

The Nigerian State and the Quest for Restructuring: Implications for Democratic Consolidation

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Abstract:

This study examined the current challenges facing federalism in Nigeria and how it had hampered unity and development. The origin of federalism in Nigeria was traced to Littleton constitution of 1954, which bestowed on regional governments powers to generate and utilize funds at their own discretion and then pay royalties to the central government. During this period (1954-1969), each region was economically viable and was able to develop at their own pace. However, the problem with Nigerian federalism started when the military intercepted the first republic and introduced centralized federalism characterized with greater allocation of source of generating revenue to the central government, ethnic rivalries, secession threat, minority agitations, corruption and demand for state creation. All these problems had their roots on wrong application of the principles of true federalism. Based on these problems, this paper proffered redistribution of powers to enable each federating unit operates and develop independent of central government. Also, to redress structural imbalance that has encouraged sectional dominance and over dependence on the federal authority for revenue. To achieve that, the paper used thematic analyses as information were generated through the secondary sources. The paper found amongst others that, federalism in Nigeria exists only in paper and not in reality. We therefore, recommend for a total restructure of the entire geographical locations so as to accommodate the dissent tribes that is today, clamoring for independence.

Keywords: Federalism, Democratic Consolidation

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, calls have been made by Nigerians, both politicians and political analysts, to restructure the current Federal status which has been described as a creation of British masterstroke (Uhunmwangho and Ekpu, 2011). Prior to the amalgamation of northern and southern protectorates in 1914, each protectorate succeeded, with the little resources available to it, to sustain the political, economic and social wellbeing of these individual protectorates.

The colonists, having encountered economic quagmire in the north co-opted these entities previously ruled as protectorates into one entity, to be later named Nigeria. The rationale behind it was to pool the rich economic resources of the southern protectorate to augment inadequacies in the north (Ndoma-Egba, 2000). This political tactics adopted by the colonists laid the foundation of disaffection and acrimony that has become the order of the day in the present day Nigeria. The British, who patched these non-identical tribes, never thought of the workability of the "unholy marriage" and what would be the state of the new found family after independence. In terms of culture, religion, language, geography etc, the entity called Nigeria has been described as a mere geographical expression and the mistake of 1914 by Chief Obafemi Awolowo and Sir Ahmadu Bello, respectively (Eresia-Eke and Eberiyé-2010).

However, the federal system was adopted in Nigeria in the year 1951 following the introduction of Mcpherson constitution. At this stage, it was portrayed as a quasi-federalism (Nwankwo, 2002). In 1954, the entity called Nigeria was constitutionally elevated to the full status of a federal system, with a clear-cut division of powers between the central and regional governments. During this time, the three regions that constitute the federation were able to meet the development needs of their people, at their own pace, until the issues that engineered the civil war raised its ugly face. The pogrom in the North (1966), census crisis (1962/63), action group crisis (1962), federal election crisis (1964), military coup d'état (1966), worst still, the civil war (1966-1967), which led to distorted fiscal viability of the federal structure handed by the 1954 constitution.

The military government of Gen. Yakubu Gowon, in a bid to stop secession of the Eastern region government, divided the country into an unequal twelve states, north having the greater number. However, the action of the military government met the needs and aspirations of minority groups, who had accused other major ethnic groups of discrimination and negligence (Ojo and Adebayo, 2008). This marked the genesis of Nigeria myriad of crises such as terrorism in the north, kidnapping in the east and west, militancy in the south, unemployment, thuggery, political motivated killings, agitation etc. all pointing the need to fine-tune the current federal structure.

CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS

Federalism

Federalism as a concept has been defined by scholars in the field of Public Administration. Federalism according to Nwankwo (2002), “is a type of governmental system where the authority and powers are shared between two levels of government: namely the central or national government and component states”. These powers according to him are shared into three legislative lists: Exclusive list, Concurrent list and residual list. The central government has powers over matters on exclusive list and shared matters in concurrent list with states or component units; the state has exclusive powers over matters on residual powers.

In a similar view, Olawari (2013) posited, “The point is made that a federal system exists when power is shared between a central government and component units. As a form of government, it is usually adopted in heterogeneous societies where people of diverse origins unite to form a common government, wherein unity in diversity is preserved”. This captured the element of cultural diversity and multifarious ethnic groups, which comprised the entity. It recognizes the existence of diverse opinion and political orientations, coming together to form a unified nation. Powers are shared between two levels of government that work to manage diverse interests of the polity. The powers are structurally arranged to avoid conflicts and disputes arising from their interaction and association. In situation of conflict between the competing interests, a court, rather Supreme Court, is established to settle disputes between them.

Uhunmwangho and Ekpu (2011) sees “federalism as two level governments, each constitutionally and jurisdictionally empowered to make decisions independent of each other, within the legislative sphere assigned to it”. Their assertion is in conformity with Olawari and Nwankwo’s submission on federalism. Federalism in Nigeria is a contrast to what is obtainable in the United State of America, from where it borrowed the system. In United States, the federating units came together to form a strong and viable nation. Each federating unit controls its resources and pays certain percentage to the central government. They are economically viable and can stand as a sovereign nation if allowed to secede. Component units, independently run their day-to-day businesses including security, revenue generation, infrastructure, power, agriculture, mining etc. There are courts established by either the central or the federating states, each performing its functions within the powers assigned to it. However, there is a supreme court, the highest court in the land, which settles disputes arising from their association and interactions.

In Nigeria, federalism as it is practiced has been tagged as “centralized federalism”, where greater percentages of the power in a state are concentrated at the center. According to 1999 constitution of federal republic of Nigeria, under second schedule, sixty-eight items (68) were assigned to the central authority leaving states with 30 items. A clear indication of command and rule system foisted on Nigeria by the military administration that distorted democracies and promoted disunity and ethnic bickering (Babawale, 2001 and Adeyeri, 2010).

Origin of Nigeria Federalism

The origin of Nigeria federalism can be traced to the British colonial masters, who foisted their rules, culture and hegemony on once peaceful tribes (Adeyeri, 2010). Scholars had argued that federalism was introduced in Nigeria by the British for administrative convenience and smooth running of the newly acquired territories. Others maintained that the large size and ethnic multifarious nature of Nigeria paved way for the introduction of federalism. Some others opined that federalism is rooted in British desire to control her colony after independence.

The first step towards federalism was the introduction of Sir Bernard Bourdillion constitution of 1939, which divided Nigeria into three regions. This was followed by 1946 Richard constitution that introduced principle of regionalism and maintain the three regions created by Bourdillion constitution. A better foundation was laid by Mcpherson constitution in 1951, a structure scholars identified as quasi-federalism ((Nwankwo, 2002). A full blown federalism was ushered into Nigeria by Lyttleton constitution of 1954, which gave greater autonomy to regions.

At independence in 1960 and republican constitution of 1963, Nigerian founding fathers maintained and sustained true federalism handed down to them by the colonial masters.(Ojameruaye, 2011).Each regional government worked assiduously to promoting economic and social developments in their respective empires. The economies of both the colonial era and post-independence, was dependent on three major cash crops: namely palm produce, groundnuts and cocoa (Shokpeka and Nwaokocha, 2009). Western region was known for cocoa, Eastern region palm produce and Northern region specialized in groundnuts. These export produce sustained the economic and political activities of these semi-autonomous regions. Regrettably, when the military intervened, following the 1966 coup d’état, federal structure was tampered and re-adjusted to suit their command and rule system or what some scholars described as unitary- federalism (Adeyeri, 2010). This point marked the waning and collapse of hitherto true federal system.

Subsequent government, both civilian and military, popularized unitary-federalism, with central government controlling virtually eighty percentage of the powers available in state.1979 and 1999 constitutions ensured that the central government had or enjoyed greater power, control and responsibilities. The federalism was equally structured in such a way that the north enjoyed greater allocation from the federation account. Out of thirty-six (36) states in Nigeria, North had nineteen (north-east 6, north-west 7, north-central 6) while South have seventeen (south-east 5, south- west 6, and south-south 6). In addition, the total number of local government recognized by the 1999 constitution amount to seven hundred and seventy four (774) council areas. The northern Nigeria

has 414 local governments while the southern Nigeria has 354 local governments. This is a clear indication of imbalance and a careful tactic by the military governments to favour the north against the south.

Factors that Characterize Nigerian Federalism

Federalism has been defined earlier as a system where powers are shared between two levels of government. Nigeria borrowed the current federal arrangement from the United States of America, with the aim of uniting diverse interest into one strong entity. The military interference in politics in 1966 marked the beginning of a centralized or unitary federalism (Uhunmwuagbo and Ekpu, 2011). The structure of Nigerian federalism has three levels of governments namely: Central, State and local governments. The central government has more powers allocated to it by the 1999 constitution leaving the state government with lesser powers. Nwankwo (2002) in his book, Authority in Government: Nigeria and World politics in focus, gave an explicit nature of Nigerian federalism as practiced by the present and previous governments, and adapted in this paper:

1. *The size of component units (i.e. Region or state) are unequal*
2. *Unity in diversity: This is as a result of the geographical and ethnic distribution of the component units or states.*
3. *Colonial creation: This is responsible for the apparent unwillingness of the component units or regions to be a federation.*
4. *Uneven development: This is as a result of the different policies adopted for each region by the colonial authorities.*
5. *Lack of national interest: This is responsible for the unpatriotic and low national consciousness and attitudes of the citizens concerning federal issues and problems.*
6. *Nigeria is a federation created out of single country.*
7. *In Nigeria, federation laws supersede or override all state laws.*
8. *In Nigerian federalism powers are divided between the federal and the state government in terms of the Exclusive, Concurrent and Residual lists.*
9. *There is Supreme Court to settle constitutional conflicts.*

In addition to foregoing issues raised by Nwankwo, Nigerian federalism is characterized by constitutional allocation of 68 legislative powers for the central authorities while the component states exercise 30 legislative powers. The same 1999 constitution in the second schedule, item 14, empowered the central government to create states. The central government controls mines and minerals, including oil fields, oil mining etc. The state government is, as a matter of fact, left with fewer sources of generating revenue, consequently forced to perpetually depend on central authority for revenue, protection, safety and sustenance as against what is obtainable in U.S.A and other developed world, where the idea was adopted. Ukoima (2009) pictured the above assertion thus:

Nigeria returned to democratic rule in 1999, after about three decade of military rule. The state of the federation, in the new democratic rule since 1999, showed severe stresses and strains. As the states try to express their newly acquired autonomy in a democratic context, the federal government tries to re-enact the old military scenario of the states as an administrative organs of the federal government.

The scenario described above by Ukoima has generated debate among scholars, politicians and concern citizens, who believed that central government is unduly favored by the constitution.

The Quest for Restructuring and Implications to Democratic Consolidation

The current federal structure as enshrined in the 1999 constitution had its root in 1966, when the military administration of General Aguiyi-Ironsi attempted to unify Nigeria by introducing a unitary system. Under this system, powers are centralized at the center, in turn, the central government creates component states and assign functions to them, which can be withdrawn at will. The new system met serious opposition and criticism by mostly northern elites, who accused Ironsi of promoting dominance and hatred (Uhunmwuagbo and Ekpu, 2011). On assumption of office, after a successful counter coup, General Yakubu Gowon restored federalism. He divided the four regions into twelve states as a weapon of nipping in the bud the agitation and succession threat by the government of the eastern region. Greater powers were reserved for the central military government and this continued to the present day administration. Below are contending issues troubling Nigerian federalism:

Revenue Allocation formulae: Over the years, Nigerian successive governments have been battling with a revenue sharing formulae that are suitable for all sections of the country. Several commissions were set up to fix a better sharing formulae starting with Philipson's Commission(1946),Hicks-Philipson Commission (1951), Chicks Ccommission (1968), Raisman's Commission (1958), Binns Commission (1964), Dina Committee(1968), Aboyade Committee (1977), Okigbo Commission (1980), Revenue Mobilization Allocation and Fiscal Commission (1989) etc. All these commissions came out with far reaching revenue sharing formulae for the federation but were either rejected out rightly or heavily criticized by politicians and citizens alike.

According to Lukpata (2013), fourteen revenue sharing principles or horizontal allocation formulae were recommended by these commissions:

1. Basic needs
2. Minimum material standard
3. Balance development
4. Derivation
5. Equity of access to development opportunities
6. Independent revenue/tax effort
7. Absorptive capacity
8. Minimum responsibility of government
9. Population
10. Fiscal efficiency
11. Social development factor
12. Equality of states
13. Landmass and terrain
14. Internal revenue generation effort

Another aspect of revenue allocation formulae that has raised serious dust is the vertical aspect of revenue allocation. Various administrations, starting from the colonial era, adopted measures of addressing issues raised by regional governments. The Phillipson Commission recommended as follows: Northern region: 46%, Western region: 30%, Eastern region: 24%. Chicks Commission improved on Phillipson's recommendations by allocating 50% of the revenue central government while the three regions were to share the remaining 50% as follows: North : 30%, East: 30%, West: 40%. Also, Raisman Commission gave Northern region: 40%, Western region 24%, Eastern region: 34%, Southern Cameroon 5% (Abdullahi, n.d.).

The argument for a generally acceptable formula continued after independence. Okigbo Commission opted for Federal Government 55%, state 35% and local government 10%. Under former Military President, Ibrahim Babangida, revenue allocation was shared thus: Federal 55%, state 32.5%, local 10%, oil producing states 1.5%, ecology 1%. President Abacha adopted 48.5%, 24%, 20%, 7.5% for federal, state, local government and special fund, respectively (Lukpata, 2013). As currently operated, revenue from federation account is shared as follows: Federal 50%, state 24%, local 20%, special funds 6.5%. The quest for revenue sharing formulae capable of satisfying all sections of the country continued to pose a serious task (Uhunmwuango and Ekpu, 2011). The renowned lawyer and former senator of the federal Republic of Nigeria, Ndom-Egba (2000), questioned the unpalatable situation where the central government allocates to constituent units revenue generated from those units at the discretion of the central government. He called for a restructuring of Nigeria fiscal federalism as a solution to the problems of national peace and development.

2. Ethnicity problems and national unity: Nigeria is the most populous nation with over three hundred and eighty seven (387) ethnic groups. Each group has its unique culture and history. Ethnic groups in the northern region, prior to colonization, had a centralized administrative structure and religion, the western geo-political had semi-centralized administrative structure with their unique language and religion. However, the eastern region, together with their minor groups within the region, had what we can liken as a decentralized administration. Villages managed their political affairs independent of one another.

Ethnic bickering and rivalry in Nigeria has become an incessant and regular occurrence. No day passes without news of killing, maiming, arson etc. between two or more ethnic groups. At each election, census etc., issues of where the candidate comes from becomes the burning national issue or the struggle to have the highest or a bigger population for economic advantage. During 2011 election, Human Right Watch reported the killing of eight hundred (800) people in 12 northern states mostly of southern extraction. Ethnic rivalry has denied the country the opportunity of producing a leader in the likes of Mao Tse-Tung of China, Mahatma Ghandi of India, Nelson Mandela of South Africa, Abraham Lincoln of United State of America etc. who shaped the history of their respective countries.

3. Minority Issues: The agitation by minority groups has been in existence since pre-independence era dated 1957. These agitations led to the creation of mid-western region and subsequently creation of twelve states by Gowon administration. Minority groups in Nigeria have accused the three major ethnic groups: Igbo, Hausa/Fulani and Yoruba, of marginalization and negligence despite their economic contributions. Niger Delta for instance, a region with over forty (40) ethnic groups, according to central bank of Nigeria, the earnings from oil sector to national revenue stood at 89.1% as of 2008. In 2014, National Bureau of statistics reported that oil and gas sector contribution in third quarter of 2015, amounts to ₦1.944 trillion. All these positive economic improvement are made possible by huge oil and gas deposit in Niger Delta. This marginalization and negligence by successive governments has been attributed to the recent militancy and kidnapping in the zone.

4. State creation problem: Call for state creation by major and minor ethnic groups has become rampant and another way of showcasing individual political and speech prowess. The government of General Yakubu Gowon created twelve (12) states in 1967; Murtala increased the number to nineteen (19) in 1976. In 1987 and 1991, Babangida created two (2) and nine (9) states, in 1991,

bringing it to thirty (30) states. General Sani Abacha added Six states, making it a total of thirty six states and capital. The problem with state creation in Nigeria is the assumed deliberate effort to maintain regional or zonal dominance. The North-central has six states, north-east six, north-west seven, south-east five, south-west six and south-south six.

Table 1.1 States per Geo-political zone in Nigeria

| S/N | Geopolitical zone | States | Number state |
|------|-------------------|--|--------------|
| i. | North Central | Benue, Kogi, Kwara, Nasarawa, Niger and Plateau. | 6 |
| ii. | North East | Adamawa, Bauchi, Benin, Gombe, Taraba and Yobe | 6 |
| iii. | North West | Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Zamfara and Sokoto | 7 |
| iv. | South West | Lagos, Oyo, Ekiti, Ondo, Osun and Ogun | 6 |
| v. | South South | Cross River, Akwalbom, Rivers, Edo, Delta and Bayelsa | 6 |
| vi. | South East | Anambra, Abia, Imo, Ebonyi and Enugu | 5 |

Source: 1999 constitution. (Arranged by the authors)

The table above indicated that the south eastern zone has the least number of states while north western zone has a maximum of seven states. Other zones have six states each. If there is any need for state creation it should be done in such a way that the zone with the least states gets additional states to equal others.

5. Resource Control Controversy: Prior to discovery of Oil in Nigeria in 1956 and oil boom in 1971-1977, Nigeria economy was largely dependent on Agriculture. However, the discovery of oil and subsequent boom promoted the culture of laziness, corruption, get-rich quick tendencies in the lives of politicians and leaders. Emphasis was shifted from farming (which encouraged hard work) to white collar job (which promoted laziness and stealing). During this time, a former president boasted that Nigeria had plenty money to spend. Public office holders started living ostentatious life style. Despite the enormous economic contributions of oil producing states, the region has been economically marginalized. Adeyeri (2010) in his work captured the above negligence in this manner:

Agitations by ethnic minority groups, particularly in the Niger Delta, over the Allocation and control of oil revenue, Compensation for environmental degradation Arising from oil exploration, and political Marginalization, appear to be the greatest Challenge to nation-building and national Stability in Nigeria in recent time.

Before independence, each region managed and utilized revenue accruing from their individual regional efforts. The Western region used the proceed of cocoa-exportation to set up the first television station and granted free primary education. Northern region utilized the proceed from groundnut export to west to build Ahmadu Bello University and other investments. The eastern region, on its part controlled the revenue accruing from palm produce export to construct the University of Nigeria Nsukka (Lukpata, 2013). Regrettably, these giant strides by each region were cut short in following the enactment of petroleum Decree in 1969, which empowered the central government to control oil and gas sector (Lukpata, 2013).

6. Secession Threat: Secession is another major threat facing Nigeria federation. Nigeria is a federation with over 387 ethnic groups competing for control and relevance. Since independent, past and present leaders had failed to provide a template capable of unifying all these diverse ethnic groups for national development. The first attempt in 1966-1967, by the government of eastern region, led by Lt. Col. Chukwuemeka Ojukwu to secede met a stiff opposition from the Nigerian government. Those issues raised by the eastern region government still remain unresolved hence the proliferation agitations and insurgencies. The current protest by members of Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), Movement for Actualization of sovereign state of Biafra (MASSOB), Boko Haram, Biafra Independence Movement (BIM), Niger Delta Red Squad (NDRS), Niger Delta Avengers (NDA), etc. are evidence of careless attitude of our political elites.

7. Corruption: The origin of corruption in Nigerian public service has more than four aspects. First, scholars tried to trace the current and endemic corrupt practices to colonial era. They opined that the introduction of "divide and rule" system by the British colonist fostered corruption. Another opinion linked corruption to human greed and lack of contentment. Others traced corruption to poverty and unemployment that plagued the nation in early 1980s. World Bank (1997), defined corruption as, "the abuse of public office for private gain". Corruption in Nigeria has gone so bad that the "mouth" that condemns corruption is corrupt. Political leaders now condemn and fight corruption but favour their people or family members in appointments, contracts etc. Corruption is a canker worm that has eaten deep into the fabric of our society and encouraged mediocrity politics.

8. Other problems of Nigeria Federalism include: boundary disputes, dual loyalty principle of federal character controversy etc. these problems have really denied Nigeria the opportunity of becoming a strong and united nation.

The Way Forward

The growing call for the restructuring of Nigerian federalism is gathering momentum, once again among politicians and concerned citizens. Both the lower and higher classes of our society have all said one thing or the other either knowingly or unknowingly, bordering on true federalism. These recent agitations were no doubt impelled by incessant ritual killings in the west, kidnapping in the east, terrorism in the north and militancy in the south-south. Also, the recent economic crisis that has virtually rendered most states insolvent. Unemployment, food shortages, poverty, death, diseases and political witch hunting; are all indications that Nigerian federalism is sick and need restructuring or adoption of true federalism. Based on above mentioned problems facing federalism in Nigeria, the following solutions were proffered.

True Federalism

1. **Redistribution of Powers:** Central government over the years acquired greater powers leaving constituent units with little or fewer powers to exercise. This has made the central government too powerful and a centre of attraction, a place where all men (both small and mighty) want to reside, work, a sharing house. The scenario described above explained why politicians kill or maim their opponents to be at the federal capital. A smaller and leaner federal government will reduce unnecessary rivalries among politicians over political appointments, contracts and jobs. Some items under the exclusive list need to be re-allocated to the concurrent legislature list. This will make the component states less dependent and economically viable.

2. **Economic Diversification:** Nigerian economy has been described as a mono-cultural economy. A situation where a nation's economic survival depends mainly on one source is prone to face some economic hardship should anything happen to it. For close to six decades Nigerian economy depends on proceeds from the sale of crude oil at the expense of other sectors such as agriculture, manufacturing, solid minerals etc. High level of poverty, unemployment, over-dependence on foreign goods, militancy, terrorism, dwindling of states allocation etc. has all been described as the aftermath of mono economy. Leaders should work towards re-awakening those sectors lying idle for more than four decades.

3. **Structural Balance:** The current structural imbalance where some geopolitical zones have six and seven states while south-east has five states is a clear indication of imbalance and marginalization. The implication of this imbalance is that while other zones get fatter allocation based on the number of states and local government they have, the smaller geopolitical zone is left small allocation. This situation has always been the reason for agitations for state creation. Law makers should look into the genuine call for balancing of the six geopolitical zones especially, the zone that has least number of states and local governments.

4. **Granting of Greater Fiscal Autonomy to Constituent Units:** The current fiscal federalism is manipulated to favour the central government. The revenue sharing formula for funds from the federation account among the three tiers of governments using the vertical principle, according to Revenue Mobilization Allocation and Fiscal Commission (2016) gave the following percentage.

Table 1.2 Table showing percentages on Revenue allocation

| | | |
|----|--------------------|--------|
| 1. | Federal government | 52.68% |
| 2. | State government | 26.72% |
| 3. | Local government | 20.6% |

Source: RMAFC, 2016

The Table above indicated a fiscal federalism structured to favour the federal government. More than fifty percent (50%) of the funds from the federation account went to the central government while the states and local government shared the remaining funds. This arrangement has in recent times, challenged by oil producing states and other state Governors. The call for resource control by the region had led successive governments into creating Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) in 2000, Niger Delta Ministry in 2008, largely as a response to the demand for resource control.

Hitherto to military interference in 1966, regional governments controlled their resources and paid royalties to the federal government. These regions performed creditably well and were able to pay salaries, built higher institutions and construct roads. It is advised that the current fiscal federalism, under operation, should be replaced with the old regional fiscal federalism.

5. **Federal Character Principle:** The principles was instituted and enshrined in the 1999 constitution with the main aim of ensuring social harmony among ethnic groups, states and geopolitical zones in Nigeria. This principle has been in existence in the 1979 constitution. The problem with federal character principle is not with the legal provision but with the application. The former president of Nigeria, Olusegun Obasanjo, once said that merit should not be sacrificed on altar of federal character principles. Operations of these principles should be fair enough to ensure equity and fair play, merit and competence, without losing the real essence of establishing the principle. A close look at appointments mad by president Muhammadu Buhari, within one year of his administration depict a violation of the principle of federal character (Onwuka,2016).

Recommendation

This paper has been able to discuss the origin of Nigerian federalism and the point where true federalism was corrupted by the military government and was carried on into the 1979 and 1999 constitutions. The problems facing the federation ranging from revenue allocation formula problem, state creation issue, resource control agitation, and ethnicity rivalries, minority issues and corruption. All these problems were described as serious dent on the development of the country.

Successive governments, both military and civilian administrations, had applied various measures to correct and remodel Nigeria Federalism to suit all sections. It was also observed that most of these measures were selfishly implemented to favour certain zones or states. However, the paper offered five sound recommendations that can turn around the problems facing Nigerian federalism.

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