Nigerian Federalism: The Quest for Restructuring

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ABSTRACT
The quest for restructuring Nigeria’s federal system has been a frequent tune from most of her citizens. This challenge has created a wide gap in the federation which threatens the sovereignty of the nation. These agitations for secession/ disintegration, and restructuring from different strata of the nation have constituted a major threat to Nigerian sovereignty. Hence, the study looks at the make or mar locus confronting Nigeria federal system. Primary and secondary data were used for this study; the primary data were gathered through the use of a questionnaire, while content analysis was used for secondary data. The study revealed some issues involved in the agitation for restructuring which includes among others, the secession of some federating units, the creation of additional states, corruption, leadership crises, and the poor state of the country’s economy. Hence, the study recommends that there is an urgent need to restructure Nigeria’s federalism structure, especially the constitutional review that would involve all ethno-regional entities of the federation to engender equity and equality. The study concludes that until the political leaders reform the institutions and structures of the federal system, Nigeria’s nation may not attain its potential.

Keywords: Restructuring; Federalism; True federalism; Secession; Sovereignty; Nigeria

ABSTRAK
Pencarian untuk merestrukturisasi sistem federal Nigeria telah menjadi lagu yang sering terdengar dari sebagian besar warga negaranya. Tantangan ini telah menciptakan jurang lebar dalam federasi yang mengancam kedaulatan bangsa. Agitasi untuk pemisahan / disintegrasi, dan restrukturisasi dari strata bangsa yang berbeda telah menjadi ancaman besar bagi kedaulatan Nigeria. Oleh karena itu, penelitian ini melihat pada lokus make or mar menghadapi sistem federal Nigeria. Data primer dan sekunder digunakan untuk penelitian ini; data primer dikumpulkan melalui penggunaan kuesioner, sedangkan analisis isi digunakan untuk data sekunder. Studi ini mengungkapkan beberapa masalah yang terlibat dalam agitasi untuk restrukturisasi yang meliputi antara lain pemisahan beberapa unit federasi, pembentukan negara bagian tambahan, korupsi, krisis kepemimpinan, dan keadaan ekonomi negara yang buruk. Oleh karena itu, penelitian ini merekomendasikan bahwa ada kebutuhan mendesak untuk merestrukturisasi struktur federalisme Nigeria, khususnya tinjauan konstitusional yang akan melibatkan semua entitas etno-regional federasi untuk menghasilkan keadilan dan kesetaraan. Studi tersebut menyimpulkan bahwa hingga para pemimpin politik mereformasi institusi dan
INTRODUCTION

Federalism as a system of government has been in practice in Nigeria over the years. The agitation for true federalism and restructuring to achieve rapid development and inculcate good governance in order to enhance unity among the citizens is not a new phenomenon in the country’s political history. The idea of a nexus between restructuring and dismembering of Nigeria continue gained political momentum in some ethnic identities which threaten the stability of the nation (Onuigbo and Eme, 2019). Nigeria is a nation with over 250 ethnic groups with Hausa/Fulani, Yoruba, and Igbo, as the three major groups. The history of Nigeria as a nation can however be traced from the amalgamation of the southern and northern protectorates in 1914 by Sir Lord Lugard. After the 1914 amalgamation, nothing much was done to this structure, until the introduction of the Richard Constitution in 1946 that recognized three regions in Nigeria namely, the Northern (predominantly Hausa/Fulani), Western (predominantly Yoruba) and Eastern regions (predominantly Igbo) and the Colony of Lagos which was the federal capital territory. This was the first time the idea of a federal system surfaced in the country. The country got her independent from British on 1 October 1960, the structure of the federation increased to four regions in 1963, i.e mid-western region which was created from western region. Nigerian federation shifted from regional governments to adoption of states governments as a federating unit during the civil war of 1967, when 12 states were created by military decree to replace the four regional governments. This increased to 19 states in 1976, 21 states in 1987, 30 states in 1991, and the present 36 states in 1996, with 6 geopolitical zones, i.e North-West, North-East, North-Central, South-West, South-South, and South-East. It is pertinent to note that all these creations and structures were done by military regimes.
The present 1999 constitution of the federal republic of Nigeria was promulgated on 29 May 1999, which kicks start the fourth republic is also the creation or product of military decree, which negate the democratic tenets that any federal system should dwell on. The main reason for jettisoned the regional structure for the state structure was not far fetched from the effect of the civil war, which had its claim on ‘regionalism’. The eastern region which is predominantly the Igbo were clamoring for secession from Nigeria federation and disaggregate to Biafra nation, but other minorities ethnicity from the region disengaged from the struggle of Biafra nation, hence the movement from regionalism structure to adoption of state structure as a federating unit to cater for other minorities across the federation, and much more to weaken the power regionalism. The adoption of the state structure to replace the regional structure during the civil war was more of divide and rule tactics.

Despite this structure, the problem of inequality in power and resources allocation among the citizens and the federating units has created a wide gap and this has also threatening the sovereignty of the nation due to obvious division and agitations from groups and organization calling for the disintegration of the federation. Onuigbo and Eme (2019) observe that this threat has created disunity which has led citizens to retreat from Nigerian-ness, egged on resentments at inequity and injustice, back to primordial identities that make a mockery of Nigeria nationhood. Odewale and Adepoju (2020) also assert that “good governance would still be a mirage in Nigeria until we admit that our problem is not central, and cannot be solved centrally, but at the source, place and by persons, where, and whom is deeply felt”. The quest for true federalism and restructuring has been a frequent tune from most of Nigerian citizens. Okorocha (2017) observes that agitation for true federalism and restructuring has been in existence for decades and seems to be an intergenerational challenge. There are several problems militating against Nigerian federalism which include its formation process, ideological
deficiency, its nonconformity with the classical theorists of federalism and as well as the factors that brings about unity in diversity is absent in the Nigerian federalism. The call for restructuring is centered on the structural change of Nigerian federalism and the review of the constitution so as the guarantee the interests of the majority without leaving those of the minority and general masses uncared for.

Despite these calls for restructuring in the Nigerian federation, the political class perceived power as everything and the control of state power became the focal and central preoccupation. Consequently, the struggle for power became so absorbing that everything else, including development was slaughtered on the altar of political struggle for power. Thus, resulting in some parts of the country clamoring for secession and disintegration.

Onuigbo & Eme (2019) also assert that the debate on restructuring the Nigerian political system has emerge into three categories of beliefs and mindsets; the protagonists, antagonists, and centrists. The mindset of the protagonist pronounces the need to restructure the Nigerian political system to engender the rapid development by devolving more powers to constituent units. The antagonists are of the opinion that restructuring is not needed, and there is nothing wrong with the existing structure, while some of these same thought believe that that the existing federalism is a ruse, and it does not need any restructuring, but every regions or nations within the federation should disintegrate and independent on their own as a separate nation. The centrists hold a moderate view that Nigeria is better together as a indivisible nation, and that there should be a balance between restructuring and secession. The ongoing clamoring for Yoruba Nation and Biafra in the South Western and Eastern parts of the country by some group led by a human right activist, Comrade Sunday Adeyemo, popularly known as Sunday Igboho and Nnamdi Kanu respectively, is as a result of the factors militating against the practice of true federalism. The Yoruba Nation and Biafra agitations are political ideologies to realize the independence and
sovereign country for the Yoruba and Igbo races in Nigeria due to some factors which include; indiscriminate killings of the Yoruba people by the Fulani Herdsmen, ethno-regional rivalry or consideration, marginalization of some ethnic groups, uneven control of resources, distrust etc. Some also perceived that the killing of innocent citizens by bandits and terrorists from the Fulani extraction is a strategy to create unrest and acrimony in the country that will eventually lead to disintegration of the federation.

Adebanjo (2021) also opines that restructuring is the only solution that can solve all the problems confronting Nigeria nation. The quest for restructuring among Nigerians for some time is intensely established across the federation. It is also pertinent to state that this call for restructuring has birthed some confusion among the geo-political zones in the federation. All geopolitical zone has its own view or perspective of restructuring, most the South-East citizens are of the opinion that restructuring means creation of an additional state and rotational of presidency to all geo-political zones, the South-South believe that restructuring means resource control, while the South-West are of the view that restructuring means devolution of power and the North may see it differently, but whatever is the case, we are better off as a united Nigeria (Okorocha, 2017).

Moreso, Agbu (2004) maintains that agitation in Nigeria’s federal set up had fundamentally manifested itself over the quest for access and control over political powers. However there has been a failure of governance at all levels of democratic governance structure mostly due to bad leadership and corruption over the years, while Abbas (2013), asserts that the idea of true federalism, restructuring, in terms of resource control, revenue sharing formula are aimed at ensuring balanced national development, unity and peaceful co-existence. The recent agitations for secession/ disintegration, and restructuring from different strata of the nation have constituted a major threat to Nigerian sovereignty. Hence, this study looks at the make or mar locu
confronting Nigeria federal system. The paper is divided into introductory section, research methodology, conceptual clarifications, theoretical framework, result, discussion of findings, followed by recommendations and conclusion.

LITERATURE REVIEW
RESTRUCTURING

Literally, restructuring is seen as an act of improving or re-organizing the legal, ownership, operational or other structure for the purpose of making it more manageable or better organized for its present needs. This literal meaning exhibit that there must be existing structure before re-structuring can occur. Restructuring according to Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary (9th ed.) is to organize something such as a system or a company in a new and different way. Furthermore it means the alteration and re-organization of an existing system in way different from how it uses to be. Nkwede (2013) see restructuring as a systematic intervention aimed at improving the structure, operations system and procedures to enable its transformation as an important agent of change, and as a veritable instrument of social cohesion and socio-economic development. Folajoba (2017) see the concept as a corporate phenomenon that involve the revisit of the constitution that will support good governance, respect for citizen, equity and equality.

Obiora (2018) asserts that, to restructure is to change an existing statuesque in order to make it more functional. Deductive from his assertion is that restructuring is a purpose-driven activity that hinges on replacement of an existing nature of a system with a new one that will be suitable to achieve the purpose of the system. In view of this, restructuring is operationally seen in this study as a significant alteration, re-organization, reformation and re-arrangement of an existing structuring, form or statuesque in a revolutionary or evolutionary manner with the aim of making it more effective, improved and efficient. Restructuring is simply a call for true federalism, especially in Nigeria context.
FEDERALISM

The word “Federalism” has come to mean different things to different people across the world.

The first major contemporary work on the concept of federalism was Federal Government by K.C. Wheare (1963). In his book, Wheare’s views of federalism was couched in legal and institutional terms. His ‘federal principle’ is defined as ‘the method of dividing powers so that the general and regional governments are each within a sphere, coordinate and independent’ of one another. Federalism is one of the political systems that have evolved and has been evolved by certain nations and states. Federalism is a political structure that allows states to unite under a central government to maintain a measure of independence and interdependence. The reason behind is to create supreme authority centrally while the component states retain a considerable amount of semi autonomy.

The most acceptable definition of federalism is that of K.C. Wheare, “he defines it as the method of dividing powers so that general and regional governments are each, within a sphere coordinate and independent of one another”. K.C. Wheare’s proposition posits that the federal principles essentially entail a legal division of powers and functions among the levels of government with a ‘written constitution’ guaranteeing and reflecting the division. Federalism is also seen as an institutional structure or a form of government deliberately designed to anchor the difficult task of maintaining the unity of the union and the diversities of every component units.

TRUE FEDERALISM

Ola (1989) considers federalism to be “true” when it responds to and is capable of satisfying or managing the demands made by political society; while Verny (1998) states that “a true federalism has both a distribution of political power specified in the constitution and a direct relationship between political power and the individual citizen”. The essence of true federalism is to allow
each state or region in a federation a significant measure of autonomy to manage its affairs. To some segments of the country especially in Nigeria federation, “true federalism” means state control of natural resources. In this context each state is entitled to revenue derived from natural resources and other sources in its territory and pays only a mini percentage to the central government. Indeed, those who advocate this view of “true federalism” claim that no other federal system in the world centralizes control of natural resources. At other times they argue that such centralization is responsible for corruption and mis-governance in Nigeria. True federalism may also been seen as the carbon template of United Stated of America federalism structure, since the foundation of federalism could be traced to the nation.

SOVEREIGNTY

Sovereignty is a term that is used to refer to the independence and autonomy of modern nation states. Sovereignty refers to the reality that nations have complete independence and authority over the decisions they make in the areas affecting their citizens. Sovereignty means that nation states are free to decide for themselves about the kind of democracy that they want, the kind of rulers that they want, and their policies internally and externally. Philpott (2020), observes that Sovereignty is the highest power in a territory. Internal state hierarchy and external state autonomy are both implied by sovereignty. Spruyt (1994) also opines that, the person sovereignty is given to a body or institution having ultimate authority over other individuals in order to create a law or change an existing one. The idea of sovereignty is frequently used to distinguish between nation states making decisions on their own and resisting external constraints on the decision making process. In this respect, sovereign nations are expected to be autonomous and independent when they pursue policies that are in their interest and their people’s interest and not according to the dictates of a foreign power.
SECESSION

Many others scholars, including social scientists, have some consensus about the definition of secession. When reading some scholarly works on secession, one could ask if studying secession is even a viable intellectual endeavor. Some legal scholars and political scientists define secession so narrowly that only a few incidents of secession have occurred in the last century. These experts tend to imply that, because secession is such a rare occurrence, there is no value in comparing secessions among states. Radan (2008) defines secession as “a creation of new state upon territory previously forming part of, or being a colonial entity of, an existing state”. Anderson (2013) sees secession as the detachment of territory ‘without the consent’ of the host state, that is the former sovereign, As Radan (2008) and Anderson (2013) note, the definition of secession here is made contingent on a specific process of detachment or withdrawal. Anderson (2013) also defines secession as the withdrawal of territory (colonial or non-colonial) from part of an existing state to create a new state. A major difference between this two is that Anderson’s definition assumes that colonies are parts of existing states, since both definition includes decolonization as a form of secession.

For Crawford (2013) from the standpoint of international law, and international practices of states recognition, cases in which a sovereign consents to or agrees to a detachment of territory are unproblematic. If and when the host state consents to such a withdrawal of territory it recognizes the newly created states independent and other states are free to do and follow suit. Likewise, the recognition by the host state appears to be necessary for the admission of a newly created state to the United Nations, the exclusive club of sovereign and independent states. In this sense, detachments of territory and creation of new states on these territories with the consent of the host state (‘former sovereign’) pose no problem for international law and practice and hence are not deemed to be secessions: secessions are only those problematic cases of detachments to which the host state
at least initially does not consent. Political scientists such as Heraclides (1991) who offer similar definitions to Crawford’s, probably find the above unproblematic detachments of territory lacking in many features of the ‘abrupt and unilateral’ separations which they prefer to study. The latter ‘abrupt and unilateral’ that is, non-consensual secessions, are characterized by a protracted political conflict often escalating to violence; Heraclides and many other social scientists are primarily interested the political conflict that is at the core of non-consensual secession.

Haverland (2000) also define secession as the separation of the portion of the state’s territory by its resident with the goal of forming of a new independent state or joining another state. Havereline’s inclusive definition aims to distinguish territorial detachments in which the resident population involved as an alleged detachment from those in which it is not. The approach to secession is centered on the removal of territory and sovereignty from an internationally recognized state, rather than a change of government or regime on the seceded region.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study attempts to look at the relevancy of various theories of federalism as it situate to the current occurrence in the quest for restructuring the Nigerian federalism system.

K.C Wheare Constitutionalism and Nigeria Federalism

K.C Wheare approach to federalism is seen as traditional approach, due to the fact that his ideas provided a template for the debate on federalism. One of the ideas in in his book ‘federal government’ in 1963 cogently talks about the institutional structure through constitutionalism. To him federalism should be expressed in terms of division of powers to constituent units through a rigid or written constitution. The constitutional arrangement of dividing powers among the constituent units within the sphere of coordinate with other and independent from each
other is lagging in Nigeria federalism. The federal principles are not adequately articulated in the constitution. The general/central government is more powerful, and the regional/state governments are more depending on the central government for survival. Central government of Nigeria is seen as one of the most powerful central government in terms of powers and responsibilities accrue to them by the constitution. The constitution need to be amended to accommodate more powers devolve to the state government for the survival and continuation of the union in the nation.

Livingstone Idea and Nigeria Society

William Livingstone idea differ s from the legal formulation of Wheare. Livingstone (1956) emphasize on the sociological approach, which talks about the interaction on the nature of society. He believes that federal constitution is the incorporation of federal principles in division of powers between constituent units, but much more, federal society essentially promote social culture structures in terms of cultures, race, ethnicity, geographical location, religion, language etc. He posited that the ability to harmonize these social cultural structures to recognize each other and able to relate effectively to each other in order to achieve unity in diversity would make the federalism to work better. The sociological approach of Livingstone on federalism is that all strata of the society should be considered if there is going to be success for any federal system, which is much more needed in in current Nigeria society. Nigeria is more divided than ever across the regions, ethnicity, religion, language and culture. The constitutional amendment should take all these factors into considerations in order to achieve unity in diversity.

Carl Friedrich Approach and Nigeria Federalism

Carl Friedrich is another theorist that discusses federalism as a process of igniting unity and diversity. Friedrich (1968) asserts that the trends of political organization in federal system should
promote an avenue where unity and diversity of all stakeholders are paramount. He also sees the process of federalism in two forms; aggregation and disaggregation. This means that the union can go in either direction or in both directions. The forces of unity and disunity are visible, but the ability to aggregate their differences would determine how far the union can go. The example of aggregate federalism is that of USA, while disaggregate federalism is that of Soviet Union of 26 December 1991. The effect of this disaggregation is still evident till date (June, 2022) where Russia is waging war against Ukraine. Friedrich sees federalism as a process of promoting unity and diversity. He is of the opinion that forces of unity and disunity are both visible in federal state. Nigeria is a nation with over 250 ethnic groups is now confronting with forces of disunity than ever. The nation is at her make or mar locus, and the ability to use the economic and sociological forces to enhance unity in diversity need to be imbibed to sustain the federal union from disintegration.

Ricker Bargaining Approach and Nigeria Federalism

Meanwhile, William Ricker view federalism from static perspective, as a bargain approach for the component units. Ricker (1964) opines that the condition for bargaining approach of federalism could be view in two folds; expansionist condition and defense condition. The expansionist condition weightage the desire of a nation to expand her territory, while defense condition stresses the presence of external threat or indication. He further stated that if these two conditions continue to exist, there would be a federal system, but in as much as these conditions ceased to exist, there exist a threat to that union. Ricker shed more light on Friedrich aggregation and disaggregation process of federalism on the fact that Friedrich does not give reason for forming federalism in the first instance, but Ricker established the fact that there is a condition that brought about the union or disunion. It is also apparent to state that federalism may be operating in both directions of integration and differentiation. The
two bargaining conditions of Ricker view of federalism, i.e. the expansionist and defense conditions are relevant to Nigeria current situation. The idea of Ricker is that if these two conditions exist in a federal system, there exist a federal state, but if these conditions are not in existence, there emerged a threat to the union. The territory of Nigeria nation has not been expanding over the years, also the threat against the external aggression has been in a mirage over the years, but occurrence that have pervaded almost every regions, and states of the federation has been internal, instead of external in form of terrorists, bandits, kidnappers, herdsmen/farmers clashes etc. The absence of the Ricker conditions in the present Nigeria federal system call for a thorough reasoning among Nigeria nations.

METHODOLOGY

The study employed both primary and secondary data. Primary data were derived from Questionnaires which were distributed online using Google form, while secondary data were obtained from books, academic journals, and online materials. Simple random sampling technique were used to select 120 respondents from the six geo-political zones in Nigeria which include North-west, North-East, North-central, South east, South-west and South-South geo-political zones. Data collected were analyzed using descriptive statistics.
As shown in the figure above; 50(41.7%) strongly agreed and 12(10.0%) agreed that creation of additional states is a critical issue involved in the agitation for restructuring in Nigeria. 8(6.7%) While, 29(24.2%) disagreed and 21(17.5%) strongly disagreed. However, it is ranked highest by the mean, (mean = 2.66, S.D. = 1.62), this implies that 51.7% agree to the statement and an aggregate of 41% disagreed to the creation of the additional states. This is an indication that creation of additional states is part of the critical issues involved in the agitation for restructuring in Nigeria.

The respondents were also asked if revenue allocation formula is one of the issues involved in the agitation for restructuring in Nigeria. In their reactions, 72(60.0%) and 35(29.2%) strongly agreed and agreed respectively, which gives an aggregate of 89.2% that agreed to the statement. 5(4.2%) were undecided, 2(1.7%) and 6(5.0%) disagreed and strongly disagreed respectively. This is an indication that revenue allocation formula is a major issue involved in the agitation for restructuring in Nigeria.
The item, Corruption, leadership crises and management are ranked lowest by the mean, (mean = 1.48, S.D. = 0.48). 80(66.7%) and 29(24.2%) strongly agreed and agreed which gives an aggregate of 90.9% which agreed to the statement. This reveals that corrupt practices have been rooted in the administration and it is definitely a critical issue. Also, 6(5.0%) were undecided, 3(2.5%) disagreed and 2(1.7%) strongly disagreed.

The respondents were also asked if political marginalization is one of the critical issues involved in the agitation for restructuring in Nigeria. In their reactions, an aggregate of 37(30.8%) maintained strongly agree, 42(35.0%) agreed. However, 33(27.5%) were undecided. While, just 4(3.3%) disagreed and 4(3.3 %) strongly agreed (mean=2.13, S.D=1.00). This implies that more than 62% of the respondents expressed their view on the agreement of marginalization of growth while their response to disagreement was not up to 10%.

In addition, respondents were asked to agree or disagree with the statement on whether constitution and constitutionalism is a critical issue. In their responses, 35(37.5%) strongly agreed 43(35.8%) agreed, 23(19.2%) were undecided, 4(3.3%) disagreed, 5(4.2%) strongly disagreed with this statement. this statistically affirmed (mean=2.00, S.D= 1.02). This asserts that the aggregate of 73% agreed on the fact that constitution and constitutionalism is part of the major issues involved in the agitation for restructuring.

However, 40(33.3%) of the respondents strongly agreed; 56(46.7%) agreed, 10(8.3%) were undecided. 3(2.5%) disagreed while 11(9.2%) strongly disagreed with the statement on ethno-religious conflicts as a critical issue involved in the agitation of restructuring. 80% of the respondents agree to this statement (mean=2.08, S. D=1.16). This implies that ethno-religious conflict constitutes a major issue in agitation for restructuring in Nigeria.

The study acknowledges that the concentration of oil with the minorities is one of the critical issues involved in the agita-
tion for restructuring. The findings were revealed that by 41(34.2%) and 57(47.5%) of the respondents were strongly agreed and agreed respectively which gives a total of 81.7% of the respondents that agreed to the statement. 13(10.8%) were undecided, 2(1.7%) and 7(5.8%) disagreed and agreed respectively. This implies that 81% of the respondents agreed that oil and minority agitation also forms part of the issues involved in the agitations for restructuring in Nigeria, while 12% disagreed on the statement.

Respondents expressed their views on the poor state of the economy in the country. About 64(53.3%) of the respondents strongly agreed and 46(38.3%) of the respondents agreed to the statement that it is a critical issue involved in the agitation for restructuring. Nevertheless, 7(5.8%) neither agreed nor disagreed to this statement. Meanwhile, 1(0.8%) of the respondents disagreed and 2 representing 1.7% of the respondents strongly disagreed to this assertion, (mean=1.59, S.D =0.78)

Also, the respondents expressed their view on secession as a critical issue involved in the agitation for restructuring in Nigeria. 32(26.7%) of the respondents strongly agreed; and 54(45.0%) agreed. However, 13(10.8%) was undecided. 9(7.5%) strongly disagreed and 12(10.0%) disagreed by secession, (mean = 2.29, S.D = 1.23). 71.7% of the respondents agreed that secession is a critical issue involved in the agitation for restructuring in Nigeria. What this implies is that secession is the most critical issue involved in the agitation for restructuring in Nigeria.

Restructuring can help in curbing ethno-religious conflicts (mean =1.77, S.D = 0.22). 42(34.2%) of the respondents strongly agreed; and 68(56.7%) agreed. However, 8(6.7%) was undecided. None of the respondents strongly disagreed while, 2(1.7%) disagreed. This implies that aggregate of 63.4% agreed on the statement which means that the respondents really affirmed to the statements that restructuring can curb ethno-religious conflicts.

In addition, the respondents expressed their view on restructuring can establish true federalism in the nation, (mean=1.79,
S.D. =0.83). 46(38.3%) strongly agreed and 60(50.0%) agreed to the statement which gives an aggregate of 88.3% that affirmed that agreement on the statement. 10(8.3%) were undecided, 1(0.8%) and 3(2.5%) were strongly disagreed and agreed respectively.

Restructuring can help reduce the agitation for self-determination and secession is ranked lowest by the mean, (mean = 1.73, S.D. = 0.87). 55(45.8%) and 51(42.5%) strongly agreed and disagreed respectively, this makes an aggregate of 88.3% that agreed on the statement. 9(7.5%) were undecided while, 29(1.7%) and3(2.5%) were strongly agreed and disagreed respectively.

Also, Restructuring can help facilitate better governance, (mean = 1.85, S.D.=1.13). In the respondent’s reaction, 56(46.7%) and 46(38.3%) were strongly agreed and agreed respectively, which gives an aggregate of 85% that affirmed to the statement. 7(5.8%) were undecided. However, 2(1.7%) and 9(7.5%) disagreed and strongly disagreed respectively.

Restructuring can reduce the agitation for creation of additional states is ranked highest by the mean, (mean = 1.93, S.D. = 1.09). 47 which is representing 39.2% and 55 which is representing 45.8% were based on strongly agreed and agreed respectively, 7(5.8%) neither agreed or disagreed to the statement. 2(1.7%) disagreed and 9(7.5%) strongly disagreed to the statement. The respondents really affirmed to the statements that restructuring can reduce the agitation for creation of additional states.

The respondents expressed their views on fiscal federalism, (mean = 1.67, S.D. = 0.79). 57(47.5%) and 51(42.5%) strongly agreed and agreed on the statement which is needed for adequate and effective positive change. 9(7.5%) were undecided, while 1(0.8%) and 2(1.7%) were strongly disagreed and disagreed respectively. This indicates that 89% agreed to fiscal federalism as a kind of restructuring that is needed in Nigeria for adequate and effective positive change. While the respondents that disagreed were not up to 10%.

Administrative federalism is ranked highest by the mean,
(mean = 169, S.D. = 0.81), 56(46.7%) and 50(41.7%) were strongly agreed and agreed respectively. 11(9.2%) were undecided, 1(0.8%) and 2(1.7%) strongly disagreed and disagreed respectively. This indicates an aggregate of 88.4% that affirmed to the agreement of the statement of the respondents agreed administrative federalism is needed for adequate and effective positive change.

It was also asserted that True federalism is needed for adequate and effective positive change. 69(57.9%) and 36(30.0%) strongly agreed and agreed on the statement. 12(10.0 %) were undecided, while 1(0.8%) and 2(1.7%) were strongly disagreed and disagreed respectively.

Co-operative federalism is ranked lowest by the mean, (mean = 0.84, S.D. = 1.02.) 37(30.8%) and 52(43.8%) were strongly agreed and agreed on the statement that co-operative federalism is needed for effective and adequate positive change. 24(20.0%) were undecided, none was strongly disagreed and 7(5.8%) were disagreed.

What this implies is that majority of the respondents which is 73% agreed on co-operative federalism while 25% disagreed on the kind of restructuring needed.

**DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS**

The main purpose of this study is to examine the quest for restructuring of Nigeria federal system. The research revealed some challenges and prospect involved in the agitation for restructuring in Nigeria. Paramount among the challenges is secession, creation of additional states, corruption, leadership crises, poor state of the economy in the country and revenue allocation formula. According to the respondents, some other issues involved in the agitations for restructuring in Nigeria include police reform, bad leadership, unfair zoning, insecurity, ethnic favoritism, absence of true federal character, out-of-school children, police brutality, improper budget management and so on. This confirm the assertion of Okorocha (2017) that restructuring mean different things to different people, or ethnic group. It also af-
firm the position of Onuigbo and Eme (2019) that the nexus between restructuring and dismembering of Nigeria continue to gained political momentum across ethnic identities which threatening the stability of the nation.

Moreso, the findings reveal some prospects for proper restructuring of Nigeria federalism. The study reveal that proper restructuring can curb ethno-religious conflicts, self-determination and secession, reduce poverty, bring about good governance, and enhance unity in diversity. This is in the same view of Adebanjo (2021) that the restructuring is the only solution that can solve the problems confronting Nigeria nation. The study also reveals that can establish true federalism, which would satisfy the demand of the citizens. This is in tandem with the assertion of Ola (1989) that true federalism is response to demand made by political society. Also, the study revealed different kinds of restructuring needed in Nigeria for adequate and effective positive change. Topping the list are administrative federalism, fiscal federalism, and true federalism.

RECOMMENDATION

The federal system of Nigeria should be re-strengthened in such a way that they are capable of performing well and should be resistant to corruption, so that political restructuring may be implemented quickly as soon as possible. There is urgent need in the overhauling of the 1999 constitution of the federal republic of Nigeria, which would engender the rapid development across the nation. The constitutional review that would cater for all stakeholders from federating units in order to inculcate inclusive governance in the federation must be imbibed. The country’s structure should be designed to ensure regional equality in terms of the number of states and local governments, land mass, and population, in order to reduce resource control conflicts. All Nigerians, regardless of tribe or region of origin, should be value-oriented and psychologically designed to comprehend the importance of unity in diversity and the benefits of politically re-
constructing the country into an equitable society. This will also cause them to adjust their laid-back attitude and adopt a more proactive approach. The proper fiscal federalism that would empower the constituents units to access natural resources domicile in their jurisdictions and remit the minimal to the central government should be allow striving.

CONCLUSION

This study concludes that Nigeria’s system of Federalism has been ill-sharpened and full of corruption, insincerity, and lack of measureable progress. The endless quest for political restructuring and self-determination will not be a mirage until there is a proper restructuring that would engender rapid and even development of the federation. Nigeria is better as one. The population of over 200 million people should be strength to build a formidable nation. Though, tongues and language may differ, in brotherhood we stand. Until the political leaders reform the structures of the federal system to give a good picture of true federalism, Nigeria nation may not attain her potentials.

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