

Restructuring As a Panacea for Socio-Economic Development in Nigeria in Nigeria

DR. OMEJE, PRICILLA N.

Department Of Public Administration, Faculty of Management Sciences, Ebonyi State University, Abakaliki.

OGBU, MARK . O

Department Of Public Administration, Faculty of Management Sciences, Ebonyi State University, Abakaliki.

ABSTRACT

This work titled “Restructuring as a panacea for socio-economic development of Nigeria” was carried out with the specific objectives of identifying the factors affecting the agitations for restructuring Nigeria. The study was based on K.C Wheare’s Legal institutional theory of federalism. Data for the study was derived from secondary sources and content analytical approach was utilized in analysis based on the research questions. From the interpretations and analysis, the paper revealed among others that fear of domination by other tribes, loss of resources and the elites in the country who are favoured in so many ways by the existing political structure of Nigeria influences negatively the clamour for political restructuring. It was recommended among others that there is urgent need to deepen and rearrange Nigeria’s federalism constitutionally by promoting greater autonomy for states and Local Government in the form of devolution of power and resources control who are to contribute an agreed proportion to the central government for effective running of national issues.

KEY WORDS; Restructuring, Federalism, Devolutuion, Socio – Economic Development.

Date of Submission: 03-04-2021

Date of Acceptance: 17-04-2021

I. INTRODUCTION

Nigeria as a sovereign state is one that has numerous ethno-tribal groups as matched with its vast territory, large population and enormous land mass. Each of the locales within the Nigerian territory is endowed with either one mineral, vegetative or other natural resources and/or a correspondence of resident human resources (population). In view of this, any knowledgeable administrative analyst would suggest the adoption of the federalist political structure, so as to ensure efficient administration of both the vast territories of Nigeria and its ethno-tribal heterogeneous population. This is what has been administratively put in place as a political mechanism for governance within the Nigerian polity.

The current Nigerian political structure which has its roots in the 1946 Sir Arthur Richard's constitution of Nigeria, right from its inception till now has shown symptoms of administratively sick system of government resulting from such issues as the issue of resource control, outcry of marginalization, issue of ethno-tribal and regional discrimination, and issue of ensuring that every citizen irrespective of age, sex, religion, ethnic, linguistic, regional or tribal affiliation is given a sense of belonging to the country. Most importantly, the issue of resource control vis-a-vis political restructuring has become a contentious issue in Nigeria body politic, having been a key problem facing the Nigerian state since the onset of ethnic politics (Anugwom, 2005; Dickson and Asua, 2016). Despite the lopsided nature of the country's political structure, Nigeria has persisted in the practice and has always resorted to the affection of punitive measures to the dysfunctional issues marking the nature of the federalist political structure operational in Nigeria. These measures manifest in form of the different reforms, structural policies, intergovernmental relations, unification programmes etc which had been adopted in the past by different Nigerian government regimes.

It is in cognizance of these restructuring struggles and its concomitant effects pronounced in the various conflicts as well as the incessant unalloyed complaints against the federalist political structure of Nigeria, that this paper attempts to find out if-truly there are needs to restructure the country in a political dimension, ascertain the challenges that the present and past restructuring calls and restructuring attempts has faced and proffer durable solutions to them to the best interest of the Nigerian state and its citizenry.

Problem Statement

Despite possessing significant natural resources endowment, being Africa's leading economy and most populous nation, Nigerians are neither happy nor content with the current political structure, the 1999 Constitution as amended and virtually all the institutional governance at the federal state and local levels. Today, more powers had been concentrated at the centre manifested in a federal government assumed ever more powers and responsibilities, took the biggest chunk of national revenues (Now about 53percent) at the detriment of other tiers. The state of national dissatisfaction for a variety of reasons amongst devolution of powers, to sub-national, fiscal federalism, citizenship matters, federating units, local government autonomy, resource control, power sharing, derivations principle has led to urgent calls from virtually all segments of Nigeria for restructuring.

From aforementioned problems, gives rise to the following research questions and specific objectives to guide the study

- i. What are the factors affecting the agitations for restructuring?
- ii. What are the benefits of restructuring in Nigeria?

Hence the study specifically sought::

- i. To identify the factors affecting the agitations for restructuring in Nigeria.
- ii. To examine the benefits of restructuring Nigeria.

Theoretical framework

This work theoretically anchored on K.C Wheare's Legal-Institutional theory of federalism.

The major assumption of this theory is that a federal government is an "association of states, which has been formed for certain common purposes but in which the member states retain large measure of their original independence" (Wheare, 1953, p. 1).

Applying this theory to the Nigerian federal system of arrangement is imperative and germane because the clamour for restructuring is to ensure that there is need for an orderly and structural arrangement of relationships among different tiers of government in the country for peaceful co-existence of the federating units.

Simply put, federalism means establishing national order without sacrificing the freedom of the component part. If the system do not allow the component units to operate, two important things may happen, first is that there might be instability and the second is that there might be discontent amongst the citizenry as presently witnessed. The two are intertwined. It is therefore very useful to realize the relevance of K.C Wheare's theory of federalism in the handling of Nigeria for good governance. Therefore, failure to treat the components tiers as such could send frustration; through their veins, disenchantment and inability to perform and hence dissatisfaction amongst the populace.

II. METHODOLOGY

This is a qualitative research that is based on content analysis of the secondary sources of data

Data Presentation and Analysis Based On Research Question 1: What are the factors affecting the agitations for Restructuring of Nigeria?.

Nigeria's experience of federalism over years is characterized by and also dominated by the below intricacies as a solution to one problem leads to another and without a genuine desire to forge ahead. Hence, the following below are the areas of contentions or dissatisfactions that have over the years led to agitation for restructuring, by extension responsible for threatening the political stability of Nigeria in particular and its corporate existence in general.

L} **Call for Devolution of Power:** There is common agreement among scholars and commentators that the exclusive legislative list of the federal government of Nigeria is too heavy (Babalola, 2016; Chukwuemeka & Amobi, 2011; Elekwa et al, 2011; Ewetan, 2012; Ezeji-Okoye, 2009; Ottigbe & Ottigbe, 2015).It is therefore argued that since the constitution grants more power to the Federal Government through the exclusive list such as the control of mineral resources in the country the over centralization and concentration of powers at the centre is considered a dirge for the Nigerian federation (Babalola, 2016; Chukwuemeka & Amobi, 2011; Elekwa et al, 2011; Ewetan, 2012; Ezeji- Okoye, 2009; Ottigbe & Ottigbe, 2015). The simple reason being one of the cardinal principles of federalism which is substantial autonomy is suffocated by this factor. It is interesting to note that majority of the state governments are calling for the reduction of items on the exclusive list. In the area of fiscal practice of federalism, with a more power concentrated at the center by the constitution (Alsamee et al, 2016), the main functions and responsibilities of resources allocation therefore lie with the central government. Hence, the distribution of power remains one of the hottest issues even in Nigeria's federalism.

More interestingly, because access to central political power in Nigeria is considered a license to be in charge of huge resource allocation (Abbas, 2013; Chukwuemeka & Amobi, 2011), the controlling power continue to allocate a large percentage of such resources to its own advantage. In fact, these among other factors make leadership position at the centre very attractive and a do or die affair (Abbas, 2013; 2016). It should however not be forgotten that the principle of fiscal federalism requires that there must be sufficient resources to support both central and component units without which the federation cannot stand (Babalola, 2016; Chukwuemeka & Amobi, 2011; Elekwa et al, 2011; Ewetan, 2012; Ottigbe & Ottigbe, 2015). It is in this regard that Tochukwu (2002:27) submits that devolution of power with corresponding constitutional functions and responsibilities to all the component units will reduce ethnic tension, unemployment, poverty, environmental degradation, low infrastructural development-and the cry of marginalization in Nigeria. As earlier advanced by Alsamee et al(2016), the devolution of power with defined duties and responsibilities to each federating authority will reduce the burden and expenses of the federal government hence allowing component units of the federation to determine the needs of its people and satisfy them easily through specialisation.

2} Review of Revenue Sharing Formula: This is an aspect of intergovernmental fiscal relations that deals with constitutional power for a generation and sharing of revenue by different levels of government. For instance, since early 2000 the vertical formula has been Federal Government (52.68%), State Governments (26.72%) and Local Governments (20.60%). While this has been practiced over the years, the practice of fiscal federalism in Nigeria has not brought about the needed socio-economic development as envisaged by the architects and

advocates of the system (Babalola, 2016; Chukwuemeka & Amobi, 2011; Elekwa et al, 2011; Ewetan, 2012; Ottigbe & Ottigbe, 2015). Most of the scholars identified such hindrances to the country's dependence on oil revenue and its over concentration of economic resources at the federal level (Babalola, 2016; Chukwuemeka & Amobi, 2011; Elekwa et al, 2011; Ewetan, 2012; Ottigbe & Ottigbe, 2015). Specifically, Babalola (2016) advanced that if Nigeria's current fiscal arrangement is- to advance its constitutional economic objectives, this clear contradiction of over centralizing economic resources at the center must be addressed.

Moreover, it is as result of this dominance of the federal government with regards to the proportion of revenue allocation to the center that agitation for a review of revenue sharing formula had continued unabated. Although Nigeria's revenue allocation formula has over the years recorded changes but what seems unchanged is the allocation of lion share of centrally generated revenue to the federal government (Babalola, 2016; Chukwuemeka & Amobi, 2011; Ewetan, (2012). As explained earlier, the vertical allocation formula since 2000 has been in the favour of the federal government thereby ensuring what some scholars referred to as "federal dominance in fiscal matters" (Babalola, 2016). For horizontal allocation, the 1999 constitution of Nigeria provides the principles of "population, derivation, equality of states, internal revenue generation, land mass, needs and even development, etc" (Babalola, 2016; Chukwuemeka & Amobi, 2011; Ewetan, 2012). While there is common ground among the state governors that the higher proportion of revenue shall be allocated to the state government, there are concerns in the principle of derivation.

Beyond the general principle of allocation, the Nigerian constitution provides no less than 13% of revenues generated from natural resource be allocated based on the principle of derivation. This means that since Nigeria's revenue majorly depends on oil, the "oil producing states" are thus entitled to 13% derivation from the oil sales in addition to the statutory allocation from the federal government.

While the derivation principle is captured in the constitution, its application has always raised eye brows and controversies among the elites of each region with a geo-political dimension (Anugwam, 2005; Babalola, 2015; Chijioke et al, 2012; Elekwa et al, 2011; Madubuike, 2015; Ojatorotu, 2008).

While the oil producing states continue to demand an increase in derivation from 13% to 50% (Madubuike, 2015; Ojatorotu, 2008; Ottigbe & Ottigbe, 2015, Several National Political Reform Conference), other regions argue in favour of the advancement of the principle equality and population. The main argument has been that since oil like other natural resources is a gift of nature, it therefore belongs to all Nigerians irrespective of tribe or region (Babalola, 2016) that must not be exclusively allocated to a certain region or people.

3}. Creation of More States: since independence, Nigeria has witnessed numerous movements for state creation from all angles or regions in the polity. Generally, the main rationales behind the creation of states in Nigeria were to address various economic, political and socio-cultural issues in the country (Ezeji-Okoye, 2009). In fact, it is based on this continues quest that, some groups are still calling for the creation of more states. It has been advanced that fiscal decentralisation of public spending responsibilities in federal states brings about economic development (Alsamee et al. 2016; Babalola. 2016). At a variance with the federal government where the states are dependent on the all-powerful federal

government, this has triggered a lot of robust agitation for the creation of more states in order to achieve massive devolution of powers to sub-national levels. Scholars argued that true fiscal federalism has never been practiced in Nigeria in its real sense (Babalola, 2016; Chukwuemeka & Amobi, 2011; Elekwa et al, 2011; Ewetan, 2012).

Therefore, in Nigeria "true federalism" was only practiced between 1954 and 1966, a period characterized by massive devolution of powers to the regions. It is on record that the period of military rule witnessed a reduction of power of the regions and subsequently more states and local government areas were over the years created as reflected in the constitutions (Ezeji-Okoye, 2009). However, in spite of the series of structural changes that took place under the military regimes occasioned by agitations by several interest groups, the current number of states in Nigeria is considered by some interest groups as unbalanced. In terms of geo-political zones, North-West has (7 states), North-East (6 states), North-Central (6 states), South-West (6 states), South-South (6 states) and South East (5 states). Not minding the population, land size and other considerations for such number of states in each geo-political zone, what is regarded as imbalance have provoked serious agitations especially by the South-East and the Igbo communities in the country (Ezeji-Okoye, 2009). Their argument has been that since every geopolitical region in Nigeria has at least 6 states, except the South East; there should be at least an equal proportion of such states. Such call for an equal proportion of states however does not consider other determinants for state creation especially population, land mass etc.

4}. Nigeria federalism and presidential system

Although Nigeria federalism and presidential system which started since 1979 has been operating, it has not been satisfactory to most of the stakeholders. While the changing forms and structures of the federation from 3 regional structure in 1960, 4 regions in 1963, 19 states in 1969, 23 states in 1987, 30 states in 1991 and, 36 states and Abuja (the FCT) and 774 local government councils in 1996 (Elekwa et al, 2011; Ezeji-Okoye, 2009), the fact still remains that most of them (states and local governments) were created along macro or micro-ethnic lines. Their consequence is that, the intra and inter-ethnic discord which largely resulted from inequality of ethnic representation even in the 1960s is resurfacing at the state and local levels.

In essence, current Nigeria's federalism has only rotated between the factor of extreme regionalism that characterized the pre-independence and first republic era as well as the centrality of the military and to some extent the post military era. The wider implication is an enlargement of the federal government's power even at the state and local levels. Hence, the call for what was "better days" in the 1960's that is the return to the former regional federalism and parliamentary system of government.

Data Presentation and Analysis Based on Research Question 2: What Are the benefits of Restructuring Nigeria?.

The call for Nigeria's restructuring is gaining momentum by the day. Quite unprecedented is the curious demand from all territorial segments of the nation. Those who were originally opposed to it have joined the wagon of agitators. It is indeed tending towards what could rightly be described as the popular demand of the masses. It is obvious from the analysis in preceding sections of this paper that Nigerian federalism is faced with a myriad of problems which have precipitated the clamour and agitations for political restructuring. It is important to pinpoint that the Nigerian nation will certainly profit from the restructuring of Nigerian federalism or power devolution from the centre in so many ways:

(i) Promotion of National Integration and Stability: Restructuring will bring about cohesion among the people, which will in turn foster stability and unity among Nigeria citizens. Integration is very important in nation building, as it examines the problem of diversity and inter-ethnic rivalry and breeds peace and unity among people. A Nigeria restructured is a Nigeria with enhanced leadership-building culture, where a truly-federal system allows each region to locally identify leadership for public governance, nurture and closely monitor such leaders for hard work and spirit of public service, focused on the development of each region, at a pace and a rate that reflect the quantum of each region's effort and efficient use of local resources; indeed, the rivalry for regional success resulting from a truly federating Nigeria, will boost sustainable development across all zones of the country.

(ii) Fairness among Ethnic Groups: Restructuring will bring about fairness and justice among ethnic groups which will in turn eliminate the issue of favouritism in Nigeria. A good example of this is the government of the late president Umaru Musa Yar'adua that was able to solve the Niger Delta issues.

What this has taught us today is that government should not always resort to the use of violence to settle conflicts, instead they should embrace dialogue.

A Nigeria restructured is a Nigeria where every area, region or zone of the country will be able to devote more thinking time, conceptualization, research, exploration and analysis to its mineral and agricultural

resources, with a view to developing an economic value-chain from them, which is the first serious step towards the development of a manufacturing capacity across the country. When governments and private investors in every part of the country, are challenged to look for sources of wealth creation primarily within their own region, and to work with international investors to transform these natural endowments into real economic empowerment for millions of their people, then we know restructuring is at work.

(iii) Economic Stability: Federalism, if properly practiced will bring about economic stability in Nigeria. The idea behind the creation of federalism in Nigeria was to bring about economic development and established an effective administration. Restructuring will bring about stability in the economy, and would eliminate any form of crisis which could emanate from ethnic rivalry.

Each region would be forced to manage its resources more prudently and judiciously giving little or no room for wasteful spending. This will tame or cripple the endemic monster called corruption. Regional autonomy will certainly discover hidden goldmines, hitherto untapped resources and talents as each region will concentrate on its area of comparative advantage. There will be rapid and massive improvement in infrastructure development. Government will be closer to people at the grassroots.

(iv) Political Stability: The motive behind restructuring is to promote unity and to bring the government closer to the people. Federalism was borne out of idea of peaceful coexistence among citizens where government is brought closer to the people, stability and cohesion in order to promote national integration.

Because more public appointments and elected offices may likely be needed within the federating Regions, with relatively less at the Centre, a Nigeria re-structured will be one where the process of recruitment into public leadership could be better subjected to closer local scrutiny for reputation, character and track record, as against the current practice where persons with dubious reputations and questionable bona fides among their own people, are chosen into high national office as leaders - presumably on behalf of their regions or localities -by a distant central government, which often knows relatively little (or, sometimes cares little) about the poor and low character reputation of such appointees among their own people.

(v) Eliminate the Problem of Uneven Distribution of Government Allocation: Restructuring Nigeria's political structure will address the problem of uneven distribution of budgeting allocation by the federal government by ensuring that allocation of revenues to different regions are not politicized. A restructured Nigeria will be a Nigeria in which the Central Government will no longer be able to automatically pool funds un-evenly from different parts of Nigeria, while re-distributing the same funds unfairly and inequitably (at the expense of the larger contributors) among the various states and local governments - regardless of the quality of policy choices and good governance efforts by State and Local Government leaders.

Discernibly, restructuring of the country's political and administrative structure will serve as a prognosis for peaceful coexistence among the various ethnic and religious groups, because the already existing federal structure is unitary in nature which make the central government so powerful and autocratic; the system encourages injustice, corruption, marginalization and is not only antithetical to growth and development, but also breeds needless tensions.

III. CONCLUSION BASED ON FINDINGS:

Firstly the study revealed that Elite interest 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. In the words of Ujah & Agbakwuru (2017), 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.

Secondly it also revealed that fear of domination is another problem of political restructuring in Nigeria. Ojukwu (1989) asserted that the problem with Nigeria is rooted in the fear of unity between the ethnic constituents of the country. This fear is predicated on the nature of allowing one ethnic group to dominate and is prevalent amongst the northern region of Nigeria. Sani cited in Nuhu (2016) stated that the north is opposed to restructuring because there is nothing to restructure. He argued that those who clamour for political restructuring or true federalism to enable each region and/ or constituent unit to develop at its own pace are unwittingly advocating that Nigerians should leave as if they are in different countries, where some citizens would leave in comfort zones while others would live on the fringe. Also, in the words of Nwaorgu & Erundu (2010), an attempt to restructure Nigeria in 1966 and 1967 was battered by the northerners because of fear of domination of the southern region and the consequent was the genocidal war. From the above, the fear of having nothing and

having the southern region dominate the northern has in a tremendous way inhibited political restructuring of the country as the northerners who are acclaimed the most populous would not consent for fear of a domineering uprising of the southern region.

Finally, the nature of the existing political structure of Nigeria is one that has an adversary effect on the restructuring struggle. This existing political structure is one that has a rigid constitution that makes it hard for restructuring to be effected. Similarly, the existing political structure of the Nigerian Federation allocated more land mass and population to the northern region of the country

Recommendations

1. The first relates to deepening Nigeria's federalism by promoting greater autonomy for states and local governments in the forms of devolution/decentralization of power and resources. Also essential is a review of the existing revenue allocation/sharing formula, both vertical and horizontal and strengthening institutions and mechanisms for periodic review of the formula.

Similarly, devolution of powers should be pursued through Constitutional amendment. In this regard, the National Assembly may have to reconsider the rejected Devolution of Powers Bill, 2017, as a means of ensuring effective transfer of certain powers currently exercised by the Federal government to the States.

2. In distributing powers and resources amongst the tiers of government, Nigeria can draw important lessons from other federal countries (USA, Canada, Australia, Germany, Switzerland, India, Ethiopia and South Africa), particularly on how to effectively organize the federation based on recognized principles of subsidiarity, proportionality and solidarity. The subsidiarity principles help to determine the often challenging question of which tier should exercise what powers for the purpose of ensuring effective and efficient goods and services.

3. In designing the Exclusive and Concurrent Lists, the principles of subsidiarity and proportionality should be adopted. For example, in keeping with the principle of subsidiarity, matters such as basic education, primary health care and intra-city roads which can be better handled by states and local governments rather than the federal government? Also, consistent with the proportionality principle, inter-state commerce issues such as high way policing inter-state crime, collection of taxes across states, construction of highways and environmental spill-overs (pollution) should be handled through cooperative federalism with leadership by the federal government. These principles should also be used to determine which matters should be consigned to the Residual Legislative List. Finally, in keeping with the principle of solidarity, the federal government has a responsibility to guarantee a minimum level of living standards to all Nigerians irrespective of their state of origin or residence. This implies that the federal government can allocate resources for equalization, bridging gaps and addressing fiscal imbalance in the allocation of resources.

4. Other specific recommendations include granting financial autonomy to states, who are to contribute an agreed proportion to the central government for its effectiveness; the creation of one more state in the South-East Zone to ensure parity; power rotation between the geo-political zones engender political inclusion; lessening the appeal of power at the national level by pursuing power devolution and other measures; and promoting inclusive framework for ethnic, religious and regional accommodation. Furthermore, it is important to promote good governance and ensure that public resources are effectively utilised to generate public goods and services.

REFERENCES

- [1]. Abbas, A. I. (2013). Post military era and the challenges of democratic governance in Nigeria, *African -Dynamic of Social Science Reviews*, 4(4), 56 -70
- [2]. Abbas, A. I. (2016). Political parties and inter-party conflicts in Nigeria: Implications for democratic consolidation, *International Journal of Political Science and Development*, 4 (6), 216 - 230
- [3]. Agbu, O. (2004). Re-inventing federalism in post-transition in Nigeria: Problems and prospects, *Africa Development*, 29(2), 26-52
- [4]. Agwanwo, D. E. (2014). State policing and police efficiency in Nigeria, *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*, 4 (25), 165 -173
- [5]. Akindele, S.T. & Asaolu, T. O. (2003). A theoretical examination of the perspectives on political economy, *Kamla-Raj*, 7(3), 239-248
- [6]. Alsamee, E.M.B., Abdul-Wahab, H. &Yusof, Y. (2016). Distribution of powers between federal and local governments in Iraq, *the Social Sciences*, 11(13), 3385-3390
- [7]. Angahar, P.A. (2013). The impact of existing inter-governmental financial relations on effective service delivery at the grassroots in Nigeria, *International Journal of Academic Research in*

- Accounting, Finance and Management Sciences, 3 (1), 112-118
- [8]. Anugwam, E. E. (2005). Oil minorities and the politics of resource control in Nigeria, CODESRIA, 30 (4), 87-120
- [9]. Awofeso, O. (2017). Secessionist movements and the national question in Nigeria, IJRDO Journal of Social Science and Humanities Research, 2 (7), 35-55
- [10]. Ayoade J (1998) The Federal Character Principle and the Search for National Integration. In Amuwo K, Agbaje A, Suberu R & Herault G(Eds.), Federalism and Political Restructuring in Nigeria, Ibadan: Spectrum Books.
- [11]. Babalola, D. (2016). Fiscal federalism and economic development in Nigeria: The contending issues, Global Journal of Political Science and Administration,3 (2), 53-69
- [12]. Burgess, M. (1993). Federalism: A reappraisal, in Burgess, M. & Gagnon, A. (Ed) Comparative Federalism and Federation, New York: Flarvester Wheat sheaf
- [13]. Chijioke, S.U, Innocent, E.O & Emeh, I.E.J. (2012). Issues in Nigerian fiscal federalism: The relationship between the principle of derivation and resource control, Kuwait Chapter of Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review, 1 (5), 54-72
- [14]. Chukwuemeka E.E.O. & Amobi, D. S. C (2011). The politics of fiscal federalism in Nigeria: Diagnosing the elephantine problem, International Journal of Business and Management, 6 (1), 126-136
- [15]. Daily Trust (2017, 15th July). FCT: We need a governor not minister-indigenes
- [16]. Dicey AV (1885) Introduction to the Study of the Law of the Constitution
- [17]. (1st edn.): Macmillan.
- [18]. Dickson. M. & Asua, S.A. (2016). The politics of resource control in Nigeria: Agitation and innovation, International Journal of Politics and Good Governance, 7 (2), 1-13
- [19]. Duchacek ID (1970) The Territorial Dimension of Politics. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- [20]. Egunjobi, A.A (2016). The Nigerian federal practice and the call for state police, International Journal of Advanced Academic Research, 2 (7), 1-14
- [21]. Elekwa, N.N., Mathew, B.F. & Akume, A.T. (2011). Fiscal restructuring in Nigeria: A historical review, JORIND, 9(2), 413-428
- [22]. Ewetan, O.O. (2012). Fiscal federalism in Nigeria: Theory and practice, International Journal of Development and Sustainability, 1 (3), 1075-1087
- [23]. Ezeji-Okoye, K. (2009). Political, economic and cultural rationales for state creation in Nigeria, a PUD dissertation Atlanta University
- [24]. Fatile, J O. I. & Adejuwon.. K. D (2009). The place of traditional rulers in local government administration in the new political order in Nigeria, African Journal of Social Policy and Administration, 2(1), 9-19.
- [25]. Federal Republic of Niger. (1999) Constitution of the Federal Republic Nigeria
- [26]. Friedrich C (1968) Trends of Federalism in Theory and Practice. London: Pall Mall.
- [27]. Hueglin T, Fenna A (2006) Comparative Federalism: A Systematic Inquiry. Peterborough: Broadview Press.
- [28]. Madubuike, S.C (2017). Ethnic conflicts: Social identity and resource control agitations in the Niger Delta National Conference (2014). Position of Ohaneze N'digbo: For and on behalf of the Igbo-speaking people of Nigeria, Report of National Conference, Abuja
- [29]. McCormick J (2011) European Union Politics. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- [30]. Moravcsik A (2001) European Federalism: Rhetoric and Reality. In KNicolaidis & R Howse (Eds.), The Federal Vision: Legitimacy and Levels of Governance in the United States and the European Union Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp: 161-187.
- [31]. Ojatorotu, V. (2008). The internationalization of oil violence in the Niger Delta of Nigeria, Alternatives: Turkish Journal of International Relations, 7 (1), 92-118
- [32]. Omenma, J. T. (2002). The federal structure and the politics of resource control in Nigeria, an M.Sc. dissertation, University of Nigeria, Nsukka
- [33]. Osadolor OB (1998) The Development of the Federal Idea and the Federal -Framework, 1914-1960. In K Amuwo, R Suberu , A Agbaje & G Herault (Eds.), Federalism and Political Restructuring in Nigeria, Ibadan: Spectrum Books.
- [34]. Ottigbe, F.O. & Ottigbe, P.V. (2015). The critical analyses of fiscal federalism and resources control agitation by the political leaders of Niger-Delta, Journal of Education, Arts and Humanities, 3 (4), 84-100
- [35]. Peil M (1976) Nigerian politics: The Peoples View. London: Cassell.
- [36]. Piris JC (2006) The European Union: Towards a New Form of Federalism? In J Fedtke & B Markesinis (Eds.), Patterns of Regionalism and Federalism: Lessons for the UK, Oxford: Hart, pp: 69-87.
- [37]. Pollack M (2010) Theorizing EU Policy-making. In H Wallace, M Pollack& A Young (Eds.), Policy-making in the European Union, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp: 15-44.

- [38]. Riker W (1975) Federalism. In F Greenstein & N Polsby (Eds.), *Handbook of Political Science*, Reading: Addison-Wesley 5: 93-172.
- [39]. Sbragia A (1992) Thinking About the European Future: The Uses of Comparison. In A Sbragia (Eds.), *Euro-politics: Institutions and Policymaking in the New European Community*, Washington: Brookings Institution, pp: 257-291.
- [40]. Tamuno TN (1989) *Nigeria: Its people and its problems. Nigeria federalism in crisis: Critical perspectives and political options*, Ibadan: John Archer Publishers.
- [41]. Tochukwu, OJ. (2002). *The federal structure and the politics of resource control in Nigeria*, an M.Sc dissertation, University of Nigeria, Nsukka
- [42]. TYC news (2017, September, 9). Yoruba Nation Summit at Ibadan: Call for return to regional system of government of the first republic-1960 and 1963 constitution.
- [43]. Vile MJC (1961) *The Structure of American Federalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Wallace W (1996) *Government Without Statehood: The Unstable Equilibrium*. In H Wallace & W Wallace (Eds.), *Policy-making in the European Union*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp: 439-460.
- [44]. Watts RL (1996) *Comparing Federal Systems in the 1990s*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
Wheare KC (1964) *Federal government*. London: Oxford University Press.

DR. OMEJE, PRICILLA N.. "Restructuring As a Panacea for Socio-Economic Development in Nigeria in Nigeria." *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science (IOSR-JHSS)*, 26(04), 2021, pp. 18-25.