

## The Clamour for Political Restructuring and The Challenges Of National Integration in Nigeria

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**ABSTRACT:** Nigeria is currently engulfed by agitations from different parts of the country for reforms of the present political system. The South East is demanding for the independent state of Biafra through the activities of the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) and the Movement for the Actualization of Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB). In the Niger Delta, various militant groups have emerged demanding for resource ownership and self-determination. In the West, the demand for restructuring of the polity otherwise known as true federalism is still top of the agenda of the people of the region. From the North is the insurrection or insurgency of the dreaded Islamic fundamentalist group called Boko Haram whose major goal is to turn Nigeria into an Islamic theocratic state. Indeed, the country is not at peace as economic recession, farmer-herdsmen clash, the upsurge in kidnapping and ritual killings are prevalent. This qualitative study examines the possibility of achieving national integration in the midst of the persistent agitations and call for restructuring of Nigeria's federation and attempts to proffer solution to how this problem could be addressed. The paper relied on the secondary sources of data which included books, journals, newspaper and magazines as well as internet materials. The findings of the study show among others that the lopsided and imbalanced federal structure has manifested in the inequity in the sharing of oil wealth, lack of infrastructural development, poverty and youth unemployment all anti integration elements. The paper suggests among others the adoption of the report of the APC committee on political restructuring, an amendment of the constitution by the National Assembly to address the imbalanced and lopsided nature of the country's federal structure, implementation of resource control among others if national integration is to be achieved.

**KEY WORDS:** Political Restructuring, Challenges, Resource Control, National Integration, Nigeria.

### I. INTRODUCTION

Since the return to democratic rule in 1999, Nigeria has been plagued by numerous crises in her march towards development. Some of the crisis has actually been that of development which manifests in the realm of authority, unity, participation and distribution. However, of all these crises, that of distribution has remained a teething problem of nation building in the country as it has to do with the issue of resource distribution and control. It is this same crisis that has generated some centrifugal forces that is bent on tearing the very soul of the nation apart by creating disunity and working against the attainment of some level of national integration. In fact, Nigeria is more at a crossroad as there are manifestations of agitations from virtually every part of country.

From the East of the Niger, there have been calls for the actualization of the independent state of Biafra by the Indigenous People of Biafra and the Movement for the Actualization of Sovereign State of Biafra. In the Niger Delta, various militant groups have emerged in the region demanding for resource ownership and self-determination. In the West, the demand for restructuring of the polity otherwise known as true federalism is still top of the agenda of the people of the region. From the North is the insurrection or insurgency of the dreaded Islamic fundamentalist group called Boko Haram whose major goal is to establish an Islamic theocratic state. Indeed, the country is not at peace, economic recession, farmer-herdsmen clash, the upsurge in kidnapping and ritual killings (Adeosun, Ismail & Zengeni, 2017, p8).

At the centre of all these agitations are the issues of political restructuring and resource control which have and still remained a contentious issue the country's body politic. Anugwom (2005) contends that resource control has been a key problem facing the Nigerian state. Similarly, Dickson and Asua (2016) aver that resource control has remained a contentious issue in Nigerian federalism. These twin issues of resource control and political restructuring has seriously divided and polarized the country into North and South and has further made the attainment of national integration a mirage. It has also created a new vocabulary of protagonists and antagonists in the country's political lexicon. The protagonists are the southerners and the antagonists are the northerners (Yaqub, 2016). The issues have resulted into name calling and this has affected the unity and corporate existence of the country. The protagonists argued that by the virtue of their contribution to the general purse, the principles of justice and equity demand that they should be allowed to control and manage their resources.

Aside from the above, there have been other claims and counter claims between the protagonists and the antagonists in the clamor and pursuit of the political restructuring and by extension resource control in the Nigerian state. The South argues further that they bear the impact of oil exploration activities and debunk the claim that the proceeds from agricultural products such as cocoa, cotton, groundnuts and palm oil were used to develop the oil sector of the region. According to them, oil companies set-aside certain percentage of their budget for oil exploration activities while the antagonists maintained that oil exploration activities were funded from the proceeds of cocoa, palm oil, groundnuts, cotton, hides, and skin and because of this factor, oil revenues belong to all and should be controlled and managed by the central government on behalf of Nigerians. The antagonists also argued that the unity of Nigeria is non-negotiable and it has been resolved by the fratricidal war fought in 1967-1970 (Adeosun, 2017 et al).

One would expect Nigeria after attaining a century old as a nation state on January 2014 to have overcome the problem of national identity and crisis of integration resulting from its multiethnic composition, but recent events have revealed that this desired status is yet to be fully attained. In fact, there have been continuous agitation by various ethnic nationalities ranging from militancy in the Niger Delta south region which has transformed into oil bunkering, armed robbery and organized kidnapping spreading to the southeastern and western part of the country; to various forms of religious fanaticism in the northeastern axis which recently metamorphoses into terrorism and kidnapping as socio-political characteristic of the present Nigeria society, the question that arises is how far Nigeria as a nation state has put itself on the part of achieving national integration by welding together the gamut of its multiethnic nationalities into a united nation state.

From the annals of history, the Nigerian state has been constantly engulfed by some centrifugal forces that seem to defy several steps and initiatives taken to manage the trend and avoid the complete disintegration of the country. As observed by Omemma (2016), since its contraption as a state, historical record generously indicates that there has not been any love lost amongst the constituent multinational phalanxes in Nigeria that share nothing in common. As a matter of fact, amongst recently identified 350 ethnic groups in the country, there exist clear-cut historical, linguistic and cultural differences that reinforce rather than dispel their attitude towards one another as strange bedfellows. Based on the obvious fact that homogeneity is an exception rather than the rule, it has become virtually impossible for Nigerians to speak the language of tolerance and compromise needed for unity and integration of the country. Instead their differences have plunged them into the location of the modern day Tower of Babel as they engage in a seemingly endless war of attrition and unhealthy scramble for supremacy and control of resources (Mustapha, 2003:8).

This development however, may not be peculiar to the Nigerian state because as aptly captured by Bowen (2001:91), the world's current centrifugal forces in multi-ethnic societies are fuelled by "age long ethnic and cultural differences". Evidently, the inherent diversity of the Nigerian populace makes them "a medley of people that mix but do not combine" (Furnivall, 1948). Consequently, as argued by Omemma (2016), the multinational groups in Nigeria are often inclined to ensconcing themselves into their respective organic base of existence where they feel psychologically secured than in the larger Nigeria where they seem to be like a fish thrown out of water. This however, could be attributable to the Berlin Conference of 1884-85 and the fraudulent social contract embedded in the amalgamation of 1914. The resultant fissiparous tendencies in the form of separatist agitation and clamor for self-determination, ethno-religious conflicts, demand for political restructuring and resource control as well as the indigene-settler dichotomy have become a clear manifestation of disintegration, lack of cohesion and national unity.

It is against this backdrop that this paper examines the issue of the persistent clamor for political restructuring of the polity. It poses several questions such as what is the rationale behind the demand for political restructuring and by extension resource control and what is the way forward in addressing the challenges thrown up by these agitations on national integration and unity in the country? In addressing these issues we begin with some conceptual clarifications.

## II. CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION

To enhance our understanding of this paper, it is important to define or explain the concepts of political restructuring, resource control and national integration in order to remove any uncertainties that may be associated with the concepts if not properly defined.

## III. POLITICAL 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 buzzword 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 (Adeosun, et al, 2017). There is no agreement among the advocates of the restructuring of the polity on what constitutes restructuring.

There are different interpretations or meaning of restructuring. Restructuring has been seen as synonymous with resource control. Nwankwo (1979) defines restructuring as "thoroughgoing 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 each according to his needs". This definition likens restructuring to resource control but restructuring encompasses resource control. For the purpose of this paper, political restructuring entails both political re-configuration of the country and devolution of powers to the constituent units as it is practice in other climes. It involves the demand for the 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 is under federal control. In short, political restructuring concerns the need to address the lopsided and imbalanced federal structure and the practice of what Nigerians call true federalism.

## IV. RESOURCE CONTROL

There is no consensus among scholars, 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, p. 42), 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, p.29) 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 the purpose of this paper, resource control entails the 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.

## V. NATIONAL INTEGRATION

This implies a collective effort to bring seemingly loosely-structured ethnic societies into the federation. It can also be seen as efforts at engendering centripetality within a federation. The integration crisis facing Nigeria is manifest in the minority issues, religious strife, ethnic politics, resource control, youth restiveness and the call for a sovereign national conference (Ifeanacho and Nwagwu, 2009). For the purpose of this paper national integration remains the effort in moulding the gamut of diverse ethnic nationalities in Nigeria into one fold with the aim of achieving ethnic homogeneity within a heterogeneous state.

## VI. THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

This study adopts integration theory as a framework for analysis because of its suitability to the processes of managing centrifugal forces in heterogeneous political communities. Associated with Keohane and Nye (1977), Groom (1978) Rosenau and Czempel (1989) among others, the central thesis of the theory is that peoples are affected by what happens elsewhere by the actions of their counterparts in other localities. Therefore, the theory attempts to dilute the inherent centrifugal forces of fragmentation and compete with the centripetal forces of integration in plural societies. In other words, the theory espouses the forging of one people out of many tribes and tongues grouped within the political community based on a lingua franca, a synthesized culture of the various nationalities, and an integrated economy (Ikoku, 1984). Similarly, the theory propagates the practice of moulding a purely heterogeneous society into a homogenous one where though tribes and tongues may differ view themselves as one.

Proponents of the integration theory therefore, prescribe compromise and consensual values for the achievement of common goals in which parties have long run expectations of mutually compatible and acceptable behaviour (Groom, 1978, p347). According to the theorists, the humankind may be physically separated from each other by territorial boundaries but they are intrinsically linked by the gravitational pull of common adversary, freedom from want and shared prosperity. This according to Omemma (2017) simply means that togetherness enhances peace and security, and thus a solution to common problem because there is no great organizer than a common adversary. Central to this theory therefore, is that consensus through dialogue amongst the phalanxes in a polycentric political community is a driving force for lasting and more satisfying solutions to the debilitating forces of fragmentation.

The integrationist assumption is however challenged by the nature of the evolution of the political union particular society. For instance, it is argued that the assumption is feasible and sustainable in a political community where the various nationalities consciously come together to form a union and not where such union was foisted on them by external forces as the Nigerian experience typifies. It has been argued that the bedrock of the union of American States was the July 4, 1776 Philadelphia Convention by the initial thirteen States that volunteered to form the United States of America. The same process characterized the union of the Australian Commonwealth, the Swiss Cantons, the Canadian Dominions, and the other older federations of the world (May, 1969).

Based on their consensus to unite and exist as one political community, these Unions have grown from strength to strength to the extent of becoming a model to the amorphous and fledging heterogeneous political communities particularly in Africa. When placed side by side with the Nigerian case, the webbing of the diverse ethno-cultural groups into the present Nigerian state was a sheer British colonial contraption as the opinions of these groups were never sought nor respected. This invariably fuels the resilient centrifugal forces that tend to threaten the corporate existence of the country and thereby makes the dream of national integration a mirage. Thus, for national integration to become visible in Nigeria, efforts must be geared towards the attainment of homogeneity from the gamut of diverse ethno-religious groups in the country.

## VII. RATIONALE FOR POLITICAL RESTRUCTURING

The rationale for political restructuring and by extension resource control in Nigeria takes its roots from the nature of federal structure in the country. It has been observed by scholars, public commentators and analysts that the central government in Nigeria is too powerful and has arrogated so much responsibility to itself to the detriments of the component units, which is the states and local governments. Such responsibilities also go with a lot of finances to the federal government while the component units have paltry amount allocated to them. This has also given rise to the demand for the devolution of power by the federating units in the country. It is however stating the obvious that all the cases of agitation is based on some reasons such that for the Niger Delta it has been the economic and political marginalization of the oil-bearing communities which has accounted for the demand for resource control and political restructuring.

The South-South people argued that they were denied participation in the oil and gas sector and the proceeds derived from the oil wealth of the region was not ploughed back to the region but used in the development of other regions. The South East has also advanced several reasons for their agitation and demand for self-determination including political marginalization which according to the region is rooted in the scars of the civil war and the seeming continuous mistrust of the region by the federal government. The South West agitates for political restructuring in order to curb the excesses and influence of the federal centre and create some semblance of equity in resource distribution and control while Boko Haram insurgency in the North attempts to foist an Islamic theocratic state on the country. However, the major source of the clamor for political restructuring has been the lopsided nature of the federal system and the lack of proper fiscal federalism in Nigeria. In fact, the defective nature of Nigerian federalism accounted for demand for resource control and political restructuring. Nigerian federalism is centralized. That is power and resources are concentrated at the centre thereby depriving the constituent unit's resources for development. The current system is too centralized and the constituent units are mere pawns on the chess board of the central government that can be manipulated at will by it.

Nigerian federalism has been federal in name and not in practice and this is because too many powers are vested in the central government and this is against the tenets of federal practice. The several years of military rule and its command structure have serious consequences on the practice of federalism in the country. One of which is the appropriation of powers hitherto belonging to the state or component units by the central government and this has resulted in centralization of powers and resources at the centre (Adeosun, et al, 2017).

This above supports the positions of Ibekwe and Ewoh, (2012) that the Nigerian federal practice has rendered the component units powerless and commandeered the control, management, and distribution of natural resources of the semi-autonomous units in Nigeria while Abegunde (2013) was of the view that the Niger Delta Question which necessitated the demand for restructuring and political reorganization can be attributed to lop-

sidedness of Nigerian federalism and suggested true federalism as a way out of the present imbroglio. All of these assertions points to a single fact that there is need for the restructuring of the federal polity if the dissensions and agitations must be curbed and national integration achieved in Nigeria.

### VIII. POLITICAL RESTRUCTURING AND THE CHALLENGES OF NATIONAL INTEGRATION IN NIGERIA

The central argument here is that the teething issue of national integration in Nigeria will remain unattainable once the agitations and the clamor for the political restructuring of the country is not addressed. In league with this line of thought, it is pertinent to examine those factors which underline the persistent clamor for the restructuring of Nigeria with a view to addressing them in order to achieve the elusive concept of unity and national integration.

Poverty and lack of basic infrastructural have also been identified as responsible for the demand for resource control and political restructuring. The Nigerian government has generated over \$600 billion in oil revenue since the exportation of the black gold commenced in 1958 and the inhabitants where the resource is located live in abject poverty without basic things of life such as water, electricity, and roads (Obi, 2010). Worst still, this manifestation of poverty and lack sometimes happen side by side with the mark of opulence underlining the lifestyles of multinational oil company workers within same communities. A glaring example is the case of Shell Petroleum and Exploration Company in Port Harcourt, Rivers State, South-South Nigeria. Here estates built in these communities are bedecked with constant and uninterrupted power supply, good medical facilities, well paved and tarred roads, constant water supply as well as state of the art recreational facilities. It becomes saddening for neighboring communities to remain in perpetual darkness within this serene creation by the oil company, a development which fuelled agitation and militancy.

In fact, for the Niger Delta region, the destruction of the environment and the ecosystem of the region through oil spillage and gas flaring by the multi-national oil companies operating in the region is another reason adduced for the agitation for resource control and political restructuring. The inhabitants of the South-South are concern about the environmental degradation of their region because it is their source of living. They depend on the environment and rivers for subsistence, socio-cultural survival, food and shelter. Thus, a conflict of interest exists between the indigenes of the region and the Nigerian state in relation to environment (Egbe, 2012). So, the people have no access to land where they can farm and fish and this created frustration and anger among the people.

The high rate of unemployment among the youths in Nigeria also accounts for the agitation for resource control and restructuring of the polity. It is particularly prevalent in the oil bearing communities where unemployment arises from the destruction of the means of livelihood of the people such as farming and fishing as result of oil exploration activities of the multi-national oil companies and moreover, the oil companies do not employ from the oil-bearing communities but from the major ethnic groups. In Nigeria as a whole, there is high level of unemployment arising from the economic down turn of the country for the past almost three years of the present Muhammadu Buhari led civilian government. This has opened up the youths for militancy, organized and violent crimes including armed robbery, pipeline vandalisation, kidnapping for ransom and even cyber crimes. These activities heightened tension and raises suspicion of Nigerians of fellow citizens while impeding unity and national integration.

Another issue that generates unrest and agitation is that of revenue allocation which borders on fiscal federalism. Revenue allocation is a controversial issue in a federation because of the dispute over the suitable formula and basis of distribution among the constituent units. Ugoh, Ukpere, and Ashiwhobel (2012) contend that in most federating states, the constituent units always have disputes with the general government over the financial issue and this issue borders on securing enough resources to discharge its constitutional assigned functions. Ikeji, (2011) define revenue allocation as the allotment of generally collected revenue among various levels of government in the federation to reflect the structure of fiscal federalism. Thus, revenue allocation is the sharing of revenue accruing to the government of a federation between or among different tiers of government. However, the greatest bone of contention in revenue allocation is the changing pattern of the revenue allocation formula over time, a development which generates bad blood between resource bearing communities and the Nigerian state.

For instance, it has been observed that when the major foreign exchange earner was agriculture, derivation was the basis of allocation of the regions that produced the products and it was 100% initially and later reduced to 50% but when oil became the major backbone of the economy, it was de-emphasized, cancelled completely and when eventually it was restored by government, a paltry 1.5% was allocated before it was subsequently moved to 13% that is in use till date. This resource owners view as injustice since they bear the brunt of exploration activities but gets what is not commensurate in return. Revenue allocation formula has therefore joined the league of factors militating against national integration and unity in Nigeria. Similarly, Roberts (2013), contended that derivation was the basis of disbursement of revenue in the mid-70s but with the

ascendancy of oil the intellectuals of the majority ethnic groups considered it as disproportionately favoring the minority oil producing states and hence deemphasizing its use in the allocation of revenue.

The lack of social amenities such as school, hospital, electricity, roads and portable water has necessitated the protest for the political restructuring of the polity and even the demand for resource control. Nigerians have complained of neglect by the central government while the Niger Delta region has added the multi-national oil companies operating in the region as part of their problem. Resource bearing communities have identified lack of social amenities as a reason for resource control and restructuring of the polity and the argument in the Niger Delta is that the zone has been neglected in the provision of social amenities by the government, despite the contributions of the zone economically to the development of country.

The story of Oloibiri paints a vivid picture of the above assertion. Oil was discovered in the Niger Delta, to be precise in Oloibiri in Bayelsa state by Shell in 1956 and from the record billions of naira have been gotten from that place. But currently, a visit to Oloibiri will definitely cause one to shed tears because the place is underdeveloped to a level that one would not believe that such quantum of oil wealth has been lifted from that place. There are no good health facilities to take care of the health of the people, no education, no modern amenities, and nothing to show for the numerous years of oil exploration with its attendant problem of environmental degradation, loss of livelihood among others. This lack of social amenities engenders ill feelings by the citizens towards government and as well impedes national integration. As a matter of fact, the paucity in social amenities and harsh socio-economic conditions have fuelled alienation among the people of the region and accounted for the agitation for resource control and political restructuring.

Lastly, the defectiveness of the Nigerian federalism remains a major factor in the clamour for political restructuring and resource control in the country. Nigerian federalism has been federal in name and not in practice and this is because too many powers are vested in the central government and this is against the tenets of federal practice. The several years of military rule and its command structure have serious consequences on the practice of federalism in the country. One of which is the appropriation of powers hitherto belonging to the state or component units by the central government and this has resulted in centralization of powers and resources at the centre. This much is in tandem with the position of Ibekwe and Ewoh, (2012) that the Nigerian federal practice has rendered the component units powerless and commandeered the control, management, and distribution of natural resources of the semiautonomous units in Nigeria.

## **IX. CURBING THE CLAMOUR FOR POLITICAL RESTRUCTURING AND THE CHALLENGES OF NATIONAL INTEGRATION IN NIGERIA: THE WAY FORWARD**

There is a need for the central government to devolve some of its powers to the constituent units. Currently, there are sixty-eight items in the exclusive list which is meant for the central government alone and four items in the concurrent list in which both the centre and the component units can legislate. This saddles the federal centre with more responsibilities and confirms the observation that the Nigerian federalism is centralized. There is greater need, therefore, for the central government to devolve some of its power in the exclusive list to the state. For instance, mines and minerals, Labour (wages), primary education and taxing powers like mining rents and royalty as well as value-added tax (VAT) to the states. It is absurd to realize that the component units have no control and management over mineral resources found in their domains. Thus, mines and mineral should be removed from the exclusive list and put under the jurisdiction of the constituent units for there to allow for the growth and development of the federating units. The onus is on the National Assembly to act fast by amending the constitution to accommodate this recommendation.

All levels of government should be involved in creating youth empowerment programs that could engage the teeming idle youths in the country. This is to pre-empt the fulfillment of the adage that an idle mind is a devil's workshop. Such empowerment program should also take cognizance of women as they remain pillars of the family and must also be empowered. A situation where our tertiary institutions turn out thousands of graduates yearly and there are no opportunities to engage them would certainly heighten the spate of agitation, generate restiveness and open the youths to crimes and other violent acts that are inimical to the attainment of national integration. A lot of idle youths have been recruited into the various militia groups that are terrorizing the country particularly the Boko Haram terrorist group.

There is need for an upward review of the current revenue derivation formula from 13% to 25% to enable resource bearing communities to enjoy the benefits of their resources by developing their region. This gesture should cover all manner of resources particularly solid minerals and not oil alone. It is important to put a mechanism in place to ensure that this resource is judiciously used for the development of the region through proper monitoring and holding the leaders accountable for their actions or deeds in order to forestall the misapplication of such funds.

In the interim, pending when power and resources will be devolved to the component units, the federal government should in collaboration with the states engage in providing infrastructural facilities for the states

especially the resource bearing ones and also assist in creating an enabling environment for the participation of the private sector in the development of the various regions. As it is now, the region cannot do it alone; it requires the cooperation of all and sundry. Besides, the central government should reflect the federal character in the issuance of oil blocks licenses and distribute the oil wells evenly to all regions in the country.

Finally, we implore the present government of Muhammadu Buhari to develop the will power to implement the recommendations of the All Progressive Congress (APC), the ruling party's committee on political restructuring which had since been submitted to the party. The committee's recommendations have been reinforced by the stand of the Ohaneze Ndigbo which rose from a restructuring summit on Monday 21<sup>st</sup> May 2018 with far reaching recommendations on the restructuring of the Nigerian polity including a 6 year single term of office for the President and Governors alongside the demand for a constitutional conference that will usher in a new constitution that will capture the new structure for the federation.

## X. CONCLUSION

The study undertook an analysis of the contentious issue of the persistent clamour for political restructuring and by extension the issue of resource control in Nigeria and how they impact on the continuous search for unity and national integration in the country. It equally examined the rationale for the demand for political restructuring and identified some of the reasons for agitation as defective revenue allocation and derivation formula, centralized nature of Nigeria federal system, environmental degradation, issues of resource ownership, among others.

It discovered that the South-South position on political restructuring and resource control is that each federating unit should be allowed to control and manage resources found within its territory and pay agreed sum or percentage to the central government. This is also shared by the South-East and South-West. An analysis of the south-south position showed that it is not against revenue allocation but demand for equity in its disbursement, which the region believed could only be achieved within a framework that allowed financial autonomy to the federating units. It made some useful recommendations that could assist in curbing the spate of agitations and clamour for political restructuring of the Nigerian polity and concludes that if these recommendations are implemented then Nigeria stands a chance of benefitting from the elusive issue of unity and national integration.

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