted (despotic) States – tyranny, oligarchy and extreme democracy or mob rule. The next person of note who is fundamental to the way democracy was defined long before Abraham Lincoln was Aristotle. He agreed with Plato that there are six forms of government, but that the two most fundamental forms, democracy and aristocracy are seemingly the same<sup>76</sup>.

The only point of divergence being the claims to power, that while the one is based upon the rights to property, the other is based on the welfare of the greater number of human beings. He argues that money and wealth has little or nothing to do with democratic participation and politics and that a “citizen is one who is eligible to take part in the

assembly and to serve on juries”, which is a replay of the Athenian idea of democracy. He concluded that a democratic government may choose to govern oligarchically, while an oligarchic government may govern democratically<sup>77</sup>.

This we also find in later years during the modern period, the meaning of democracy got the leading social contract philosophers so pepped up. The most interesting from this point of view would be the social contract theory. Facts available indicate that the modern idea of democracy actually grew from Locke who wrote that governments are built upon a social compact, or social contract, an implied agreement by all citizens with all citizens, each giving his/her consent to sacrifice a “portion of their liberties, rights or powers for the common good of all”<sup>78</sup>. Thus government is made possible only as a result of the voluntary agreement or consent of the people involved in the compact.

This consent, Locke says or is not absolute, but it can be recalled or taken back by the citizens because it is subject to the inalienable rights of the individual citizens that make up the compact. Further reflections and examination of democracy in the United States Declaration of Independence shows that: “Governments are republican only in proportion as they embody the will of the people, and execute it”, hence no government is to be submitted to by any people at the expense of that which is the sole end of government – the common good and the safety of society<sup>79</sup>. This forms the basis for the further arguments that were canvassed in pointing out that the common good and safety of a society can only be maintained and sustained by a democratic government.

An author restates John Locke when he surmised that: “Revolution might come...when the actions of elected representatives were so grossly unjust as to destroy the very trust between citizens and their government, which is the product of the social contract”<sup>80</sup>. Thus for him, one basic necessity for democracy to succeed is for the people to actively

participate in politics of their society, and for decisions in a political arena to be based on trust and the ideals of social contract.

In continuing his argument an author contends that a precise definition of democracy is not really feasible noted that this is because of its dynamic nature. He thus opted to define democracy as a “political system which supplies regular constitutional opportunities for changing the governing officials...a social mechanism which permits the largest possible part of the population to influence major decision by choosing among contenders for political office”<sup>81</sup>. This his view tappers further into the robust discourse that in a democratic state, it is the presence of meaningful and extensive competition among individuals and organized groups coupled with the level of civil and political liberties granted under a particular system that is a feature of the presence of a workable democracy.

Some authors also reminded us of Aristotle’s political theory as comparing the quality of the state laws with the quality of life guaranteed in that state. In their words, “For the law is relative to the constitution and consequently, a bad state will be likely to have bad laws”<sup>82</sup>. Legality itself then is only a relative guarantee of goodness, better than force or personal power, but quite possibly bad. A good state must be ruled according to law but this is not the same thing as saying that a state ruled according to law is good”<sup>83</sup>.

In this direction, it is important to state that Harris agreed that what all societies need is only a degree of democracy to be able to offer the greatest good for the greatest number. It is in grounding this argument that he declared that “all political systems have (and should have) both democratic and oligarchic components and those instances of acceptable oligarchy for the sake of effective government abound in so called democracies”<sup>84</sup>. The most vital things that matter, according to his analysis, is the fact that the system that is

eventually chosen by the people, is able to move the political system towards or away from the ideals of democratization and the rule of law.

An author is not alone in viewing democracy as he eventually did as Harris went further to amplify the above when he poses and proffers an answer the question “is widespread political participation desirable?”, holding that political participation is basically fragmented among the competing groups in a society, and that it is proportional to their level of participation<sup>85</sup>. To him, the idealists are right when they said that “participation as having positive results for individuals and society that go beyond instrumental effects, because it is through our involvement that few are able to see that “democracy is a competitive political system in which competing leaders and organizations define the alternatives of public policy in such a way that the public can participate in decision making”<sup>86</sup>.

The primary ingredient is no longer because the people made the compact and are in the government, but that they are free to participate and demonstrate their interest in politics and issues around them freely. Speaking further, the author concludes here that the “alienation of a large percentage of citizens from the political system is not the failure of the citizens, but a failure of the system. What is sometimes taken as a cause of the politics of power, the apolitical nature of ordinary citizens, turns out to be an effect of the politics of power”<sup>87</sup>. We agree with him as well as with the idealists on this. In a democratic government, attention is focused on the evolution of rules or guidelines that determine how a government is to be organized and what powers it has and for instance the type of system it will operate – say a federal or unitary system of government.

At this point, we will hesitate to scrutinize the position adopted by one of the greatest contract thinkers in history, Jean Jacques Rousseau on democracy. We are told was one of

the most dramatic of his days and was often described as one who differed from his contemporaries in everything but in his opinion. He defended the rights of the common man, and in his submission, He said, “It is the common people who compose the human race; what is not the people is hardly worth taking into account. Man is the same in all ranks; that being so, the ranks which are most numerous deserve most respect”<sup>88</sup>. The greatest drawback of Rousseau’s theory of government is his introduction of the “General Will”, which is a collective good that differs from the private interests of the citizens, which lives its own life and fulfills its own destiny and suffers its own fate<sup>89</sup>.

And on the heels of the above, we are wont to state that the etymological definition of democracy derives from two root Greek words, “Demo” meaning people and “kratein” meaning rule. In its original meaning, democracy is all to do with the rule of the people, equality before the law and general participation in the affairs of the state. It is based on these ideals that we examine the definition given by an author who in analyzing this noble concept agreed with Nsongona-Ntalaja that democracy is manifested differently the different epochs, social settings and conveys three basic ideas, as “moral imperative”, as social process” and as a mode of governance or political practice<sup>90</sup>.

These democratic views have over the years shifted, particularly between the realists and the idealists. The realists, we are made to know, tend to define democracy in terms of means, not ends, in terms of methods rather than ideals or goals, an institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions. This is what informs the definition above and a scholar wrote that, democracy is a competitive political system in which competing leaders and organizations define the alternatives of public policy in such a way that the public can participate in the decision-making process<sup>91</sup>.

In this sense, democracy is visualized in terms of a government approved by the people, involvement of the largest number of people in the decision making process and one that stands or dissolves based on the consent of the citizens that the said government has power over. This is equally the Locke orientation.

#### **2.1.11 Administration**

It is very useful to begin by defining the term administration. Administration must exist in any organization set up for a defined purpose or objective. Whether one think of the Church, the army, a university, an industrial or business concern or a purely social organization, there has to be administration because each one consists of human beings brought together in a hierarchical set-up, making use of tools, equipment, human and material resources, all in the quest to attain the objective for which the organization established.

Thus, the Bishop in the Church, the field marshal in the army, the is vice-chancellor in the university, the managing director or chairman of an industry or business enterprise, each with functions and responsibilities assigned for the accomplishment of the objective or purpose of the organization. This process requires planning, organization, command, co-ordination, and control. All these constitute administration<sup>92</sup>.

Simply defined, administration is the organization and direction of persons in order to accomplish a specified end. Perhaps the simplest and shortest definition of administration is the one that says that 'when two men co-operate to roll a stone that neither could move alone, the rudiments of administration have appeared'<sup>93</sup>. Administration is also said to be a determined action taken in pursuit of a conscious purpose. It is the systematic ordering of affairs and the calculated use of resources aimed at making those things happen which one wants to happen and foretelling everything to the contrary.

An author also sees administration as a variety of component elements which, together in action produce the result of a defined task done. Administration, primarily is the direction of people in association to achieve some goal temporarily shared. It is the inclusive process of integrating human efforts so that a desired result is obtained. Administration is the central power house of the motivational impulsion and spirit which makes the institution drive to fulfil its purpose”<sup>94</sup>.

However, in another definition, administration from the aspect of organizations and materials. He further assert that administration means the organization and use of men and materials to accomplish a purpose. In other words, it is the specialized vocation of managers who have skills of organizing and directing men and materials just as definitely as an engineer has the skill of building structures or a doctor has the skill of understanding the human ailments<sup>95</sup>.

A known scholar on this topic says that, administration has to do with getting things done; with the accomplishment of defined objectives. Administration can be defined as the activities of groups cooperating to accomplish common goals<sup>96</sup>. As can be seen, administration is defined as cooperative human action or cooperative group behaviour. The word “cooperative”, is the first key element in this definition. Human activity is cooperative if it has the effects that would be absent if the common goal is to educate a group or individuals who are specialist in the field of public administration have been brought together.

The second key element of the above definition is the goal and purpose. The idea of goal is central to the concept of administration in the sense that if there was not a goal, the member of the group would not come together and cooperate with each other. When someone determines the objective, the group is informed about that, then the group

members will start to think about what they can do for the accomplishment of that objective and they will start to cooperate with each other<sup>97</sup>.

Seen from another perspective, administration is defined as “an activity or process mainly concerned with the means for carrying our prescribed ends”<sup>98</sup>. In this definition, the concept of goal accomplishment again plays an important role. As the definition clearly indicates, administration is mainly concerned with the means that are necessary for the accomplishment of pre-determined goals. In this, it seems that a new element is introduced, that is the concept of ‘means’. The means is the way by which something is done or obtained.

Better explained, when a group of individuals are working for the accomplishment of a common goal, a division of labor is necessary, so that each individual will know what to do. Or there is the need for an authority structure to control and coordinate the activities of the many others – for carrying out prescribed ends. In this sense, administration is an activity mainly concerned with the means. For that matter, cooperation and any other method which will insure cooperative is a means as well.

From the above definition studied, it is obvious that the concept of administration is closely related to cooperative human activity in the accomplishment of pre-determined goals.

#### **2.1.12 The Functions of the Administrator**

An eminent scholar in the field of administration has suggested a list of functions falling to an administrator<sup>7</sup>. The list is commonly referred to by the acronym POSDCORB. He himself adapted it from the functionalist of the work of a chief executive as elaborated by

another celebrated expert on administration and scientific management<sup>99</sup>. Thus, the acronym encapsulates the basic functions and activities of an administrator.

## **Planning**

Planning is an activity that concerns itself with proposals for the future, with the evaluation of alternative proposals, and with the methods by which these proposals may be achieved. From an organizational viewpoint, planning is concerned with setting organizational goals or objectives and determining the approach by which the goals are to be established. In this sense, planning determines where the organization is going and the general approaches it will use to get there. Planning coordinates the activities of the organization toward defined and agreed objectives. With this understanding, planning is concerned with the future and helps the manager shape the future of the organization<sup>100</sup>.

An administrator or chief executive must be concerned with working out in broad outline with things that have to be done by his organization or department and must decide the methods to be employed for doing them in order to accomplish the purpose set for the organization or department, with the greatest efficiency<sup>101</sup>. Preparation of the plan or planning the future activities of organization necessitates a thorough evaluation of the present conditions, the state of affairs and the capabilities of the organization at the moment.

The implementation of a plan commits an organization to a specific course of action, therefore, plans should cover a time period long enough to foresee the fulfillment of commitments made in the plan. In addition to above mentioned, the dynamic nature of planning requires that it should be flexible, because one never knows exactly what the future holds. Planning to a certain extent is based on the forecasts or predictions of the state of future conditions, and the planners may not be so precise in their forecasting or

predictions. Thus, there may arise the need to adapt the planned activities to the conditions which are different from those predicted. In this sense plans should be flexible enough to facilitate such adaptations.

## **Organizing**

Every administrator works within an organizational framework. The successful administrator must have a solid understanding of the principles of organization and must realize that the structure of an organization plays a vital role that cannot be overlooked. As a function, organizing is the establishment of the formal structure of authority through which departments, divisions and sub-divisions are arranged, defined and coordinated for the accomplishment of the defined objectives<sup>102</sup>. Organizing is a continuous activity of every administration; once the formal structure of the organization is established, this does not necessarily mean that the very same structure will be in effect in the future indefinitely. Organizations have to adapt themselves to the changing conditions of the environment to perpetuate their existence and in this process of adaptation their formal structure may be subject to change as well.

As indicated earlier, the interaction between the organization and its environment is a vital one, and thus the organization has to take into consideration the changing conditions of the environment, if it wants to accomplish its objectives and increase its efficiency. The changing conditions of the environment may necessitate or may force the organization to modify its formal structure. In this sense, organizing is one of the functions to which the administrator has to pay continuous attention.

## **Staffing**

Staffing is personnel function of bringing in and training the staff and maintaining favorable conditions of work<sup>103</sup>. One of the essential needs of every organization is to have qualified manpower for undertaking activities related to its goal accomplishment. Staffing principally deals with the recruitment of employees for organization positions, with the separation of employees from the organization through retirement, dismissal, or resignation, with the training of employees, with their salaries and wages, and with their health, safety and welfare<sup>104</sup>. In addition to the above mentioned, promotions and transfers from one position to another is another technique used in the selection of the employees and these are activities which can be listed under staffing.

Staffing is directly related to the manpower needs of an organization which changes in line with the changing environmental conditions. Thus, forecasting the future and trying to predict the possible changes which will affect the manpower needs of the organization is a vital aspect of staffing. As can be seen, staffing is simply the personnel administration, which plays a vital role in the overall picture of organization

### **Directing**

Directing is the continuous task of making decisions and embodying them in specific and general orders and instructions, and serving as the leader of the enterprise. Directing involves ensuring cooperation among the employees, making sure that each employee contributes his/her mental or physical efforts for accomplishing the objectives of the organization. In this sense, some of the individuals otherwise known as administrator have to direct the others to contribute their quota to the goal accomplishment, and such an

activity requires lots of decisions. One of the most critical activities of administrators is to engage in the decision making process. As a matter of fact, almost every position in an organization involves some decision making<sup>105</sup>.

Decision-making is the act of reaching a judgment or conclusion regarding an issue. It is usually regarded as an intellectual process, the product of an individual mind. However, it must be emphasized that organizational decision-making is an institutionalized process. Any ultimate decision in the organization is the end product of the combined efforts of many individuals at several different levels in the organizational hierarchy. Thus, an organizational decision is a collective product rather than the result of any individual's choice.

What really happens is that, in the first place, every decision is based on information, and secondly, the decision maker (administrator) is given information regarding the possible alternatives involved. The alternatives are developed, and the possible consequences of each one studied thoroughly by several individuals, and then the related information is given to the decision maker for consideration<sup>106</sup>.

The ultimate decision made is simply the selection made from amongst the alternatives submitted to the decision maker. As can be seen clearly, there are several individuals and several of their contributions in organizational decision making, thus as indicated earlier, organizational decision making is an institutionalized process. As a function, directing is closely related to leading and leadership style. In general, leadership is the process of influencing the activities of an individual or a group in its efforts toward goal achievement in a given situation<sup>107</sup>. This definition of leadership clearly indicates that leadership process is a function of the leader, the follower, and other situational variables. In essence, leadership involves accomplishing goals with and through people. Therefore,

a leader must be concerned about the tasks which are necessary for goal accomplishment and the relationship among the people who are going to perform the tasks.

### **Coordinating**

Coordinating is also one of the functions of an administrator. It is the task of interrelating the various parts of the work. Coordinating is an important activity of the administrator, because in the functioning of an organization, there exists a detailed division of labor, and goal accomplishment is possible through the contributions of several individuals. As a result of division of labor, the overall work is divided into its components, and each component is placed under the responsibility of an individual or group, and goal accomplishment necessitates the establishment of specific relations among various parts of the work<sup>108</sup>.

The need for coordination is taken into consideration in the process of designing organizational structure; the units which do related work are brought together and placed under the authority of a common superior. The normal method of coordination is hierarchical in its operation, that is, if trouble or a problem develops between two individuals or units, the matter is handled by the common higher authority. In addition to structural arrangements, when needed, special committees are established for purposes of coordination. To this extent, the coordinator must continually ensure that the various branches of the organization working smoothly.

### **Reporting**

Reporting is the all-important function of keeping those whom the administrator is responsible informed of what is going on in the organization. While at the same time the

administrator or chief executive keeps himself and his subordinates informed through reporting, records and inspection.

## **Budgeting**

Budgeting, or budgetary process, is central to the administration of any organization, because through budgeting an effective control is exercised over the financial resources at the disposal of the organization. Budgeting is at the heart of the administrative processes, because “without money work would come to a stop or never would be undertaken in the first place”<sup>109</sup>. A similar evaluation is made by an author when they state, “the budgetary process is central to administration because the control of the purse is perhaps the most effective tool of coordination”<sup>110</sup>. Thus, budgeting is an important element of financial administration, which includes those operations designed to make funds available to officials and to ensure their efficient use within the framework of laws.

Financial administration includes the following; the determination of financial policies; preparation of the budget; collecting revenues and allocating them for the various activities in view of the goals to be accomplished; supervision of expenditures; the control of the accounting and reporting system; and treasury management and audit. The analysis of fiscal organization and procedures throws light on other aspects of administration. In this sense, finance and administration are inseparable. Almost every administrative action has its financial implications, either getting something out of the treasury or making a contribution to it.

### **2.1.13 The Concept of Development**

The term “development” has a wide range of connotations. Although development may be described as a societal transformation that helps individuals to reach their human potential<sup>111</sup>.

It is crucial to remember that, development is a political concept with a number of connotations depending on the context in which it is used, and it may also be used to reflect and support a variety of diverse agendas held by various persons or groups. In contrast to Greenpeace activists, the World Bank's concept of development is very different. As a result, there is a lot of confusion about what sustainable development means, because people have very different ideas about what 'development' means<sup>112</sup>.

There is also an important distinction to be made here: development is a process rather than a product; it is dynamic in the sense that it involves a transformation from one condition to another. In an ideal world, such a transition would result in some sort of improvement (for instance, an improvement in maternal health). To make matters more complicated, development is frequently thought to be the work of a development agency on behalf of rural farmers in a developing country. A political process is at work here because it raises the question of who has the ability to do what and to whom.

Economist and administrators define development as a growth in complex quantitative indicators of national output, national income, consumption, and so on. The term "development" is used by an expert in a fairly generic meaning, referring to the perception of improved efficacy of social and economic activities and functions of a society or situation, as well as the alternatives available to people<sup>113</sup>. Most people regard progress as an increase in quality of life, even if it means less goods and services are available.

Another well-known scholar sees development as the process of human society's evolution<sup>114</sup>. In terms of an individual's capabilities, it indicates greater independence, self-discipline, and so on. In terms of society, development refers to the process through which a society has grown capable of achieving its potential in a variety of areas, including political, economic and social<sup>115</sup>. Historical definitions of development or society's development attributed

economic growth to the concept. It is for this reason that Adam Smith's economic theory is necessary for a society's development; that is, economic growth equals development.

The classical theorists believe that development will come about naturally if there is an increase in income, production of goods; services and wealth<sup>116</sup>. Development on the other hand is multidimensional. One scholar approves the financial definition to be main having extreme effects on the political, social and also social facets. This indicates that growth might be related to financial development gave that the last cause the combating of political and also social troubles.

In his article, the significance of advancement, he recognized 3 essential concerns to be inquired about the growth of a nation. These are what took place to poverty, what took place to joblessness, what took place to inequality? Past question there has actually been a duration of growth of the nation concerned if these variables are on the decrease from a high degree<sup>117</sup>. If one or two of these main indications are going even worse, it will certainly be unusual to call the outcome an advancement also if the nationwide revenue has actually created like in the situation of Nigeria. Thinking about the degree of poverty and also joblessness and also the vast space in between the abundant and also the inadequate, one can say that this assertion is really appropriate in an effort to develop a web link in between these troubles as well as the degree of growth in the nation.

#### **2.1.14 Political Restructuring**

Political restructuring is another concept that will be reviewed in this research. The concept of political restructuring means different things to different people. There is hardly a consensus among people on what political restructuring means. This is because the practice

of federalism, the world over, has had its challenges. Because federalism goes hand in glove with democracy, there is always the tendency that, in line with democratic principles, there is likely going to be those who are dissatisfied with the existing arrangement, hence would press for changes from the political system for a better deal. This is also given the fact that the political system under a federal structure has a lot to offer to geographical contiguity and ethnic differences, especially in countries where development is far from being achieved like Nigeria<sup>118</sup>.

It is not even in dispute that in developed democracies, there are still demands on the political systems to fine-tune or smoothen the rough edges created by federalism. The difference between what obtains in Nigeria is that while federalism was seen to be a British colonial creation and foisted on her, in the other developed climes, federalism was negotiated and accepted as one viable option for their peaceful existence. In comparative terms, what would be prevalent in terms of demands on the political system would be too wide to imagine<sup>119</sup>.

In Nigeria, the quest for restructuring usually takes a new twist while in other climes; one would hardly feel the import of such demands and the subsequent changes. No wonder, leading scholars in comparative federalism were in consensus when they opined that, apart from Nigeria, "several federal states are either engaged in, or about to begin, the process of reviewing their federal systems in order to retain their relevance to their societies"<sup>120</sup>. The implication of this is that even in advanced federal states, political restructuring is still in sight and not taken as a sign of weakness or something to regret. Federalism offers more of promises than honouring its promises to the people. This is where the need to constantly engage the political system to resolve emerging differences for peaceful co-existence. Thus, it was opined that "federalism can only assure that nobody could be fully unhappy but certainly not that everybody will be happy with the solution"<sup>121</sup>.

Federalism in Nigeria has been able to bring all the different ethnic nationalities together over the years. But unfortunately it has not been able to keep them happy. All the ethnic nationalities in Nigeria appear to be living together grudgingly over the years due to perceived social injustices. In an attempt to liberate them from this menace, the quest for political restructuring becomes expedient. Political restructuring therefore, in the context of the forgoing, seeks to restructure the existing federation in such a manner that the powers of the federal government are drastically reduced with a view to giving the component units or federating states and by extension ethnic nationalities the opportunities to participate in their own affairs as obtainable in developed federations<sup>122</sup>. This is also in line with the position of a leading scholar when he said that:

Federalism, as I understand it, is a form of government where the component units of a political organization participate in sharing powers and functions in a /cooperative manner though the combined forces of ethnic pluralism and cultural diversity, among others, tend to pull their people apart"<sup>123</sup>.

Going by the definition of federalism above, it is clear that the persistent clamour for political restructuring can only come when there is social injustice in where ordinarily there should be justice. So, when there is injustice in a political system that is structured to achieve not only justice but unity in diversity, there would then be quest for justice with a view to bringing it back to the original ideals for which the union was either formed or made to exist. Therefore, political restructuring, in the context of this research, connotes sustained clamour for 'true federalism' by some federating states and ethnic nationalities in Nigeria.

It also entails a radical attempt by certain ethnic nationalities and federating states in Nigeria to question their continuous existence in the political configuration and the entity called 'Nigeria' in which they were forcefully lumped to live among a people with perceived irreconcilable differences by the instrumentality of British imposed federal

constitution. In other words, political restructuring, as being canvassed, is a radical movement by ethnic nationalities and states to unbundle the "no-go-areas" in the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999 (As Amended) with the sole aim of devolving powers to the component units comparable to other developed federations globally<sup>124</sup>.

While these radical attempts or movements are seen in the light of long years of perceived social injustices, there is hardly any federation the world over that has no issues bordering on its federal existence. This is why it has often been said that there is no 'ideal federalism' or 'true federalism', the world over by some scholars of comparative federalism. What countries do is to consistently adapt to their own realities in order to push for a continuous and harmonious existence in obvious political, economic, social, geographical, ethnic, cultural, religious, and racial and gender inequalities<sup>125</sup>.

#### **2.1.15 What the Nigerian Political Structure is Supposed to be**

The political structure of Nigeria as bequeathed to her by her colonial master is federalism. Federalism is a decentralized structure of government that has many attributes which distinguishes it from any other contrivances that could be labeled federal government. In a bid to understand how the Nigerian political structure (federalism) is supposed to be, this section discusses below the core feature of true federalism in a succinct manner:

##### **i. A Written Constitution**

Constitution is the grundnorm or the fundamental law according to which a particular state is governed. It is the whole body of fundamental laws, customs, conventions, principles, rules and regulations according to which a particular country operates<sup>126</sup>. There is no doubt

that a federation being a conglomeration of dichotomous ethno-regional groups can only be established through a perpetual covenant of union, which should be enshrined in a written constitution. This constitution must be made in wide consultation of all these ethno-regional groups and in their solemn agreement.

The true mark of any federation is that it distributes executive, legislative and judicial powers between the federal government and the constituent states in a written document known as the constitution<sup>127</sup>. Hence, the constitution of any federation will not only be made in solemn agreement of all the ethno-regional groups of the country but must also be written and documented in a single document. Since it is the constitution that shows in clear terms the modalities of power decentralization between and among the component units of a federation, it then follows that the constitution must be written and rigid for easy reference.

This also implies that it is an indispensable characteristic of federalism which is a system of government in which there is constitutional division of power among coordinate levels of government. Supremacy of the constitution: one fundamental feature of federalism is supremacy of the constitution. The constitution of a federation must be supreme and binding on all persons, authorities and governments. This is to ensure that all actors of the federation operate within the limits of their jurisdiction and not encroach on the powers of another.

## **ii. Equality of Power between Levels of Government**

A federation is one in which the levels of government operational within it are equal and coordinate in power. This simply means that in true federalism no tier of government is superior or subordinate to the other<sup>128</sup>. Similarly, federal principle holds that the constituent units/ states that form a federation should relate to the federal authority on equal plane. No region or state should have more or less power in their relationship or interactions with the central or federal government. Any negation of this is a digression from true federalism as the regional governments can no longer relate among themselves as equal.

### **iii. Equality in Ethno-regional Representation**

One of the major reasons of adopting federalism is the existence of ethno-tribal heterogeneity. This is because federalism permits the equal representation of all tribes, ethnic groups, and regions in governance so as to ensure that no tribe ethno-regional nationality is marginalized or is left to lag behind developmentally and otherwise. This makes equal representation of ethnic and regional groups a integral characteristic of true federalism.

### **iv. Fiscal Autonomy**

Local government in Nigeria is entitled to fiscal autonomy being a level of government within a country that practices federalism. What this means is that all levels of government within a federation is fiscally autonomous. Financial subordination marks an end of federalism no matter how carefully the legal forms may be preserved<sup>129</sup>. True federalism does not permit over concentration of power and resources in the hands of either the central government or the component units as to make it more powerful to lord its will over the other especially as regards to fiscal relationship. Autonomy of each government: Federalism is a political system that emphasizes relative independence of each level of government.

Federal system must be fashioned in a manner that each level of government should be coordinate to another and that no tier should be seen to be subservient in relationship with others in the federation. The implicit of this is that any government which in practice contradicts the foregoing principle is unfit to be called a federation. This principle is necessary as it ensures that the federal government acts within the ambit of its constitutionally assigned powers while the state and local governments carry out their own affairs without intimidation or frustration<sup>130</sup>.

The autonomy of the constituent units of a federation is a bedrock, a foundation and a defining principle of true federalism. Division of powers and responsibilities: Federalism as a political system is one that is marked with clear-cut power division and decentralization<sup>131</sup>. The constitution of all federation usually possesses a formula for dividing power among the levels of government. This formula is seen in the legislative list – exclusive list, concurrent list and residual list.

The exclusive list is set aside for only the federal government to legislate on and have basically matters of national importance such as foreign policy, currency and minting, defense, extradition, migration etc. The concurrent list is jointly legislated upon by the levels of government present in a country while the residual legislative list is reserved exclusively for the constituent units of government to legislate on. The rationale behind this constitutional division of powers and responsibilities in a federation is to eliminate intergovernmental conflict between and among the federating units<sup>132</sup>.

#### **2.1.16 Nigerian Political Structure – Federalism or Pseudo-federalism?**

Having laid down the benchmark for federalism. It is imperative to critically examine the Nigerian federalist political culture to ascertain if truly it meets the benchmark of federalism, or it is a non-federalist practice disguised as federalism which we've chosen to

refer to as Pseudo-federalism (false federalism). This examination however, will hinge on the manner of Nigerian practice of the core principles of federalism:

**i. Written Constitution**

The Nigerian constitution which is the fundamental law through which the Nigerian state is governed is by nature a written constitution. It is one that clearly specifies the structure and system of government operational in the country and as well showcases the manner in which power and responsibility is decentralized among the levels of government present in the country (federal, state and local government). However, it is observed in dismay that this constitution is unitarily inclined as it was imposed on the citizens without proper consultation, referendum or involvement of the citizens in its enactment process.

A historical analysis of the entire Nigerian constitutions will leave every analyst with three dominant factors which are the influence of colonialism, national political elites and the military<sup>133</sup>. By this, there is an absolute justification for the constitution's unitary nature, having been made by the military and hastily imposed on the citizens to facilitate the transition into a new regime that marked democracy in 1998/1999. Since the constitution was imposed and do not reflect citizenry involvement in its making, it then follows that the making of the constitution is neither cognizance of the ethno-regional heterogeneity of the country nor did it bring these groups to a negotiation table to have a perpetual agreement of union and that of the structure that would best suit the administrative operation of their entities.

This little mal-federalist practice out rightly makes the Nigerian federalism a false one as one of the core attributes of federalism is not adhered to. Similarly, some scholars have argued that true federalism requires the ethno-regional governments have their own various constitutions citing instances in the case of USA, Australia and Canada. They argue that a

federation run by one single federal constitution without constitutions in the constituent units is one that is unitary in disguise. In support of this argument held that a federal government confines its application to cases in which states, while agreeing on a measure of delegation of powers to a common government, yet in their domain, continue to preserve their original constitutions.

What the above legal luminary is asserting is that the federating units do not give out all their laws to the federal government for the formation of a federal constitution; rather, they surrender some parts of their laws to the central government while retaining others in their individual constitutions<sup>134</sup>. A federal system is an arrangement between separate autonomous governments, it therefore follows that there should be separate national and regional governments which imply separate constitution for each government. By this, every component unit of a federation is supposed to have a constitution which guides its operation with regards to its affairs.

This is not so in Nigeria where only one federal constitution is used to run the affairs of the entire country with no ethno-regional or state constitution. Autonomy of each government: In the words of some authors, the autonomy of each government as obtainable as a core feature of federalism emphasizes that separateness of government also requires that each government must exist not as an appendage of another government but as an autonomous entity, so that it will be able to exercise its will in the administration of its own affairs without external direction from another government<sup>135</sup>.

The implicit of this is that a federation does not permit the dominance of one level of government on the others in existing jointly with it in the country. Hence any arrangement which allows this, does not qualify to be called a true federalism. Little wonder why a scholar asserted that concentrating too much power and resources on a particular level of

government is capable of intoxicating it and making it to dictate the affairs of other levels of government coexisting with it.

However, the Nigerian federalist political structure is one that pay no heed to this core feature of true federalism as the 1999 constitution has wielded more powers to the federal government making it more superior and capable of dictating the affairs of the state and local government. The exclusive list having 68 items is solely left for the federal government; the concurrent list is within the jurisdiction of the federal government and the state government with the federal government prevailing in case of any conflict.

The same federal government is vested with the power to legislate in respect to any matter incidental or supplementary mentioned elsewhere in the legislative list. Again, the local government in Nigeria can be best seen as an appendage of the state government having been constitutionally created under section 7(1) and handed over to the control of the state government under section 7(2) of the Nigerian constitution, who (state) have the power to dictate the existence of local governments within their territory and to meddle with their finance. This is a complete aberration of the core principle of federalism. Hence, a symptom of pseudo-federalism in the name of federalism.

## **ii. Equality of Federating Units**

The equality of the federating units in a federation must be reflected in some reasonable balance between the units in area, population, and wealth which will ensure that all units can maintain their independence within the sphere allotted to them and that no one can dominate the other. This attribute of true federalism is negated in Nigeria where there is gross inequality in area, population, number of states and local governments within the regional zones.

This has brought about special treatment and recognition of some federating units at the detriment of others, with complete disregard that the principle of equality of federating units being a characteristic of true federalism holds that federating units must relate to each other and to the federal government on an equal base without any special recognition to any federating unit at the detriment of others. Instances are in the number of states within the different geopolitical zones in Nigeria, where the north-west has 7 states, the south-east has 5 states, the south-south has 6 states, north-east has 6 states, north- central 6 states and south-west has 6 states; there is a clear marginalization of south east and preference on the north-west.

Viewing it from a regional perspective, the northern region has 19 states while the southern region has 17 states. Is this not clearly a special recognition and treatment of the northern region? This is also applicable in terms of local governments in the regions. In addition to this, the federalist political structure of Nigeria partitioned the country in such a way that the northern region has an estimated number of 75% of the country's land mass and over 60% of its population despite the fact that landmass and population are part of the criteria for revenue allocation and sharing of national cake.

This arrangement is clearly unequal and has in all ramifications given the northern region an undue advantage to maintain absolute dominance in the government of the federation as the region has capacity to dictate actions and policies to be pursued<sup>136</sup>. Little wonder, the laudable report of the 2014 national conference which the northerners believe does not reflect their own best interest has suffered implementation setback till date despite attempts made jointly by all southern states to bring it to life. This evidently paints the federalist political structure of Nigeria as pseudo-federalism. Fiscal autonomy: Fiscal autonomy of the federating units/levels of government is a key attribute of true federalism.

Any form of financial subordination will mark an end to federalism no matter how carefully the legal forms may be preserved. Therefore, for there to be a true federation, it must be structured in a way that each level of government is resourcefully buoyant and financially capable of carrying out its constitutionally assigned duty. It is on this ground that a scholar argued that if the federating units/sub-national governments find their constitutionally assigned functions too exorbitant that their resources they cannot fund it and for this purpose resort to the federal government for subsidies and grants; then they are no longer coordinate with the federal government but subordinate to it<sup>137</sup>.

However, the reverse of this argument is practically present within the federalist political structure of Nigeria where the revenue sharing formula is skewed in favour of the federal government having been constitutionally assigned with more functional responsibilities at the expense of the sub-national governments. With the federal government of Nigeria enjoying hegemony in revenue allocation, the state and local government which created for political reasons are made unviable as a result of their weak fiscal base. The effect of this is overdependence of about 85% of the Nigerian states on the federal government to run their state; especially Lagos state whose public debt owed to the federal government is the highest in the country.

Most states in Nigeria can neither run the affairs of their domain nor meet the salary obligations of their workforce on their own without waiting for the monthly statutory allocation. This is a justification of the rapid increase in the number of states owing their workers' salaries for months, and the reason that some states have place their workers on disguised salary basis where the salaries are either reduced in small quantity or on half basis. The fiscal condition of the local government however is the most pitiful, having been an offshoot of the state government and having a joint account with the state government for the reception of revenue allocation; of which the state meddle with<sup>138</sup>.

The local government allocation is often times denied by the state and at other times, the state government dissolves the local governments while still receiving their statutory allocations from the federal government. A typical example is that of Imo state where Gov. Rochas Okorocha dissolved local government and established a constitutionally unrecognized community government, yet still receiving statutory allocation of the local governments from the federation account. This is the rationale behind the functional incompetence of local government and consequently the horrendous underdevelopment in rural communities<sup>139</sup>.

The above scenario within the federation of Nigeria paints a picture of false federalism as it is an absolute derail from the core principle of true federalism. From the foregoing, it is obvious that the Nigeria federal structure is marked with pseudo-federalist imperfections emerging from the abuse of and derailment from some core attributes of true federalism. This implicitly exposes that the federalist political structure of Nigeria is nothing but Pseudo-federalism.

### **2.1.17 The Need for Political Restructuring of the Nigerian State: An Analytical Discourse**

Over the years and in recent times, many scholars, elites and average Nigerians have been on an outcry that their voices have become deafening to the ears of all. What do they clamour for? Restructuring! Many questions have been asked and people tend to seek justification for which the political structure of the country should be restructured; others claim that those who clamour for political restructuring do so for the benefit of their own self-interest. Hence, the latter address the former as the sub-optimalists of the current political structure – federalism<sup>140</sup>.

However the case may be, one thing sacrosanct is that Nigerian federalism is observably on paper, as in practice what the country has at best is pseudo-federalism since there exist ill-federalist practices within the federalism operational. Little wonder, referred to the Nigerian political structure as the feeding bottle federalism. Some of these ill-federalist practices are outlined below in question format as a catalyze-able justification for restructuring the political structure of the country so as to move it from being the so called “feeding bottle federalism” to a more advances, better and improved political structure that would be able to accommodate the varying interests of all the ethno-regional groups and levels of government, getting them satisfied and bonded together in unity without any form of marginalization or agitation for secession<sup>141</sup>.

The above age long rape on the federalist principles coupled with apparent abuse of federal character principle enshrined in the Nigerian constitution by the current president Buhari led administration in areas of appointment into key positions and alleged marginalization and neglect of some sections of the country may have awakened the consciousness of Nigerians on the need for urgent political restructuring of the Nigerian federation. From the above, any sound minded person putting on his analytical glasses would see the need to restructure the political structure of the country on which all the above questions hinges on. These questions are raising dusts and tensions of conflicts. It is in lieu of the consequences brewing from these questions which are outrightly conflicts that this paper tends to present below, six scholarly tangible reasons to restructure the Nigerian political system. These reasons are well buttressed under the following headings and they include:

### **Origin, Formation and Consolidation of the Nigerian state**

A prominent secessionist and restructuring agitating group known as Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) in one of their broadcasts on January 1, 2015 on Radio Biafra said that the

country Nigeria as an entity has expired on December 31 of the previous year 2014; the year that the country marked the centenary of its amalgamation. They vehemently alleged that the charter of agreement that merged the northern and southern protectorate into one single legitimate entity called Nigeria provided that after a hundred years 100years, if the two sides merged together see themselves as incompatible with each other, they have utmost right to secede.

However, the authenticity of their claim is what I cannot establish as no record of the involvement of Nigerians in the agreement to merge the northern and the southern protectorates as one in 1914 has surfaced till date. The significant thing about the 1914 exercise was that no member of the diverse ethnic groups that make up the protectorates was brought to a negotiation table to agree on the merger. As at the time of the merger, most of the Nigerian nationalists were still tender and little children. For instance, Nnamdi Azikiwe was 10years old as at then, Obafemi Awolowo 5years old, Ahmadu Bello 4years old, Tafawa Balewa 2years old, and Anthony Enahoro has not even been conceived since he was born in 1923. The big question then becomes, who/which Nigerian signed the amalgamation treaty? This simply shows that the entity Nigeria was not amalgamated but rather balkanized.

It is but an imposed state; and this imposition affects the country today and the functionality of its political structure whose foundation was laid during the colonial period. This is because, the ethnic Nigeria today we regional groups that make re as at that time not consulted before the protectorates were merged and neither did they come into any formal agreement. Hence, they have continued to disagree till date as a result of their non-consultation prior to the merger of 1914. The amalgamation of the northern and southern protectorates in 1914 extricable complicated Nigeria's destiny<sup>142</sup>.

Thus, if agreement and harmony should be brought between and among the various ethnic nationalities that constitute Nigeria, there is need to go back to the drawing and negotiation table where the diverse ethnic groups of about 371 in number will be fully represented, to negotiate in agreement or disagreement of the unification of all ethnic groups in Nigeria under one single political structure. This in all ramification is a need to politically restructure the country otherwise, Nigeria would continue to be what Awolowo called it “A mere geographical expression”, because the trending problem of Nigerian political structure is rooted in our fear of unity<sup>143</sup>.

### **Democracy and True Federalism**

Lots of political actors and scholars in Nigeria and beyond has over the years stood their ground to say that Nigeria neither practices democracy nor federalism; rather, what we have at best is disguised Unitarianism and dictatorship, of which we have termed federalism. Pseudo, For instance, in the words of the former vice President of Nigeria Atiku Abubakar, as expressed in This Day Newspaper dated June 12, 2016; “the present structure of Nigeria is a pointer to the tension at the heart of the nation... agitations by many right thinking Nigerians calls for a restructuring and a renewal of our federation and democratic system to make it less centralized, less suffocating and less dictatorial in the affairs of our country’s constituent units and localities”<sup>144</sup>.

The implicit of his expression is that the federalism operational in Nigeria is one that has grown into a maze; hence it is dysfunctional and breeds conflict. The current federalist political structure operational in Nigeria is one which centralized most powers at the federal government, thus bringing about federal abuse power at the detriment of the state and local government. Observable within Nigeria polity is the practical expression of Lord

Acton's words "that power corrupts and absolute power corrupt absolutely", as the federal government having been allocated with much power tends to be corrupted.

The current President Muhammadu Buhari does not give credence to verdicts of the court thus negating the rule of law. In an interview granted to Daily Sun, Professor A. B. C. Nwosu (a one-time Political Adviser to President Obasanjo), starts by defining restructuring as: "...let us change the structure. What is the structure? There is too much power at the centre. The Federal government has too much power, too much responsibility, too much money, much to waste.... I thought change was if it is not good for the country, we would do it. Is there anybody who has not seen that the federal government has too much power, and too much responsibility?"

Is there anybody who does not see that the over 60 to 70 per cent spent on recurrent expenditure is wrong? Is there anybody who does not see that the federal government has over 800 parastatals and that it is wrong? Is there anybody who does not see that having over 42 ministries is wrong? When asked why people are asking for restructuring, he answers by asserting that: The structure that we have is anti-development. The structure we have is unjust and unfair. I belong to the school of thought that regards restructuring more of devolution of power than regionalization of Nigeria. With this picture painted of the current Nigerian federalist political structure, a picture of federalism in the nature of Unitarianism, a picture of federalism where the rule of law is trampled upon, a picture of federalism that is anti-developmental, unjust and unfair; would a sane person not argue that the current Nigerian federalist political structure be restructured?

He would definitely; as it is no news that the rudimentary functional characteristic of federalism is decentralization of power and a rule of law-guided-democracy<sup>145</sup>. Adele being cognizant of the lapses in the current federalist political structure and democracy of Nigeria

stated in his article published in June 7, 2017 in The Guardian Newspaper that “the country must not fall victim to the fetishism or magic of legal constitutional design<sup>146</sup>. It must also begin to find ways of re-strengthening and deepening the spirit, the political culture of democracy and federalism, as mechanisms for managing diversity and pursuing the public interest in a plural society; otherwise the design effort will be in vain”.

### **Ethno-regional Satisfaction and Unity**

The call for political restructuring nudges at the heart of millions of Nigerians who are outraged by the present structure of the federation which has increasingly become a recipe for uncertainty, insecurity and instability. This is basically done by ethno-regional bodies such as the Pan-Yoruba socio-cultural group of the western Nigeria, the Afenifere of the west, the Pan-Igbo umbrella body of the east, the Ohaneze Ndi Igbo of the east, the Arewa Youth Movement of the north, the MOSOP of the south-south, the Niger-delta militants and Niger-delta avengers etc. The reason for their outcry for political restructuring of Nigeria is one worthy of consideration if peace and unity should thrive in the country<sup>147</sup>. These reasons cut across ethno-regional dimensions. Regionally, questions have been asked on why the south – east region has only five (5) states, the north – west have seven (7) and all other regions have six (6) each; implying that in a representative sense of democracy, south – east have 15 senators, north – west 21 senators, and other regions 18 senators each; does this reflect the meaning of equity and balance?

Similarly, amidst the 774 constitutionally approved local government areas in Nigeria, south east has 95, north – west 186, north – east 113, south – south 125, south – west 137 and north – central 112; why do this kind of political structure exist? Does it reflect equity and balance? The implicit of this political structure is that the south east becomes marginalized in the politics of revenue allocation and that of sharing of national cake as

well as in development planning which has population principle as its yardstick<sup>148</sup>. There have been multifarious agitations against marginalization from the south-east region which has often times resulted to conflicts, taking up of arms and consequently bloodshed.

Similarly, there have been numerous cases of conflict on resource control in the south – south region of Nigeria who has constantly wailed that the resources found within their territorial environment have always been exploited by the government without involving them in the exploitation of such resources. An Amazon from the region Amkio Briggs stated that the political restructuring of Nigeria remained the only solution to numerous protests and deep-rooted anger that have constantly fuelled tension and inhibited Nigeria from moving forward<sup>149</sup>.

Ethnically, the Niger – deltans consisting of a conglomeration of ethnic groups ranging from Ogoni, Kalabari, Ikwere, Etchie, Ijaw, Itshekiri and others, have cried out severally against marginalization and federalist ignorance even when they harbor the source of the country's economic power. Their struggle and outcry for political restructuring did not start today but dates back to the resource control struggle of 1966 botched by the Isaac Adaka Boro – led attempt to create Niger – delta republic which till date have culminated into oil – related restiveness in the region even after the death of Adaka Boro<sup>150</sup>.

The Niger – deltans have in recent past took arms to defend their God – given resources since despite their ownership of the resources, the government tend to exploit them and use the revenue gotten from their land to enrich and develop other areas of the federation while they languish in abject poverty, poor infrastructures and lack of good water supply; since their water bodies have been polluted through the extraction of their mineral resources (oil). The consequences of their taking arm is the bombing of oil pipelines, kidnap of oil

extractors and stopping of oil extraction process which had caused Nigeria fortunes in the international market.

The other ethnic group (Igbos) represented by the “Ohaneze Ndigbo” have on their own called for political restructuring of the Nigerian state; this is ascertainable in the words of Chief Enwo Igariwey of Ohaneze Ndigbo who stated that they (Ndigbo) have been calling for political restructuring because they believe it is in the best interest of the country and that the Igbos will only vote a presidential candidate who have restructuring agenda in his manifesto come 2019”. The Igbos which are another ethnic group have through their various mouthpiece spoken of their being marginalized in the allocation of government seats. Little wonder, many rebel nationalist groups have risen from this ethnic group either calling for restructuring or for secession.

Typical examples are Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), Movement for Actualization of Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), Biafra Zionist Movement (BZM) etc. The stance of the Igbos on the Nigerian political structure as deducible from the speech of the Deputy Senate President, Senator Ike Ekweremadu at the World Igbo conference (WIC) held in Enugu holds that “the minimum Ndigbo demand of Nigeria is a restructure of the federation so that every component part of it can substantially harness its resources, cut it coat according to its cloth and develop at its own speed... Igbos should peacefully struggle for a better deal within the Nigerian common wealth and this struggle must be sustained by Nigeria”<sup>150</sup>.

The issue of these incessant agitations and struggles over resource control and restructuring often breeding conflicts by the different ethno-regional bodies is a sufficient reason to restructure the federalist political structure of Nigeria, so that each region and ethnic group will have their interest met and satisfied and their restiveness and agitations curbed.

Restructuring the federalist political structure of Nigeria in an ethno-regionally agreed way will in all ramifications satisfy the diverse interests of the various ethno-regional entities in Nigeria and bring about unity in ethno-regional diversity within the country.

### **Necessary and Important Realities**

Many questions have been raised on the high concentration of authority and responsibilities on the federal government. Whereas most people said that this concentration makes the Nigerian political structure a unitary federalism, others have similarly said that it is the reason behind the inefficiency of federal government in discharging of their functions; whereas another set of people are of the opinion that it is the reason behind the high rate of corruption at the central government level<sup>151</sup>.

Judging from all direction, the indications of the postulations of the above groups of people points towards negativity. Therefore, there is need to decongest, to decentralize and to deconcentrate the authorities and responsibilities accrued to the federal government to the state and local government in order to make it functionally efficient. In an inaugural lecture delivered in the University of Nigeria Nsukka earlier this year, it was argued that it is a matter of unnecessary for the federal government of Nigeria to be the sole handler of some necessary and important realities like the police, issuing of drivers licenses, construction of the so called federal roads and bridges, and provision of secondary education<sup>151</sup>.

Similarly, former military president of Nigeria Gen. Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida in his 2017 Eid-el-fitr message to Nigerians said that “restructuring has become a national appeal as we speak, whose time has come. I will strongly advocate devolution of powers to the extent that more responsibilities are given to the states while the federal government is vested with the responsibility to oversee our foreign policy, defense and economy. Even the idea of having federal roads in towns and cities has become outdated and urgently needs

revisiting. That means we need to tinker with our constitution to accommodate new thoughts that will strengthen our nationality”.

There is no gainsaying to the fact that they are unequivocally right, these are duties that the state and local governments can efficiently carry out; why is it that the state and local governments are absolutely dependent on the federal government for these? These consequences of this could be seen in the case of Anambra state Governor during the last gubernatorial election of the state of which he was not only a sitting governor but an electoral candidate recontesting; he was left with no police officer to offer him security and he had to hire the services of his hometown vigilante security service<sup>151</sup>. This justifies the reason that many scholars and elites have been agitating for state government policing; but this could not be easily done since the current federalist political structure of the country has concentrated such powers as to regulate policing and other necessary and important realities on the federal government.

Similarly, most of the federal roads are worse than death traps, a typical example being the Onitsha Enugu express road that has forced motorists to seek another route between Amansea Awka through Awkuzu to Umunnya where the situation of the road is nothing to write home about. Had the state government been in charge of constructing or maintaining the federal roads, the situation of this road would not be the same since other state roads in the state are in very good shape.

Therefore, to make federal government more efficient, there is need to restructure the current federalist political structure in such a way that more authorities and responsibilities will be devolved to the state government while the federal government concentrates on issues such as foreign policy, economy, defense (military), migration (immigration and

emigration), international relations and aviation, and any other function which is of classical importance that it will not be efficiently handled by the state and local government.

### **Rapid and Competitive Development**

The state of development within the Nigerian territory is appalling when compared with the country's enormous human and natural resources. It only stands to suggest the proof of the resource curse hypothesis. Many have argued that the reason that Nigeria is still underdeveloped rests on the corruption on the central government which exploits the country's resource without putting the proceeds developmentally in use. Others have argued that the reason that most states of the Nigerian federation are not developing at speedy pace is because they lack the necessary power needed to harness what is at their disposal in terms of resources, in order to make development a reality.

Nigeria is a federation with 36 states' structure and 774 local government areas which totally rely on the distributive pool account (federation account) to perform their assigned constitutional responsibilities within their respective domains. The system of government that brings states to the centre at the end of every month to share money is not sustainable; there is need to restructure the federation in such a way that all persons and partners in the federation be it states or regions have the capacity to develop their internal resources with which they can develop at their own pace.

Hence, restructuring the current federalist political structure in such a way that states and local government have more revenue sources and powers to control the resources at their areas of occupancy will boost their development functionality and will breed rapid and competitive development across regions in the country which is a giant step towards the development of the country in general. In addendum, it will be a milestone towards job creation.

Giving a practical example, it has been said that the north – central zone of Nigeria has abundance of natural resources buried under their soil, imagine if Nigeria is politically restructured in such a way that each state is giving authority to mine, harness and control the resources endowed on it by nature and then pay royalties to the central/federal government; then the north – central region will become a new bride for solid mineral exploitation and development; thus an industrial hub creating millions of employment opportunities to all Nigerians.

Now taking cognizance of the fact that virtually all states of the federation are in possession of these resources either in terms of solid and liquid natural resource or agricultural resource, then obviously all Nigerians will be under one employment or the other and each state will be striving to develop more than the other. This is a sufficient need to restructure the political structure of the country in order to actualize the development of the country and its citizens.

### **Functional Competence and Intergovernmental Harmony**

The political structure of the Nigerian state – federalism, has been defined as a system of government in which there is constitutional division of power between two or more coordinate levels of government existing and interacting within a country. The Nigerian federalism is one that has three constitutionally created levels of government – federal, state and local government; but practically two levels of government – federal and state as the local government is submerged into the state government. Hence, visibly sprouted is the issue of constitutional in balance within the constitutional framework of the federal political structure of Nigeria.

Whereas the constitution created the local government as the independent third tier of government in section 7(1) of the 1999 constitution of Nigeria, it handed over the creation,

management and control of the local government to the state government in section 7(2). This has been reason for the functional incompetence of local government which has resulted to the motion to abrogate the local government as a tier of government at the national political conference (CONFAB) organized by Goodluck Ebele Jonathan's led regime in 2014.

This proves that the local government is dependent and un-autonomous. Similarly, the state government which has been attributed with practical independence and autonomy has also been seen as being functionally incompetent; the reason is that the federal government most times ceases statutory allocation of the state government as could be seen in the case of the Lagos state government Vs. federal government during President Olusegun Obasanjo's regime; they are similarly, subject to the dictates of the federal government as to the determination of the amount to pay for the minimum wage.

From the above, are the levels of government in Nigeria really co-ordinate? This practice has right from the time of its practice tends to make the local, state and federal government inefficient. It also serves as a befitting reason to restructure the Nigerian federalist political structure as it will quench the fire of intergovernmental conflict ignited by the above problems of Nigerian federalism and facilitate functional competence and intergovernmental harmony between and among the levels of government in existence in Nigeria.

## **2.2 Theoretical Framework**

The task before this research is to investigate federalism and the challenges of resource control in Nigeria. The most relevant theories to this study include the frustration-aggression theory, system theory, structural-functional theory, and Rawl theory of justice.

### 2.2.1 Frustration - Aggression Theory

The theory was propounded by a group of scholars including, John Dollard, Neal Miller, Leonard Doob, Orval Mowrer and Robert Sears in 1939<sup>42</sup>. Further developments on the theory were made by Neal Miller in 1941 and Leonard Berkowitz in 1969. The theory states that aggressive acts are not carried out in isolation, but are products of a gap or failure in expectations or inability to achieve set goals or objectives<sup>154</sup>. According to them, the occurrence of aggressive behavior always presupposes the existence of frustration and, contrariwise, that the existence of frustration always leads to some form of aggression<sup>42</sup>. The significance of the above statement is that frustration is not only a psychological or emotional experience, but a result of incapacity of reaching or meeting planned and expected needs. They further differentiate between frustration and aggression. Accordingly, frustration is an event which is characterised by certain actions and behaviours called effects. The effects constitute what is termed generally as a show of aggression, which may take violent and vehemently destructive behaviours. The relationship between the frustration-aggression theory and the challenges of fiscal federalism and resource allocation in Nigeria is not farfetched<sup>152</sup>. Owing to the usurpation of rights of control and management of states owned resources by the federal government, and the subsequent elimination at first, and reduction of the derivation allocation by the same power - drunk federal government, the rights and expectations of the states and their rural areas are dashed. What is offered to these resource generating states are peanuts compared to the revenue accruing from the exportation of these products<sup>1</sup>. Resultantly, there have been loud and violent expressions from the regions and states concerned for a greater participation in the control and management of their resources, as normative in a federal arrangement<sup>153</sup>.

Beginning from the actions of Major Isaac Adaka Boro in 1966, after the recommendations of the Binn's Commission of 1964, other agitating groups such as Ken Saro-Wiwa's

Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP); Asari Dokubo's Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) and Ateke Tom's Niger Delta Revolutionary Front (NDRF), had emerged to vent their anger on the deprivative actions of the government<sup>42</sup>. Though these groups have been less violent in their agitations, the emergence of the Niger Delta Militants (NDM) took a new turn around. Through various violent actions such as pipeline vandalism, kidnapping of expatriates in the oil regions, burning of oil fields, incessant oil theft, coastal encumbrances, environmental degradation and kidnapping of top government officials, the group made their anger and frustration known to the government. These aggressive actions while on the rise, had truncated not only economic, but also political, social and environmental peace. At the international scene, Nigeria became an economic and social pariah to investors and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs)<sup>42</sup>.

### **2.2.2 The Structural-Functional Theory**

Some eminent researchers first proposed the Structural Functionalism theory of organizations, which was later improved and reformed as a system or collection of interrelated components which together create a whole<sup>154</sup>. However, the theory was heavily influenced by the field of sociology and was later embraced in political and administrative studies. To the sociologist, unemployment is an issue which they have to delve with and unemployment has a far reaching effect in all areas of the society.

Structural Functionalist approach offers an explanation on how to determine the results of a combination of contradictory political systems in many developing countries. The structural functional approach of the social sciences provides a tool for researchers to appreciate the social processes<sup>155</sup>. The function is the outcome of a sequence of events and the structure is the resulting organization and the pattern of action itself.

Structural functionalism assumes that the components of a social system are interconnected, meaning that they work together to maintain stability and meet the demands of each constituent. Three elements or subsystems are distinguished in every structure: The cultural structure corresponds to the set of shared norms, value, language and symbols. The social creates a link to the way in which people relate and the acceptance of collective expectations imposed. The personality aligns towards the motivations and characteristics of population based on their aspirations, goals and achievements.

Functionalists believe everything serves a specific function in our society and these functions need to be understood. Everyone has a role to fill in this functional society, in other words we need to have stratification so as everyone has a purpose. Functionalists are very boundaries and thin within the square. For this theory to really work, there needs to be a consensus amongst the individuals that make up society, they need to believe everything is in the best interest of this so called utopia.

A society may be symbolically regarded as a living body made up of several organs or structures, each of which has a function or functions that are necessary for the social organism to operate, according to functionalist theory. The many mechanisms that make up society "fit" together to maintain equilibrium and social stability<sup>156</sup>. The dominant school of functionalism also demonstrated how some social structures - defined as comparatively stable patterns of social relationships - direct our lives. As examples, consider close relationships, systematized conduct, and other circumstances with largely consistent and stable behavior.

Functionalist's start from the basis that every society has a specific social structure, without it, it cannot survive, there must be social strata or classes in short, a more or less egalitarian system of social positions, but in all cases, there is a system assigning privileges and functions to those positions. Functionalism views society as a complex system composed of

interconnected subsystems. Each subsystem has functions necessary for normal social functioning, ultimately, for society to continue to exist. In this context, social change is understood as the adaptation of said social system to its environment, through the process of differentiation and the increase in structural complexity<sup>157</sup>.

The parts of a social system, seek order and consistency, that is, an interrelationship between diverse institutions, organizations, and individuals. The environment is a factor that is outside the social system but that can influence it (such as nature and world economic markets) and force it to change or adapt. If a single element of society is altered, it affects the functioning of the entire apparatus. The Structural-Functional theory will be clearer with a brief clarification of functionalism and structuralism. These are close related ideal models. Regardless of their commonality, they show up as 'the far edges of a similar continuum'<sup>158</sup>. Both really see the general public as including interrelated parts. The significant distinction anyway is that while functionalism receives an all-encompassing disposition to the examination of society, structuralism lean towards a particularistic methodology. One of the proponents of the theory analyzed political system as a set of structure performing functions. Thus, to him, every political system has some structures and these structures perform certain functions.

Following the above analysis the relevance of structural functional theory in Nigeria federalism and resource control cannot be overemphasized. In Nigeria, power is shared among the three level of government which in this regard are the structures: these structure are expected to be taken care of by the constitution taking cognizance of the notion that constitution is the frame or composition of government, to the way in which a government is actually structured in terms of its levels, the distribution of power within it, the relations of the organs, and the procedures for exercising powers is that constitution creates structures,

assign roles or functions to them as well as co-ordinates and regulates their respective and collective activities and relationship with each other.

### **2.2.3 System Theory**

Systems theory is the interdisciplinary study or approach of a systems. A system is a cohesive conglomeration of interrelated and interdependent parts which can be natural or human-made. In other words, a system is also an entity, which is a coherent whole such that a boundary is perceived around it in order to distinguish internal and external elements and to identify input and output relating to and emerging from the entity. Every system is bounded by space and time, influenced by its environment, defined by its structure and purpose, and expressed through its functioning<sup>159</sup>.

A systems theory is hence a theoretical perspective that analyzes a phenomenon seen as a whole and not as simply the sum of elementary parts. The focus is on the interactions and relationships between parts in order to understand an entity's organization, functioning and outcomes. It is based on the belief that individuals do not operate in isolation, but rather grow and develop in interaction with their physical and social environment. There are many proponents of the theory because of the multidisciplinary approach but Herbert Spencer, Emile Durkheim and Von Bertalaffy are notable scholars of the theory. System theory is derived from general systems theory, which explores the parts of a system that interconnect and interact to make a complete whole<sup>160</sup>.

System theory describe a phenomenon be it physical, biological or social. It is conceived as an organized structured which is functional and identifiable through interrelated parts or sub-systems. System theory is delineated by identifiable boundaries from the supra-system, that is, the environment which it embedded. Thus, a system is situated within a

larger context and environment with which it engages that involves inputs and outputs process which can be schematically represented<sup>161</sup>.

Any organization is constructed upon various systems and subsystems. Human body is built on different systems like skeleton, nervous, muscles, digestive, excretion and reproduction. These systems and subsystems are inter-connected and inter-dependent and more results could be achieved if their relationships and inter-connectivity are strengthened. People who work in a conducive organizational environment say within the system and sub systems have a definite goal to achieve. Therefore, in this systematic organization, all managers are to tend to work cooperatively<sup>162</sup>.

In system theory, however, organization is visualized as a system consisting of interacting parts. There are main ingredients in a system through which system analysis also could be performed. These ingredients are parts of a system, interactions, links and communication, processes, and the goals of the systems. Parts of a system are individuals, formal organization, informal organization, status and roles and the physical setting. Hence, individual is the most significant element of the system.

#### **2.2.4 Rawl Theory of Justice**

The Rawlsian Theory of Justice was employed in this study. Rawls in his A Theory of Justice attempted to articulate a set of principles of justice which, in his view, should underpin the basic structure of society. He identified the major components of this basic structure of society to include not only the legal rights and duties of citizens, but their economic and political institutions and indeed the entire gamut of activities that can arise from their interaction with one another. Having identified the basic structure of society he went further to ascribe to it the function of distributing the benefits (wealth, food, shelter,

power, authority and rights) and burden (duties and obligations) of social cooperation among members of the society.

The primary task of justice in any society therefore is to fashion out a set of principles which is general to all, final and adjudicative and which a just basic structure of society must meet or satisfy. The thrust of Rawl's theory is that justice must ensure, first, greatest equal liberty for all; and secondly, where social and economic inequalities are perceived to exist, then they must be arranged in such a way as to benefit the least advantaged people in the society<sup>163</sup>.

Though Rawls has been roundly criticized for believing that equal opportunities for those with unequal socio-economic status will lead to an improvement in the existential condition of the latter (as they insist it will further widen the gap between the group and their fortunate colleagues in society), yet the theory offers us a linchpin to understand that a society without justice will never offer its citizens socio-political freedom nor will it be fair to all groups especially that segment of the society that is disadvantaged by reason of ethnic origin, sex, geographical terrain, educational, imbalance, or religious belief<sup>164</sup>.

This is the case with the Nigerian state. At present various groups are making demands on the state based on their feelings and /or convictions that the latter has not been fair to them. The situation is even exacerbated by the fact that all attempts by the state to provide equal opportunities for all her citizens has ended up not only feathering the corporate nest of those in government and the interest they represent, but has also, as a corollary, further widened the existing gap between the contending social groups in society thereby warranting a call for a sovereign national conference or the rave of the moment, the agitation for restructuring of the country, to determine our collective future<sup>165</sup>.

### **2.3 Review of Empirical Studies**

A study assessed the politics of resource control and the quest for true federalism in Nigeria, 1954-2015. The origins of Nigeria's federalism lie in the plurality of colonial administrative traditions propagated by the British. These produced regional rivalries that were entrenched in the Nigerian polity through the process of nation-building. After independence, these became the basis upon which the conflicts between ethno-economic areas present in Nigeria's federal system were triggered, and for creating more states in attempts to absorb variegated group interests. There is much pressure to reconstitute the federal system, devolve powers, provide for a more equitable distribution of natural-resource revenues and other revenues, and use states to advance ethno-religious identities. The above scenario has engendered several debates, as fundamental factors which form the very basis of any federal system of government. This study interrogates the nexus between federalism and resource control in Nigeria<sup>166</sup>.

It opines that, essentially, every state in the federation of Nigeria should control and manage the natural resources located therein. The study argue that the central control of oil resources and the utilization of the revenue derived wherefrom to fast-track the development of the nation tends to favour the major ethnic groups rather than the minority from which the resources (commonly oil) are exploited. The study adopts a historical/descriptive method and makes judicious use of secondary sources and the Internet. Findings have revealed that revisiting the agitation for resource control in Nigeria has now snowballed from minority/majority ethnic groups to geo-political zones. The study's conclusion tilts at restructuring of the nation's federalism for mutual coexistence and management of its resources<sup>166</sup>.

Fiscal federalism and resource control in Nigeria was examined. Resource control and true federalism have remained two contentious factors in the Nigerian body polity. They have been in the front burner of the national discourse since the return to democracy in Nigeria.

This research therefore investigates the fiscal federalism and resource control in Nigeria. The research is qualitative in nature therefore using mainly secondary sources of data. The study adopts the Elite theory as its framework of analysis. It contends that the emergence of the military in politics distorted the Nigeria federal structure in the post-civil war era, when oil politics, revenue allocation system and resource control became one of the critical destabilizing factors in Nigeria's federal experiment. Moreso, lack of visionary political leadership and corruption are the major contributors to the agitation for true federalism in Nigeria. The study concluded that the essence of true federalism is to allow component units of the federation achieve some significant measure of autonomy to manage their affairs. The federalist debate in Nigeria centres essentially on the need to understand the basis of the contract of true federalism and resource control<sup>167</sup>.

Despite the contrived arrangement as articulated by the ruling class, the systematic dysfunction has resulted in a series of violent, dramatic and traumatic inter-ethno regional confrontation, ventilating the essence of the debate. It is important to note that one of the reasons for this unending resource control problems in Nigeria is the contradiction and imperfections of the Nigeria federation, there is a need to restructure the Nigerian federation. If more resources are given to states and council, the frequent protests of marginalization, resources deprivation, neglect and absence of federalism presence will be curtailed since the states will have more resources to directly attend to their development needs. It recommends among others that; the character of the Nigerian state must be restructured. This means that the ethnic driven politics and the politics of personal interest and self-aggrandizement must be put to an end. Nigerian political leaders must place national interest above tribal or ethnic interest. The interplay between the centripetal and centrifugal forces in Nigeria's power equation should be balanced for the ultimate good of society<sup>167</sup>.

A study carried out an empirical review on Fiscal federalism in Nigeria. Fiscal federalism is the distribution of financial resources and responsibilities between different levels of government, such as the federal government and state governments. This study reviewed the empirical literature on fiscal federalism in Nigeria. In Nigeria, fiscal federalism is established in the constitution, with the federal government having primary responsibility for defense, foreign affairs, and other national issues, while state governments are responsible for issues such as education and health. The distribution of revenue in Nigeria is governed by the Revenue Allocation Formula, which divides the country's revenue between the federal, state, and local governments. Despite the constitutional provisions, fiscal federalism in Nigeria has faced challenges, such as unequal distribution of resources, inadequate revenue generation by state governments, and limited autonomy for states. Improving fiscal federalism in Nigeria requires addressing these challenges and promoting a more equitable distribution of resources and responsibilities among the different levels of government<sup>168</sup>.

In order to effectively manage fiscal federalism in Nigeria, it is important for the federal, state, and local governments to work together, adhere to the provisions of the Constitution, and engage in constructive dialogue and negotiation. The main recommendation for managing fiscal federalism in Nigeria would be to implement a clear and transparent system for revenue sharing and allocation of resources between the federal and state governments. This can be achieved through the establishment of a well-defined revenue-sharing formula and clear guidelines for the distribution of funds to different levels of government. Additionally, strengthening fiscal accountability and oversight mechanisms, such as auditing and budget tracking, can help to ensure that resources are being used efficiently and effectively<sup>168</sup>.

A study was focused to examine the relationship between resource control and sustainable development in a federal experiment and also to bring to the interconnection and

interrelatedness of the two variables and to achieve a peaceful coexistence, political stability and sustainable development in Nigeria. Theoretically, this study adopted the game theory as its theoretical framework; the study relied solely on secondary data which has qualitative information. The objective of this study is to carefully establish that true federalism is meant to allow the component states harness their own resources and pay a certain percentage of tax to the central government this was the practice in Nigeria during the regional government system that was destroyed by the military. And that resources control if allowed have the tendency of helping Nigerians economic pace of development and will stabilize in the polity and at the end will result to sustainable development in the entire Nigerian state. Therefore, true federalism should be practiced by Nigerian government, state should have the constitutional right to manage and control their resources and pay tax to the central government, the central government should from time to time intervene to render aids and technical assistance to any state that is in need, these will help to maintain peaceful coexistence and accelerate sustainable development in Nigeria<sup>169</sup>.

A study focused on fiscal federalism and resource control in Nigeria. The importance of resource control is hinged on the need for every region to accelerate its development away from external help. However, this is not the case in Nigeria as the Federal Government has mounted control on states' resources inadvertently. Hence, the aims of the study were to investigate the nature of fiscal federalism in Nigeria; analyze Nigeria's experiences with fiscal federalism and resource control; identify the problems of fiscal federalism and resource control; and recommend measures for the amelioration of the problems of fiscal federalism and resource control in Nigeria. The descriptive research methodology was adopted for the study through the use of secondary sources of data from academic journals, and publications. The Frustration-Aggression theory was used to discuss the problems of fiscal federalism and resource control in Nigeria. It was discovered that the resulting effects of fiscal federalism in

Nigeria are political, economic, social and environmental in nature. It was recommended that derivation should be adopted as a core principle for revenue distribution, which should also be increased to 50%<sup>42</sup>.

A study assessed the problems and prospects of fiscal federalism and resource control in Nigeria. Nigeria's practice of federalism has been highly politicized and antithetical to growth and development, breeding tensions and further deepening the fault lines inherent in the political system. Federalism in Nigeria is characterized by 'unitary tendencies', where almost all powers are concentrated at the center whereas the federating units, the states and local governments, are reduced to mere appendages. This power concentration at the center has ignited a number of concerns culminating into agitations and counter agitations for restructuring. Therefore, the study seeks to assess the politics of federalism and how prepared is the human capital for restructuring in Nigeria. Content analysis was adopted in analyzing data. The study revealed that rivalry fundamentally instigated by ethnic mutual suspicion increasingly weakens the fabrics of Nigerian unity sovereignty there by resulting to agitations and counter agitations. It is therefore, recommended that attention and more efforts should be directed to have a national political leadership that would be able to inspire citizens to think and act federal<sup>170</sup>.

A study examined fiscal federalism and resource control in Nigeria: deconstructing a conundrum. Following the end of the Nigeria-Biafra war in 1970, crude oil exports became Nigeria's major foreign exchange earner, and national politics became a struggle over who controls the country's oil sources and revenues. For nearly thirty years, the military, dominated as it were, by Northern Nigerian officers, kept on tinkering with revenue allocation formulae to the advantage of the North and to the chagrin and dismay of the oil-bearing South. While the latter continued to agitate for a review of the existing lopsided federal structure through restructuring and devolution of powers to enable them control the

resources within their communities, the North persisted in its opposition to any change in the status quo. The result has been a lack of trust and acrimony in North-South relations. The study adopted the qualitative research approach which basically involved content analysis. Among its findings was that the soured relations between the North and the South has impeded national integration, nation-building, and national development. It concluded that there is a compelling need to address the various issues associated with fiscal federalism, revenue allocation, and resource control through a restructuring of the Nigerian polity and economy. This will discourage the endemic and destructive struggle for the federal government between the political elite from both the North and South<sup>6</sup>.

A study investigated the challenges and the way forward in federalism and nation building in Nigeria. Federalism and nation building in Nigeria looking at the challenges and the way forward. Nations are an important part of modern society. As an integral part of the modern world, therefore, Nigerians are rightly concerned about nation-building. Nations do not happen by mere historical accident, rather, they are built by men and women with vision and resolve. Nation-building is, therefore, the product of conscious state-craft, not happenstance. Nigeria's efforts at nation-building started since independence to address issues that have predated 1960. The study observes that the Nigerian nationbuilding endeavor is hampered by her historical antecedence, poor leadership, corruption, and contentious constitutional provisions. The argument of this study is that the creation of dependable institutions and a patriotic demonstration of politics will address the challenges of nation-building in Nigeria. The research recommended that the component states should come together to negotiate and dialogue freely and willingly on the nature of their coexistence; State and L.Gs should be given autonomy through a constitutional amendment because they are closer to people than the center of government; A new revenue-sharing system should be proposed that would institute a balance between states and the federal government since fiscal federalism is a

system which requires periodic reviews to take account of changes that are inevitable in a dynamic world. The method of the research is content analysis, which allows the use of the work of other scholars and documents from the government<sup>171</sup>.

A study provided an overview of Nigerian federalism in relation to the imperatives and impediments of its practice, which it has been grappling with since the constitutional enactment of the system in October, 1954. This study utilized qualitative research method by way of analyzing historical archives and documents, including secondary data sources. Historical documentation method was used as the principal analysis tool in this study. The study found that federalism remains the most viable system for Nigeria based on the past and present experiences amongst the former Nigerian military regimes, politicians, British colonialists, nationalists and founding fathers of the Nigerian state. However, there has yet to be a nationally accepted arrangement to be used in operating the country's federal system. This is based on the heterogeneous nature and character of the Nigerian state. There are, however numerous impediments to the effective and efficient practice of federalism, including prolonged military rule, manipulation of religious differences and regional diversity, revenue and resource allocation politics and conflict, including poor intergovernmental relations. Thus, the search for a viable federal arrangement and its advancement continues to be explored<sup>172</sup>.

A study examined federalism and the Niger Delta struggle for resource control in Nigeria. Nigeria adopted federalism as a means of managing her diverse and often conflicting ethno-cultural diversities. Without doubt, this may have resulted in some positive achievement. Over the years, the issue of resource control has been the major problem confronting the smooth practice of federalism. The prominence of Niger Delta in Nigeria is premised on its strategic relevance and resource endowment. Since the discovery of oil in large quantity, the region remains the preferred destination for foreign direct investment. The abandonment of

true federalism in Nigeria has led to the neglect and marginalization of people of Niger Delta region of Nigeria and this led to the agitation for resource control. The secondary source was used to gather information for the study. The study reveals that from 1954 when Nigeria embrace federalism, the polity has been wallowing from one problem to the other, thereby making national cohesion a mirage/ Nigeria's federal system is highly centralized in all its ramifications. The Nigeria federalism has refused sincere restructuring of the country along nationalities and this has led to the consistent nationality question because the current arrangement lacks physical equity. The study therefore suggests that, there should be massive state infrastructural development of the Niger Delta area to reflect the magnitude of oil resource exploited from the region by the federal government<sup>173</sup>.

A study investigated fiscal federalism, resource control, and restructuring in Nigeria looking at the contending issues. The dynamism and complexity of Nigeria's fiscal federalism have occupied the front burner of academic and political discourse since the return to democratic rule. The discussion on Nigeria's fiscal practice became necessary because it has created several crises threatening the continued existence and continuity of the Nigerian state. The desertion of true federalism in Nigeria has led to the neglect and marginalization of the Niger Delta region of Nigeria, where the country generates the bulk of its wealth through oil and gas exploration and exploitation. The Niger Delta region oil-producing states have been very vocal in their agitations for a fair share of the country's wealth by the restructuring of the parameters for sharing and allocating the wealth of the nation located within their region. The agitations for resource control, it is believed, would make more resources available to the various states to ensure economic and social development. The protests have arisen for the reason that a more substantial portion of the nation's wealth goes to the federal government at the detriment of the oil-producing states. The Nigerian federal government is yet to make any significant attempt to alter the status quo. No constitutional amendment is has been made to

ensure the practice of true fiscal federalism in the country. This study examined the debate and concept of fiscal federalism. It explores revenue allocation formula in Nigeria and the statutory role of revenue mobilization allocation and fiscal commission, the quest for resource control and Nigeria's federalism, dimensions of resource control agitations by the Niger Delta region, and causes of the Niger Delta crisis. The study recommended that the Nigerian Federal Government should tackle the problem of over-centralization of economic resources, which is at the core of the failure of Nigeria's fiscal federalism<sup>174</sup>.

A study investigated the prospects and challenges of resources control in an emerging economy. Resources control has been on the front burner of the national discourse since the return to democracy in Nigeria. Most parts of the country, mainly oil-producing States, have been agitating for resource control to reflect true federalism. However, these agitations were confronted with negative responses from the Federal Government of Nigeria by militarizing the region; thus, turning the region into a theatre of war. It is against this backdrop that this study examined the resources control agitation in an emerging economy and its prospects and challenges in Nigeria. Conflict theory by Karl Marx was adopted for the study. The study was based on the qualitative method. Data were gathered through secondary sources such as textbooks, Journals, Newspaper, and Government publications. The secondary data were subjected to content analysis. The study findings revealed that Nigerian federalism and dependence on federal allocation, are the major causes of resource control agitation in Nigeria. Therefore, the study recommended that the 13% formula for the development of oil-producing states (Niger Delta States) be raised to 18% with tight measures to monitor the utilization of funds to avoid mismanagement which may not be ruled out in a country like Nigeria that is infested with the cankerworm of corruption. Public opinion over this important subject should not be handled with levity, rather, it should be seen as a necessary input capable of yielding desired results for the good of the nation<sup>14</sup>.

Restructuring the Nigerian federation: power sharing and resource allocation perspectives was examined. Federal form of government is thus, advocated most for maintaining relative stability at least for its integrative capability to accommodate heterogeneity in a multi-ethnic and diverse society like Nigeria. However, the practice of federalism in Nigeria has remained a nightmare due to the asymmetric nature of relationship between ethnic, religious and regional groups as well as the components units in relations to power sharing and resource allocation. As a result, serious problem of mistrust and contestations among various social interest groups for power positions and access to resources at various levels has have efficient and viable frame-work that would help preserve national unity while allowing diversity to thrive at all levels. The study adopted descriptive and historical method while data were generated from the secondary sources that were predatory theory of government as its theoretical frame-work of analysis, the study aimed at examining the issues towards restructuring in Nigeria, the inadequacies attached to the system and the implications for restructuring. The study concludes that, although the current federal system is not perfect, but the contending agitations for access to political power position and control of the scare resources in the process of operating the system and its institutions by political leaders from different ethnic groups. The study recommend that, restructuring should not be limited to institutional changes, but attitudinal changes in the operations of those institutions to ensure equity in the distribution of resources and privileges<sup>144</sup>.

A study examined Nigerian federalism problems in prospects. Nigerian as a nation was amalgamated in 1914. The unification of the two protectorates under one canopy has created a problem in power-sharing and resources allocation among the diverse ethnic groups. Certainly, the federal system operating in the Nigerian context has created a lot of problems and prospects because of the heterogeneity nature of the country that unites diverse people under one umbrella. This study is qualitative research, data were obtained through books,

journals, newspapers, magazines, reports. These data were thoroughly reviewed to explain the topic under examination. The research adopted Pluralism theory. This theory by tradition explains the complication and heterogeneity nature of the country. This is because of the diverse ethnic groups and ethno-religious differences that were united under one federating units. The study found that federalism was born to unite people of different religion, ethnicity, culture, and traditions so as to enhance the national unity as well as the economy. But the major problem of Nigerian federalism is power sharing and resources allocation across the regions and states. It is found that under the federal system there are serious problems of majority domination over the minority. These have led to ethno-religious conflicts in the nation because of unequal access to national resources and power sharing among the citizens. To overcome these problems the study recommended that: all the citizens of the confederating units should be treated equally in term of power and resources allocations. To maintain equality and justice among the citizens. The government should adhere to the principles of federal character commission. To minimize the problems of federalism Nigeria should ensure equality and justice in power and resources allocation among its citizen in the federating units<sup>175</sup>.

A study examined some fundamental factors that spur the quest for resource control in the Niger Delta areas in Nigeria. The pursuit for resource control has been at the centre stage of public discourse in Nigeria's quest for fair sharing and public discourse. The clamour for fairness, justice, equity, equality and good conscience has been the wish of many groups and civil society organisations, communities in the Niger Delta. The study reviewed the probable areas under which the aggrieved communities could be catered for especially social amenities. For some time now, the subject of this study has been on the front burner of public discourse through incisive and engaging features by youth groups, CSOs and communities political leaders such as states governments from the oil producing states in the South-South zone of

Nigeria. This study highlighted the great potential of Africa and urgent developmental needs of this vital geo-political region of the Niger Delta with critical analysis of the link between variables of ethnicity and religion as vital instrumentalities fueling the quest for resource control. This study also traced the historical antecedents of resource control vis-à-vis the environment as the main cause of conflict globally and the Niger Delta situation in particular. The study concludes within frustration aggression theory that the role of the federal government through some policies in collaboration with the oil drilling companies have exacerbated the restiveness and agitations in the Niger Delta. Thus the processes and outcome of the scenario is inimical to the ethos of socio-economic and political development in the region and Nigeria as a whole. The study therefore revealed that various governmental attempts aimed at providing solutions to resource control through requisite institutional framework like the NDDC is sine qua non to the agitation by various communities in the region. To arrive at this conclusion the study relied on secondary sourced data from electronic and printed documents<sup>176</sup>.

Agitation for restructuring and resource control in Nigeria's Federalism, the issues, perspectives and the way forward was examined. Nigeria is a federal constitutional republic comprising of 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja. The states are further subdivided into 774 Local Government Areas (LGAs). This study examines issues concerning agitation for restructuring and resource control in Nigeria. The study through content analysis of documents examined the factors that led to the agitation for re-structuring, salient issues raised and the constitutional basis for re-structuring. It is discovered that in Nigeria the agitation revolves around resource control, review of revenue sharing formula, devolution of power, return to regional federal system of government based on six geopolitical zones, return to parliamentary system of government, removal of immunity clause from the constitution, creation of state police, role of traditional rulers, among others. The finding also

shows that Nigerians, individually and in groups, across regions and ethnic divides have been advocating for one or more aspect(s) of restructuring Nigeria's federal system. The study therefore recommended restructuring in order to enhance national unity, peaceful co-existence, political stability and balanced national development. Beyond restructuring however, the failure of governance at all levels due to poor leadership, mismanagement, and corruption must be addressed<sup>7</sup>.

A study examined federalism and political restructuring in Nigeria, the panacea for mutual co-existence and management of nation's resources. Federalism connotes an arrangement in which political powers are constitutionally shared between the central government and the federating units. It is a device that enables each group in a plural society to look after its own internal affairs free from outside interference. In a true federalism, each entity has a right to exploit its resources for the welfare of its people and payment of commensurate taxes and other royalties to the federation. This is the true meaning of resource control. The study argues that the central control of oil resources and the utilization of the revenue derived therefrom to fast-track the development of the nation tends to favour the majority ethnic groups rather than the minority from which the oil is exploited. The conflict over the distribution of state resources and its control within communal territories aggravated the difficulties of political accommodation in Nigeria's federalism. This is evidenced in the various ethno-religious conflicts that pervade the nation. The study utilizes the methods of descriptive analysis and synthesis of the extent literature. Requisite recommendations were provided for rethinking and restructuring of the nation's federalism for mutual co-existence and management of the nation's resources. The study further takes a peep into what depicts true federalism and how can it be discovered? The study concluded that states should exercise ownership over all resources in their domain, natural or otherwise, for the benefit of their

people and they should pay taxes and other royalties to the federation as the practice of federations in North America and elsewhere<sup>177</sup>.

A study carried out a comparative analysis on restructuring and clamour for 'true' federalism In Nigeria. Federalism has been given several meaning such that the new lexicons on the subject in Nigeria are 'true' and restructuring. However, the concept has more of a normative dimension than an empirical interpretation. This makes it difficult to generalize across the various political systems that have adopted a federal system. The primary aim of federalism is to accommodate diversity in a single entity. The challenge however lies in the underlining principle of federalism that will be suitable in resolving salient political issues in these societies. The debate often has resolve around the ideal model of federal arrangement that is suitable across time and space. While there have been diverse perspectives of federalism and its operations, consensus on the ideal model is still lacking. Thus, bringing to the fore arguments that federalism is a means to an end and not an end in itself. Consequently, the issues that necessitate the adoption of federalism should be the emphasis of the principles of federalism and not the adoption of a model that may not adequately capture the peculiarities of those societies. This rresearch attempts a conceptualisation of the concept and makes a comparison of its practice in United States of America and Nigeria<sup>26</sup>.

An empirical study was carried out on federalism and political stability in Nigeria. Federalism and Political stability are two concepts that are of significance to all modern societies. Federalism promotes pluralism and dispersal of power which is good for a multi-ethnic society like Nigeria. But in Nigeria, the practice has generated unending tensions among the individuals, communities and ethnic groups within it. However, this research argues that healthy federalism is a political panacea for ethnic violence, governance crisis and political instability in Nigeria. This study empirically examined the relationship between federalism and political stability in Nigeria. The study adopted a descriptive and casual

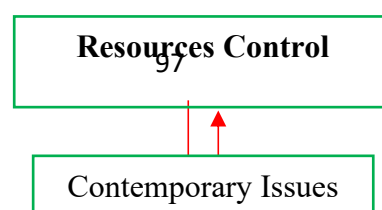
research design as well as the survey method. In the investigation, a total of 428 respondents were sampled using a structured questionnaire. Data were analyzed using Pearson product-moment correlation and linear regression analysis. Findings revealed that federalism has a positive and significant relationship with political stability in Nigeria. The statistical result shows that there is a strong relationship between federalism and political stability in Nigeria and that federalism accounts for 61.4% of variations in political stability in Nigeria. The study recommended that all traces of the unitary system of government should be removed from Nigeria's form of federalism and allow the states the degree of freedom and autonomy consistent with federalism and also the principle of true federalism should be fully applied<sup>178</sup>.

A study looked at resource control as a necessary element for true federalism in Nigeria. Resource control and true federalism have remained two contentious and destabilizing factors in the Nigerian body polity. They have been in the front burner of the national discourse since the return to democracy in Nigeria. Most parts of the country especially oil producing states have been agitating for resource control to reflect true federalism globally. This will enable states take charge of resources within their borders and make agreed contributions towards the maintenance of common services of Federal Government. This study therefore seeks to examine the contentious issue of resource control in Nigerian federalism with a view towards proffering relevant solution for our emerging democracy. The study adopts a historical/descriptive research designs and generated data largely from secondary sources like journals, internet, and books. A comprehensive content analysis of the variables was done and data was analyzed qualitatively. Findings revealed that Nigeria is practicing centralised-federalism and not true federalism with respect to resource control like in other climes. The study recommends among others, quick constitutional reforms so as to resolve those problems inherent in the operation of true federalism in Nigeria as it affects resource control<sup>179</sup>.

A study explored resource control and allocation in Nigerian federalism: the oil dilemma. Resource control and allocation are an integral part of every federal system. But for Nigeria, stiff disagreements, regional, economic and political power game and controversies over the control and allocation have characterised and negatively affected the success of its federalism. In Nigeria's practice of federalism for sixty-three years, various issues of resource control agitation, controversies, conflicts, disagreement over vertical and horizontal allocation of revenue, corruption and excessive politicking have shaped and dominated the entire federal system. This study examined oil dimension and the process, politics, controversies and conflict of resource control and revenue allocation in Nigeria. Oil has become a problem rather than a solution to Nigeria; the process of oil revenue generation, allocation and resource control have in addition to the quest for development, remained tools for political accommodation, corruption, ethno-religiosity, achieving prebendal ends, seeking relevance and resource misappropriation scheme; over dependence on oil is responsible for the incessant conflicts in the Niger-Delta and factoring more threats to Nigeria's unity. The politics and controversy have similarly created an inferiority/superiority complex among the oil and non-oil producing states and regions, in addition to horizontal and vertical disagreements. This is further aggravated by abandoning the non-oil sectors of the Nigerian economy. The key solutions to minimise intense politics and controversy over resource control and revenue allocation in Nigeria is diversification of revenue sources and development of the non-oil sector amidst abundance of other natural resources endowed all over the federation. The study recommends proper accountability in all spheres and levels of governance, diversification of revenue bases and sources, especially from the non-oil sector, and squarely addressing other problems of Nigerian federalism among others<sup>180</sup>.

## 2.4 Conceptual Framework

*Independent variable*



.....  
*Dependent variable*

Figure 2.1: Challenges of Resources Control and Practice of Federalism in Nigeria

Source: Researcher, 2023

## **2.5 Summary of Gaps in Literature Reviewed**

This section provided a review of the literature that was pertinent to the research topic. It began with a conceptual review of variables where pertinent terms (Federalism, Resource Control, Democracy, Administration) were defined and clarified. This was followed by the theoretical framework that was adopted, which are the conflict theory, the structural-functional theory, system theory, Rawl theory of justice.

Resource control and true federalism have remained two contentious factors in the Nigerian body polity. They have been in the front burner of the national discourse since the return to democracy in Nigeria. A similar study examined investigated the fiscal federalism and resource control in Nigeria<sup>167</sup>. The research is qualitative in nature therefore using mainly secondary sources of data. The study adopts the Elite theory as its framework of analysis. This present study tends to fill the Thus, this present study has filled a gap in exploring other related theories.

A previous study examined the problems and prospects of fiscal federalism and resource control in Nigeria<sup>170</sup>. The study seeks to assess the politics of federalism and how prepared is the human capital for restructuring in Nigeria. Content analysis was adopted in analyzing data. The study revealed that rivalry fundamentally instigated by ethnic mutual suspicion increasingly weakens the fabrics of Nigerian unity sovereignty there by resulting to agitations and counter agitations. Hence, this study tend to fill the gap in the aspects of study objectives by delving into the challenges of resource control and practice of federalism in Nigeria.

From the foregoing, this present study has been able to fill the knowledge gaps discovered from earlier studies in the aspects of study objectives and theoretical framework.

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## **Chapter Three**

### **Methodology**

#### **3.1 Research Design**

The research adopted a descriptive research design to offer answers to the research questions and provide solution to the research problem descriptively and not conclusively. The reason for these choice of research design is because of the fact that, historical research attempt to accurately and systematically describe a population, situation or phenomenon and also answer the how and why questions. On the other hand, descriptive research design is a technique created to investigate phenomena that have not yet been well studied or explained<sup>1</sup>. Through this approach, the researcher gains a comprehensive understanding and uses research as a tool to help them find issues that could be handled in the future more rapidly<sup>2</sup>.

#### **3.2 Population of the Study**

This study's population include all collected data from over a hundred journals, editorials, articles, reports, conference proceedings, gazette, and other sources between the period 2012 to 2022 that are about the federalism and the challenges of resource control in Nigeria.

#### **3.3 Sample and Sampling Techniques**

The samples for this research were derived from the population of the study. Hence, purposive sampling of relevant journals, editorials, articles, reports, conference proceedings as identified in data collection method was the major research instrument.

#### **3.4 Description of Research Instrument**

Secondary sources of data collection was used to gather and identify relevant information on federalism and the challenges of resource control in Nigeria. Examples of secondary sources of data collection are editorials, newspapers, articles, textbooks, reports, magazines and so on. All these sources were studied diligently for the purpose of the research.

### **3.5 Validity of Research Instrument**

In order to ensure that the instruments of data collections were relevant to the study, the validity level of the research was tested to correspond with the theme of the research. In doing this, the researcher ensure that most of the articles were analysed in a timely manner. All these were done to ensure that the content validity of these sources corresponds with the objectives of the research.

### **3.6 Administration of Research Instrument and Method of Data Collection**

The data used in carrying out this research were obtained solely from secondary sources. Hence, journals, editorials, articles, reports, conference proceedings, gazette for the period 2012-2022 were adequately sourced to elicit relevant information on federalism and the challenges of resource control in Nigeria.

### **3.7 Method of Data Analysis**

The descriptive method of analysis was used to analyse the data collected on the federalism and the challenges of resource control in Nigeria. The research also make use of content analysis to investigate federalism and the challenges of resource control in Nigeria.

## Endnotes

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## Chapter Four

### Results and Discussion of Findings

Resources control has been on the front burner of the national discourse since the return to democracy in Nigeria. Most parts of the country, mainly oil-producing States, have been agitating for resource control to reflect true federalism. However, these agitations were confronted with negative responses from the Federal Government of Nigeria by militarizing the region; thus, turning the region into a theatre of war.

#### 4.1 Presentation of Research Questions

##### **Research Question One: What are the Contemporary Challenges around Federalism and Resource Control in Nigeria?**

Nigeria became a federal state in 1954 when the Lyttleton Constitution came into existence. Ever since then the country has strived to maintain its federal character. Federalism is the political arrangement in which political powers are shared between the central government and regional or sub-national governments. Federalism has definitive characteristics which differentiate it from unitary government. It is the nature of relationship between the central government and component units that determines if a state is truly federal or not<sup>1</sup>. Some of the issues around federalism and resource control in Nigeria are:

##### **i. Revenue Allocation Formula**

The need for an acceptable formula for revenue allocation between the state and the federal government has been the occupation of succeeding governments in Nigeria, which have established various revenue allocation commissions and made other laws/decrees<sup>2</sup>. The summary of these commissions' reports and decrees on revenue allocation are captured below.

- a. **Phillipson Commission (1946):** Recommended the use of derivation and even development as criteria for distribution of revenue. By derivation, the commission means each unit of government would receive from the central purse the same proportion it has contributed to the purse.
- b. **Hicks Phillipson Commission (1951):** Criteria: derivation, independent revenue or fiscal autonomy, need and national interest.
- c. **Chicks Commission (1953):** Criterion: derivation.
- d. **Raisman Commission (1957):** Criteria: need, balanced development and minimum responsibility. Percentage division: 40% to the North, 31% to the East, 24% to the West and 5% to Southern Cameroons.
- e. **Binn Commission (1964):** Rejected the principles of need and derivation. Criterion: regional financial comparability. Percentage division: 42% to the North, 30% to the East, 20% to the West and 8% to the Mid-West.
- f. **Dina Commission (1969).** Criteria: national minimum standards, balanced development in the allocation of the States' Joint Account, and basic need.
- g. **Aboyade Technical Committee (1977):** Criteria: national minimum standard for national integration (22%), equality of access to development opportunities (25%), absorptive capacity (20%), fiscal efficiency (15%) and independent revenue effort (18%). Other criteria: 57% to Federal Government, 30% to state governments, 10% to local governments and 3% to a special fund.
- h. **Okigbo Presidential Commission (1980).** Percentages on principles: population (40%). Equality (40%), social development (15%) and internal revenue effort (5%). Percentages for governments: Federal (53%), States (30%), Local Governments (10%), special fund (7%).

- i. **Danjuma Commission (1988).** Percentages: Federal (50%), States (30%), Local Governments (15%), special fund (5%).
- j. **Other laws and decrees on revenue allocation:** Decree 15 of 1967; Decree 13 of 1970; Decree 9 of 1971; Decree 6 of 1975; Decree 7 of 1975; Allocation of Revenue (Federation Account) Act, 1981.

Under the current revenue allocation arrangement, states and local governments spend about half of total government revenues, almost equal to that of the federal government. The federal government is allocated 52.68% percent of Federation Account revenues (including 4.8% of the Account originally earmarked for “special projects” like the development of the FCT Abuja, development of natural resources, and the amelioration of national ecological emergencies), while the states and the local governments get 26.72% and 20.60%, respectively, bringing the total share of sub-national governments’ revenues from the Federation Account to 47.32%<sup>3</sup>.

There is also a constitutional provision for the allocation of 13% as derivation fund to the oil-producing states. The various Commissions, laws and decrees on revenue allocation had arisen because of the continuous disagreement of sections of the country with the way the national resources were divided. A scholar observed that the proportion of oil revenues allocated on a derivation basis declined from 50% of mining rents and royalties in 1969, through 2% of the Federation Account in 1981, to only 1% of mineral revenues in the account during the period from 1989 to 1999”, many in the Niger Delta consider this concession far too little and agitations for a greater share from the oil wealth or outright control of the oil resources have dovetailed into youth militancy and also criminality (such as oil bunkering, and kidnapping of oil and even non-oil workers)<sup>4</sup>.

This has not only threatened the peace of the region but also caused disruption in oil supply. Externalization of agitations by the oil minorities soon emerged mainly as a result of increasing centralization of the ownership and control of oil, and the politicization of the revenue allocation system by the Federal government to the detriment of the oil producing minority states. In flagrant violation of the principles of fiscal federalism, Decree 51 of 1969 gave the Federal government complete ownership of all petroleum resources in Nigeria<sup>5</sup>.

The Offshore Oil Revenue Decree No. 9 gave the Federal government total control over the entire revenue accruable from offshore oil wells in the coastal waters adjoining the oil minorities, thereby cutting them off finally from direct oil revenue, and deepening their dependence on the majority groups for a share of the oil wealth. The oil-producing minorities, thus, became alienated from their own resources, and this intensified the struggle between them and the Nigerian State, which through its over-centralization of political and fiscal power sought to exploit and dominate them alongside their strategic resources<sup>6</sup>.

The above drama among others have impaired and caused a setback to federalist option in Nigeria<sup>7</sup>. In recent years, the agitations have become increasingly militant and radical, including calls for self-determination and outright secession, all of which have had negative socio-political and economic effects on the country's nation-building process. the over centralization of resources and power at the centre in Nigeria's fiscal federalism caused by the incursion of the military into Nigerian politics has not helped in developing conditions necessary for satisfying the basic needs of the people or citizens of Nigeria.

## **ii. Leadership Crisis**

Leadership crisis is another contemporary issue in Nigeria federalism. Though, the leadership challenge, like the Sword of Damocles, hangs above all nations, the issue has however assumed a crisis dimension of monumental consequences particularly in Less Developed Countries (LDCs)<sup>7</sup>. Nigeria is a nation born in hope and optimism but has lived in anxiety for most of its fifty year – history due to the country’s failure to produce a nationally acceptable leadership that transcends ethnic profiling, religious bigotry and regional boundaries, and that can unite its diverse peoples for mobilization towards national development.

In the light of this, it is valid to support the argument that the basic problem with the Nigerian federalism is the failure of leadership. All other factors of disunity, instability and under –development have been nurtured and given momentum by leadership failure. Criticisms against Nigerian leaders across Local, State and Federal government levels are many and justified. These include corruption, unpatriotism, selfishness, despotism, tribalism, and religious bigotry<sup>8</sup>.

Nigeria’s political history since independence has shown clearly through her various conflicts, coups and counter – coups, as well as a civil war, that the Nigerian ruling elite (both civilian and military) are divided along many lines, particularly along tribal, ethnic, religious and regional lines. This has led to inter – elite rivalries, mutual suspicion and status conflicts among the ruling elite. Thus, government and politics in Nigeria has been characterized by deadly competitions and conflicts of hostile subcultures giving rise to various danger signals that occasionally threatens the continued existence of the country<sup>9</sup>.

Under successive Nigerian leaderships, almost every issue has been politicized and interpreted to serve as a weapon of political domination or intimidation. As a consequence, various issues like elections, census, state creation, religion, political appointments,

revenue sharing and lately, resource control have ignited serious socio – political crises. This tragic situation has compelled some observers to conclude that for Nigeria to resolve her leadership debacle she needs heroes in the form of men with extraordinary talents<sup>10</sup>.

### **iii. Corruption**

Corruption in Nigeria has continued unabated despite the government's effort through anti corruption agencies to curtail the menace. Corruption is a global phenomenon but it is more prevalent and destructive in the Third World countries [16]. Also, the fact that corruption in Nigeria has become an endemic problem threatening the country's socio – economic and political development is generally known. While recognizing the threat of corruption to the Nigerian State, a Central Bank of Nigeria Director stated that “the avalanche of frauds and unprofessional / unethical practices in the industry in recent years is eroding public confidence in the system”<sup>11</sup>.

Corruption is a by-product of underdevelopment. In 2020, Transparency International (TI), Nigeria ranked 146th out of 180 countries scoring a miserly 26% despite the 17 year run of the anti-graft agency<sup>12</sup>. Furthermore, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) declared that Nigeria has maintained a seventy percent rise in poverty in spite of an income of over two hundred billion dollars in oil revenues since 1970, and her per capital income has hardly improved ever since<sup>13</sup>. A scholar states that corruption in Nigeria is primarily a political problem<sup>14</sup>. The incidence of corruption in a nation is as a result of the lack of political will on the part of the political leadership and the inability of the state to maintain law and order. Hence, business corruption is a fall-out of the failure to tackle political corruption, which casts doubts upon the moral uprightness of the state as a whole and on the political will of the leadership to manage the affairs of the nation. It follows simple logic that where there is absence of political corruption is where the state operates under a

high ethical order and upholds, protects and enforces the rule of law on itself and on its citizens. In the same vein, electoral fraud is another dimension of the corruption syndrome in Nigeria<sup>15</sup>. The massively rigged General Elections of 2003 and 2007 are undoubtedly the most fraudulent in the country's political history.

**Research Question Two: What the Ethical Evaluation of the Calls for Resource Control and Restructuring in Nigeria.**

Ethics examines the rightness or wrongness of an action. Every action of man falls under the scrutiny of ethics and evaluation of the action and motive behind the action speaks a lot on whether the action should be supported or not, whether it should be encouraged or not. The calls for resource control and restructuring in Nigeria have taken a lot of dimension and have received mixed reactions some for and some against, hence the necessity to ethically appraise these calls. On the review of the revenue formula and increasing the derivation funds allocation from 13% to 50% is not asking for too much<sup>16</sup>.

On the principle of equity and fairness a community that have lost land and suffered environmental degradation as a result of exploration or mining activities should received a greater chunk of the revenue accrued from the resources as compensation and it is expected that a good percentage of this money would be channeled towards cleansing and restoring the land and creation of a better means of livelihood for the people who have had to lose their sources of livelihood as a result of such activities.

The agitation of the Niger delta region is on this basis justified. More so, before the discovery of oil resources, the derivation percentage was 50% and at such time every region struggled on its own to generate its own revenue with palm oil in the southeast, cocoa in the west and groundnut in the north, with the nation having multiple streams of income the over dependence on oil revenue has created a dependent form of economy with

states preferring to wait for handouts from the federal rather than exploring avenues of meeting their needs<sup>17</sup>.

It is certainly unethical for states to depend entirely on revenue generated from other states for their sustenance without making efforts at contributing to the sovereign wealth of the Nation. The country is rich in different natural resources with the different with the different regions having a fair share of these resources. What is obtainable however is the attention focused solely on oil revenue leaving the other resources untapped thereby allowing corrupt politicians and illegal miners enrich themselves from these resources that is supposed to boost the revenue of the nation.

The overemphasis on oil which is generated mostly in region and the neglect of other resources available in other region is no doubt unethical. It is not fair that this region would have to suffer degradation occasioned by exploration in their land to generate revenue for the entire nation while other regions with mineral resources remain intact depending on the revenues oil revenue<sup>18</sup>. What assurances are there that the derivation formula would continue like this when the oil revenue drops and the focus now shift to other forms of revenue?

The cost of governance of the nation is no doubt a thing of concern. Issues of ethics arise with a nation that has a high rate of poverty and unemployment amongst its citizens to be spending so much on maintaining its government officials. A review of the present presidential system of government and an adoption of a parliamentary system where the legislature are the executives and the adoption of part time legislature instead of the present form of permanent legislature would no doubt reduce the cost of governance making available funds that could be channeled towards the development of the Nation<sup>19</sup>. Considering the level of poverty and unemployment in the land there is no moral

justification for the maintenance of this very expensive system of governance. The call therefore for the restructuring of the system of government in this regards could be considered ethical. There is certainly an ethical concern in the inappropriate distribution of allocation among states in the six geo-political zones. To make for equity and fairness the south east zone should have six states like the other zones. There is a semblance of marginalization with it having fewer states than the other zone.

The argument have been that land mass and population was the criteria used for the creation of States and if that is so the distribution of the states does not tally, this raises critical questions like what land mass make a state, or how many people make up a state. The answer to these questions no doubt will cast doubt on the equity in the distribution of states and make a case for the creation of more states especially in the South East. There is therefore a moral justification for such calls<sup>20</sup>.

The security situation in the country no doubt is a thing of serious concern. It shows to a large extent a failure in the part of the security forces. Calls for the reorganization of the Nigerian police and the creation of state police no doubt have merit. It is certainly ethical for one to be concern about his/her safety. With the rising insecurity and the failure of the security forces, the calls for a reorganization of the Force and the creation of state police are justified. Effective policing requires knowledge of the area to be policed. The national policing system which allows for the deployment of officers to various parts of the country irrespective of their places of origin does not seem reasonable considering the fact that good knowledge of the area is required for them to be effective in their functions<sup>21</sup>.

Having locals organized into police units in the form of state police would no doubt offer a better opportunity for effective policing and the protection of lives and properties. Fears of state governors using the state police to oppress their opposition are no doubt germane.

However having a structure on ground that will make this difficult by granting autonomy to this police is not impossible. Having a state police with a properly worked out structure for its existence and operation is not impossible and is considered necessary.

It is certainly unethical for state governors to bear the title ‘chief security officers’ and not have the opportunity of exercising that responsibility as a result of being handicapped by the current security arrangement that confers such powers to the commissioner of police appointed by the inspector general of police. Since state governors are the chief security officers of the state they should also have some powers over the security apparatus in the state. The creation of state police would no doubt ensure that.

### **Research Question Three: What are the Challenges to Political Restructuring in Nigeria?**

Nigeria’s return to civilian rule or democratic governance since 1999 signaled hope to a number of her citizens, especially ethnic nationalities. The choice of federalism as a system of governance was born out of the desire of the founding fathers to nurture and preserve “unity in diversity”. There are some challenges to federalism and political restructuring of the country, some of these key challenges are:

#### **i. Lack of Common Ground or Divergence on the Concept**

There is some controversy or divergence on the term. No generally agreeable meaning has emerged. In fact, a wide array of personalities have commented on the issue, for example, former Chairman of Southern Senators’ forum, Senator. A former senator optimistically expressed that “structuring Nigeria will guarantee national integration”. To him, there is no better time to address the issue of restructuring the nation than now. Some were entertaining the fears that national survival may be threatened. But to the lawmaker the

current structure carrying our federalism, if not adjusted to assuage the fears of those who believe that it does not guarantee equity and justice may even pose a greater threat to the oneness of the nation<sup>22</sup>.

A former President of Ijaw Youth Council said “National unity can only be attained if Nigeria is restructured”, he opined that national unity can only be attained if the country was restructured and the principles and tenets of true federalism practiced to accommodate all sections of the country. Also, while supporting and reacting to President Muhammadu Buhari’s broadcast that the unity of the country is not negotiable and a settled case, he was of the view that those calling for restructuring are not necessarily asking for a break-up of the country<sup>23</sup>.

He was also quick to affirm that the political and social infrastructure of the country needs a total restructuring. “We are calling for restructuring of the country and true federalism because it will promote national integration, resource control and development. Again he stated, “What I mean is that the current agitation in different parts of the country will not be there if we were practicing true federalism, call it restructuring or national integration” in other words, there exist a gap that must be filled<sup>23</sup>.

Still on the issue of restructuring, the Catholic Archbishop of Abuja, call on the federal government to change the rule of governance in addition to yielding to the calls by Nigerians to restructure the country. The Nigerian celebrated noble laureate, Prof Wole Soyinka said Nigeria was overcentralized and that the present concentration did not allow the expression of the true will of the people. To him, “padding the idea of ‘restructuring the mind’ was a dishonest, cheap and trivializing an issue of such importance as it affects the development and security of the nation” he said “my own position is that people shouldn’t allow themselves be put up by those who try to cheat on the expression

‘restructuring.’ He further maintained thus “it doesn’t matter by what name we call it. We all know that this nation was deconstructed and what we live in right now, as a nation, is not allowing structuring that expresses the true will of Nigerians”<sup>24</sup>.

Formal head of state, General Yakubu Gowon, says there is nothing wrong with restructuring the country, provided it is done within one Nigeria context. Gowon maintained that restructuring is very much in order to avoid a situation where one section of the country is highly advantaged leaving others at a very low pace. Or a situation where some states is too large and powerful as to pose a threat to the unity of the country. He further added that the call for true federalism by some Nigerians was also not a bad idea, as long as it was done within the context of the nation’s unity<sup>25</sup>.

The former Deputy Senate President of Nigeria, says restructuring Nigeria is inevitable for the all-inclusive advantage it will confer on federating units and enhancement of national unity. The lawmaker stated that restructuring is not the same as exclusive resource control. Under restructuring arrangement, the federating units will have more control over their resources and there would always be an equalization fund to ensure that every region thrives above a reasonable threshold. We cannot continue to do the same thing that has failed us for more than half a century and expect a different result<sup>26</sup>.

## **ii. Power Imbalance and Limitation on Development**

The first ground of argument against the current structure of the Nigerian federal state is the lopsidedness and unitary nature of the country. Although three lists exist that captures the business of government. Yet, the distributions of values are overbearingly tilted towards the federal government having monopoly over a good number of items. The contents of the exclusive, concurrent and residual lists will attest to that.

In fact, too much power and resources are located at the centre thereby making the state

economically unproductive, uncompetitive, indolent, politically weak, disunited and unstable<sup>27</sup>. Federal might has been deployed arrogantly and the demands of justice have been neglected or swayed in-line with federal powers. The unitary nature of Nigeria's federalism has spelt doom for national survival and retarded the gains of the vast natural and human resources in the polity.

This current structure is understood as not serving the interest of any section in the Nigeria well. It is like something done to keep every other person down even when they have all that it takes to turn around their economic and political future. With the continuous and dogged dependence on crude oil, accompanied by the pitching of our fiscal policies and national economic planning on same, the Nigerian state seem to have limited their potential for true social progress, economic growth, and political stability. At the immediate past concluded National Conference in the year 2014, many persons spoke against the structural foundations of the country but regrettably they prevailed not<sup>28</sup>.

### **iii. Political Instability and Insecurity**

It is a known fact that for decades now quality leadership has become unattainable and a mirage in Nigeria, consequently they are bound to be persistent clamor for restructuring across the nation. The inability of Nigerian leaders to find lasting solution to the business of governance and better approach to leadership devoid of selfishness, favoritisms, corruption and insincerity to a large extent has necessitated the call for restructuring of the Nigerian federalism. On attainment of her independence in October 1st 1960, Nigeria assumed a federal status.

Being Africa leading economy and most populous nation, Nigerians are neither happy nor satisfied with the current political economic structure in place, they are not happy with the 1999 constitution which for many is a brain child of the military. One among the reasons

being that so much powers are vested on the federal government, making the states and the local government dependent on the federal. However, despite all the negative images painted of her as a failure in the African continent, the country's relative ability to successfully manage issues that had turned her peers' culturally diverse nations with particular reference to Democratic Republic of Congo, Somalia and Sudan apart remain a plus to the nation<sup>29</sup>. The success has been attributed to the doggedness of the average Nigerian citizens to manage effectively with all the interwoven ethnic and socio-cultural as well as other related disuniting forces facilitated by the special structure of the federation since the Nigeria civil war which replaced the hitherto three strong and vulnerable ethnic regions with the current 36 States.

#### **iv. Nationalism**

Despite the 1914 amalgamation of the northern and southern protectorates by Lord Lugard, people from different ethnic groups are yet to accept a common identity as Nigerians". Nigerian citizen...see himself first as a member of a clan, more interestingly as a member of an ethnic nationality. Rarely, does he regard himself as a Nigerian, except if the sharing of the national cake occupies prime position in the agenda of national discourse. Even then, his greatest qualification is his ethnic identity. The place of origin or ethno-religious background of a person has been central to identity-based privileges and immunities in Nigeria<sup>30</sup>.

General social life and economic relations often captures and reflects this reality. Admittance, appointment, allocation on the one hand, and discrimination, deprivation, and destruction of a person or group are similarly decided based on these considerations. In fact, political parties, political participation, appointments and employments are viewed and handled with ethnic, religious and political biases.

#### **v. Elite Interest**

This appears to be a major problem facing political restructuring of Nigeria. The politico-economic elites of the country who are being favoured in one way or the other by the existing political structure of Nigeria influence negatively the struggle for political restructuring. These set of people constitute the wealthy, the politicians and even some elected government officials. One of the reasons that the northerners shun the call for political restructuring is because of their landmass and population which grants the northern political elites the opportunity of being appointed in large numbers into government positions and using land to hustle for fund in Abuja<sup>31</sup>.

Also in the words of the former Governor, no governor today will lift a finger or put himself out to diversify or second restructuring when every month he can come to Abuja to collect his share of the booty. The only reason he would do so is if he knows that the survival of his state depends on it". This outrightly shows that the call for restructuring has fallen to the dictates of the politico-economic elites of the Nigerian society. Thus, they become a strong challenger of the bid to restructure the pseudo-federalist political structure of Nigeria.

#### **4.2 Discussion of Findings**

The purpose of the study is to investigate federalism and the challenges of resource control in Nigeria. Objective one is to find out the contemporary issues around federalism and resource control in Nigeria, one of the main issues around resource control in Nigeria is the ownership and exploitation of oil and gas resources, which are mainly located in the Niger Delta region. The federal government controls these resources through the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) and other regulatory bodies, while the states are expected to receive a share of the revenue through the allocation of oil blocks and royalties. Some states in the

Niger Delta region, such as Delta, Akwa Ibom, and Rivers, have been pushing for greater control over the oil and gas resources in their territories. They argue that the federal government has not done enough to address the environmental degradation, poverty, and underdevelopment in the region, despite the massive revenue generated from the oil sector.

Another area of contention in the federal-state relations is the sharing of revenue generated from non-oil resources, such as taxes and tariffs. Some states believe that they are not getting a fair share of the revenue, and there have been calls for a review of the revenue allocation formula. There is also a debate on the extent to which state governors can exercise their powers under the current federal system. Some argue that the central government has more control over the powers and responsibilities of state government, while others believe that the state governments should have more autonomy and control over their affairs. The issue of resource control in Nigeria is also closely linked to security challenges, particularly in the Niger Delta region<sup>4</sup>. Militant groups, such as the Niger Delta Avengers and the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta, have often resorted to violence and sabotage of oil installations as a means of demanding greater control and equity in the sharing of resources. The issues of federalism and resource control in Nigeria are complex and multifaceted. The federal government and the states must work together to address the challenges and find lasting solutions to the problems. A more equitable revenue-sharing formula, the development of non-oil resources, and greater autonomy for the states are some of the measures that could help to address the issues<sup>2</sup>.

Objective two is to assess the ethical evaluation of the calls for resource control and restructuring in Nigeria. The calls for resource control and restructuring in Nigeria have gained significant momentum in recent years. The ethical evaluation of these calls depends on various factors, such as the principles of justice, equality, and fairness, and the potential impact on different groups of people<sup>16</sup>. From an ethical standpoint, resource control and

restructuring could be regarded as fair and just, as it provides an opportunity for the redistribution of wealth and resources in Nigeria. The current system, where power and resources are concentrated in the hands of a few individuals and regions, has perpetuated inequality and marginalization of other regions. Resource control and restructuring could, therefore, help address these disparities and promote a more equitable society.

However, the ethical evaluation of these calls also has to consider the potential impact on other groups and regions of the country. For example, some regions that benefit from the current system may resist any change to resource control, as they fear losing their power and control over resources. The ethical dilemma, therefore, lies in balancing the principle of fairness and justice with the need to maintain stability and unity in the country<sup>18</sup>. The impact of resource control and restructuring on the welfare of the people is also another ethical consideration. If restructuring leads to the creation of more autonomous regions, there is a risk that some regions will not have the resources or capacity to provide basic services like healthcare, education, and infrastructure. Consequently, there could be a rise in poverty and inequality in these regions. Ethical evaluations should, therefore, consider the potential impact of resource control and restructuring on the welfare of the people. Calls for resource control and restructuring in Nigeria have both ethical advantages and disadvantages. It is incumbent upon policymakers and stakeholders to strike a delicate balance between the principles of justice and fairness while also considering the impact on other regions and the welfare of the people.

Objective Three is to examine the Challenges to Political Restructuring in Nigeria. The Nigerian political elites often resist restructuring, as it would threaten their power and privileges. Restructuring would lead to a redistribution of power and resources, which would not be in the interest of the political elite. Nigeria is a country of over 200 ethnic groups and religions, and political restructuring is often perceived along ethnic and religious lines<sup>23</sup>. This

has led to mistrust and tension among different groups, resulting in the sabotage of political restructuring efforts.

Furthermore, despite the advocacy for restructuring from several quarters, the Nigerian government has shown a lack of political will to enact the necessary reforms<sup>24</sup>. Political leaders are often more interested in maintaining the status quo than in making the necessary changes. Nigeria's institutions, such as the judiciary and the civil service, are weak and ineffective. This makes it difficult to implement any significant political restructuring, as the institutions are unable to enforce laws and regulations. Corruption is pervasive in Nigeria, and it permeates every sector of society, including politics. The corrupt practices of politicians make it difficult to achieve any meaningful political restructuring as they benefit from the system's shortcomings. Political restructuring in Nigeria faces several challenges, including resistance from political elites, ethno-religious tensions, lack of political will, weak institutions, and corruption<sup>31</sup>. Addressing these challenges is crucial for Nigeria to achieve a more equitable and efficient system of governance.

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## Chapter Five

### Conclusion

#### 5.1 Summary of Findings

This research project explored and evaluated the challenges of resource control and practice of federalism in Nigeria. This research work is subdivided into five chapters; the first chapter focused on the background to the study, detailing on the federalism, which can only thrive on consultation, negotiation, compromise, bargaining and agreement between the constituent governments. To guide the study, three research objectives and questions were proposed.

In Nigeria, the issue of fiscal federalism and democracy remain grossly unsuitable because of misplaced priorities. There has been a controversial debate and conflicts on how Government revenue is to be shared amongst the component tiers of Government in the country. The inability to implement a full scaled true federalism and fiscal policy has in the past hindered national development greatly. It is on this basis that this research investigate federalism and the challenges of resource control in Nigeria. The objectives of this study is to investigate contemporary issues around federalism and resource control in Nigeria, examine the ethical evaluation of resource control and restructuring in Nigeria and identify the challenges of political restructuring in Nigeria.

Federalism is a system meant to integrate people in a society who are diverse ethnically, culturally, geographically and even religiously. It therefore becomes imperative that once a government is in place, it must endeavour to adequately and equitably distribute powers, functions and resources among these diverse groups. But in Nigeria, there are instances where governments have openly violated this principles of federalism.

The study identified contemporary issues around federalism and resource control in Nigeria, examine the ethical evaluation of resource control and restructuring in Nigeria and also identify the challenges of political restructuring in Nigeria.

One of the main issues around resource control in Nigeria is the ownership and exploitation of oil and gas resources, which are mainly located in the Niger Delta region. The federal government controls these resources through the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) and other regulatory bodies, while the states are expected to receive a share of the revenue through the allocation of oil blocks and royalties. Some states in the Niger Delta region, such as Delta, Akwa Ibom, and Rivers, have been pushing for greater control over the oil and gas resources in their territories. They argue that the federal government has not done enough to address the environmental degradation, poverty, and underdevelopment in the region, despite the massive revenue generated from the oil sector. From an ethical standpoint, resource control and restructuring could be regarded as fair and just, as it provides an opportunity for the redistribution of wealth and resources in Nigeria. The current system, where power and resources are concentrated in the hands of a few individuals and regions, has perpetuated inequality and marginalization of other regions. Resource control and restructuring could, therefore, help address these disparities and promote a more equitable society.

The calls for resource control and restructuring in Nigeria have gained significant momentum in recent years. The Nigerian political elites often resist restructuring, as it would threaten their power and privileges. Restructuring would lead to a redistribution of power and resources, which would not be in the interest of the political elite. Despite the advocacy for restructuring from several quarters, political leaders are often more interested in maintaining the status quo than in making the necessary changes. Nigeria's institutions, such as the judiciary and the civil service, are weak and ineffective. This makes it difficult to implement

any significant political restructuring, as the institutions are unable to enforce laws and regulations. Corruption is pervasive in Nigeria, and it permeates every sector of society, including politics. The corrupt practices of politicians make it difficult to achieve any meaningful political restructuring as they benefit from the system's shortcomings. Political restructuring in Nigeria faces several challenges, including resistance from political elites, ethno-religious tensions, lack of political will, weak institutions, and corruption.

## **5.2 Conclusion**

In Nigeria, one of the most protracted and controversial debates is the way Government revenue is shared amongst the component tiers of Government in the country. This debate has its foundations in the history and evolution of the Nigerian Federation. Nigeria, as a federal state allocates government resources and spending to the various tiers of government as a form of decentralized government and having been incorporated in 1914 with the amalgamation of the two British protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria and the Crown Colony of Lagos into a single entity. The aim of the study is to investigate federalism and the challenges of resource control in Nigeria.

The study identified that revenue allocation formula, leadership crisis and corruption are the three contemporary issues around federalism in Nigeria. The research concludes that fiscal federalism is very crucial for the functioning of any federal system. It is one of the key features of balanced federalism. Therefore, it is very important to create a balance between the federal and state governments in revenue generation, sharing and spending in order to reduce the over dependence of sub-federal units on the federal government thereby improving their internally generated revenue and the provision of democratic dividends to the citizens.

### **5.3 Recommendations**

The study recommends that,

- i. There should be a redefinition of the statutory roles of each tier of government and a modification of the current fiscal jurisdiction. The changes must be reflected in a new Nigerian Constitution if the country is to achieve fiscal sustainability, balanced development, and equitable distribution of the federation revenue in the years ahead.
- ii. There should be agitation for resource control by all the states of the federation in order to achieve a better federating society.
- iii. The function of the unit should be to oversee and investigate into environmentally degrading cases as, oil pipelines leakages, vandalism, oil spillages, etc. and also make for the prevention of such cases, or the mitigation of their effects.
- iv. A forum should be formed to identify unemployed youths of the oil producing communities in order to train, develop and deploy them in productive ventures.
- v. States and local government be fully autonomous units thereby reducing the overarching powers of the federal center.
- vi. There is every need for sufficient effort and resources to be invested by the Federal Government of Nigeria towards the cultivation and central control of solid mineral resources in Nigeria.

### **5.4 Contribution to Knowledge**

The aim of this research is to investigate federalism and the challenges of resource control in Nigeria. The study contribute to knowledge in some ways. Firstly, it add to the existing literature on federalism, resource control and political restructuring in the country. For this reason, the findings of this research is significant for government at all level. Secondly, the findings of this research can serve as a policy guide for the central government on the

distribution and allocation of resources to sub-units. Hence, the research filled the gap of knowledge identified on federalism, resource control and political restructuring in the country.

### **5.5 Suggested Areas for Further Research**

This research investigate the issue of federalism and the challenges of resource control in Nigeria. Some concepts such as federalism, democracy and so on were also examined in the research. However, the author is of the opinion that future studies or research can be conducted on how resource allocation and control is affecting good governance in Nigeria. In addition to that, future study can also examine the role of the elite on Nigeria federalism and political restructuring of the country.

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