IISTE

Political Restructuring, Federalism and Democratic Sustainability in Nigeria

Osimen Goddy Uwa[1]   Aghemelo, Austine Thomas (Phd)[2]   Oyewole, Oyindamola O
1.Department of Political Science & International Relations, Achievers University, Owo.
2.Department of Political Science, Ambrose Alli University, Ekpoma

Abstract
Nigeria has undergone a long process of restructuring in terms of the number of geo-political administrative areas called states or regions constituting the country. This process is popularly referred to as "state creation", that is the process whereby new geo-political units/constituents known as "states" in most federations are created out of existing or old ones. The outcome of this process is usually an increase in the number of states constituting the Nigerian federation. Nigeria is one of the most ethnically diverse countries in the world with well over 250 ethno linguistic groups, some of which are bigger than many independent states of contemporary Africa. The Nigerian federalism is a creation of the British. Before the arrival of British colonialists, the area now known as Nigeria was inhabited by peoples who belonged to different Empires, kingdoms and societies, which were traditionally administered. The arrival of British and other European explorers, merchants and religious missionaries introduced slave trade and conflicts and then consequently bringing a new system of governance that executed the organized and transparent institutions and governments that had existed before the balkanization of Africa. This suggests that the formation, evolutionary process and unification of Nigerian political and administrative systems did not represent the interest and aspirations of the natives or ethnic groups. The early pre-independence constitutional development is an example of this misrepresentation of the native consent on what type of system Nigeria will run- whether a federation, a confederation, unitary or not. After the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorates of Nigeria in 1914, the country was more or less run as unitary colony with twenty four provinces (12 in the North and 12 in the South) until the establishment of the federal order by the Richards constitution of 1946. Thereafter, ethnic politics (otherwise known as tribalism) and regionalism have become definitive features of Nigeria federalism. The aim of this paper was therefore, to examine the origins and sequences of events on restructuring that creates the contemporary Nigerian state including the structure and features of Nigerian Federalism and it traces. The paper revealed that some of the challenges facing Nigerian federalism are; revenue sharing formula among the tiers, state creation, resource control and power sharing. This all have cumulated in placing the democratic rule in the country at a disadvantaged position. Consequently, the dividends of democracy have seized to reach the hands of the common people. It is on the bases of this some policy recommendations were made.
Keywords: federalism, democracy, democratic sustainability, politics, political restructuring

Introduction
Nigeria has undergone a long process of restructuring in terms of the number of geo-political administrative units constituting the polity. This process is popularly referred to as "state creation" and/or "reorganization" the process whereby new geo-political units/constituents known as "states" in most federations are created out of existing or old ones. The outcome of this process is usually an increase in the number of states constituting the Nigerian federation.

Historically speaking, the issue of state creation in Nigeria started as far back as 1963, when the Midwest was carved out of the former Western Region by the Abubakar Tafawa Balewa administration. In 1967 the country was further divided into 12 states by the administration of General Yakubu Gowon. This progressive increase in the number of territorial units continued in 1976 when the Murtala Administration created an additional 7 states, making the total of states 19. Between 1987 and 1991, General Babangida in two separate exercises, created 11 additional states, bringing the total up to 30. And in 1996, the Abacha administration created 6 more states to make the territorial units of the country 36. In attempting to trace the history and politics of state creation in Nigeria, scholarly opinions vary widely, almost occasioning confusion, with particular reference to the timing of the first exercise. There is the convenient temptation, for example, to take the creation of the defunct Mid-Western Region in 1963 under the government of Alhaji Tafawa Balewa, as the first exercise. There has also been the attempt to tie the inception of state creation in Nigeria's political history to the country's constitutional development. According to Yaqub (1997:186), for example, state creation in its most significant importance in Nigeria, is primarily a constitutional issue and this is so because of the nature of its entry into the country's political engineering. From this perspective, it would seem that state creation was concomitant to a series of constitutional developments beginning with the 1946 Richard's Constitution through the 1951 and 1954 Constitutions, which involved the creation of the Eastern, Northern, and Western Regions and culminated in the establishment of a federal Nigerian state in 1954 (Nicolson, 1967). In other words, the

phenomenon of state creation and constitution making is believed to be co-eval. But this contention must run into problem on three grounds. One, there was a constitution (Lyttleton) before the 1946 Constitution. Two, the 1946 Constitution did not federalize. And three, at best, the period up to 1954, during which no creation or reorganization took place, should be regarded as a period of colonial structural consolidation, a period at which a definite Nigerian political form was yet to emerge. Moreover, all of the territorial gerrymandering at the time was mostly externally determined and mainly in colonial interest and for colonial convenience, not in response to indigenous agitation, even when such agitation was already a political fact in the middle belt, the Calabar, Ogoja and Rivers areas etc. Up to 1963, all advocacies for multiplicity of constituent units by Dr Nnamdi Azikwe and Chief Obafemi Awolowo in their books had been ignored. The search for the origin of the phenomenon of restructuring must therefore, of necessity, dig deeper than mere constitutional history.

Under the peculiar circumstances of the emergence of the Nigerian State, the adoption of the federal system provided the most logical platform for the survival of the state. Principally, the adoption of the federal system was informed by the factors of necessity for both autonomy and collaboration among the various groups that make-up the Nigerian-State. For indeed the state was created from the merger of separate groups that have distinct identities, orientation, beliefs, systems, culture, etc. Thus, for the prospects of unity amidst diversity, the federal arrangement appears the most viable option. This point was driven home with the outright rejection of the adoption of the unitary system of government through Decree 34 of 1966. However, despite the realization of the appropriateness of the federal system for Nigeria, stakeholders are yet to properly apply the principles of federalism to solve the numerous challenges confronting the Nigerian State. In this article, some of the variables that have not been adequately handled by the Nigerian ruling class to provide a suitable federal system are highlighted. In this regard, we would discover that the process through which the federal system emerged is faulty, invariably therefore, the management of relationships among the units and institutions working the supposed federal covenant remain tensed. This has weakened the capacity of the Nigerian State to provide the benefits of political stability, economic growth and development and socio-cultural harmony to the citizenry. The chapter commences with the platform for a framework, whereby the point is made that the plural character of Nigeria and the resultant diversity requires an effective and efficient federal system. This is followed by the second part in which the paper presents the variables that require adequate attention before the Nigerian federal system can work for the benefit of all. As a system of political arrangement, federalism has endured as one of the most preferred form of governmental authority in the modern world. Its attraction borders on its perceived integrative tendency that serves heterogeneous societies well in situation of crisis. In Nigeria, attempt at integrating the various nationalities towards mutual accommodation and national consciousness provided the incentive for its adoption. However, the politics of domination strategy adopted, particularly by the major ethnic groups shortly after independence created a non-accomodationist scenario that seriously undermined the potentials of the federal structure in the country. Also, the emergence of the military on the political scene brought about a military styled federal system of administration characterized by over-centralization. Politics and governance under such an atmosphere of undue centralism created fertile ground for corruption, primodialism and explosive ethnic competition. The viability and potentials of sub-national entities as co-ordinate spheres of authority and development was equally undermined, as they became mere appendage of the central government. The eventual outcomes were a general sense of alienation, frustration, insecurity and subjugation. The necessity of harnessing and integrating the country's diverse indigenous experiences into the governance framework becomes fundamental for proactive and positive civic engagement. Effective mass participation emplaces accountability and transparency which are viable ingredients in the management of governmental powers

Conceptual Discourse
According to Watts (1990), three terms are distinguishable in the explanation of federal system of government-these are, federalism, federal political systems and federations. The author explains federalism as a concept thus: "Federalism is basically not a descriptive but a normative term and refers to the advocacy of multi-tiered government combining elements of shared-rule and regional self-rule. It is based on the presumed value and validity of combining unity and diversity and of accommodating, preserving and promoting distinct identities within a larger political union. The essence of federalism as a normative principle is the perpetuation of both union and non-centralization at the same time".

In effect, the normative nature of federalism indicates the acceptance and the bringing to life a system of government that appreciates the combination of shared and separate political values and systems of governance. In contrast to the normative value of federalism, 'federal political systems' and 'federations' are regarded as descriptive terminologies by Watts (1990). According to the author:

"The term "federal political system" refers to a broad category of political systems in which, by contrast to the single central source of authority in unitary systems, there are two (or more) levels of government thus combining elements of shared-rule through common institutions and regional self-rule for the government of the constituent units".

Watts (1990) further explains federation as a system:

> "... in which neither the federal nor the constituent units of government are constitutionally subordinate to the other, i.e. each has sovereign powers derived from the constitution rather than another level of government, each is empowered to deal directly with its citizens in the exercise of its legislative, executive and taxing powers and each is directly elected by its citizens".

The federal political system is therefore a concept that encapsulates a broad spectrum of political arrangements, since it is only significantly differentiated from the unitary system on the basis the nature and character of authority that exists between the central government and the other levels of government. In this regard, Daniel Elazar has identified nine species of federal political systems. These are; Confederation, Federation, Federacy, Associated State, Consociation, Union, League, Joint Functional Authority, Condominium.

Arguably, the most authoritative explanation of federalism is that presented by one of the iconic researchers of federal political systems in the twentieth century- Kenneth C. Wheare. According to Wheare, federalism is a system of government in which there is, "a division of functions between co-ordinate authorities, authorities which are in no way subordinate one to another either in the extent or in the exercise of their allotted functions". In achieving this kind of arrangement, Wheare submits that there would be "the method of dividing powers so that the general and regional governments are each, within a sphere, coordinate and independent". The author lists the following as the essential ingredients of federalism:

a. Division of power among other government;

b. A written constitution showing the division of powers;

c. Coordinate supremacy of two order of the government, with regards to their respective functions.

Inherent in Wheare's explanation of federalism is the existence of a peculiar kind of value system that guides political interactions within independent States, and sometimes, between independent States. In effect, the emphasis here is on the existence of political interaction that takes a cultural garb, which the citizens rely on to advance their national cause, and through which national aspirations are attained. This culture is embedded in the notion of autonomous existence of the layers of government (at least two, but could sometimes be three), and the overarching coordinate relationship such that none of the layers of government has the constitutional right to lord it over others.

Critics have however described Wheare's explanation of federalism as the institutional approach to federalism, which they argue is legalistic and restrictive. The argument is that the explanation does not take cognizance the peculiarities of federal political systems on the basis that, not all political systems are same. Furthermore, there is also the import of ignoring the socio-cultural peculiarities of the people. In essence, the bonds that tie different people together, for which they seek accommodation within a single political system are as varied as the number of states in existence. Thus, while these sets of political systems may adopt a system that recognises the existence of more than one layer of government, the patterns of practising federalism are varied. Instructively, while Wheare's definition of federalism may be the most authoritative, other scholars have attempted to situate the federal political arrangement within the context of the existence of levels of authorities within a State, that focus their coordinate relationship on mutual concerns for achieving national aspirations. While Wheare's efforts is said to rely heavily on constitutional provisions, while ignoring the sociological dimensions of federalism, Livingstone's efforts is regarded as being mainly focussed on dissecting federalism as a function of social diversity rather than of constitutional architecture.

Political Restructuring

Nigeria has undergone a long process of restructuring in terms of the number of geo-political administrative units constituting the polity. This process is popularly referred to as "state creation" and/or "reorganization" the process whereby new geo-political units/constituents known as "states" in most federations are created out of existing or old ones. The outcome of this process is usually an increase in the number of states constituting the Nigerian federation.

Historically speaking, the issue of state creation in Nigeria started as far back as 1963, when the Midwest was carved out of the former Western Region by the Abubakar Tafawa Balewa administration. In 1967 the country was further divided into 12 states by the administration of General Yakubu Gowon. This progressive increase in the number of territorial units continued in 1976 when the Murtala Administration created an additional 7 states, making the total of states 19. Between 1987 and 1991, General Babangida in two separate exercises, created 11 additional states, bringing the total up to 30. And in 1996, the Abacha administration created 6 more states to make the territorial units of the country 36.

In attempting to trace the history and politics of state creation in Nigeria, scholarly opinions vary widely, almost occasioning confusion, with particular reference to the timing of the first exercise. There is the convenient temptation, for example, to take the creation of the defunct Mid-Western Region in 1963 under the government of Alhaji Tafawa Balewa, as the first exercise. There has also been the attempt to tie the inception of state creation in Nigeria's political history to the country's constitutional development.

According to Yaqub (1997:186), for example, state creation in its most significant importance in Nigeria, is primarily a constitutional issue and this is so because of the nature of its entry into the country's political engineering. From this perspective, it would seem that state creation was concomitant to a series of constitutional developments beginning with the 1946 Richard's Constitution through the 1951 and 1954 Constitutions, which involved the creation of the Eastern, Northern, and Western Regions and culminated in the establishment of a federal Nigerian state in 1954 (Nicolson, 1967). In other words, the phenomenon of state creation and constitution making is believed to be co-eval. But this contention must run into problem on three grounds. One, there was a constitution (Lyttleton) before the 1946 Constitution. Two, the 1946 Constitution did not federalize. And three, at best, the period up to 1954, during which no creation or reorganization took place, should be regarded as a period of colonial structural consolidation, a period at which a definite Nigerian political form was yet to emerge.

Moreover, all of the territorial gerrymandering at the time was mostly externally determined and mainly in colonial interest and for colonial convenience, not in response to indigenous agitation, even when such agitation was already a political fact in the middle belt, the Calabar, Ogoja and Rivers areas etc. Up to 1963, all advocacies for multiplicity of constituent units by Dr Nnamdi Azikwe and Chief Obafemi Awolowo in their books, we referred to earlier in this study, had been ignored. The search for the origin of the phenomenon of state creation must therefore, of necessity, dig deeper than mere constitutional history. Thus, the thesis that this paper shall emphasize is the inherent and deep political nature of state creation exercises as well as the resultant politicization of ethnicity or the ethnicization of the politics of state creation that Nigeria has witnessed in recent years.

Different terms have been used by scholars to describe the process of restructuring the state including 'state restructuring', 'state rebuilding', and 'state reconstruction'. Generally speaking, state restructuring refers to the reorganisation of the existing state structure of any given country to achieve certain objectives. The purpose of state restructuring is multi-faceted. In most instances, restructuring is pursued to create a more logical organisation in which the state can perform its mandate and fulfil its responsibilities more efficiently and effectively (Young, nd). It can also be a pursued to reconfigure the relationship between the state, the society and its people or to reconcile the changing dynamics between them. State restructuring may also be a tool for democratising a country or making the state more inclusive. In some situations, it has been used to resolve internal conflict, ethnic or otherwise, including civil war or as part of a post-colonial independence process. State restructuring can also be an effective tool for curing the malaise of a 'weak state'1 or a 'failed state'2. In some countries the restructuring of the state can be an endogenous process, the result of a general consensus between the internal stakeholders, in other countries external factors and actors, such as the international community, may play a greater role. The demand to change an existing state structure and adopt a new one has led to civil war in some countries. Civil wars have also been ended by an agreement to restructure the state in a way that addresses the root causes of the conflict. In some countries, the process of state restructuring is embarked on to end an armed insurgency against the state and ensured that state power is shared among all. State restructuring may also be used to prevent secession and has been relatively successful in achieving this goal in some countries, but not in others. The experiences of a number of countries that have been through the state restructuring process suggests that state restructuring is more likely to succeed in achieving its objectives when the local context is kept in view throughout the process. The experience and knowledge of other countries that have been through a similar process can be helpful in identifying and understanding the issues, but not in addressing them. On the contrary, borrowing solutions from other countries can be counterproductive. For successful state restructuring, the objectives should be realistic and clearly set out and there should be general consensus among all stakeholders on the core principles on which the state restructuring will be based. According to Richard Young, those undertaking state restructuring should identify the strategic aims or purposes of such restructuring; distinguish clearly the problems that the restructuring seeks to fix; consider all vital stakeholders to be affected by the restructuring; and encourage the participation of those directly affected, along with others, while restructuring the state (Young, n.d.).

Democracy
The concept of Democracy is traceable to the ancient Greeks and specifically the city-state of Athens in the fifth century B.C. The word democracy is derived from the Greek words '*demo*s', meaning people, and '*Kratos'* meaning power or rule. Directly translated, democracy therefore means 'rule by the people', although originally the Greeks used it to mean the poor or the masses. Periclean Athens, named after its most celebrated leader, has inspired generations of later political theorists, statesmen, and common people alike. Yet many aspects of Athenian democracy appear strange and unfamiliar to modern eyes. The central political institution in

Athens during the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. was the Assembly, usually composed of 5,000 to 6,000 members and open to all adult citizens with the exception of women, slaves and foreigners. By simple majority vote, the Assembly could decide on virtually any domestic issue without any legal restrictions. Most remarkable,

perhaps, was the fact that the leaders of the Athenian Assembly were not elected, but chosen by lot, as the Athenians believed that any citizen was capable of holding public office. The problem with democracy has been its very popularity, a popularity that has threatened the term's undoing as a meaningful political concept. In being almost universally regarded as a 'good thing', democracy has come to be used as a little more than a word implying approval of a particular set of ideas or system or rule.

In the words of Bernard Crick (1993), 'democracy is perhaps the most promiscuous word in the world of public affairs'2. A term that can mean anything to anyone is in danger of meaning nothing at all. Below are some of the meanings that have been associated with the concept of democracy:

    i. A form of government in which the people rule themselves directly and continuously, without the need for professional politicians or public officials;
    ii. A society based on equal opportunity and individual merit, rather than hierarchy or privilege;
    iii. A system of welfare and redistribution aimed at narrowing social inequalities;
    iv. A system of decision-making based on the principle of majority rule;
    v. A system of rule that protects the rights and interests of minorities by placing checks upon the power of the majority;
    vi. A means of filling public offices through a competitive struggle for the popular vote;
    vii. A system of government that serves the interests of the people regardless of their participation in political office. A system of rule by the poor and disadvantaged.

Democracy as a value, then, means that people will do anything to protect it as it is a part of their culture, thus a way of life of a given people. Like any aspect of culture, members of society need to be socialised into embracing democracy and its ideals. Socialisation, which is the process of transmission of (democratic) values, can be achieved in two ways. The first is a formal process

of learning or schooling which entails a structured learning programme through a school curriculum which members of a given society will be required to learn.Civic education,for example, can be achieved through a formal process of learning. The second is through an informal process of transfer of values of democracy. As democracy becomes a way of life among a given people, democratic values are passed down from one generation to another, sometimes through a non-deliberate process during the early stages of one's socialisation. Simply put, 'democracy is a day-to-day practice where:

    i. Human beings are regarded as equals;
    ii. Every person is respected;
    iii. Everyone's role is understood and appreciated;
    iv. Everybody has the opportunity to be heard and understood;
    v. Everybody has the right to participate in decision-making on matters that affect their lives, everybody has the right to vote on issues and elect their leaders.

Sustainability, as a concept, is less ambiguous than democracy, but suffers from divergent views in how it is measured and implemented. Mason argues that sustainable development implies positive socio-economic change geared towards meeting the needs of present generations, particularly those least well off. At the same time, sustainable practices ensure that we pass on the ecological and economic means that enable future generations to be able to meet their own needs (Mason p. 36). Raven invokes Gandhi's response to the question of whether India would follow the British development process, to which Ganhdi coyly responded "It took Britian half the resources of the planet to attain this prosperity. How many planets will a country like India require?" when addressing the need for sustainable development in the developing world in light of untenable resource requirements. The goal of sustainability can thus be taken as the need to maintain resources for the use of future generations. The challenge, however, is that sustainability indicators (SIs) cannot be so easily defined. Bell and Morse note that "SIs attempt to encapsulate complex and diverse processes in relatively few simple measures," thereby decreasing their effectiveness through oversimplification. Therefore, we will examine the various methodologies for the measurement of sustainability and assess their applicability to our research.

Theoretical Framework

A theory is an explanation of a particular social phenomenon. In this sense, if you say that you have a 'theory' about the demise of the Valois dynasty in late-sixteenth-century France, what you mean is that you can offer an explanation of it. This explanation should identify a number of 'factors' or 'conditions,' which individually should pass some sort of counterfactual test for causal relevance, and whose interaction effects should be somehow taken into account. (A theory could be an explanation of some other kind; I consider only causal explanations because of their The structural-functional theory otherwise known as "functionalism" is one of sociological theories that studies society as a system with different parts working together to unify the whole system (society). It sees contemporary society such as Nigeria as a system with all parts working together to meet the needs of Nigerian society. Every society is made up of sub-systems: economic, political, family, cultural systems, education and religion. Each sub-system functions to maintain a healthy society. Functionalist

theory is based on the "organic analogy." This is the idea that society is like the human body. Just as the body is made up of various parts that need to function together and properly for it to be healthy, so is society. Each part needs to be in a state of equilibrium, or balance. Just as the human body has evolved over time, so has society. Durkheim was also concerned with how social systems are integrated and hold themselves together (Kingsbury and Scanzoni 1993). A cogent objective of this work is to understand where Nigeria is heading to with regard to how functionalists see Nigerian contemporary society as being unified by inter-relationships and inter-dependency of the sub-systems mostly religious sub-system, we need to understand the religious dynamics in Nigeria. By all accounts, Nigeria is among the most, if not the most religious country in the world. According to polling data from the World Values Survey research (2005) the Pew Research Centre and other organizations, Nigeria is at the top of the charts in terms of intense religiosity. The introduction of new dynamics in Nigeria religious system in terms of identity formations, and people began to see themselves as Christians and as Muslims and so on have served as a dysfunction in maintaining the societal equilibrium. Skitka and Wisneski (2003) stated that social systems cannot function without some degree of agreement on the norms and principles that regulate relationships among individuals. Kendall (2012) opined that a functionalist might argue, for instance, that every society will have a religion, because religious institutions have certain functions that contribute to the survival of the social system as a whole, just as the organs of the body have functions that are necessary for the body's survival. Social systems work to maintain equilibrium. Macionis (2012) holds that functionalists tend to talk about individual actors as decision-makers, although some critics have suggested that functionalist theorists are, in effect, treating individuals either as puppets, whose decisions are a predictable result of their location in the social structure and of the norms and expectations they have internalized, or sometimes as virtual prisoners of the explicit social control techniques society imposes. Talcott Parsons in his view for society to survive, all systems must fulfill four needs or functional imperatives, what he called the AGIL scheme. Any social system has to fulfill these four basic functions if it is to survive and the major social institutions are the subsystems that do just that: Adaptation, Goal attainment, Integration, Latency and pattern maintenance. Nwobike (2005) posited that Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa with an estimated population of 180 million people. Nigeria's population and its cultural diversity make it one of the most attractive countries for foreign investment in Africa. 'Broken English' ('pidgin' English) is perhaps the most widely spoken language in Nigeria and indeed West Africa. It is a creolization of English language and other local languages. Social systems in Nigeria are heterogenous with different sub-systems which work together to unify the entire systems. Some of the social systems mentioned in this study are the family system, school, politics and health system.

Emile Durkheim is generally associated with the work on functionalist theories of sociology. Elwell (2010) has it that much of Durkheim's work is concerned with functional analysis, with seeking to understand the functions of social systems. He assumes that society has certain functional prerequisites, the most important of which is the need for 'social order' Oluwaseun (2012) argued that the federal government of Nigeria seems weak in maintaining law and order in Nigeria and lacks a viable strategy to contain the Islamic sect from carrying out its atrocities. So functional equilibrium of the system has no effect on the sub-system differentials in Nigeria. Muhammed (2010) has observed that functionalists assumed that societies are integrated totalities. Given this assumption, the problem of integrating various groups in Nigeria becomes a crucial issue of national concern. Usman and Adelakun (1986) see the resolution of problems of national integration in the participation of national groups in allocative decisions   In Durkheim's words, 'For where interest is the only ruling force each individual finds himself in a state of war with every other'. Ricardo (2013) said that the twin events of the Boko Haram bombings and the Petrol Protest (removal of fuel subsidy) have put the presidency of Goodluck Jonathan on a functional notice: the government needs to address the systemic problems that inhibit progress in Nigeria, which include ending corruption, creating a more inclusive government, alleviating poverty and disease, extending access to education, and creating a transportation and communications infrastructure that would lead to economic growth. These twin events, one nonviolent and the other violent, may impel the government to react functionally positively. Thus Durkheim argues that, 'society has to be present in the individual'.

Nature of Nigerian Federalism
In Nigeria, the issue of federalism came when it was discovered that there was too much power concentrated in the hands of a central government leading to despotism. Also, people in different parts of the country would have different needs and different values, so it makes sense by decentralization of power, which is a good thing for the people. Another perspective of the origin of state and of the principles that legitimized its power is contained in thinking about politics separate from religious beliefs and also where men and women are not preoccupied with the problems of political stability. Other reasons are that Nigerians would be able to adopt their own policies. Furthermore, by allowing each state to develop its own policies, experimentation is encouraged. As each state develops its own solutions to problems, the country gets the opportunity to see which policies work well and which ones do not. Finally, state governments and local governments are closer to their people than the federal

government. As such, leaving issues for the states to decide is more democratic than leaving everything for the central government to decide. State evolves when two or more people live together permanently bounded by language, religion, culture and tradition, among others. Importantly, it could be evolved when the continued survival of the groups depends on findings and distributing natural resources and by extension, when food resources are scarce, it may make people to establish a state. Therefore, state may also evolve within a group; if there is a conflict between different social groups over the distribution of scanty resources. In fact, the desires of the separate individuals who make up the group may be significant to the level of forming a state when such desires must eventually be transformed into a group will.

Thus, when creating a state, it must be followed by instrument of legitimizing the state as a means of developing the statehood. Furthermore, the state must be legitimized, otherwise it will not exist and that is why it takes a new military government long time to consolidate itself in office that came to power through coup. Another instrument of legitimizing the state is through diversifying the right of kings as a mode operandi for state to exist. This is the longest lived doctrine of politics with its skeletal remnant in the world today where there is kingship; it also acts as a major instrument of legitimizing the state which is also contained in the acrimony "might makes right".

Relationship between the Three Tiers of Governments in Nigeria
The federalism reality of Nigeria is that there are many cultural groups which were in the colonial process, but later welded into a nation state. It was first called amalgamation by those who performed the feat. Later it metamorphosed into specie in the genus of political communities known as federalism, as observed by Ogbu (1996). The Nigerian federal system allows people living in the six geopolitical zones or states with different needs and different interests to set policies suited to the people in their state, yet still come together with other states as one nation. Although, there are limits on what states can do and cannot do. For instance, they cannot pass laws that violate rights guaranteed in the Nigerian Constitution, Also, all states have to accept Nigerian currency, have free trade with other states, etc. This means federalism allows Nigeria to be a nation that is simultaneously diverse and unified.

The intergovernmental relations between various levels of governments could be described as a function of the amount of heterogeneity within the national polity and the level of inter units accommodation determines the nature of the federation as well as the pattern and form of the political parties. According to James (2008), the more diverse the element within a political system is, the better suited it becomes for federation. In line with the above propositions, Max (2010) further opines that:

> "Federation constitution is necessitated where size, cultural and traditional diversity, language, historical particularism as well as consideration and centralization prevail. If really federation is a device to keep separate people together without making them one people, then such federalism limit the amount of relationship that could exist between them"

This shows that intergovernmental federalism is a functions of the types of federalism existing. This is because such federation is mostly positive and built on the desired to cooperate and the advantages of the federation to the unit deprive mainly from such cooperation. Therefore positive intergovernmental relation is a precondition for the formation of federation. Thus if a federation arises out of the need to recognize the separate identities of the diverse units within the state such as it happened in Nigeria first republic, the relationship between the units becomes functions of the nature of federalism. Therefore vertical political relation communication in a form of relations at all levels; local, state and federal government can never be very cordial.

Nexus between Federalism, Political Restructuring and Democratic Sustainability in Nigeria
Since the return of democratic rule in Nigeria (1999 to date), it has not been without some obstacles. Most scholars have argued that, from 1954 when Nigeria embraced federalism, the polity has been wallowing from one problem to the other which also affected the practice of democracy and made all efforts at national cohesion a mirage after all. The root causes of these (Koller, 2002:27), is attributed to the highly centralized federal system in its entire ramification. This centralization has placed all resources at the centre thereby making the quest to attain power at the centre a do or die affair. On this problem, Coleman (Peil, 1976:115), observed that, excessive centralization and the state of most developing countries not only means greater vulnerability as a result of non fulfillment of populist expectations, it also means heightened inefficiency.

It also means the absence of critically important supportive capacity in the society at large because the public cannot respond to direct, or restrain a polity which is so far removed from it as a centralized government tends to be (Peil, 1976). It need be emphasized that, apart from the foregoing, the factor of persistent military intervention into Nigerian politics has no doubt affected the structure of the Nigerian federation, weakened all integrative structures as well as dampened the very basis of democracy and democratic consolidation in Nigeria. In line with the military's command structure, Nigeria's federal system has been over-centralized to the extent that it reflects more of a unitary arrangement than a federal one (Elaigwu, 1998:7).

Several actions later taken by the military have exacerbated this emerging problem and laid the foundation for an unstable democratic practice in Nigeria. No wonder, since the return of democratic governance in the current dispensation, several problems have emerged ranging from failed electoral process, rising insecurity, absence of rule of law, corruption and all forms of impunity abounds in Nigeria. Very worrisome is the fact that local governments have no powers to operate on their own, thereby making them to become appendages of state governors as well as conduit pipes to siphon public funds with impunity in the name of state-local government joint accounts. To resolve some of these contending issues that hamper democratic consolidation, and the practice of true federalism and integration in Nigeria, Elaigwu (1998:7; 2005) argues that;

What we need today is a non-centralized federal system in which states governments are politically virile, legislatively strong, financially resilient and indeed, constitutionally self-confident and self assertive centre of respect by the political loyalty from the citizens they serve and over whom they exercise authority.

Travail of Nigeria's federalism, integration and democratic consolidation is the problematic nature of Nigeria's citizenship. This has in no small measure whittle-down the efficacy of Nigeria's federal structure.

According to Ojo (2009), unlike India, where there is no duality of citizenship in which case there is only one Indian citizenship, India's federation is like that of Canada. In these country's practice of federalism, the concept of state of origin does not exist (Sangma, 2005:35), whereas, in Nigeria, to pick up a job outside one's ethnic base especially at the state and local government level is really a big task in the sense that such a person will be tagged a "non-indigene" or "settler". Although citizenship conceptualized as one who by birth or nationalization belong to a state is not a problem, when it comes to assigning equal status to citizens both in theory and practice, goes beyond sheer legalism which is problematic. \This sociological component of citizenship which breeds differentiation is one of the greatest problems Nigeria faces in her attempt to achieve national cohesion and democratic consolidation in the present dispensation. Arguing further on this view, Osaghae (1978:63) and Ojo (2009:389) posits that, there is a conscious notion of my 'state' or my 'home' which affects every Nigerian who lives outside his state of origin. This is also one of the reasons why such Nigerians go home to build a house in their ancestral home, marry a wife or register back home to vote. In fact, even the dead are rarely buried outside their states of origin. The implication of the foregoing problematic is that citizen's allegiance to the federation is truncated because of the states preferential treatment of its citizens. A situation whereby the state cannot effectively tackle the problem of citizenship negates the tenets of federalism. Laski's (1982:89) view is apt here, "a state must give to men their dues as men before it can demand, at least with justice, their loyalty". Ojo (2009) attributes the reason for the problematic character of citizenship in Africa as partly because of the ethnic groups that are bedeviled by enormous conflicts arising from the mosaics of centrifugal forces which defines a citizen, as one whom by birth or nationalization, belong to a state.

Ayoade (1987:184) has also observed that religious bias has also been proved to be another form of poor distribution in Nigerian federalism, national cohesion and democratic consolidation. The predominantly Moslem north is not comfortable with the predominantly Christian south especially when it comes to sharing strategic positions/sector of the economy most especially in the bureaucracy. For instance, the Obasanjo's eight-year rule was tilted mostly towards favouring the South especially South-West for the reasons of ethnic cleavages. In the same vein, the Jonathan administration demonstrated its desire to favour those from South-South and South-East geo-political zones of Nigeria.

Also, looking at the manner in which the Jonathan administration handled the issue of insecurity in parts of Northern Nigeria, especially the Boko-Haram insurgence in the North, one will have no option but to agree with the position of Sani Kontagora's view that the North should be killed in order to reduce their numbers in favour of Southern agenda to rule Nigeria ad infinitum. A look at the social media and the comments from people of Southern extraction indicates that an opportunity has come for the Northerners to kill themselves, so as to help reduce their numbers in the geo-polity called Nigeria. To them (Southerners) that is the only way their aspirations will be achieved and hence the lack luster attitude of the Jonathan administration in handling the Boko-Haram security challenges in part of Northern Nigeria.

It therefore goes to show that the agitation for one ethnic group dominating the other is a mere smokescreen to draw attention of the public to a particular person and to enable him gain government patronage. Whichever way one looks at the scenarios playing out in Nigeria, the result is the failure of the federal attempt which has resulted in the failure of all attempts at integration and has equally affected the efforts at democratic consolidation in Nigeria.

It needs to be emphasized that Southern hold on the bureaucracy is not a matter of deliberate manipulation or ploy to marginalize the North. But rather, the educational gulf between both regions simply because of the South's early exposure to Western education. In as much as positions in the public service is a function of skill, the South my tower above the North for some time. Fortunately, the North has progressed educationally and can challenge the South in terms of educational pursuit in any way. They (North) have occupied very sensitive positions in the Nigerian bureaucracy and performed well ahead of their Southern counterparts.

Therefore, the unpalatable effect of the lopsidedness is political instability, ethnic disharmony and threat of

disintegration which has characterized the current political dispensation in Nigeria. However, all the afore-mentioned problems are far from being exhaustive of all the absurdities of the Nigerian federalism, thereby hampering democratic consolidation in Nigeria.

Nature of Political Restructuring in Nigeria

The debate for restructuring of Nigerian federation has been raging for quite some time now in Nigeria. This heated debate has pitched the southern Nigeria against the northern Nigeria. We could safely argue that the people from southern Nigeria are the protagonists who sincerely want the status quo in Nigerian federalism to change for the better. Meanwhile people from the northern Nigeria are antagonists because they have always exhibited some fears for the intentions of the proponents of political restructuring in Nigeria.

The Report of the Federal Government's Committee on Restructuring of 2018

The government Committee on True Federalism, which was chair by the Kaduna State, Governor, has the following Terms of Reference:

The Committee began by focusing its preliminary research and preparatory work in the following four broad areas:

i.   Balance in the federation - Devolution of powers to sub-nationals;
ii. Review of revenue allocation formula;
iii. Citizenship matters including federal character, and
iv. Review of key recommendations of the 2005 and 2014 national conferences.

The general 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 undertaken. For the states to take on these powers, they need to access a greater share of the nation's resources. And we need to sort out the notion of citizenship so that every Nigerian can enjoy the protection of the Constitution wherever they choose to reside. In many communities, people still use the notion of 'indigene-ship' to consign compatriots to a position of 'settler' and, by implication, perpetual exclusion from enjoying the full political, social and economic opportunities guaranteed by the Constitution to every citizen.

After a careful review of history, literature and reports on the four broad areas identified above, the APC Committee on True Federalism has reduced the subject matter into the following twelve contentious issues that have consistently featured in virtually all previous debates on the issues around restructuring by whatever name or phrase:

1. Creation or merger of states and the framework and guidelines for achieving that;
2. Derivation principle, bordering on what percentage of federal collectible revenues from mining should be given back to the sub-nationals from which the commodities are extracted;
3. Devolution of powers: what items on the exclusive legislative list should be transferred to the recurrent list, especially state and community police, prisons, etc.;
4. Federating Units: Should Nigeria be based on regions or zones or retain the 36-state structure?
5. Fiscal federalism and revenue allocation;
6. Form of government - (parliamentary or presidential?);
7. Independent candidacy;
8. Land tenure system;
9. Local government autonomy;
10. Power sharing and rotation of political offices;
11. Resource control; and
12. Type of legislature – part-time or full-time, unicameral or bicameral?

Contesting Issues on the Federal Government's Committee's Report on Political Restructuring

On the report of the Federal Government's Committee on restructuring headed by the Governor of Kaduna State, Mallam Nasir el-Rufai, which serves as a basis for testing of the questions on restructuring. The paper asks the question of whether state creation could foster unity and integration in Nigeria.

Firstly, according to the report of the Federal Government's committee on restructuring, the 1914 amalgamation exercise which created Nigeria without the knowledge of Nigerians sowed the seeds of dissension arising from fears of marginalization and domination among the citizens. Subsequently colonial policies such as the Indirect Rule System and the creation of only three regions of the North, the East and the West further sparked off the separatist tendencies of some groups. Ugwu (1998) argues, "The problem of agitation for the creation of more states became more compounded when Nigeria was divided into three unequal regions as provided for in the 1946 Richard's Constitution". This was probably because the regions had not just become the units of the federation but also the concentration of effective political power. Just as the regions wanted some measure of autonomy so did their component units.

Secondly, immediately after Nigeria's independence the competition for the control of political power bequeathed by the colonial officials became more intense between and amongst the three major ethnic-based parties. In the words of Dupe Olatunbosun, "the past Nigerian leaders behaved more as Northerners, as Westerners, as Easterners, and as Middle Belters than Nigerians. The past leaders laid the foundation of tribal loyalties and ethnic self-determination in Nigeria". Throughout the First Republic, "the suspicion of the majority ethnic groups by the minorities remained a permanent feature of Nigerian federation and its politics". The politics of this phase of Nigeria's march towards nationhood was a continuation of that of the colonial era. Not much effort was made to sustain the integration drive as politics was seen from ethnic periscope. The creation of the Mid-West out of the Western Region was not necessarily to promote the national integration but as punitive measure against the Obafemi Awolowo-led Action Group. The speed with which its creation was supported by the legislative acts of both the Northern and the Eastern Regional parliaments puts this point beyond argument. Undoubtedly, the intention was to weaken the power base of the AG while at the same time enhance the political influence and opportunities of the NCNC and NPC in both the Western and the Mid-Western Regions. The creation of only the Mid West Region in the midst of floods of agitations for states by the minority groups was instrumental to the breaking up of the alliance between the J.S. Takar-led United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC) and the AG. The July 29, 1966 counter-coup ushered in the Yakubu Gowon regime. In order to assuage the minority ethnic groups and also to break the triangular rivalry between the North, the East and the West, the Gowon – led administration embarked on creating twelve states in Nigeria. According to A. E. Afigbo, "the mood of the time was ugly and the immediate objective in view in creating the states was largely punitive – to deprive the majority ethnic groups of their exclusive grip on Nigerian politics and affairs". For instance, the lumping of the entire Igbo people, the third largest group, in defunct East Central State would seem to have put them in the rear in the Nigeria's political chessboard. This did not enthrone equity, justice and fair play and therefore constituted a threat to the national integration. Since the creation of twelve states in 1967 by the Gowon Administration, it has become more or less a recurring exercise especially among the military regimes. It seems clear that the legitimacy deficit of the military propped them into creating states and local government areas as a way of currying support from the populace. E.C.M. Akamobi has rightly observed that "quite understandably, the exercise is indeed a quintessential political game used by our erstwhile military rulers to play to the gallery and divert the attention of Nigerians on their demand for return to democracy and to allow the military egg-heads to ride on". Prior to the military incursion into Nigeria's political space, there existed four regions. Out of these there were created thirty six states with the Federal Capital Territory enjoying the status of a state. The outcome is that these state creation exercises have tended to produce a 'divided self' in the Nigerian people.

According to the Federal Government Committee on restructuring's report, the issue of state creation became more problematic because the federal bureaucracy had ballooned and there were now many states (from 12 to 36) whose evident limitations proved insufficient to discourage the demand for yet more states. As states multiplied and became smaller and less fiscally-independent, a powerful centre, manifested in a Federal Government that assumed ever more powers and responsibilities, took the biggest chunk of national revenues (now about 53 per cent) but did very little well. In other words, creation of states indirectly turned some Nigerians into 'indigenous aliens' in their fatherland. This is because the historical origins of indigene-settler syndrome can be said to be interwoven with the creation of states. It is, therefore, legitimate to state that the creation of states as a panacea to disunity and antidote to cries of exclusion and discrimination appears misplaced as it has exacerbated these problems.

Restructuring Nigeria would make a whole lot of sense if properly understood and implemented. The Nigerian system of government is a centralized government. In this system of government we have a big powerful central government which controls virtually all the affairs of the state government. The central government which is also known as the federal government controls the amount of resources given to state government, approves the amenities to be put in place by the states as well as the ability of the state to generate power. The state government requires the approval of the federal government to carry out any project and may not go ahead with any project if denied by the federal government, even if the project is much needed by the state.

This is how things are done in the present Nigerian government. But now, Nigerians thinks that the country might be run in a different way – which is smoother and more transparent than the present system. For instance, Mallam el-Rufai noted in the report that "my colleagues and I in the Kaduna State Executive Council requested that the Federal Government should re-designate two major roads in Kaduna, our state capital, as state roads. The Federal Executive Council granted our wishes, restoring the two roads to our control and saving us the inconvenience of seeking permission from a federal bureaucrat before we can install street lights on a major road in our state capital. I also cited the fact that the Federal Government no longer just issues mining titles in Abuja; rather it now works with state governments that control the titles to land, unlike in our recent non-collaborative past. In Kaduna State, we are trying to devolve control of forests, management of fire services and other 'state-level' functions to our 23 local governments, in addition to many others.

As I argued at a recent event, I do not believe that a single, centralised police force can deliver on the necessity to visibly project state power and enforce the law in this vast country of ours with nearly 200 million people. Neither is the exclusive control of over-crowded prisons and an unmanageable number of federal trunk roads and railways. Amidst these renewed demands for restructuring, our national parliament - the Senate and House of Representatives - had voted against key restructuring provisions in the proposed constitutional amendment bills. The APC has a majority in both chambers of the National Assembly, and the public expected the party to provide leadership on the issue of true federalism, which is one of our manifesto commitments.

In response to these developments and due to the need to clearly articulate our roadmap for political and constitutional reform, the APC set up a Committee on True Federalism to help to give structure to the debate, remove the bile and bitterness colouring the matter and transform the discourse into a nationbuilding event.   The Committee began by focusing its preliminary research and preparatory work in the following four broad areas:

i.   Balance in the federation - Devolution of powers to sub-nationals;
ii.   Review of revenue allocation formula;
iii.   Citizenship matters including federal character, and
iv.   Review of key recommendations of the 2005 and 2014 national conferences.

The general 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 undertaken. For the states to take on these powers, they need to access a greater share of the nation's resources. And we need to sort out the notion of citizenship so that every Nigerian can enjoy the protection of the Constitution wherever they choose to reside. After a careful review of history, literature and reports on the four broad areas identified above, the APC Committee on True Federalism has reduced the subject matter into the following twelve contentious issues that have consistently featured in virtually all previous debates on the issues around restructuring by whatever name or phrase:

1. Creation or merger of states and the framework and guidelines for achieving that;
2. Derivation principle, bordering on what percentage of federal collectible revenues from mining should be given back to the sub-nationals from which the commodities are extracted;
3. Devolution of powers: what items on the exclusive legislative list should be transferred to the recurrent list, especially state and community police, prisons, etc.;
4. Federating Units: Should Nigeria be based on regions or zones or retain the 36-state structure?
5. Fiscal federalism and revenue allocation;
6. Form of government - (parliamentary or presidential?);
7. Independent candidacy;
8. Land tenure system;
9. Local government autonomy;
10. Power sharing and rotation of political offices;
11. Resource control; and
12. Type of legislature – part-time or full-time, unicameral or bicameral?

The paper also questions the role, contributions and achievements of the civil society in the struggle of sustainability of democracy in Nigeria. The struggle in Nigeria to advance the frontiers of democratization and sustain democratic statecraft has not been an easy task. It should be noted here that Nigeria is in her fourth republic. This in simpler terms means that our effort at democratization has failed three times. The reason for this failures are too numerous which is largely considered as the same of Nigeria's development effort to inter and intra party struggle. According to Oyovbaire (1992) there is the difficulty of interposing democracy upon the multiplicity of our pre-colonial societies and state systems. The collapse of Nigeria democracy which was due to the lack of sound foundation in 1966 led to several military regimes.

Again, it should be noted here that the prolonged stay of the military dictatorship has contributed in no small way to the growth of the above civil society groups in Nigeria. According to Onagoruwa, (1995), he said that "the growth of these nongovernmental organizations could be traced to consciousness and a concern for the preservation of liberty which they conceived was gradually being eroded in similar vein". Ubani .F. traced the growth to subversion of the social, economic and political rights of the people.

Most of these civil society groups therefore have their role defined or occasioned by the environment factor that created them. However, in nine specific terms, the role of civil society groups can be enumerated as such, according to (Emime, 2000).

i.   They serve as watchdog to check the excesses of government and expose, curtail violations of human rights, abuse of the constitution. They thus exercise control over democratic political institutions.
ii.   They supported the role of political parties in stimulating political participation, increasing political efficacy and skills and promoting appreciations of the obligations of democratic citizens. In a democratic setting, the more important role of political parties stimulating political participation

will be much more visible if such roles are complemented by the various civil society groups that we have in the society. In the case of Nigeria, it has been observed that an average Nigerian is skeptical about the various political parties and profess membership of it because of selfish interest (Adele 2001).

iii. By cutting across and weakening long-standing regional, ethnic cleavages, they help create a new type of citizenship in which individuals relate on the basis of non-primodial interests. They thus widen the political space by generating a more expansive and sophisticated political outlook and tolerance.

iv. Civil society organizations help in the recruitment and training of new political leaders in technical administrative skills and normative standards of public accountability, transparency, responsiveness and inclusiveness.

v. They are important channels of information dissemination and thus help citizens to collectively pursue and defend their interests and values.

vi. Civil society organization when engaged in election monitoring enhances voters' confidence and affirms credibility by exposing electoral fraud and other undemocratic activities.

Hence the role of civil society is indispensable to the goals of attainment of sustainable democracy, although as generally recognized, such a role is not a sufficient condition for democratic sustainability and consolidation. Therefore, having the right mental attitude and machineries to meet enormous challenges if not obstacles, should be the aim and objective of Nigerian civil society.

This paper also questioned about what a restructured Nigeria would look like. A Nigeria earnestly restructured, is a Nigeria positively restored: a country restored to a previously-travelled 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. According to the report of the federal government's committee, the general 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 undertaken. For the states to take on these powers, they need to access a greater share of the nation's resources. And we need to sort out the notion of citizenship so that every Nigerian can enjoy the protection of the Constitution wherever they choose to reside. In many communities, people still use the notion of 'indigene-ship' to consign compatriots to a position of 'settler' and, by implication, perpetual exclusion from enjoying the full political, social and economic opportunities guaranteed by the Constitution to every citizen.

A restructured Nigeria would also have the following features;

i. A Nigeria restructured is a Nigeria with enhanced leadership-building culture, where a truly-federal system allows each region to locally identify leadership for public governance, nurture and closely monitor such leaders for hard work and spirit of public service, focused on the development of each region, at a pace and a rate that reflect the quantum of each region's effort and efficient use of local resources; indeed, the rivalry-for-regional-success resulting from a truly-federating Nigeria, will boost sustainable development across all zones of the country.

ii. A Nigeria restructured is a Nigeria where the Central Government, along with its lower-level Federating Constituents, will, and must, be strong. A Nigeria where every level of government is strong; but each level must be strong for the right reasons, and in the right areas of responsibility. The central government to be strong in the defence of our nation, in immigration and global diplomacy, and in other areas where a strong and competent Central Government is in our collective national interest. But a restructured Nigeria does not need, for example, a Federal Fire Service. Fire incidents occur at a very local level – on streets, in neighbourhoods and at community levels. Still on the Fire Service example, a restructured Nigeria will ensure that appropriate state and local governance units are capable and strong to respond adequately and promptly to fire incidents wherever they occur.

iii. 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 areas 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; a restructured Nigeria will reduce the current mentality and room-for-maneuvers by elected and appointed leaders to treat the Abuja monthly allocations, as part of Nigeria's current 'Bonus-Economy of un-earned monthly allocations' – to quote the common-parlance reference by a distinguished Yoruba development scientist and thinker, the Emeritus Professor Akin Mabogunje; 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.

iv. A Nigeria restructured is a Nigeria where every area, region or zone of the country will be able to devote more thinking time, conceptualization, research, exploration and analysis to its mineral and agricultural resources, with a view to developing an economic value-chain from them, which is the first serious step towards the development of a manufacturing capacity across the country.

v. A restructured Nigeria is a Nigeria where we would no longer practise 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 programmes to bring low-performing students in the Northern parts of Nigeria, up to the level of better-performing students elsewhere in the country.

 Following the provisions of the federal government's committee on restructuring headed by the Kaduna State Governor; Mallaf Nasir el-Rufai, this paper asked about the ways forward for a sustainable democracy in Nigeria. Notably, there are basically key areas in which there should be policy concern in relation to the democratization exercise. The first has to do with the electoral body. How can Nigerians truly select an objective, representative and public inspired electoral agency? Previously, it was said that several members of the national electoral body were card-carrying members of some political parties, this shows outright partisanship. Adequate arrangements should be made to prevent this. The second is the issue of party registration. The limit placed on number of political associations to be registered greatly restricts the ability of people to freely express themselves through party formation. The role of the electoral body should be restricted to party identification rather than registration. Interestingly, the body has addressed an aspect of this.

 Ironically, many parties were recently de-registered for failure to field candidates and win election. Furthermore, the electoral body should put its house in order to sufficiently address the issue of logistic that usually rears its head at every election. Besides, the Institutional safe-guards for corruption control, outside the framework of the recently enacted Anti-corruption Act, are quite weak. There is, for instance, no protection for those who expose corruption. There is the issue of oversight function that the National Assembly plays. Here, there is need for a well-articulated policy framework that will address the role of the Assembly in this regard. The Executive sees it as contravening the principle of separation of powers. This should not be the attitude. The Executive needs appropriate re-orientation. In addition, there should be increased civil society initiative to monitor and ensure accountability in public service delivery. This will make civil society and politicians alike to be vigilant and alive to their respective responsibilities.

 Finally, there is need for a planned programme of reform, re-orientation and revitalization of the military to be primarily conscious of their traditional responsibility of territorial protection against external aggression and not incursion into state politics. The federal government should put adequate paraphernalia in place to address the current security threat ravaging the system. Democracy blossoms better under a peaceful environment. All political office holders, particularly the ruling party should imbibe the spirit of accepting opposing views. Opposition should also learn the spirit of giving constructive and objective criticism to the policies and programmes of the ruling party. The three arms of government - legislative, executive and judiciary should be fully independent, financially and otherwise. This will enable proper execution of the principle of checks and balances. Thus, it will reduce to a large extent the discretionary use of executive powers and abuse of the constitution.

 It is recommended that all politicians, the electoral commission, law enforcement agencies, all other government bodies and private individuals should dispense their responsibilities within the societal laws and accepted traditions towards the achievement of a sustainable democracy.

 More so, this research work asked about the problems hindering true federalism and democratic sustainability in Nigeria. The major reason for the adoption of the federal principle in Nigeria was to prevent any regional or tribal dominance of any governmrnt or its agencies. However, since idependence, true federalism have been hindered by the following factors;

i. Inter-ethnic rivalry: Nigeria, we all know is made up of diverse group of people with different ethnic groups, and the rivalry among Hausa/Fulani, Yoruba and Igbo has become a serious issue overtime. In Nigeria, We see different set of people from different geo-political regions agitating for power which sometimes lead to disagreements and ethnic conflicts among the parties involved. The major reason for ethnic rivalry in Nigeria is lack of cohesion and the inability of the parties involved to concede the defeat in order to promote national peace and unity

ii. Power sharing formula: Power sharing has been one of the major issues militating against federalism in Nigeria. This basically ensures that certain elective offices such as the office of the president, governors, and chairman are rotated among several geo-political divisions in the country.

iii. Revenue allocation: The issue of revenue allocation is another issue confronting that federalism in Nigeria. Revenue allocation refers to the sharing formula of the country's financial resources among the different tiers of government in the country, with the main objective of enhancing

economic growth and development, reducing inter-governmental tensions and promoting national unity. Some of the elites at the helms of affairs, especially at the federal level have seen revenue allocation as a tool to satisfy their un-quenching taste for money.

iv. Minority issue and the creation of states: As a result of the nature of the multi-ethnicity of Nigeria, it has brought about the issue of minorities which has constituted to one of the major problems militating against the development of the nation.

v. The issue of secession: The inter-ethnic rivalry in Nigeria has constantly disrupted development in the country. The issue of secession is a major factor disrupting the federalism in Nigeria, and it also has a way of affecting the growth and development of the country. A good example of this is the current issue of the NDA (Niger-Delta Avengers) who are clamouring to secede from Nigeria and form their own republic. And as a result of this they resolve in using violent measures which includes the bombing of pipelines and vandalising government properties just to prove a point.

The problems affecting democratic sustainability in Nigeria are as follows:

i. Corruption

Corruption has become a culture in Nigeria such that it now looks strange to condemn it. Many people believe that Nigeria cannot survive without corruption. Some politicians are in office just for the singular aim of stealing. How does one explain a situation whereby elderly politicians are still amassing wealth they don't need? Does it make sense to the masses to come out to vote in an election that would throw up a cabal of looters? Democracy is supposed to create strong institutions which discourage wastages and profligacy. According to Anyang Nyango (1998) democracy ensures a judicious use of resources. But the reverse is the case in Nigeria. How has the nation been spending her resources since 1999? Why, in the midst of infrastructural decay, should the nation acquire 11 jets for the presidential fleet? Why should N1billion be budgeted annually for the presidential kitchen? How come that an oil producing nation like Nigeria with four refineries has spent over a trillion Naira to subsidize the importation of fuel while countries not blessed with oil have not spent up to that amount?

ii Partisan Security Agencies and Electoral Umpire

Security agencies are supposed to keep law and order and to remain politically neutral during elections, but here in Nigeria the opposite is the case. There are political officers and men in the Nigerian Military, the Police Force and other security agencies. In most cases, they work for the ruling party. Which work do they do? They give cover to thugs when snatching ballot boxes and other voting materials, they unlawfully arrest and detain opposition party chieftains that can mobilize the voters prior to the election, they intimidate the voters sympathetic to the opposition and stuffing of ballot boxes. In an interview with Channels TV, The APC national publicity secretary, Lai Mohammed explained how he was arrested in 2014 along with other party chieftains in Ekiti State by hood-wearing security men who could not be differentiated from armed robbers. This is possible because the ruling party controls the security agencies.

ii. Poor Justice Delivery

The Nigerian Judiciary is confused and in disarray. It is only the rich that get justice because they can afford it. While the rich are above the law, the poor are below it. Most of the court verdicts are conflicting. While a man who stole N23 billion from police pension fund was given two years behind bars with the option of a fine of N750,000 by Abuja High Court (Vanguard Newspapers, Jan. 29, 2013), the man who stole a Governor's GSM phone would spend eight harrowing years in prison without an option of a fine! With money one can obtain frivolous injunctions to truncate or impede the wheel of justice, referred to as black market injunctions by former Edo state Governor, Comrade Adams Oshiomhole. This is anathemic to the rule of law and a negation to democracy. As observed by Professor ItseSagay (1996), the rule of law is democracy and without it there is no democracy.

vi. Insecurity

Insecurity is unarguably the greatest threat to Nigeria nascent democracy. In the southern part of Nigeria, there is the menace of kidnapping for ransom and armed robbery. Several lives have been lost in the process. In the northern part of the country, there is the problem of a mindless sect, Boko Haram, which has wasted several lives and destroyed property worth billions of Naira. This group defies logic: what is it fighting for? The members of the group are just killing, raping women and girls and destroying houses. Over 200 secondary school girls were kidnapped by the sect in Dapchi, north eastern Nigeria in 2018. Insecurity is capable of shaking the corporate existence of our nation. Apart from the sect, there are other ethnic militias in other parts of the country. The group in the South-South Region, Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), uses economic sabotage to draw government attention to its demand for infrastructural development of the region.

vii. Cross Carpeting and Impeachment

Many politicians in Nigeria are greedy and as such they always want to remain in power at all cost and coupled with the lack of ideological orientation, they see nothing wrong in defecting to other political parties that offer them the opportunity to stand for election. They defect from their parties to the ruling party at the centre. The recent wave of cross carpeting from the People's Democratic Party (PDP) to the ruling All Progressives

Congress (APC) is a good example. Several politicians, used to the spoils of office, defected from PDP to APC as soon as the latter was declared as the winner of the presidential election (Guardian Newspapers, April 10, 2015).

Democracy can only be strengthened if there is a vibrant and credible opposition. But if members of an opposition party defect to the ruling party in droves, the country will gravitate towards a one-party state which is even worse than military regime. Without opposition, there can never be good governance because the ruling party can misbehave without fear of being unseated in the next election. What is democracy without good governance?

Conclusion and Recommendations

Generally speaking, state restructuring refers to the reorganization of the existing state structure of any given country to achieve certain objectives. The purpose of state restructuring is multi-faceted. In most instances, restructuring is pursued to create a more logical organization in which the state can perform its mandate and fulfill its responsibilities more efficiently and effectively. It can also be a pursued to reconfigure the relationship between the state, the society and its people or to reconcile the changing dynamics between them. It has been used to resolve internal conflict, ethnic or otherwise, including civil war or as part of a post-colonial independence process.

i. The defective structure of Nigerian federalism have resulted from long time competition and discouraging diversification of the Nigerian economy as every component units (states) of the federation have refused to engage in productive businesses in boosting their revenue base. That is every component units want to draw from the central government's federation account. This research work therefore recommends that Nigeria should restructure her political system so as to have a true federal system practiced which will aid economic growth and fight against the idea of secession or dissolution of the federation.

ii. There should be devolution of powers to the component units that is the states of the federation because their day to day activities have cumbersome impacts on national development.

iii. Nigerian federalism should be based on fiscal federalism whereby the component units have control over resources that are found in their regions and then pay dues to the central government. This will encourage economic diversification and make the two tiers of government independent and coordinate as specified be the tenets of true federalism.

iv. For the purpose of fairness, states government should have equal and the same representation in the executive, legislative and judicial arm of the central government.

v. For the purpose of equity, there should be further physical restructuring of the federal system so that each geo-political zone will have the equal number of state governments and local government areas.

vi. The federal character principle should be seriously followed in the appointment and location of projects, amenities and businesses of government in all component units of the Nigerian federation.

vii. The idea of the respect for the principles of rule of law is very important in any democratic setting. The Nigerian political leaders and the entire citizenry must insist and advocate for the respect of rule of law if there must be a sustainable democracy.

viii. Since democracy is viewed as the best option for governance, which allows freedom and respect for fundamental human rights, these tenets should be sustained.

ix. More so, for democracy to be sustainable in Nigeria there is a need for democratic principles to be upheld. Leaders, especially, who are vested with the responsibility of formulating and implementing government policies to uphold the principles of democracy so as to drive at sustainable democracy

x. Unpatriotic attributes shown by Nigerian political leaders including political elites have affected Nigerian democracy. Our leaders in whom we entrust our votes have disappointed on many occasions, therefore to create a sustainable democracy, Nigerian political leaders should turn a new leaf and become patriotic and reliable citizens.

References

Adesina, O. (2004)**.** "Sub ethnic identities and the crises of development in contemporary Nigeria: Perspectives from the Ile Ife-Modakeke conflict". *African Studies Review*. No 1. Vol. 3. Adekunle Ajasin University, Akungba-Akoko.

Adejuyigbe, et al. ed. (1982)**.** *Creation of states in Nigeria: A review of rationales, demands and problems up to 1980.* The Federal Government Printer.

Adeyeri, O. (2010)**.** "Federalism and the Challenges of Nation-building in Nigeria". *International Journal of Research in Arts and Social Sciences,* 2: 1-9.

Adigwe, F. (1974), *Essentials of Government of West Africa,* Ibadan: Oxford University Press

Aduba, J. (1995), "The Role of Human Rights Organization in the Propagation of Human Rights Values in

Nigeria", *A critical Appraisal In Okanya D.O. (ed) Great Issues in Nigerian Government and Politics.* Department of Political Science, Enugu State University of Science and Technology.

Afigbo, A. E. (1986) *Federal Character: Its Meaning and History*, RADA Publishing Company, Owerri, p. 10.

Afigbo A. E. (2003)**.** *Federal Character: Its meaning and History*.

Akinyele, R. T. (1996). "States creation in Nigeria: the Willink report in retrospect. *African Studies Review* 39, September 1996, No.2.

Akindele, R.A. eds (1960-1995)**.** "Foundations of Nigerian Federalism". *National Council on Intergovernmental Relations,* Abuja

Ako, R. & Okonmah, P. (2009)**.** "Minority Rights Issues in Nigeria: A Theoretical Analysis of Historical and Contemporary Cnflictsin the Oil-Rich Niger Delta Region". *International Journal of Minority and Group Rights,* 1: 53-65.

Akubo, A. A. and Yakubu, A. U. *Centre for Inter – African and Human Development Studies (CIDES),* Jos, Nigeria School of General Studies, Federal Polytechnic, Kaura Namoda, Zamfara State, Nigeria

Alapiki, H. E. (2005)**.** "State Creation in Nigeria: Failed Approaches to National Integration and Local Autonomy". *African Studies Review*. Vol. 48. No. 3.

Alvarez, Mike et al. (1996). "Classifying Political Regimes". *Studies in Comparative International Development.* Vol. 31, No. 2 p. 3-36.

Amuwo, K. Agbaje, A. Suberu, R. and Herault, G. (2003) (eds) *Federalism and Political Restructuring in Nigeria.* Spectrum Books Limited.

Arias-Maldonado, M (2007). "An Imaginary Solution. The Green Defense of Deliberative Democracy". *Environmental Values*, Vol. 16 p. 233-252.

Ayoade, J. A. A. (1995)**.** "The development of democratic local government in Nigeria". In *local government in Nigeria and the United States: Learning from comparison* (pp. 19-20). Ile-Ife: Local Government Publication Series, Department of Local Government Studies, Faculty of Administration, Obafemi Awolowo University.

Ayoade, J. A. A. (1997)**.** "Nigeria and the squandering of hope". *An Inaugural Lecture Delivered at the University of Ibadan,* Ibadan. Vantage Publishers. 1999. The federal character principle and the search for national integration *Federalism and political restructuring in Nigeria.*

Ayoade, J. A. A. (1999). "The federal character principle and the search for national integration". *Federalism and political restructuring in Nigeria.*

Bossel, H. (1999). *Indicators for Sustainable Development: Theory, Method, Applications.* Winnipeg, Canada.

Dean, E. M. (1986)**.** "Stability of the federal system in Nigeria; Elite attitude at the constituent Assembly towards creation of states". *The Journal of Federalism.*

Dobson, A. (1995). "Green Political Thought". *Europa World online*. London, Routledge. Retrieved 17 November 2009

Ebegbulem, J.C (2011), "Federalism and The Politics of Resource Control in Nigeria: A Critical Analysis of the Niger Delta Crisis", *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Vol. 1* No. 12; September

Elaigwu, J.I. (1998). "Federal-State Relations in Nigeria's New Federalism:A Review of the Draft Constitution", in Suleiman Kumo and AbubakarAliyu (eds.) *Issues in the Nigerian Draft Constitution,* Published by the Dept. of Research and Consultancy Institute of Administration, ABU, Zaria

Elaigwu, J.I. and Akindele, R.A. (1996) (eds) "Foundation of Nigerian Federalism: 1960-1995". *Vol. 3: National Council on Intergovernmental Relations*, Abuja.

Elazar, D. (1987). *Federal Systems of the World: A Handbook of Federal, Confederal and Autonomy Arrangements*. Jerusalem Centre for Public Affairs.

Eminne, F.(2005), "The Role of Civil Society Groups in Nigeria". *Journal of democracy Vol xi No 2.*

Gboyega, A. (1996). "Local government and democratization in Nigeria". *National Conference on Two Decades of Local Government* (p. 3). Topo-Badagry: Administrative Staff College of Nigeria (ASCON).

James, O. A. (2008). *The Federal Solution: Political Studies Vol. 3*. 1993

Koller, A. (2002). "Swiss Federalism", in *Roundtable in Mechanism of Inter-governmental Relations,Institute of Social Science*, New Delhi, India.

Nicholas, S. (2007)**.** *The Economics of Climate Change: The Stern Review* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Ogbu, U. K. (1996). "Federalism, State and Religion: Foundation of Nigerian Federalism" 19601995; Vol. 3 *National Council on Intergovernmental Relations* Abuja

Ojo, E.O. (2009). "Federalism and the Search for National Integration in Nigeria", in *African Journal of Political and International Relations, Vol. 3(9)*, PP 387-395.

Olaoluwa, R. O. (1999)**.** "Onshore/Offshore Dichotomy in the Application of the Principle of Derivation in Nigeria". *Ekpoma Bar Journal 2013*, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 196.

Oyediran, O., Nwosu, Takaya, B., Anifowose, R. Badejo, Ogboghodo and Agbaje, A. (2008) (eds) *New

Approach to Government, Longman Nigeria Plc, Ikeja.

Oyovbaire, S. (1992), "Political Development in Nigeria". In Okon U.Y.A. (ed), *Contemporary Nigeria, Essays in Society Politics and Econoy.* Buerious Arries. Ed. Publishers.

Osaghae, E.E. (1998). "The Problem of Citizenship in Nigeria", in S.O.Olugbemi (ed.). *Alternative Political Futures for Nigeria*, Lagos: NPSA Publication.

Oyediran O. et al (2005), *New Approach Government.* Longman plc, Ibadan

Sangma, P.A. (2005). "Understanding Federalism in India", in *Roundtableon Mechanism of Intergovernmental Relations,Institute of Social Science,* New Delhi; India.

Ugwu, S. C. (1998) "Federal System": *The Nigerian Experience*, MaryDan Publishers, Enugu. p. 35. Note 8. Ibid, p. 35.

Watts, R.L. (1990), 'The Contemporary Relevance of the Federal Idea' *African Journal of Federal Studies.* Vol. 1 No.1 PP. 2-18