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RESOURCE CONTROL AND RESTRUCTURING: A CASE STUDY OF THE SOUTH-SOUTH NIGERIA

Nye Oruwari
Ignatius Ajuru University of Education
Port Harcourt, Rivers State, Nigeria
nyeoruwari@gmail.com

&

Oyegun Gbenga
Wellspring University, Benin City, Edo State.
Oyegun_gbenga@yahoo.com

Abstract

The organization of Nigeria's political economy seems prehistoric and with pretences to political and economic federalism, the country is in dire need of essential structural modification which will help unveil it on the path of economic growth and development. In this regard data is collected through secondary sources in other to give lucid explanation on the needs for resource control and how to restructure the Nigeria political structures. The study adopted biopic technique- political economy method. According to the study, what dominates an open dialogue in Nigeria is the concern for restructuring. And that the oil belt states of the country called Niger Delta and also known as the South-South has been at the centre stage for some time now. The region is not only the pivot of oil in the country but also the heroic focus of resource related structure. Again, that, in the recent past, there has been a rival in reverence activities in the region and the new revolutionary groups that have arose are re-echoing the age long demands and unending agitations which are restiveness for restructuring and resource control. Based on these findings, the study recommends that, as lofty as the debate in restructuring is, the main omission remains a suitable and effective meaning of restructuring and that it is the basis by which true federalism and equitable distribution of the wealth of the nation can be ensured for sustainability.

Keywords*:* Resource control, restructuring, federalism, South South, Niger Delta region.

Introduction

The arrangement of Nigeria's political economy appears prehistoric in outlook. With pretences to political and economic federalism, the nation is in awful need of necessary structural modifications to help it lift-off into the required path of economic growth and development.Federalism in Nigeria have been the theme of academic dialogue and a problem of state apprehension, particularly as it is usually apparent that the country is operating a unitary system on the pretext of federalism. That Nigeria's political economy has been in a state of prevented development over the past 60 years is not in hesitation. With an economy highly dependent on receipts from oil and thus decidedly susceptible to external shocks, the economic history of Nigeria shows an economy that has staggered and wobbled heavily in a bid to achieve sustainable growth and development.

Nigeria, with no reservation, is a country with enormous human and natural-resource gifts. Nevertheless, from the beginning of the present political

administration, the outcry for 'restructuring' appeared to enchantingly increase in push, naturally and instantaneously throughout the entire country. The intensified outcry, in this regard at this time, may be credited to two fundamentals. Firstly, the campaign promise made by the ruling All Progressive Congress party, which deceptively echoed with many Nigerians, regardless of what 'restructuring' supposed and still supposes to them, but at least to the end that: "APC will amend our Constitution with a vision to decentralizing powers, responsibilities and duties to states and local governments in order to establish a true federalism and the federal spirit" (Onyekpere, 2017). Secondly, and more decisively, is the decade-long 'fundamental' yearning and desire of Nigerians to have a nation truly guided and guarded by unity, faith, peace, and progress, as anticipated by 15(1) of the Nigerian 1999 Constitution. Forlornly, however, rather than attain the constitutional provisions, Nigeria has significantly misplaced unity, faith, peace, and progress. Presently, the APC government has up till now shielded away from the promise to 'restructure' the apparently twisted and unjustifiable configuration of the Nigerian nation; hence, the provoked outcry for restructuring.

The Nigerian state as it is currently instituted is a creation of the British Colonial administration.Federalism modestly has been defined as a governmental arrangement comprising of at tiniest dual component parts that are not completely autonomous but together form the system as a whole. Intellectualizing federalism may simply mean "the system of sharing powers so that the central and regional governments are each, within a domain, synchronizes and also autonomous.

Recent happenings indicated that Nigeria is at a crossroad and there is campaigning from different segments of the country for restructuring of the present-day political arrangement. The Eastern Region have been calling for the actualization of the sovereign state of Biafra by the Indigenous People of Biafra and the Movement for the Actualization of Sovereign State of Biafra. The oil rich south-south also known as the Niger Delta states are also forceful in their quest for self-determination and resources control. To this end, countless militant groups have been formed in the region demanding for resource ownership and autonomy. The Westerners are not left out in the agenda for rearrangement of the polity otherwise branded as true federalism. From the North is the insurrection or insurgency of the feared Islamic fundamentalist group known as the Boko Haram whose main aim is to launch an Islamic state. Undeniably, Nigeria is experiencing economic recession, farmer-herdsmen clash, the kidnapping, ritual killings and the entire nation is not at peace.
Resource control and restructuring remains and continue to be a contentious issue in Nigeria politic. Anugwom (2005) alerted that resource control has been a fundamental problem facing the Nigeria nation.. Correspondingly, Dickson and Asua (2016) avow that resource control has continued to be a pugnacious concern in Nigerian federalism. Resource control and restructuring contemporarily have now become like the two inseparable parts of a coin and agitations on this issues have occasioned hate speeches and this has downtrodden the corporate being of the country. It has split the country into North and South boundary. The central character are the southerners and the contenders are the northerners (Yaqub, 2016).

The oil endowed region has articulated that by the reason of their contribution to the overall generated revenue, the principles of derivation, fairness and impartiality demands that they be permitted to control and manage their resources. Premised also on the fact that they endure the impact of oil exploration actions and discredit the assertion that the earnings from agricultural products such as cocoa, cotton,

groundnuts and palm oil were used to progress the oil sector of the region. Emphatically speaking, to them, oil companies plunge-back certain fraction of their budget for oil exploration activities while the contenders upheld that oil exploration activities were financed from the incomes of cocoa, palm oil, groundnuts, cotton, hides, and skin and because of this factor, oil revenues go to all and should be controlled and managed by the central government on behalf of Nigerians. The contenders also contended that the unity of Nigeria is non-negotiable and it has been decided by the civil war tussled in 1967-1970 (Atiku, 2017).

It is against this backdrop that this paper examines the issues of resource control and political restructuring of the Nigerian nation. It poses several questions what is the rationale behind the demand for resource control and what is the way forward in addressing resource control and political restructuring of the country?

Literature Review

Conceptual Literature

To enhance the understanding of this paper, it is important to define or explain the concepts of resource control, political restructuring and South South region to remove any uncertainties that may be associated with the concepts if not properly explained.

Resource Control

There is no unanimity among researchers, policy makers and social commentators as to the definition of the concept resource control. Some scholars see it as the total (100 percent) takeover of the resources situated in the oil-bearing communities or states by the communities or state. Others are of the view that the greater portion of the proceeds from the sale of the natural resources should go back to the state of origin (Roberts & Oladeji, 2005; Ako, 2011). According to Ako (2011), resource control refers to the "desire that the region is left to manage its natural resources, particularly its oil and pay taxes and or royalties to the federal government". For Ikeji (2011) resource control refers to "direct management of resources within a geopolitical entity." Resource control has been described as a process by which component units in a federation are allowed to control their human and material resources for the purpose of accomplishing sustainable development for their people (Arowolo, 2011). It also refers to a political arrangement that permits a control over a substantial percentage of the resources (Arowolo, 2011).

For Ifedayo (cited in Atoyebi, Lawal, Adekunjo, & Ibrahim, 2013) resource control entails the access of communities and state governments to natural resources situated within their borderlines and the right to develop and exploit these resources without rheostat by the central government. On the other hand, Henryik (2009) defines resource control as the control and management of resources by the state or local government where the resources are found, under the guidance of the central government and then pay agreed percentage to the central government. Sagay, (2001) sees resource control for three different angles namely: The power and rights of a community or state to raise funds by way of tax on persons, matters, services and materials within its territory; exclusive rights to ownership and control of resources, both natural and created within its territory; rights to customs duties on goods destined for its territory and excise duties on goods manufactured in its territory.

In the light of the above definitions, resource control entails, ownership, control, management of a natural resource by a community or state and payment of an agreed percentage of the proceeds of the natural resources by the owners (community

/ state) to the central government for the overall running of its assigned duties by the constitution.

Restructuring

The term restructuring has gained popularity among Nigerians especially the elites who are outside the corridor of power. According to Najakku (2016), the term is a slogan used by a segment of the elites who have been shut out of government at the Centre. Put differently, it is a bargaining chip for the nation's political elites, to negotiate their way into lucrative positions of power (The Politico, 2016). There is no agreement among the advocates of the restructuring of the polity on what constitutes restructuring. There is different interpretation or meaning of restructuring. Restructuring has been seen as synonymous with resource control. Nwankwo (2016) defines restructuring as "in-depth process that allows each region to control its resources and pay royalties to the central government. It is a process that is anchored on the principle of "from each according to his needs". This definition likens restructuring to resource control but restructuring encompasses resource control.

Is restructuring about the jettison of presidential system for parliamentary? Is restructuring the same as state creation? Is restructuring about the fiscal autonomy of the component units? These questions capture the various perceptions or views of political restructuring. However, restructuring is reshuffle, rearrangement or reformation (Najakku, 2016). Thus, political restructuring entails both political re-configuration of the country and devolution of powers to the constituent units as it is practiced in other countries. It involves ownership, control, and management of mineral resources located in a state by the state and power to establish its own police as against the present system where the police are under federal control. In short, political restructuring concerns the practice of what Nigerians call true federalism.

The South South Geo-Political Zone

The South South (SS) geopolitical zone is one of the six in Nigeria, is made up of the states of Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross River, Delta, Edo and Rivers. These six contiguous states occupy 94,587km^2 of Nigeria's 923,768km^2 land mass. According to the 2006 census, the region had about 21.01milions inhabitants representing approximately 15% of Nigeria's population of 140.43millions. In 2016 the region's population was put at 28.82millions which is 16.1% of Nigeria's 178.50millions (see figure below). The region is home to more than 90% of Nigeria's proven oil and gas reserves, and therefore contributes more than 90% of Nigeria's foreign earnings. Though some oil and gas related establishments are sited within the region, the people are largely subsistence farmers and fishermen. The region's major cities are Calabar, Uyo, Benin City, Port Harcourt City, Warri, and Yenagoa.

Table 1: South South Population and GDP

State	Population (2006)	Projected population (2016)	GDP
Nigeria	140, 431,790	178,500,000 (approx.)	
Akwa Ibom	3,902,051	5,482,177	11,179,000.00
Bayelsa	1,704,515	2,277,961	4,337,000.00
Cross River	2,892,988	3,866,269	9,292,000.00
Delta	4,112,445	5,663,362	16,749,000.00
Edo	3,233,366	4,235,595	11,888,000.00
Rivers	5,198716	7,303,924	21,073,000.00
Total	21,004,081	28,829,287	74,518,000.00

Source: National Population Commission, National Bureau for Statistics, 2020

Empirical Literature

There is a plethora of literature on resource control and political restructuring in Nigeria. Exceptionally of note in this regard are the works of Adetoye, (2016), Yaqub, (2016), Nwogwugwu, and Kupoluyi (2015), Agbo, (2013), Arowolo, (2011), Ojo, (2010), Orogun, (2010), Anugwom, (2005), Dibua, (2005), Osaghae, (2001), Naanen, (1995). For instance, Osaghae (2001) examines why the oil producing states are asking for greater political autonomy and control of their economic resources. The study attributes this to three factors of loss of legitimacy by the state, globalization, and democratization. It submits that unless the country restructures; it is likely to face the danger of self-determination and nationalism of separatists. The happenings in the country today is an attestation to the submission made by this learnt scholar. The MASSOB and IPOB demand for a separate state, the agitation for self-determination by the Niger Delta militants and the Boko Haram attempt to establish an Islamic theocratic state in the North, among others.

Similarly, Dickson and Asua (2016) argue that the federal government dominated by the majority ethnic groups has used the central government ownership of oil and its utilization of the proceeds to develop their regions instead of the oil-bearing communities. Arowolo (2011) examines the nature of agitation for resource control in relation to a federal political system and argues that the majority ethnic groups centralization of power and resources at the Centre and use of these resources to develop their respective region accounts for the agitation for resource control.In a like manner, Nwogwugwu and Kupoluyi (2015) assert that the demand for resource control have arisen because of the central government control of a large portion of the oil wealth and submit that unless the central government empowers the constituent units to enable them to develop their purviews, the agitation for resource control will continue.

Yaqub (2016) argues that the de-emphasis of derivation as the basis for revenue sharing, lack of equity in revenue distribution to states that contribute more to the federation purse and the recklessness and corruption that characterize the utilization of these resources by the central government accounted for the agitation for resource control and political restructuring. However, almost all of these studies relied on secondary sources of data, and are descriptive in nature. Therefore, this study offers an insight into the on-going debate over resource control and political restructuring.

Theoretical Framework

Rawlsian Theory of Justice was employed in this study. Rawls in his *A Theory of Justice* (1971) endeavoured to articulate a set of principles of justice which, in his view, should reinforce the *basicstructure of society*. He acknowledged the major apparatuses of this *basic structure of society* to include not only the legal rights and duties of citizens, but their economic and political institutions and indeed the entire scope of activities that can arise from their interaction with one another. Having identified the *basic structure of society* he went further to ascribe to it the function of distributing the benefits (wealth, food, shelter, power, authority and rights) and burden (duties and obligations) of social cooperation among members of the society. The primary task of justice in any society therefore is to fashion out a set of principles which is general to all, final and adjudicative and which a just *basicstructure of society* must meet or satisfy.

The thrust of Rawl's theory is that justice must ensure, first, greatest equal liberty for all; and secondly, where social and economic inequalities are perceived to exist, then they must be arranged in such a way as to benefit the least advantaged people in the society (Irele, 1993). Though Rawls has been roundly criticized for believing that equal opportunities for those with unequal socio-economic status will lead to an improvement in the existential condition of the latter (as they insist it will further widen the gap between the group and their fortunate colleagues in society),yet the theory offers us a fulcrum to understand that a society without justice will never offer its citizens' socio-political freedom nor will it be fair to all groups especially that segment of the society that is disadvantaged by reason of ethnic origin, sex, geographical terrain, educational imbalance or religious belief(Irele,1993). This is the case with the Nigerian state. At present various groups are making demands on the state based on their feelings and /or convictions that the latter has not been fair to them. The situation is even aggravated by the fact that all attempts by the state to provide equal opportunities for all her citizens have ended up not only feathering the corporate nest of those in government and the interest they represent, but has also, as a consequence, further widened the existing gap between the contending social groups in society thereby warranting a call for a restructuring and resource control of every region in the Country.

Method and Materials

This study adopted biopic technique, and as data for the study were assembled through secondary sources of data collection and evaluated in content. The secondary sources that formed the data are usurped through text books, journal articles, official gazette, newspapers, internet sources and monograph. Better still, the study depends on qualitative technique at arriving in its logic. The promptness of this, is not farfetched due chiefly on the nature of the agitations and counter agitations in Nigeria, a consideration on the state of lopsided federal practices and ideologies. This is characterized by attendant unitary system being postured as federal system of government. Thus, the amassing of colossal powers by government at the centre has called for devolution of powers to other tiers and levels of government. This could be achieved through the instrumentation of restructuring.

Results and Discussion

This study has made a number of useful findings regarding the concerns of Nigerians about restructuring the Nigerian federation both in terms of distribution of power and resources among the different tiers of government and issues that relate to the continued existence of Nigeria as a corporate entity. The key findings of the study are reported under the thematic issues below:

The 1999 Military/Unitary Constitution

In clue, it is the people of a pre-arranged society who decide the form of political, economic, and social foundations that serve as the bases for the society's economic growth and development. In practice, for many societies, a small selected group is usually accountable for the creation of these political, economic and social institutions. In the present-day Nigerian case for example, a military clique that grabbed political power by force of arms was accountable for the 1999 constitution which served as the base for the formation of political parties and other critical socio-economic institutions, including government. (Okowa, 2017)

A constitution is supposed to document the negotiated results of the various peoples that inhabit a given country. This has clearly not been the case with the 1999 Nigerian constitution. It has been argued that states in post-colonial Africa lack autonomy from hegemonic social forces, Ake (1985). When in addition to the forgoing, a state is constructed on the basis of a constitution forced down on the people by a military cabal dominated by certain interests, then it is difficult to define governance in such a society as representing the will of the people, in terms of democracy defining the government of the people by the people. The people cannot be said to be responsible for the policies of government. Similarly, institutions constructed on the basis of such a "fraudulent" contraption baptized as a nation's constitution, can hardly be said to be creations of the people (Okowa, 2017).

But for systemic corruption, the 1999 constitution is arguably the most single element that has undermined Nigeria's development politically and economically. This is aptly captured by Akande (2017) who stated that:

> The 1999 Constitution is the greatest misadventure since Lord Lugard's amalgamation of 1914. The Constitution puts emphasis on spending rather than making money, thereby intensifying the battles for supremacy between the legislature and the executive, while the judiciary is being corruptly tainted and discredited… the constitution breeds and protects corruption practices and criminal impunities in governance… it should only be scrapped as bad relics of military mentality and replaced by the 1963 Republican Constitution to enable a transition for the writing of a suitable constitution. Otherwise, the 1999 Constitution would continue to dwarf Nigeria's economy and stifle the country's social structure pending a disastrous and catastrophic bankruptcy.

To appreciate Nigeria's dismal performance in terms of development and the elimination of poverty we need to move beyond traditional economics. In line with Acemoglu and Robinson (2012), it is economic institutions that determine the success or failure of national development. However, politics and the distribution of political power largely determine economic institutions. In this vein, economics and politics are intricately interwoven, because political power is also affected by the distribution of economic resources. In the words of (Acemoglu and Robinson 2012) … poor countries are poor because those who have power make choices that create poverty. They get it wrong not by mistake or ignorance but on purpose.

It is the people who create government and other political and economic institutions. In most cases however, the bulk of the people are not involved in the creation of government and other political economy institutions. Rather, the elites or some cabal imposed these institutions on the people. The 1999 Nigerian constitution, the current structure of states and local governments, were all created by the military who make up less than one percent of the country's population. The transfer of property inland to the state governors is also a creation of the military. The transfer of the oil resources of the people of the Niger Delta to the Nigerian State is also of military origin. Thus, the contemporary Nigerian political economy is the product of military force, rather than a negotiated choice of the people of Nigeria Okowa (2017).

Structurally Unjust and Melancholic Federation

According to J.S Mill's law of federal stability "a federation is morbid if one part is bigger than the sum of the other parts". Nigeria's version of 'federalism', therefore, fits into this law and has been one of the primary reasons why Nigeria has remained unstable and underachieved. Nigeria as it is presently constituted does not accommodate differing interests, circumstances and diversities of the constituent groups. This has made effort in securing peace and stability of the country, and its survival against the forces of division and conflict in a diverse and heterogeneous society like Nigeria to remain elusive. For analytical simplicity, in terms of land mass, the Northern Region then had 71 percent, Western Region 8.5 percent, Eastern Region 8.3 percent and the Mid-Western Region 4.6 percent. The table captures the current structural coloration of Nigeria.

Table 2: The structure of Nigeria's present political economy

NORTH		**SOUTH**	
Number of States	19	Number of States	17
North East	6	South East	5
North West	7	South South	6
North Central	6	South West	6
Number of LGAs	419	Number of LGAs	357
House of Representatives	191	House of Representatives	169
North East	48	South East	43
North West	92	South South	55
North Central	49	South West	71
Number of Senators	57	Number of Senators	51
Federal Allocation	56%	Federal Allocation	44%
State	57%	State	43%
Local Governments	55 %	Local Governments	45 %
Major sources of Revenue	14%	Major sources of Revenue	86%
Oil and Gas	0.0%	Oil and Gas	100%
Value Added Tax	28%	Value Added Tax	72%
*** FCT's contribution of 20% is inclusive			

Source: Author's computation: Financial data was obtained from the Ministry of Finance and Office of the Accountant General of the Federation, 2021.

From the above analysis on table 2 therefore, the political and economic imbalance is evident. This structural imbalance in Nigeria's political economy cannot guarantee peace, stability, progress and economic development. Whereas the political structure shows obvious inequalities in the number of states, local government, Senator, House of Representatives and federally allocated revenues, skewed to favour the Northern Region, the Southern Region contribute 86%of the revenue used in running the present political architecture. For instance, while contributing a meager 14% of revenues, the Northern Region receives an average of 56% of federally allocated revenues against 44% receipts for the Southern Region which contributes an average of 86% of the revenues. The reasons, therefore, for the continued militancy and other regional agitations from the Southern Region is not far fetch as the region

believes that they are massively short changed by the current structure of Nigeria and has arguably slowed the process of national development.

Apart from the economic analysis, the structural imbalance of the present structure has given the North the exclusive right to rule the country or decide who rules the country at every point in time. The inequality between the North and South, therefore, has made it virtually impossible for the South to control political power at the Centre, given the ethno-regional politics of the country without power concession from the North. These inequalities that are being promoted by current political and economic structures are, therefore antithesis to federal stability, peace, and national development.

The nationalization of land resources

What has happened in Nigeria in relation to land ownership is the reverse of what happened in England prior to the industrial revolution. In the case of England, parliament enacted a number of laws that transferred property rights on land away from the feudal lords to the common people, particularly after the Glorious Revolution of 1688, Acemoglu and Robinson (2012). These actions by the English Parliament paved the way for the industrial Revolution, Acemoglu and Robinson (2012).A second example of how powerful political social and religious elites deaden the development process is the case of the Ottoman Empire. According to Acemoglu and Robinson, the Ottoman sultans and religious establishment opposed the introduction of the printing press into the empire for fear that the resulting mass literacy will lead to people challenging their authority and privileges, Acemoglu and Robinson (2012). Of course, Turkey was left behind by the rest of Europe, in terms of modern economic development.

Acemoglu and Robinson (2012) also reported cases in England (before the Glorious Revolution of 1688), Germany and Russia where the kings and feudal lords opposed innovative changes that would have benefited the society. In terms of development, out of fear of the impact of such changes on their authority and socio-economic privileges.

In the case of Nigeria, it has been established that the Nigerian State is a soft non-autonomous one, controlled by hegemonic social forces, Ake (1985). The nationalization of land resources by the military, culminating in the militarily imposed 1999 Constitution simply transferred such resources away from the owners, to the hegemonic elite class that control the state. This is the fundamental reason why corruption became systemic in Nigeria, Okowa (1994). In particular, the transfer of the oil wealth of the people of Niger Delta to a Nigerian State controlled by hegemonic feudal lords and the enthronement of the sharing philosophy in the country's fiscal federalism, destroyed the work ethic of Nigerians and hence the productive base of the Nigerian nation.

We should also point out that land is perhaps the most important factor of production in a poor developing country. The socialization of land in an otherwise capitalist political economy creates a regime that is neither capitalist nor socialist. It is a creature that is neither an animal nor a bird. It can neither run fast nor fly fast. It is bound to fail, and disastrously it will fail if we do not act fast to restructure this "Abdulistic" (Okowa 1994) political economy.The transfer of property in land from private ownership to public ownership in the context of a weak non-autonomous Nigeria State has institutionalized corruption into systemic corruption. Indeed, the transfer of private property in land to a Nigerian State controlled by hegemonic social

forces and the sharing philosophy induced by the said transfer, have delinked the relationship between work and reward. The philosophy of sharing has cultivated in the people a rent seeking mentality. Values of hard work, discipline and production have been replaced by those of laziness, indiscipline and consumption. The attitude of competition in production which drives the capitalist system has been replaced by that of competition in consumption which drives systemic corruption and economic criminality. Economic criminality at both macro- and micro- levels has become the major driving force of the Nigerian economy, polity and society Okowa (2017).

Breast-feeding Federalism

Nigeria's version of federalism could be best described as 'Breastfeeding' Federalism. A situation where the existential of the 'federating states' and the federal government is dependent 'on sharing' oil rent monthly is far from being an ideal situation that stimulate economic growth as well as sustainable development. Babaloa (2017) said:

> I have been an unrepentant supporter and crusader for restructuring of the country because what we have is called federal government but it is indeed a unitary government where states only go for suppliant of money at the end of every month and no development of any kind taking place".

Consequently, governance in Nigeria has been turned into beggars' affair where all state feasts on federal allocation for survival. This rent seeking tendencies have led to states jettisoning all forms of viable revenue generation in wait for free federal allocations, under the Joint Account Allocation Committee (JAAC). Table 2 below is more revealing.

Table 3: Annual State Viability Index (ASVI): Ranking of States by Internally Generated Revenue (IGR) Compare to Federation Account Allocation, 2016

STATE	LGA	FAAC ALLOCATION =N=	IGR =N=	% (IGR/ FAAC)	VIABILITY(IGR>50% FAAC)
LAGOS	20	178,606,493,854	302,425,091,964	169	YES
OGUN	20	57,362408,575	72,983,120,003	127	YES
RIVERS	23	134,870,667,278	85,287,038,971	63	YES
EDO	18	59,278,008,837	23,041,425,599	38	NO
KWARA	16	49,222,542,289	17,253,829,559	35	NO
DELTA	25	126,621,398,438	44,057,915,472	34	NO
KANO	44	111,380,002,329	30,959,027,531	27	NO
CROSS RIVER	18	55,771,945,495	14,776,808,331	26	NO
ENUGU	17	56,123,326,156	14,235,512,227	25	NO
OYO	33	80,349,610,722	18,879,084,132	23	NO
ABIA	17	54,400,939,511	12,694,839,539	23	NO
KADUNA	23	78,554,203,037	17,051,864,537	22	NO
PLATEAU	17	57,794,404,593	9,191,372,277	16	NO
AKWA IBOM	31	150,238,498,696	23,269,750,752	15.48	NO
KOGI	21	63,998,636,681	9,569,124,487	14.95	NO
OSUN	30	62,985,226,855	8,884,756,040	14	NO
BENUE	23	69,928,787,692	9,556,495,064	13	NO
BAUCHI	20	68,136,764,933	8,677,265,878	12.73	NO
ONDO	18	70,343,574,708	8,684,406,578	12.34	NO
TARABA	16	52,769,573,806	5,895,538,974	11	NO

ADAMAWA	21	58,489,518,680	5,788.979,592	10	NO
ZAMFARA	14	53,119.877,025	4,777,169,537	9	NO
IMO	27	67,717,778,855	5,871,026,976	8.66	NO
NIGER	25	70,831,185,155	5,881,584,409	8.30	NO
BAYELSA	8	99,291,071,848	7,905,458,280	7.96	NO
NASSARAWA	13	47,554,540,407	3,402,616,062	7.15	NO
SOKOTO	23	65,979,243,303	4,545,765,527	6.88	NO
KATSINA	34	83,279,473,947	5,545,900,833	6.65	NO
EKITI	16	47,564,063,908	2,991,041,855	6.28	NO
GOMBE	11	46,952,352,244	2,941,438,110	6.26	NO
YOBE	17	53,936,297,357	3,240,867,567	6	NO
JIGAWA	27	68,522,798,932	3,535,349,908	5.15	NO
KEBBI	21	60,886,882,102	3,132,343,261	5.14	NO
EBONYI	13	46,665,951,480	2,342,092,225	5	NO
BORNO	27	73,800,935,256	2,675,723,063	4	NO
ANAMBRA	21	60,100,365,047	N/A	-	
FCT		19,272,644,365	N/A	-	
TOTAL		2,662,701,994,413	801,951,625,136	30	NO

Source: Extract from Economic Confidential Magazine, 2017; Viability rating is author's threshold

Table 3 expressly captures why Nigeria has remained underdeveloped and would remain that way if something is not done to discourage this trend. From the records, only three states; Lagos, Ogun and Rivers met the viability threshold of generating at least 50% of their Federal Account Allocation revenue in internally generated revenue (IGR).

Resource Control Standpoint

One more perspective the study seeks to address before concluding the discourse is the one tagged resource control, which is virtually peculiar to the resource-producing parts of Nigeria; particular the oil rich areas of the Niger-delta. Although, this study is not intended to dwell much on this, few points shall however be raised in this regard. Despite the fact that the term 'resource control' has not found a universally acceptable definition, it is not in contest that it addresses, among other things, the control and/or management of the human, natural and other resources by a state or local government within whose jurisdiction such resources are found and/or exploited (Okolo & Raymond 2014, Dickson & Asua 2016, and Ekuri & Etim 2017). Thus, it could be safely surmised that for similar reasons as those upon which the calls for restructuring and/or secession are predicated, call for resource control is also made. The circumstances of surrounding resource control agitation are even worse, based on ecological and environmental degradation extensively suffered by the Nigerians in that geographical location.

Furthermore, the claim of the South-South zone, from where the oil resource (which is Nigeria's economic mainstay) is derived, that other parts of the country are developed at her expense, is to a great extent founded. These, therefore, give basis to their clamour for resource control. At least, these people who have suffered massive environmental degradation are, like other parts of the country, entitled to a general satisfactory environment favourable to their development (African Charter, Art.24). It is interesting, though, that unlike the harsh response to the calls for restructuring and/or secession, calls for resource control have been meted with rather temperate reactions. The clemency has resulted in increased allocation to the oil producing states, creation of the Niger Delta Development Commission, amnesty granted to 'repentant' militants and their reorientation, among other favourable concessions.

Conclusion

The paper appreciates the system of government; federalism which Nigeria has being practicing as contained therein in the 1999 constitution. Such practice has over the decades triggered disaffection and outcry for resource control and restructuring due to the nature of power concentration at the center and heightened marginalization and the helplessness of the federating units. The study also explores myriad of views of scholarship on the organic composition of Nigeria federalism, constitutional conferences and political economy behind the logic for political restructuring. The findings of the study have revealed that the nature and character of federal practice in Nigeria can be attributed to centripetal force at work and the component units have gone beyond the elastic limit to demand for restructuring of the federal system.

In summary, the study has created political institutions in Nigeria that are extremely restrictive with the state more or less a stooge of hegemonic social forces. In theory, the country has democracy, but in practice it runs a system where government is the preserve of a few elites who operate government to satisfy their greed at the expense of the people, like feudal lords. Restrictive political institutions have created restrictive and extractive economic institutions. In line with Acemoglu and Robinson (2012), the Nigerian political economy system is incapable of procuring sustainable growth and development. Indeed, Nigeria is failing and will continue in the failing direction unless the country's political economy structure is completely changed and transformed into a true capitalist and a true federal system. This implies a complete decentralization and privatization of resource control.

Recommendations

Arising from the above findings, the study recommends the following policy options:

1. The devolution of governmental power to other tiers. This implies that the federating states must not be mere administrative units but political units with separate powers properly defined in the constitution. The transfer of powers through the legal instrumentation of the constitution helps to reshape the much concentration of power at the center by allowing the components units to exercise substantive power over its jurisdiction. Also, such devolution helps in the long run to build culture of state viability and sustainability.

2. There is the need to remodel the Nigerian constitution in line with the fundamental principles of federalism, not as tailored by the military. The redefinition and remodeling will take into cognizance the diversities and social relations of production and material existence of life peculiar to Nigerian state. Also, modalities should be put in place for the enhancement and monitoring the abuse of principles of inter governmentalism.

3. Lastly, the restructuring of the country's political economy. The country need privatization of the factors of production-land, labour and capital-or what (Okowa1994) called complete decentralization of resource control. Labour and capital are largely in private hands.

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