

The Rise, and Fall of the Clamor for a Restructured Nigeria: Implication for National Unity, and Development

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Abstract - Almost every active Nigerian was, as caught in the web of restructuring rumpus between 2014, and 2018. Individuals, corporate organizations, ethnic affinities, and even political parties succumbed to the wave of "restructuring clamor" from different perspectives. Again, concepts such as true federalism, confederation, convulsion, decongestion, devolution, and deconcentration festered around the restructuring clamor. While some people from the same ethnic, and political leanings seem to be championing the restructuring call, some seem to be antagonizing it. Yet some were onlookers sitting on the fence. Today, the once headliner of every national daily has suddenly disappeared. This sudden disappearance has necessitated an investigation into the factors that led to the call for restructuring in the first instance, its demise, and the implication for national development, and unity. As a qualitative study, data used were generated through the secondary sources embodied in journal articles, newspaper articles, magazine stories, and articles on the internet. These data were analyzed with the documentary method of data analysis. It was revealed that factors responsible for the rise of the call for a restructured Nigeria are the obvious need for the federal government to give up some of its power, especially as regards finance to the state, and the local government; the volatile nature of the political environment; political power imbalance between the constituent regions; bad leadership, and economic quagmire; high level of corruption, and the national question of nationhood, etcetera. The factors that led to the call's demise are tribal sentiments, political power hegemony, constitutional issues, and lack of unity of purpose. The implication for national development, and unity is the return to status quo ante that favors certain regions with the upper hand, and over the affairs of the country, and retains the other at the base level where they beg for any meager opportunity they get. At the same time, poverty, hunger, corruption, and insecurity continued to devour the country. Based on the findings, the paper recommended among others that the country be returned to the path of equity, equality, and justice; people of the same language (regions) should be allowed to develop policies that will guide their developmental trajectories, including resource control, policing, education, and law on religious

practices, otherwise known as true federalism; at the Centre, power must rotate sequentially among the six geopolitical zones of South West, South-South, South-East, North-East, North-West, North-Central uncontested with irrespective of political power affiliation.

Keywords: Development, Federalism, Good Governance, National Unity, and Restructuring.

I. INTRODUCTION

The eloquence of the call for the restructuring of Nigeria, and the responses it generated have lent credence to the assertion that the Nigerian federalism has not been effective, hence the high discontentment among the populace for bad governance that has covertly led to hunger, poverty, unemployment, and loss of lives, and properties in the polity. It seems as if the people have little or nothing to hope for in the polity despite possessing significant natural resource endowments, and being Africa's leading economy. The discontentment, as evidenced in the national dailies, and social media outlets have shown that Nigerians are neither happy nor satisfied with the current political structure that is rooted in the 1999 constitution even with its amendment in 2011, and by extension, with all the institutions of governance at the federal, state, and local levels, just like what obtains in Bangladesh given the assertion of Kumar (2019) that the trajectory of the politics has been a bumpy road, and this, eventually led the polarisation of the politics of Bangladesh.

Pockets of protests, the IPOB uprising, the Boko Haram insurgency, and the rise of the militant forces in the south-south are all pointers in one direction- great dissatisfaction, disaffection, and disillusionment in the country (*The Guardian*, 2018). This state of national dissatisfaction (for a variety of reasons, and motives) has led to strident calls from many Nigerian society segments for a change in the way of doing things in the country. Different concepts, words, and phrases such as restructuring, true federalism, devolution, resource control, regionalism, self-determination, and disintegration have been evoked. These have resulted in



two national conferences in the Fourth Republic, convened by then presidents Obasanjo in 2005, and Goodluck Jonathan in 2014 (El-Rufai, 2017). These calls are political, economic, constitutional, structural, and fiscal reforms of the Nigerian state.

The Goodluck Jonathan's administration led a national conference that paraded 492 delegates cutting across every work of life to chart a new course for Nigeria through all-inclusive deliberation whose outcome was, as expected to allay the fears of many, quench the hunger, and calm the nerves of the youths, as poverty will be alleviated, unemployment defeated, and inequality jettisoned to the abyss. Unfortunately, the 2014 CONFAB recommendations were not implemented, and the expectations of Nigerians were once again dashed. Consequently, not only was there a resurgence of the call for a change of the way things are done in this country; the way people are treated; the way a few set of people have high-jacked power for personal aggrandizement at the detriment of the masses, but the wave suddenly died off.

One begins to wonder if the sudden demise of the restructuring clamor was because the advocates of restructuring seem not to have a consensus, as to what restructuring means: whether it is the devolution of powers, resource control, regionalism, or even self-determination or all of these? Hence, it is based on the above that what is expected from a restructured Nigeria can be ascertained because, as it stands now, judging from the wave of the clamor, it signals that there is a general belief by many Nigerians that restructuring the country is the magic wand that will transform the country into the haven that we pray for. Sadly, the wave of the clamor has died down, and discourse seems closed.

II. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purposes of this study are to:

- i. scrutinize the factors that led to the rise of the clamor for restructuring,
- ii. ascertain the factors that led to its fall; and
- iii. establish the possible implication of the fall for national development, and unity.

III. MATERIALS, AND METHODS

As a qualitative study, the data used were generated through the secondary sources embodied in journal articles, newspaper articles, magazine stories, and articles on the internet. These data were analyzed with the documentary method of data analysis.

IV. REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

Due to the topical nature of the restructuring call, literature is awash with the opinions of eminent Nigerians on why people are calling for a restructured Nigeria, what is expected of a restructured Nigeria, who will benefit from a restructured Nigeria, and whose responsibility it is to restructure Nigeria. This mass of opinion has been

thematically galvanized hereunder:

A. There, re, reasons for the clamor for a restructured Nigeria

The fundamental question amidst this call is why the call for restructuring. Indeed, this question is critical to policymakers, political office holders, and the citizens alike. This is because of the critical nature of tinkering with national issues. However, the preponderance of opinion is that the federal government needs to shed weight, and return powers, and resources to the states where most government functions can be more efficiently, and effectively undertaken. But for the states to take on these powers, they need to access a greater share of the nation's resources (*The Guardian*, 2016). As simple as this proposal sounds, this is where the main problem lies because the federal government will hardly want to shed weight, as exemplified by the position of President Muhammadu Buhari, and his vice- Yemi Osinbajo that 'restructuring is not the problem of Nigeria' (*The Guardian*, 2018).

According to *The Guardian* (2018), it is wishful thinking to believe that an efficient leader sitting in Abuja can successfully oversee the affairs of one hundred and eighty-nine million Nigerians, hence different persons and groups, such as the Obi of Onitsha, Niger Delta Avengers, Afenifere, Ijaw, and Tiv youths having studied the volatile political environment of Nigeria, made calls for tinkering with the political structure of the country. The message in the restructuring call is that Nigeria's current configuration is not working, hence the distrust in the polity about the motives of the central government. There is an inefficient bureaucracy, which feeds fat on the national patrimony. The local government's number and structure are skewed in favor of a section of the country. The constituent parts of the federation should be given more responsibility and say in development matters.

According to Moghalu (2018), restructuring call is consequent upon the episodic, reactive fire-brigade response to the Yoruba after the June 12, 1993, presidential election won by M.K.O. Abiola was canceled, the Niger Delta militancy over crude oil "resource control," the Boko Haram rebellion, and the recent neo-Biafra uprising. In other words, 58 years after independence, had Nigeria developed the kind of competent leadership it needed decades ago, the argument for restructuring would have been less compelling or perhaps, may not have ensued. However, Nigeria's reality is far too gone in the wrong direction such that an exclusive reliance on oil has fundamentally militated against economic development and transformation. This is there, as the majority of Nigerians now clamor for restructured Nigeria, this is there, as assured path to national unity and development. He furthered that the call for restructuring is embedded in four thresholds. The first is the call for justice and equity. Hence the essence of a federation (such as we had under the 1960 and 1963 constitutions) is an agreement to form it by its constituent units and an appropriate balance

of powers between the constituent units and the center. A perversion of this cardinal principle has, as created injustice, which has, as created disunity. It has, as led to a retreat from Nigerian-ness, egged on by these valid resentments at inequity, and injustice, back to primordial identities that make a mockery of our nationhood. Secondly, restructuring tends to heal the destabilization that the current conditions have bred. The Third threshold of restructuring is to take care of the "fundamentals." The fundamentals are geared towards addressing the national questions of 'what makes Nigeria's nationhood.' Fourthly, restructuring is the best path to economic transformation. Hence, restructuring will help our democracy achieve better governance by bringing greater accountability and transparency to governance and reducing governance costs at both the center and the regions. He concluded that we must ignore the misguided, military-comm, and-control notion of national cohesion that pretends that there can be unity, stability without equity, and justice.

The preceding suffice that the call for restructuring of Nigeria is about the resource utilization in the country, hence the 36 federating units be allowed to exploit all the natural endowments in their states, and develop state policies based on priorities, and then pay their workers according to what they can afford. By implication, the need to stop the federating units' dependence at the Centre for sharing of national cake propels the call for restructuring. This dependency has, as led to the financial insolvency of some of these states. At the moment, poverty in the federating units keeps asking for bailout funds from the Centre before they can pay even basic bills are shameful and unacceptable (The Guardian 2016).

Ndujihe & Oke (2017) documented the outcome of a meeting of older politicians and leaders on Nigeria's state of affairs. According to the report, the urgent, and drastic measure, assures to halt the speedy slide into retrogression of Nigeria, and put the country on the path of socio-economic recovery. Harmonious co-existence is good leadership, political and economic restructuring, fiscal federalism, devolution of power to the federating units, and youth empowerment. The report further stated that apart from leadership, the issue before Nigeria now is restructuring. If we do not restructure Nigeria, we will not go far.

In alliance with the above assertion, Odumakin (2017) itemized ten reasons to restructure Nigeria. According to him, any honest observer who has seen how Nigeria has, as steadily and systematically moved from being a country of great promise to a country of significant problems will agree that: (i) a Nigeria earnestly restructured, is a Nigeria positively restored to path of developmental progress, rapid educational advancement, robust, and committed Public Service, which genuinely, and competently served the Nigerian public – both at Federal and regional levels. Restructuring therefore will bring back the conditions for a return to that golden era of public service, and effective

governance, regionally, and at the Centre; (ii) 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; (iii) a Nigeria restructured 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 character 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. (iv) a Nigeria restructured is a Nigeria where the Central Government, along with its lower-level Federating Constituents, will, and must, be strong. (v) all Nigerians, regardless of region or ethnicity, need a restructured Nigeria where every government level is strong in the appropriate area, governance, and appropriate reasons. (vi) a Nigeria restructured is a Nigeria enhanced by the removal of the current perverse-incentives system, where many people seek elected, and appointive government positions, not to develop the God-given resources of their local area, as, and local lands, or add to the wealth of their communities, but instead to feed on, and loot the un-earned monthly allocations from the Centre; (vii) a restructured Nigeria will reduce the current mentality, and room-for-maneuver by elected, and appointed leaders to treat the Abuja monthly allocations, as part of Nigeria's current 'Awoof-Economy of unearned monthly allocations' (viii) 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 LG leaders. (ix) 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, to develop an economic value-chain from them, which is the first serious step towards the development of a manufacturing capacity across the country (x) a restructured Nigeria will make every region of the country an Economic-Growth, and Wealth-Creating Zone, which will make Nigeria the true economic giant that God has, as destined this country to be.

He further stated that a restructured Nigeria is a Nigeria where we would no longer practice the current system of forced equalization of 'ever-downwards' educational opportunities across the country, just to ensure federal

character; a restructured governance structure will force or ensure investment of extra efforts, and programs to bring low-performing students in the Northern parts of Nigeria, up to the level of better-performing students elsewhere in the country. It is a cruel, future-damaging false help to the people of northern Nigerian states, for the Central Government to continuously lower p, ass-grades, and qualification st, standards for children of the poor in that zone!! Nigeria's people of power everywhere, including in the north, where the elite repeatedly push achievements st, standards lower, and lower for children of the poor – these elite policymakers and politicians do not ask colleges and Universities overseas to lower admission standards to enable their children to be enrolled.

In summary, the call for restructuring is a function of maladministration; hence, people are tired of poverty, hunger, inequality, unemployment, deaths from insurgency, corrupt leadership, and ineffective government. Therefore, they call for a change from this current way of doing things. The path to national unity and development lies in recognizing this truth and acting on it with the necessary political will (Moghalu 2018). However, the adumbrated re, reasons for the call for restructuring only beckon the next question - What are we restructuring?

B. The core t, ask of restructuring

The question of what we are restructuring is a pertinent one that is also pivotal to the whole restructure clamor, especially at a time like this when Nigerians think that solution to their myriad problems is in restructuring the Nigerian state, and again, as the restructuring wave h, as resonated with it, insinuations like more state creation, going back to the regional government, return to a parliamentary system of government, doing democracy work, devolving power in other to empower the states more, as well, as the local governments. , as El-Rufai said, the Nigerian br, and of federation h, as been dysfunctional, and not delivering public goods to the generality of our people, and (we, assume) this position is what h, as led to Nigerians, asking of anything even without knowing what is in it for them, as long, as it is projected to deliver public goods to the generality of the Nigerian people. Little wonder some eminent Nigerians have been found to have said, "whatever we can restructure that is in the interest of Nigeria's unity, and that will make us more productive, love one another, and develop, let us do it." This w, as a sincere view of Paul-Unongo, a leader of the Northern Elders Forum (Usman, 2017).

Critics have argued that Nigerian current federal system h has become too centralized, and its financial costs have become bloated over time. Issues of policing, and control of the natural resource, have resided exclusively in the federal government. This situation h, as left the component states largely subservient to the Centre. As a result, these critics advocate for a more decentralized structure. The state and

local authorities are allowed to keep most of the resources generated within their respective boundaries while remitting a fraction good enough to keep the federal government running (Ogundipe, 2018). Unfortunately, President Muhammadu Buhari rejected such ide, as that propel calls for a holistic new look at Nigeria's political structure, as not a priority, hence "when all the aggregates of nationwide opinions are considered, our problems h, as more to do with process than structure. His position is that Nigeria should continue to operate its current presidential system but be made less permeable to extravagance, waste, and corruption largely.

In response to President Mohammadu Buhari, Victor Okhai, a political analyst, said that the president missed the fundamentals of restructuring in his speech, having said that Nigerians want to go back to the parliamentary system, which they had once abandoned. This shows that he does not understand the fundamentals because he failed to mention that the Nigerian did not willingly abandon the regional system in the sixties. Recall that it w, as the military (which he w, as a part of), seized power and dismantled a working system when Nigeria had a regional system with a federal prime minister and federal parliament between 1960 after its independence 1966 when the first military coup occurred. The military controlled the country for 13 years, during which several states were created, and more powers concentrated at the Centre. Unfortunately for the country, the system w, as not reversed when a democratic president w, as elected in 1979 until 1983 when it w, as again deposed in a military coup that kept the military in charge until 1999 when Nigeria returned to democracy. Even today, the system is still in place, as the Constitution that w, as adopted, is a carry-on of military edicts. Hence, the advocates of restructuring are keen on giving more control to the states akin to reintroducing a regional system that would put the states in charge of their resources to develop at their pace. When this becomes the status quo, no state would need to wait for the president at the Centre to come and approve nearly everything for them (www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/254124-buhari-rejects-restructuring-nigeria.html)

To generate popular opinion on what we are restructuring, from the street, the people responded eloquently. According to G, askiyatruth, the long and short of restructuring are to return to the structure under the 1963 Republican Constitution. However, now that we have 36 states and the Federal Capital, the States would be grouped into Regions, with each Region having regional headquarters. Each region, which controls its resources, would have its government apparatus while there would be a weak center to which the regions make joint/common services. In the opinion of Apataganga, while the restructuring should be opened for discussion, and debate, the notion that the larger part of the country will be bullied by the certain part that lacks the population. Space but are hell-bent on demanding, and

having the same number of states, as other regions with the population, and space would be horrendous, as it is mugging, and thievery of some kind, committed in daylight for that matter. To Taw anda Incommunicado, any reform which does not include equal representation of regions in the security apparatus and leadership is a non-starter. The idea that a whole region is never represented during security meetings means a conspiracy against that region. In all, the opinion of Atiku Abubakar that we must devolve more powers and resources from the federal government and de-emphasize federal allocations as the source of sustenance of states counts. Hence we need to start producing again and collecting taxes to run our governments more sustainably with greater transparency and accountability.

But according to Shonibare, restructuring is simply a call for the restoration of true federalism- the foundational constitution structure to which all Nigerians subscribed to, as encapsulated in the independence constitution of 1960- a return to the independent Constitution. To Akin Osuntokun, restructuring call is about independent self- sustaining federating units able to develop info, a structure, critical amenities, undertake other developmental projects, education, and health without interfering with a Centre body. Indeed, the functional structure will end calls for restructuring, says Frank Kokori. According to him, real federalism w, like what we had before 1966 when the regions had their institutions, and those institutions worked. He further stated that the reason agitations are going on in this country because certain people feel marginalized. Still, the truth is that the whole country is marginalized because of bad governance , and corruption; hence I am for real federalism. The federal government should be left with some residual powers on defense, currency, foreign affairs, , and others. In contrast, the states should be given powers over other affairs that are critical to the advancement of the people's welfare. (<https://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/06/nigeria-what-is-restructuring/>).

To Joy Ogbe, restructuring will reflect on L, and tenure system; Local government autonomy; Power-sharing, and rotation of political offices according to six zones in case of presidency; according to three Senatorial districts, in the case Governorship position, according to Local Government Are, as in case of Senatorial seat, according to Federal constituencies for Federal House of Representative. According to Wards, in the case of the Chairmanship position of the local government, they are resource control and the legislature (Akosile, 2018).

It is evident from the above discussion that was, as opinions abound, what the restructuring call seeks to achieve, but what Tambuwal refers to as promoting transparency, professionalism, fiscal discipline, and loyalty to the nation in government business st, and out. But it will be wise to include restructuring our mindsets to eliminate w, stages, enthrone merit, purpose, and accountability. Thus, National financials ought to be restructured. For such that regions or

States, all partners in the federation must have the capacity to develop internal resources to develop at their own pace. Obiora Okoknwo added that the structure should be restructured; hence it is absurd that out of the 774 constitutionally approved local government are, as in Nigeria, the south, east h, as a total of 95 the northwest h, as 186 local government area, as. The northeast has 113 while the south-south region h, as 125, and southwest h, like 137, and the north-central region comes in with 112 local councils. This structural restructuring will answer why the southeast, for instance, h, as only five States while the northwest h, like seven, and all others have six each. We may all not be convinced about importing this, but in a representative democracy, it means a lot. Five States for the southeast translates to 15 Senators for the southeast.

On the other hand, seven States for the northwest means 21 senators for the northwest, while other geopolitical zones have 18. His submission is in keeping with that of Alhaji Bahir Uthman Tofa, who said that the agitation for restructuring of Nigeria centered on marginalization, others' dominance in their regions, and resources, and opportunity distribution. Therefore, the restructuring clamor calls on the federal government to shed weight, return powers and resources to the states where most government functions can be more efficiently undertaken. Hence, for the states to take on these powers, they need to access a greater share of their resources. This last point, in particular, leads to the questions of who benefits from a restructured Nigeria. Put in another word, for whom is this call for restructuring more important?

C. Who benefits from a restructured Nigeria?

Indeed, the high wave of restructuring clamor in Nigeria witnessed a few years back cannot pass any test of logic if the question of who benefits from this call is not clearly established, especially considering the ethnic, and political, as well, as religious leanings of the proponents, and opponents of the restructuring call. Fortunately, it is believed by many Nigerians that restructuring the country will benefit not a segment of the country but all. To this, Mr. Adewumi Temitope Michael, the CEO of Sarmic Farms, Kwara State, asserts that restructuring will benefit all Nigerians if done without prejudice. Miss Nkeiruka Abanna, from Lagos State, stated that, as long as officeholders do not abuse power, restructuring will improve leadership and accountability, infrastructure, and address marginalization challenges while ensuring a healthy competition among states.

Mr. Ekpa, Stanley Ekpa, from Abuja concurred with the opinion of Adewumi that restructuring would benefit entire Nigeria because restructuring the socio-political structure of Nigeria will prompt bottom-up development opportunities; hence, restructuring has multi-faceted benefits for Nigerians because it will create healthy competition among states. State governments need to galvanize their local resources for development, positively impacting the local, sub-national, and national levels. Hon. Babale Maiungwa, from Kaduna,

stated that restructuring could benefit all Nigerians. This is because all you have in your state will belong to you, and if you do not have, you must strive to have, as you have no one to depend on anymore. The oil-producing states have been cheated and suffer water, land, and pollution while some non-oil producing states enjoy better than them. In the end, the weaker states could end up being stronger. Thus, restructuring will benefit all Nigerians. It is not a death sentence, as some misread it. It simply means going back to the drawing board and returning to basics, as was, as in the First Republic. It will encourage productivity and competitiveness. It will benefit everybody because every region is sitting on a 'gold mine' waiting to be tapped. The restructuring will unlock the potentials buried in each state.

Mr. Michael Adedotun Oke from Abuja, in agreement with the above position, asserted that restructuring would immensely benefit all Nigerians because each region and the ethnic group would then focus on developmental projects, with speedy governance decisions, prudent spending of resources, improved accountability, religious tolerance, economic development, and empowerment of citizens. The common restructuring tips for all citizens are to take it cool, go on voting, roundtable discussions, and conduct a referendum. To Miss Apeji Patience Aneyeme from Lagos state, Nigeria will benefit a lot from restructuring, especially in areas like state police, ownership of resources, weaker Centre, true fiscal federalism, debt management, job creation, and enabling environment for investors. It is a win-win situation for Nigeria

Unfortunately, Mr. Gbenga Olowolagba, from Lagos State thinks otherwise. According to him, there is no benefit to be derived from restructuring. Let this nation break up, and let everybody have their self-independent nations: Oduduwa, Biafra, Arewa, and Niger Delta. We are not one nation but mere geographical expression. Let us stop deceiving ourselves. The restructuring may lessen the friction, but it is not the solution because the restructure advocates essentially anchor their arguments on certain misgivings, perceptions in form, and governance style. They perceive an intolerable imbalance in the federal structure, as currently constituted, imbalance in appointments, and imbalance in resource distribution. They equally perceive the system of governance in practice as unitary, contrary to their yearnings for federalism. This is where Obiora Okonkwo's firm stance, and for restructuring, the structure comes in.

According to him, why is it that of the 774 constitutionally approved local government? In Nigeria, the southernmost has a total of 95 while the northwest has, as 186 local government areas, as? The northern, east has, as 113 while the south-south region has, like 125, and the south-west has, like 137, and the north-central region comes in with 112 local councils. Thus far, no one has, as explained to the southeast, why this sort of structure exists. This situation's pain comes home when one realizes that revenue allocation and development planning are often, based on population. The simple explanation for

the skewed revenue allocation that we currently have will be that the population is more in places where there are more local governments. Therefore, it means that if each local government in Nigeria were to get a primary school, the Southeast would get one that is not proportional to what the northwest zone gets. In a recent recruitment exercise into the Nigeria Police Force, each local government in Nigeria was, as allowed only 10 recruits. The implication of this is that while Bayelsa State had only 90 recruits, Kano had 440 recruits. If the numbers are pruned every year at 10 persons from each state, in nine years, Bayelsa State will have no person in the Police while Kano will still have some 350 persons. Why wouldn't Kano have more candidates for consideration as IGP than Bayelsa?

It will not be out of place to ask why the Southeast has, as only five States while the Northwest has, as seven, and all others have six each. We may all not be convinced about importing this, but in a representative democracy, it means a lot. Five States for the South Easterners translates to 15 Senators for the Southeast zone. On the other hand, seven States for the Northwest means 21 Senators for the Northwest, while other geopolitical zones have 18. This does not represent equity, and balance in a federal system, especially as states are the basic units for sharing national revenue in Nigeria. From this point of view, it seems the South East will benefit more from a restructured Nigeria, but Okorotie (2018) asserted that the federal government must make efforts to restructure the country so that every state will own, develop, and exploit their resources, instead of depending on the oil, and gas, as produced in the Niger Delta (The Webmaster, 2018).

From the foregoing, it is evidenced that the restructuring call will benefit all Nigerians even though Moghalu sees the southeast as the section that will benefit more, as the structural denial of equal states and local government is, as will be defeated. Again the ingenuity of the people, as witnessed in the 1967-70s, will be resonated. However, Okorotie (2018) believes that the Niger Deltans will benefit more, as a restructured Nigeria will allow the Niger Delta states the opportunity to exploit their natural resources, use the funds to develop the areas while giving the state some percentage against this stifling practice of allowing the federal government comes into their land, and, exploit the crude oil, and use the money to develop other segments of the country (like Abuja) while their communities suffer lack of amenities. To (Adedeji 2018), restructuring will serve as a tool of rebalancing the federation where the local communities will be allowed to exploit the resources while a certain amount will be given to the federal government. Unfortunately, Mr. Gbenga Olowolagba, from Lagos State thinks otherwise. According to him, there is no benefit to be derived from restructuring. Let this nation break up, and let everybody have their self-independent nations: Oduduwa, Biafra, Arewa, and Niger Delta. We are not one nation but mere geographical expression; let us stop deceiving

ourselves. But he, however, agrees that restructuring may lessen the friction. Since it h, as this capacity, then whose responsibility is it to restructure Nigeria?

D. Who h, as the legal m, and to restructure Nigeria?

It is indeed a good dream to have a Nigeria where everyone is accommodated in other that there will be no first cl, ass or second cl, ass citizens. Still, the critical question that begs an answer is whose responsibility it is to restructure Nigeria. In other words, to whom is the restructuring of Nigeria expected to come from. Unfortunately, the disaggregated nature of the meaning of "restructuring" apparently affects deciphering who should affect the country's restructuring.

This explains the literature. For example, Mr. Olumuyiwa Olorunsomo from Lagos State stated that the restructuring demands should be harmonized and p passed through a referendum. As diverse as Nigeria is, there are still are, as of collective interest for all citizens. Some authors have averred that through the National Conference, agitations from all nooks and crannies of this country are articulated and aggregated so that in the end, even though everybody may not get all the things they want, but they will not go home empty-handed.

According to leaders of thought from the Southern part of the country, as reported by Addeh (2018), president Buhari should initiate a Bill for the structural unbundling of an overburdened center through the removal of several agreed items from the current Exclusive List, and their devolution to the constituting states in a way, and manner that does not dehydrate or endanger the manifest destiny of the nation. This implies a constitutional amendment to address the imbalances in our nation. To Moghalu (2018), Nigeria's constitutional restructuring to return our country to true federalism will best be achieved through an executive bill presented to the President's National assembly. Fortunately, it is rumored that the ruling All Progressive Congress (APC) set up a committee to look into the 2014 CONFAB headed by Governor Nasir el-Rufai. The Committee submitted its report on January 25, 2018, and the Committee also recommended the restructuring of the nation. As regards the means to achieve the restructuring, the report of the Committee contains a draft bill to facilitate its conveyance to the National assembly for debate and action. Therefore, despite the call for the implementation of the 2014 Confab report, as a way of restructuring the nation, it is apparent that since much of the themes of the call h, as a lot to do with constitutional process, be it the Confab report or a bill from the president, or even a bill sponsored by any member of the senate, it must p, ass through the National, assembly whose responsibility it is to make laws, and give legal backing to the outcome of the sovereign national conference.

It thus suffices that the restructuring h, as the top, ass through the National, assembly to be legitimated. This is consequent because while some people want a new national sovereign conference to discuss the restructuring way forward, others

have said that such h, as already been done and concluded in 2014 under the Goodluck Jonathan administrant. Since the government is a continuum, the current administration should implement the report. However, both the presidency and the ruling party (APC) have underscored the National assembly's role in this regard and clearly, asserted through the party's Committee looking into the confab report that a bill will be sent to the National assembly. Therefore, the restructuring of the country depends on the decision of the hallowed chamber. However, nothing the National assembly can do if there is no Bill before them seeking a restructured Nigeria under whatever guise.

V. THEORY OF DOMINATION AND HEGEMONY

Hegemony is the political, economic, or military predominance or control of one state over others (Schenoni, 2019). In ancient Greece, hegemony denoted the politico-military dominance over other city-states (Chernow & Vallasi 1994). The dominant state is known , as the hegemon. In the 19th century, hegemony came to denote the "Social or cultural predominance or , ascendancy; predominance by one group within a society or milieu". Later, it could be used to mean "a group or regime which exerts undue influence within a society". Also, it could be used for the geopolitical , and the cultural predominance of one country over others, from which w, as derived hegemonism, , as in the idea that the Great Powers meant to establish European hegemony over Africa, , asia , and Latin America (Bullock , and Trombley, 1999).

In international relations theory, hegemony denotes a situation of (i) great material , asymmetry in favour of one state, that h, as (ii) enough military power to systematically defeat any potential conteste in the system, (iii) controls the access to raw materials, natural resources, capital , and markets, (iv) h, as competitive advantages in the production of value added goods, (v) generates an accepted ideology reflecting this status quo; , and (vi) is functionally differentiated from other states in the system, being expected to provide certain public goods such , as security, or commercial , and financial stability (Schenoni, 2018).

The Marxist theory of cultural hegemony, , associated particularly with Antonio Gramsci, is the idea that the ruling cl, ass can manipulate the value system , and mores of a society, so that their view becomes the world view: in Terry Eagleton's words, "Gramsci normally uses the word hegemony to mean the ways in which a governing power wins consent to its rule from those it subjugates (Terry, 1991). In contr, ast to authoritarian rule, cultural hegemony is hegemonic only if those affected by it also consent to , and struggle over its common sense (Laurie, 2015).

In application of the theory, Kendie (2006) likened African to Nigeria because Africa remains the le, ast developing continent while it contains most of the le, ast developed countries of the world. The continent h, as the lowest gross

domestic product, the lowest net capital formation, the fewest doctors, , and the highest rates of illiteracy. Most African countries are unable to feed their populations. Where surplus of any commodity is to be found, it is a formidable problem to get it where it is needed because the transport linkages are weak. Unemployment in urban are, as h, as also reached unacceptable levels (UNESCO, nd).

, as Richard Sklar argued, cl, ass relations in Africa are not determined by the control of the means of production, but by relations of power in terms of technological, political, economic, financial, military, intellectual, moral , and spiritual, , and even aesthetic dimensions , and which are not necessarily rooted in the b, ase but in our diverse lingual, religion , and kinship affinities which explains why out of the 60 years of independence, the North h, as held sway to the political power for some 44 years, even without development in majority of the northern states.

VI. FINDINGS , AND DISCUSSIONS

A. Summary of findings

- i. The key factor responsible for the call for restructuring Nigeria is a defective federalism hence the obvious need for the federal government to give up some of its power especially , as regards finance to the state , and the local government; the volatile nature of the political environment; political power imbalance between the constituent regions; bad leadership , and economic quagmire; high level of corruption , and the national question of nationhood, etcetera.,
- ii. The factors that led to the demise of the call are tribal sentiments, political power hegemony, constitutional issues , and lack of unity of purpose.
- iii. The implication for national development , and unity is the return to status quo ante that favours certain regions that h, as upper h, and over the affairs of the country , and retains the other at the b, ase level where they beg for any meager opportunity they get, while poverty, hunger, corruption , and insecurity have devoured the country.

B. Discussions

a) Finding 1: A Defective Federalism

The purpose of this study is hugely anchored on the expectations from a state practicing federalism. From the cause of the rise of the clamor for a restructured Nigeria, the sudden demise of that clamor , and the implication of such demise for national unity , and development, a defluctive federal federalism h, as answers to the three questions of what led to the rise of the clamor of a restructured Nigeria, the demise , and its implication for national unity , and development.

According to Temitope (2017), it h, as to be recalled that federalism w, as adopted for Nigeria , as a convenient means

of administering a fractious multi-ethnic conglomerate (Akiyemi, 1978). Though rickety in practice since inception (Osuntokun, 1999; Tamuwo, 1998), federalism no doubt offered some hope that the multinational leviathan might not implode because of the substantial autonomy guaranteed the federating units (Awolowo, 1960). Unfortunately, by the time the Civil war ended in January 1970, Nigeria w, as no longer a conglomeration of three regions with separate constitutions that were attached , as a schedule to the Federal Constitution , and hinged upon the three major ethnic groups –Hausa, Igbo , and Yoruba, but w, as a unitary-federation composed of twelve state surrogates of the central government.

Equipped with the oil boom of the 1970s, the military worked the talk of the then military head of state General Yakubu Gowon, who said that "to keep Nigeria one is a t, ask that must be done" (Clarke, 1987), by introducing a unitary comm, and structure that truncated Nigeria's federalism. For hindsight, Nigeria's first military government led by General J.T.U Aguiyi-Ironsi replaced federalism with unitarism in May 1966. According to Aremu (2016), the introduction of unitary system of government w, as b, ased on highly commitment to the t, ask of building a virile, united, prosperous , and peaceful country devoid of nepotism, ethnicity , and regional suspicion , and hostility rampant during the period of the erstwhile civilian government of Tafawa Balewa. This introduction of unitary system of government however proved fatal to the survival , and unity of the country, owing largely to the conflicting interpretations of the rationale , and nature of the new political system among the various regions. Northerners in particular became pessimistic about the intent of the new political arrangement especially under an Igbo-led government. They quickly opposed its implementation vehemently. The unfolding chain of events plunged the country into a cat, astrophic civil war between 1967 , and 1970.

According to Babalola (2017), the incre, asing agitation for a functional federal system after the democratic transition that culminated in civil rule in 1999 is an indication that all is not well with the existing practice of federalism in Nigeria. The apparent defects in the federal system, no doubt, provide the b, asis for this agitation. Nigeria is a federation operating a federal constitution but in practice the country works , as a unitary state, fallout of the centralising tendencies that have come to characterise the governmental system. However, there seems to be a consensus, especially in the southern part of the country that the operation of federalism in Nigeria does not conform to the fundamental principles of federalism. , as Wheare (1963) argues, 'a country may have a federal constitution, but in practice it may work that constitution in such a way that its government is not federal.'Also, , as Erk (2004) suggests, 'the presence of a federation should not blind us to the absence of federalism.'In other words, there may be a federation without

federalism. The Nigerian model of federal system of government is argued to be a reflection of such an incomplete federal arrangement. More or less what Onyishi (2018) referred to, as Unifedism; a Unitary System of Government in a Federal Structure in Nigeria.

Whichever model in place, the legitimacy of the modern nation state is linked to its capacity to present itself, as a provider of necessary public goods, and more importantly, a neutral arbiter that guarantees the security of all sections of society. But when the state is generally perceived, as serving the particularistic interests of one group, it starts losing its legitimacy, and indeed, its authority. As state capacity declines, fear of 'the other' rises, and becomes an objective factor of survival, and people are forced to resort to other levels of solidarity—religious, ethnic, regional, etc. in search of a way out of unfavourable political power hegemony (Ibrahim, 1999). This is what led to the rise of the clamor for a restructured Nigeria.

b) Findings 2: Political Power Hegemony

The call for a restructured Nigeria is an expression of despire of the political power hegemony that characterizes the Nigeria state. There is a sense in which it can be, asserted that Political power hegemony is the object, and subject of the rise, and fall of the call for a restructured Nigeria. According to Jeremy (2016), Nigerian politics is characterized by tension between the political dominance of the North, and the economic strength of the South (Green & Luehrmann, 2007). Where, as the Nigerian federal system is crafted to regulate political conflict along ethnic ties, and can be seen, as response to reduce the dominance of the Hausa-Fulani (Jinadu, 1985), but what is on the table is an Hausa, and Fulani governments using federal power to the benefit of Muslims, such, as subsidies for Hajj pilgrims, the construction of a National Mosque in the capital Abuja, and OIC (Organization of Islamic Countries) membership in 1986 (Igwarra, 2007), despite the principles of democracy being espoused, as the motivation behind federalism in Nigeria, the ethnicization of politics, as a powerful impediment to the proper function of Nigerian politics.

The genesis of this overbearing dominance of the Hausa/Fulani extraction in the Nigeria political space is linked to the defeat of the Mahdist revolt in 1906, and the subsequent incorporation of the Fulani aristocracy into the colonial power structure. These Fulanis along with the Haus, as continue to enjoy political dominance in Nigeria, especially when the Fulani sarakuna (aristocracy) was incorporated upon independence into the new Nigerian parliamentary democracy, in a manner similar to the United Kingdom (Jean-Francois, 2010).

The Antonio Gramsci's subordination, and hegemony thesis clearly demonstrate that, by both design, and default, dominant form, and structures of power are reproduced, and sustained by the governing class. In this instance, dominant

elites (incumbents, and their allies) use state structures, and an emerging single-party machinery to get an upper hand, and over opposition elites (Tar & Shettima, 2010)

According to Kolawole, (2019), up north, the institutions, and their intellectual branches focus more on how the region can retain political power, and maintain a hold on decision-making in the country by controlling the bulk of ministries, departments, and agencies via appointments, and policies. Northerners have ruled Nigeria for approximately 44 out of 60 years since independence. Down south, the hot topics for public engagement are 'restructuring', 'resource control', 'fiscal federalism', and 'true federalism perhaps because of the leaders hardly devote their energies to combating the poverty that has, as rendered the northern region one of the most backward on the continent. Unfortunately, because the ordinary northerners have been brainwashed through the instruments of religion, and politics to think that this current order serves them well, they are not interested in questioning how, or if, the status quo has, as made their lives better so long, as power resides with a northerner. It can be conveniently stated that the system of political power hegemony has, as completely rigged them out of the benefits of political leadership, hence the elite send their children to Western schools, and persuade the talakawa to limit their children to Quranic education so that they will not be Westernised, and the people believes them. The north-east, east, and north-west lead the way in infant mortality, water-borne diseases, and illiteracy but the thought leaders make them believe that perpetually keeping northerners in political power is in their best interest.

Down south, while most of the state-owned schools, and hospitals are an eyesore such that no southern governors, and commissioners can allow their children attend public schools, allow their pregnant wives give birth at public hospitals, despite huge budgetary allocations, yet, their leaders perpetually paint northerners, as the enemies of their progress because of this level of political power hegemony by the north. In fact, the thought controllers would rather talk about state police than question the mismanagement of resources by their governors.

c) Findings 3: Return to status quo ante

The beauty of political power hegemony is its inevitable, all-time return to status quo ante. From the literature on the factors that led to the rise of the clamor for a restructured Nigeria, it is obvious that fact, and points raised are fundamental to national development, and unity but somehow, the politically dominant group will always have their way. Take for instance, while Kolawole (2019) agrees that the clamor for a restructured Nigeria made more wave in, if not originated from the southern part of Nigeria, the southerners were unable to unite for the course of a restructured Nigeria they believe in. While Moghalu (2018) avidly, asserted that restructuring call is consequent upon the episodic, reactive fire-brigade response to the Yoruba after

the June 12, 1993 presidential election won by M.K.O. Abiola was cancelled, the Niger Delta militancy over crude oil "resource control", the Boko Haram rebellion, and the recent neo-Biafra uprising, yet, many political bigwigs of the South-West, South-South, and South-East geopolitical zones joined the North in continuing their political power hegemony.

Resultantly, the opinion of Moghalu, that 58 years after independence, the reality is that Nigeria is far too gone in the wrong direction with negative implication for economic development national unity is not considered by some of his fellow southerners. However, the fact that some political bigwigs in the Southern Nigeria seems to jettison the restructuring call, and join hands, and with the northerners in political power administration does not invalidate the points he raised, as the developmental index of the country lend credence to the truism in his assertion.

According to Kolawole (2019), over 60 million Nigerians do not have access to safe drinking water. They get their water from unhealthy sources, such as streams, and ponds. About 47 million Nigerians still practice open defecation, perhaps because about 120 million Nigerians lack decent toilets to answer the call of nature. When 60 million people drink unsafe water, the consequences for their health are obvious. The result is the regular outbreaks of diseases such as cholera, Guinea worm disease, typhoid, and dysentery which are byproducts of intake of unsafe water.

As regards employment opportunity, Yomi (2020), asserts that one in every two Nigerians in the country's labour force is either unemployed or underemployed, as revealed by the latest unemployment report published by Nigeria's Bureau of Statistics for Q2 2020. In that report, it was clear that while Nigeria's unemployment rate has climbed to 27.1% (up from 23.1% in Q3 2018, the country's underemployment rate - which reflects those working less than 40 hours a week, or in jobs that underutilize a person's skills, time, or education, has increased to 28.6%. Specifically, about 21.7 million Nigerians are unemployed, a figure that exceeds the population of 35 of Africa's 54 countries.

In terms of loan burden, Oyekanmi (2020), asserted that a report recently released by the DMO reveals that the country's debt has hit N31 trillion. According to the report, Nigeria's Total Debt Stock (Foreign & Domestic), as at June 2020 stood at N31.01 trillion (\$85.9 billion)- 8.31% increase when compared with N28.63 trillion (\$79.3 billion) recorded in March 2020. This was disclosed in the Nigeria public debt report, recently released by the Debt Management Office (DMO). The breakdown shows that total external debt stood at N11.36 trillion (\$31.47 billion), accounting for 36.65% of the total debt stock, while domestic debt represented 63.35% of the total debt. Domestic debts stood at N19.65 trillion (\$54.42 billion), as at June 2020. The report also reveals that N921.9 billion was used to service domestic debts between January, and June 2020, while N288.6 billion (\$759.6 million) was used on foreign

debts, making a total of N1.21 trillion.

Upon all these loans, infrastructure decay is a key feature of the Nigerian society today. According to Rufus & Bufumoh (2017), because infrastructure is of utmost importance to a nation, it should be taken seriously. Unfortunately, one major factor that has contributed to the development crises in Nigeria is that of critical infrastructure decay. The problem of infrastructure decay has manifested in the form of high level of unemployment, poverty, frustration, desperation, criminality, relocation, and migration from Nigeria to Europe, America, and other parts of the world. Hence, Eke (2011) confirmed that basic infrastructure in Nigeria is in a semi-comatose state, and from colonial times to the present day, the issues of infrastructure development have remained on the lips of successive administrations with no visible indication of accomplishment.

While these infrastructures range from road, electricity, health, national assets all targeted at the comfort of the society, and overall development, the term critical infrastructure has been widely adopted to distinguish those infrastructure elements that, if significantly damaged or destroyed, would cause serious disruption of the dependant system or organization hence the term infrastructure typically refers to the technical structures that support a society, such as roads, water, electrical national grid, telecommunications, and so forth. It heralds "the physical components of interrelated systems providing commodities, and services essential to enable, sustain, or enhance societal living conditions" (Fulmer, 2009). According to Ithembe (2011), the criticality of infrastructure is based on important role it plays in the development of any country or region or state. This is so because it constitutes the hub upon which socio-economic aspects of society revolve. Expectedly, improvement upon infrastructure development is key to raising the quality, and standard of living in the life of its citizens. For instance, availability of critical infrastructures like power, quality health care system, quality educational system, water, rail transport system with good road network, good service sector, and its protection, and maintenance will bring about good life to its citizens.

In Nigeria today, many of the roads are dead traps especially in the south, power has been a huge issue since the inception of the 4th republic with trillions of Naira voted for the sector's revamp. Yet, instead of achieving the needed result, we have a hundred percent increase in tariff at the, and of the privatized discos, and gencos. In fact, infrastructure deficit in Nigeria is associated with the bigger mystery of politics in Nigeria, and one wonders if it is not enough spur to call for a restructured Nigeria because without roads, railways, bridges, ports, airports, schools, hospitals, housing, offices, telecommunications, and other infrastructure, it will be difficult to see how economic transformation, and enhancement of the quality of life of Nigerian citizens can be realized. This infrastructure decay

h, as also been linked to corruption issues in the country (Aidoghie, 2019). The former EFCC Boss, Ibrahim Magu, averred that corruption h, as played a role in frustrating or ruining the provision, and maintenance of infr, astructure in the country over the years. He further stated that the corrupt practices were carried out by individuals, but on most occasions, executed by an elaborate, and sinister syndicate that included contractors, architects, quantity surveyors, engineers, consultants to government officials, corporate executives, and other players. Magu traced the genesis of corruption that led to infr, astructural decay to the cement racket of 1975.

He said corrupt elements in the Federal Ministry of Defence at the time ordered 16.2 million metric tons of cement for the construction of Army barracks at inflated costs, instead of the 2.9 million metric tons actually required by the ministry. It is worthy to note that governments at all levels of the federation spend billions of naira every year in the provision of roads, buildings, railway tracts, power, etc, in order to sustain these developmental projects. There is a need to protect, and maintain them. The infr, astructural decay, and dilapidation we presently experience, is, as a result of our poor maintenance culture which is attributed to the negative public attitude towards government's projects, as nobody's business, hence its neglect

The chronicle of corruption in Nigeria according to Transparency International (TI) is such that Nigerians commonly regard the state, as corrupt, and President Buhari campaigned successfully for the presidency in 2015 on an anti-corruption platform, and won. Due to the perennial corruption practices in the system, there is an underst, anding of "excessive" corruption, called the wholesale looting of state, assets. That is different from the policeman at a checkpoint, asking a motorist, "What do you have for me today?" (Campbell, 2020). Its impact is obvious. In 2012, Nigeria was estimated to have lost over \$400 billion to corruption since independence (Okoye, 2012; Ijewereme, 2015). In 2018, the country ranked 144th in the 180 countries listed in Transparency International's Corruption Index (with Somalia, at 180th, being the most corrupt, and Denmark the least) (Ojeka; Adegboye; Adegboye; Umukoro; Dahunsi, and Ozordi 2019). Sadder is the fact that Boko Haram, a terrorist group has used their wanton destruction of lives, and livelihoods in Nigeria on corruption that they say has eaten deep into the fabrics of our society, and must be uprooted hence their activities.

In summary, Omede, and Omede (2015), asserted that insecurity issues in Nigeria include unemployment, bad governance, lack of quality education or training, lack or inadequate basic infr, astructures, corruption, and corrupt practices of government officials, perceived victimization, arrant poverty in the midst of affluence, ethnic superiority, religious superiority, domination, and exploitation. These are the ills of the society that the clamor for a restructured Nigeria would heal but the demise of the clamor is a return to

status quo ante.

These factors are, aside the issue of power structure imbalance in the polity, which seems the most severe because it denotes social injustice, and inequity, with unimaginable implication for national unity, and development. The implication of the intolerable imbalance in the federal structure, as currently constituted transcends to imbalance in political/public office appointments, and in the distribution of resources. According to Elo (2018), Obiorah Okonkwo, averred that of the 774 constitutionally approved local government are, as in Nigeria, the southeast has a total of 95 while the northwest has 186 local government are, as. The northeast has 113 while the south-south region has 125, and the south-west has 137, and the north-central region comes in with 112 local councils. Thus far, no explanation has been given to the southeast people for this sort of structural imbalance. The import of this imbalance becomes clearer when one realizes that revenue allocation, and development planning are more often than not, based on population. It therefore means that if each local government in Nigeria were to get a primary school, the Southeast will get one that is not proportional to what the northwest zone gets. Practically, in a recent recruitment exercise into the Nigeria Police Force, each local government in Nigeria was allowed only 10 recruits. Implication of this is that while Bayelsa State had only 90 recruits, Kano had 440 recruits. If the numbers are pruned every year at 10 persons from each state, in nine years, Bayelsa State will have no person in the Police while Kano will still have some 350 persons. This explains why Kano would have more candidates for consideration, as Inspector General of Police than Bayelsa

Again, it is fundamental to ask why the Southeast has only five States while the Northwest has seven, and all others have six each. We may all not be convinced about the import of this but in a representative democracy, it means a lot. Five States for the South Easterners translate to 15 Senators for the Southeast zone. On the other hand, seven States for the Northwest means 21 Senators for the Northwest while other geopolitical zones have 18 each. This does not represent equity, and balance in a federal system especially, as states are the basic units for sharing national revenue in Nigeria. From this point of view, the fall of the clamor for a restructured Nigeria will keep the Southeast marginalized in every developmental discourse in Nigeria, and uneven development breeds envy, and distrust: the two precursor of disunity in a heterogeneous society such as Nigeria.

VII. CONCLUSION

The restructuring call came in many facets. There was, as the restructuring in revenue allocation where fiscal responsibility is expected to wear a new look in tandem with global best practices in fiscal federalism. There was, as the restructuring translated, as 'to develop at your own pace especially in the area of education, somehow equated it with regionalism.

However, the reason for the rise in the clamor for the restructuring of the country is due to the dissatisfaction with both the system, and the government. Indeed, if the government had satisfied the needs of the people, there would not have been the upsurge for a restructured Nigeria. Even if there were, they would have been very minimal. But if the true meaning of restructuring is reviewing our achievements thus far, as a nation, then the sudden demise of the clamor is indeed a great challenge to any hope of a united, and developed Nigeria.

However, Alhaji Balarabe Musa, the former governor of Kaduna State, did opine that the agitation for a restructured Nigeria stemmed from people's dissatisfaction with the system, and, as such, should be taken serious. He recommended that Nigeria be restructured in four respects. Firstly, Nigeria should reconcile Nigerians to feel united, and have a sense of belonging. This would deemphasize the clamor for Oduduwa Republic, Biafra or Arewa. Secondly, since some of the 36 states cannot survive on their own, cannot even pay workers, and are doing so many things wrongly, and none of them is strong enough to stand, as a federating unit, then, let us go back to the regional arrangement whereby we can have a federation of six regions. Each region should be able to solve its own problems without referring to the Federal Government. The Federal Government can give guidance, and ensure national unity, but let the regions be capable of taking care of themselves. Thirdly, as alternative to the second option, let us have a restructured Nigeria where the states would control the economy, unlike what is obtainable now where instead of the state playing the leading role in the economy, its function has been minimized, as the economy has been privatized, so the deciding factor is self interest, and not public interest.

Certainly, one may well align with Bukar Usman who said that the evils of corruption, greed, selfishness, impunity, and mismanagement of public funds which have plagued the nation for years are from human weakness, and poor compliance with rules, and regulations. It is not a structural matter that disposal of litigations in courts is prolonged in Nigeria relative to the swiftness with which similar cases are disposed of in courts in other countries. Electoral malpractices are not structurally induced. They are due to non observance of the rules. While one may not want to invoke the adage, "A bad workman blames his tools," it should be re-asserted that the solution to some of Nigeria's socio-economic, and political problems lies more in a much-needed change of attitude to governance by the operators than in restructuring of the country, hence the need to change the modus operandi that has hitherto yielded nothing but distrust among the components units. Unfortunately, this modus operandi have been institutionalized so much so that the structure has been compromised, leading to distrusts. This distrust is, as a result of poverty, and deprivation, as well, as lack of justice, and equity.

VIII. RECOMMENDATIONS

The paper recommended the following:

1. that the country be returned to the path of equity, equality, and justice;
2. people of the same language (regions) should be allowed to develop policies that will guide their developmental trajectories including resource control, policing, education, and law on religious practices;
3. at the Centre, power must rotate sequentially among the six geo-political zone of South West, South-South, South-East, North-East, North-West, North-Central uncontested with irrespective of political power affiliation.
4. Those championing the restructuring call should resuscitate it because change does not come without a push. That their efforts so far have, as not yielded positively does not mean that it will not yield, but perhaps more time, and more pressures, and perseverance is needed.

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