

# NIGERIAN FEDERALISM AND THE POLITICS OF RESTRUCTURING: A CASE FOR MODIFIED PRESIDENTIAL SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

Abacha Umar Deribe<sup>1</sup>

Fatima Ahmed<sup>2</sup>

## Abstract

*Nigeria is a country that underwent different forms, shapes and structures from pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods. The ancient systems and structures were altered and re re-organized because of the impact of colonial rule. From regionalism, Nigeria became a Federal entity with three tiers of government and a practiced Parliamentary system, which was later substituted with a Presidential system. Recently, there were calls and agitations for restructuring in the country by different sections, politicians, parties, analysts and intellectuals based on their own perception and sentiments. This study to a contribution to the discourse for the call of restructuring in an entirely different approach. The work made a case in support of a political restructuring towards a modified Presidential system of government. The work gathered data from secondary sources the data obtained were discussed and analyzed using content analysis method. that Nigeria should maintain the current Federal system that it is practicing but the political system especially the Presidential system needs to be revisited for a modified version of it where there will be the President and the Prime Minister in order to balance power holding by the different agitating sections of the country. This study recommends that it is necessary to look into a workable political system and structure that will foster national development.*

**Keywords:** Federalism; Nigeria; Politics; Presidential System; Restructuring.

## Introduction

Nigeria is a country with different levels and stages of history for many centuries (Falola & Aderinto, 2010). The plethora of kingdoms, chiefdoms, societies and organizations that exist for many centuries in different independent territories co-existed independently with inter-relationship (Falola & Heaton, 2008). These entities were later forcefully subdued and submerged by arbitrary colonial interest to form the present-day Nigeria through the instrument of British colonialism (Falola, 1996). From the inception of colonialism to date, Nigeria as

---

<sup>1</sup> Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Maiduguri  
PMB 1069, Maiduguri Borno State, Nigeria. [auderibe@gmail.com](mailto:auderibe@gmail.com)

<sup>2</sup> Department of Political Science, University of Maiduguri, Maiduguri, Borno state,  
Nigeria [fahtimadalaram1@gmail.com](mailto:fahtimadalaram1@gmail.com)

a country underwent several reshaping and restructuring which have impact on the current entity that form the contemporary inhabitants of the country (Crowder, 1978). The separate two contiguous regions of the North and South were 1914 by the British colonial Governor, Lord Lugard. The amalgamation set the foundation for the emergence of Nigeria as a political territory (Coleman, 1960).

Since the merger of Nigeria as a country under the British colonial supervision, several political settings were instituted (Dudley, 1976). For instance, in 1944, regionalism was introduced under Governor Richard, which successfully laid the foundation for Federalism in Nigeria (Adamolekun & Osuntokun, 1977). Nigeria secured political freedom from colonization with a fragile political structure heavily imposed by the colonialist based on their own interest (Diamond, 1988). The fatal orchestrated military coup cost Nigeria most of its founding nationalist and set Nigeria on the road to authoritarian rule. The military's effort at introducing unitary system of government failed instantly, which led to counter coups (Ochonu, 2009).

Nigeria's political trouble did not end with military coup but rather escalated. Numerous coups followed later with the military unable to proffer a lasting solution to Nigeria's political upheaval (Gambari, 1980). The transition to democratization in the Second Republic (1979-1983) was heralded with an advice for the adoption of a Presidential system of government in place of the Parliamentary system that was practiced in the First Republic (1960-1966) (Dudley, 1976). The Second Republic too crumbled after a short period because of political imbroglios (Anifowose & Akinboye, 2008). The attempt for another democratization saw Nigeria aborting a transition in the Aborted Third Republic by the military.

Political struggles and turmoil has continued (Venter, 2015). Another area of conflict or contention in Nigerian state is the economic arrangement or the sharing formula for revenue or resource allocation at the national level (Ekundare, 1973). The 1999 Constitution arranges for a sharing formula, which favours the Federal Government ahead of the state and local governments, and a formula, which prefers remittance of national resources at the Centre for redistribution instead of the colonial arrangement, which provided for a regional control of resources with a percentage contribution to the Centre. Additionally, many regions are crying of political marginalization especially for their inability to secure power control at the centrifugal stage (Babawale, 2006).

The agitations and calls for restructuring of the Nigerian state came into the limelight with the resurgence of democratization in the Fourth Republic (Abdulkadir & Maigari, 2018). Most of the calls are not being specific or problem solving but rather, with a political motive in them (Adesoji, 2017). Politicians and political parties promised severally during their electoral campaign to restructure the country but on assumption of office, they reneged against their promises (Dan Azumi. Jega & Egwu, 2019). Intellectuals and public analysts also have joined the call for restructuring albeit, without providing a detail and a practical solution or alternative (Ita, Itoro & Inimo-Etefe, 2019). In other words, what are they really

calling for restructure is not political? Economic? Social? Cultural or what? Is not the political system, the political structure or the power sharing or economic allocation and resource distribution? This work joined the debates in a different mode

## **Literature Review**

This section analysed and reviewed critically the relevant issues under the subject matter of study including the background to the Nigerian state, the Nigerian political structure, the agitations for restructuring, federalism and the politics of restructuring.

### ***Conceptual Clarification***

The Nigerian state came into existence owing to the historical antecedents of several events and factors (Akinboye et al. 2008). As far back as the stone and iron ages, evidences abound to prove the existence of mankind in some areas that formed the present-day Nigeria such as cultural and art works and evidences of settlement in Nook, Benin and other places (Falola et al., 2008). As in other societies in the world, migration, trade and wars of conquest led to the formation of stronger kingdoms and settlements. Many kingdoms such as the Hausa Kingdom, Yoruba Kingdom, Benin Kingdom, Tiv Kingdom, Jukun Kingdom and Igbo societies as well as Niger-Delta States emerged (Hill, 2011). These kingdoms and associations were independent states that co-existed in neighborhood with inter-trade, inter-marriage and inter-war relationship for many centuries. Islamic religion came to the Nigerian territory as early as 11<sup>th</sup> century or even before that which became a religious practiced by many inhabitants alongside the existing traditional forms of religion. Missionaries later introduced Christianity as a prelude to colonial rule (Joseph, 1981).

Nigeria entered into its second pace of destined history when in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century the British colonizers emerged and captured all the territories that were later to form the present-day Nigeria (Mundt & Aborishade, 2005). By 1902, all the Northern and Southern entities were successfully overwhelmed and submerged by the British colonialists under the proclamation of British colonial policy (Nnoli, 1986). In 1914, the British colonial Governor in Nigeria, Sir Frederick Lord Lugard decided to amalgamate the Northern and Southern protectorates and declared them a Colony of Nigeria (Falola et al., 2010). This set the foundation for Nigeria's modern political development (Okafor, 2008). Different constitutions were developed by successive colonial governors but the most important of them is the Richard Constitution in 1944 which introduced regionalism (Usuanlele & Ibhawoh, 2017). Three regions; North, East, West and a Colony of Lagos were created.

The revenue sharing formula was retained with some moderation where the accumulated taxes were retained by the regions with some percentage offered to the Lagos Colony, which was the Centre of the Administration (Adejumobi, 2010). In an effort to establish a uniform Colonial policy, Warrant Chiefs were also created in the East to have a semblance of what was obtainable in the North

and the West (Crowder, 1978). The Macpherson Constitution of the 1951 further consolidated the regionalism structure and made Federalism grounded in Nigeria. Thus, by 1960, when the country obtained political independence, three regions were already in existence with Lagos as a prepared headquarters (Coleman, 1960). The imbalance in the regions made the independent Nigeria volatile politically and the political structure unsatisfactory to some section of the country. After political independence, the Nationalists should have fashioned out a desired structure self-made devoid of colonial arbitration but instead, they opted to retain the inherited imposed structures, which set the foundation for the later political rignaroles that re still trailing the Nigerian state (Dudley 1976 & Hill, 2011).

The troubling Nigerian political landscape was already pregnant with crises even at the verge of political independence emanating from the diverse and seemingly irreconcilable interests from the leaders of the elites (Gambari, 1980). The parties and nationalists that struggled for independence were conscious enough to take into consideration their regional, ethnic and religious interests at the forefront of national politics (Lenshie, 2014). This scenario did not allow for a genuine national integration and national cohesion as desired in the promising build up towards independence (Metumara, 2010). The troubling Nigerian state found itself in the mud of stagnation with myriads of coups and counter-coups leading to a three-year civil war and post-war reconstruction (Venter, 2015). The trajectories of the Nigerian political crises took another dimension when an attempt to re-democratize in the Second Republic (1979-1983) collapsed tragically owing to the recurrent previous crises. This sad development paved the way for an excavating prolonged military rule with a pseudo transition program that hit the rock in 1991 (Smith, 2007).

The resurgence of democratic rule in 1999 was extended for over twenty years, which is a success, recorded unprecedented in the history of the country where six consecutive uninterrupted general elections took place (Ita et al., 2019). However, even the seemingly surviving Fourth Republic (1999-2020) is heralded and enshrouded in series of protracted conflicts and political crises. Nigeria received a huge sum of revenue in twenty (20) years but the socioeconomic and political situation in the country became worst. Politically, elections were characterized and marred with massive riggings, irregularities, violence and subversion of the process of conduct (Ighodalo, 2012). Economically, the country's resources were looted, squandered, mismanaged and diverted for personal uses instead of the common good of the public (Muhammad & Sulaiman, 2018). The social settings became disjointed with insecurity, poverty, diseases, inequality, unemployment, corruption, declining educational standard and collapsed healthcare sector. In recent years, the politics and agitations for resources control and national restructuring led to political turmoil and national dialogue across the facets of various competing interest groups (Le Van, 2015).

### ***The Nigerian Political Structure***

The Nigerian political landscape followed the history of the emergence of the nation as one single entity from the root of colonial amalgamation in 1912

where the Northern and Southern Protectorates were merged as one political entity (Adeniyi, 2010). Historically, from a single unit with two major regions, Nigeria was structured into three political regions and Lagos as a separate area under the British Nigerian colony (Aderonke, 2012). In the build up towards political independence in 1960, the country was already set on the footpath of Federalism. The efforts to distort the federal structure into a unitary system by the late General Aguiyi Ironsi Regime failed following a counter-coup by Gowon Military Regime. Nigeria started an independent self-government with a political architecture of a British style of parliamentary system (Adesoji, 2017).

The restructurising of the country and an attempt for rehabilitation and reconstruction after the civil war led to the creation of states in the Federation, which was later followed, by the creation of local governments (Akinwunmi-Othman, 2017). In the institutions of government, the return to democratic path ushered in a new paradigm shift in leadership style where an American system of presidential system of government was adopted. The country became constitutionally a presidential system in political leadership and the structure of government adopted three arms of government including Executive, Legislature and Judiciary (Chukwudi, 2015).

One fundamental question that keeps on resurfacing for several decades after Nigeria's political freedom is the inability to design an indigenous workable system or a structure based on acceptance and endorsement from all the components units of the Federation with direct inputs of the citizens (Dawood, 2015). The parliamentary system that was jettisoned in the First Republic succeeded and is still succeeding in many countries of the world including the Britain itself where the system emanates from (Dudley, 1976). At the same time, the presidential system that is adopted by Nigeria is still not working satisfactorily for the country where it is a success in the countries that it originates from especially in USA. The failure to identify the loophole from the ramification of the leadership itself and the settings of the country is the baffling issue in this context because the country clearly lacks focus in political leadership while the followership was incorporated in the bandwagon of indiscipline and attitude of national unconsciousness (Ogundiya, 2012). The search for the right leadership failed to yield the desired results. Instead, Nigeria continues to have accidental leaders who emerged by circumstances that could not warrant for their effective performance. The politics was turned into an avenue for seeking of power at all cost without any due regard to how the holding of power could lead to a positive result for the governed (Okolocha, 1992).

### ***Federalism, Agitations and the Politics for Restructuring***

It has been espoused plausibly in the previous section of this work that the foundation for the Nigerian Federalism was initiated and instituted during the colonial rule particularly in the Richard Constitution of 1944 when Regionalism was introduced and in 1954 Littleton Constitution, which further consolidated the process and the structure. The minority agitations and creation of states strengthened the Nigerian Federalism where the minority groups were

constitutionally provided with the opportunity to govern themselves. Many scholars (Adesoji, 2017; Abdulkadir et al., 2018; Mohammed et al., 2018; Uwa, Thomas & Oyindamola, 2018; Sidi, Lawal & Ahmed, 2019; Dan Azumi et al., 2019; Ita et al., 2019) are of the view that the various agitations for political restructuring indicated that Nigerian Federalism is not working as it should. There are many works that earlier on presented such fears that the Federalism adopted in Nigeria is not working as it should.

One of the flashpoints of contention in Nigerian Federalism is fiscal federalism in the formula for revenue sharing among the tiers of government. The derivation and sharing formula have led to serious agitations especially in the Fourth Republic with some sections of the country demanding for increase resources control while other sections vehemently kicking against it always (Collier, 2007). For instance, the Northern region is the biggest geographical and most populous section of the country but the Southern part of the country specifically the South-South is the sustainer of the country because the rich-oil region provides more than 60% of the country's sources of foreign exchange (Ochonu, 2009). The country was restructured into six geopolitical zones known as North East, North Central, North West, South East, South and South West with the Federal Capital Territory Abuja as the national capital. Derivation and population are the two major determinants of revenue sharing in the country. Unfortunately, most of the states with high population contribute less in revenue generation because they are not oil producing states. Only Lagos State is populous and a high revenue-generating state (Smith, 2007).

The sharing of national revenue is done in what is called constitutionally the Federation Account. In the Federation Account, the Nigerian 1999 Constitution provides for a 13% derivation from the source for the oil producing states, which gives them extra income from the allocation (Le Van, 2015). The impoverished poor Northern States, which failed to plan and designed an economic blueprint remain dependent on oil-producing states for their source of sustenance (Ochonu, 2009). The dominant current agitations for resource control always emerged from the South especially the oil-producing states while the North sensing the danger behind the motive for a possible collapse without the oil money resist and is still resisting the calls (Mohamed et al. 2018). The North which is blessed with a vast fertile land for farming and livestock production became relaxed and nonchalant towards developing the agricultural sector and small sector which is currently affecting the Region sharply in terms of high-profile poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, insecurity, diseases and other social malaise of development (Sidi et al., 2019).

The other aspect of fiscal federalism that is also a point of concern for the Nigerian Federalism is the sharing formula of the Federation Account between the Federal Government, States and Local Governments, which is structurally imbalanced. The Revenue Mobilization and Fiscal Commission (RMAFC) determined and approved that 52.68% is allocated to the Federal Government, 26.72% allocated to the State Governments and 20.60% is allocated to the Local

Governments (Dan Azumi et al., 2019). This in spite of the presence of 36 States and 774 Local Governments which are closer to the populace especially at the grassroots. The other side of the argument is that the Federal Government is present everywhere and anywhere as such, the huge allocation is justified. Besides, the Federal Government has Exclusive constitutional provisions such as currency, defence, security and other related matters that require enormous resources more than other tiers of government. Again, others argue that it is not justifiable because even some of the Exclusive constitutional provisions for the Federal Government (FG) can be taken care of by States and Local Governments such as state police, which became another red zone for the agitations for restructuring (Ita et al., 2019).

It is perceived by some scholars (Sule, Azizuddin & Mat, 2017; Abdulkadir et al., 2018; Mohammed et al., 2018; Sidi et al., 2019; Dan Azumi et al., 2019) that the agitations for restructuring are more of politics and scramble by elites to control power than a genuine national development. For instance, the annulment of June 12, 1991 election by the Babangida Military Regime led to intensified pressure on calls for recompense by the South West. The North threw in the towel in 1999 when they found President Obasanjo as a perfect tool for compensating the West while at the same retaining an informal power structure according to their alleged design. There is no doubt that the South West was able to seal the seat of the Presidency in the country through the process of immortalizing the June 12 controversy. The same scenario repeated itself in 2010 when President Yaradua, a Northerner died and the South used the leverage of resources possession and the previous political lineage with the North to bargain for power in the 2011 Presidential Election. The Igbos or the South East are now seen as utilizing the invented tool of political pressure to press home their demands for an Igbo Presidency. This is realizable only when they align with the South to pressure the North through a threat of resource control which will inconvenience the North and push it towards accepting the obvious. The North is inevitably a power broker that must be cooperate with to secure power due to demographic advantage.

It should be understood that the politicians have turned the issue of political restructuring into a campaign model for securing power. In the build up to the 2015 General Election, the opposition All Progressives Congress (APC) promised a kind of restructuring (Sule et al., 2017). On assuming power, the party kicked against it to the extent that the President under the flag of APC was mentioned some few days before the election to have asked all the agitators for restructuring to follow the legal formal way available if they really want it despite the promise in 2015. The People's Democratic Party contestant used the avenue of restructuring in his campaign manifesto in the 2019 Presidential Election. Severally, politicians contesting for various positions in the country particularly from the South used the maxims of agitation for restructuring as a means to secure favour or to win.

Scholastically, there are several works (Adesoji, 2017; Abdulkadir et al., 2018; Mohammed et al., 2018; Uwa, Thomas & Oyindamola, 2018; Sidi, Lawal & Ahmed, 2019; Dan Azumi et al., 2019; Ita et al., 2019) published on the subject matter of political restructuring in the country. The purpose of this work is to differ with the existing numerous works and to fill in the gap that they left clearly open. For instance, most of the studies could not decipher or identify directly what they want to have restructured, is not the political system? Political structure? Economic arrangement? Social settings? Even where some of the works made an effort in presenting their version of restructuring, they could not present an alternative model for a new structure with a practical systematic blueprint. This work presented the required module. A modified presidential system of government is suggested as presented in the next section.

### **Discussions and Analysis**

In this section, an alternative model of how to approach or to restructure Nigeria for a better political system is presented with three major alternatives all based on the existing presidential and Federal structure but with a major modification that will look into the power sharing and resources allocation or fiscal federalism at the same time.

#### ***A Presidential System with a President and a Prime Minister***

One of the alternative models from the perspective of this study is to coming up with a palliative or even permanent measures that will ameliorate the rampant and constant agitations from the various components of the Federation. It is suggested that the country's political system should be restructured to accommodate a flexible presidency where there will be an executive President and a Prime Minister at the same time. The Constitution should be amended to provide for a rotational role of the Office of the President and the Prime Minister between the North and the South. If the President emerges from the North, the Prime Minister should emerge from the South and vice versa. The President's powers should be softened and decrease from being a head of state and government to become the head of state while the Prime Minister should be the head of government. However, the structure should not be exactly the parliamentary style that was operated in the First Republic. The President should not be ceremonial. His powers should be clearly specified to have involved foreign affairs and activities of the Federal Government to a certain level while the Prime Minister should serve as a supervisor over the states or regions (as it shall be proposed later in the next section). He should be directly relating with the regions or the states for a synergy between the Federal Government and the other tiers of government. Such a practice is not new or non-existent in the history of world politics and governments. There are strong countries such as France, Canada and Turkey that operate this type of political system and it is succeeding or working respectively.

The country is currently being run expensively in terms of cost of governance. It is proposed by this work that the political structure of the country



should be revisited. Thus, the possibility of reverting to regional political structure should be considered. Contemporarily, the country is divided into six geo-political zones with 36 states. Most of the zones have six (6) states except North West which has seven (7) and South East which has five (5). In order to alleviate the insatiable agitations for restructuring, and for the excessive powers and control of the country by the Federal Government, the states may be abolished where the six (6) regions can be collapsed into six (6) geo-political zones with each region controlled by a Premier or a senior minister while a regional house of assembly that can consist of three representatives each from a state to form a regional government that will be more independent and self-reliant than the current arrangement. In this regard, the National Assembly should be minimized to consist only of the Senate with the same membership composition. Such an approach will help immensely in reducing the scramble for power at the Centre because the six regional governments will now give more sense of belonging while loosening the hold tight of the FG in Nigerian politics. The local governments in the country should be retained to continue to bring the government closer to the people. In essence, local governments should be constitutionally strengthened.

In the aspect of fiscal federalism, which is perceived by this study as the most vital and most pressing issue of the agitations for the national restructuring, more regional control of the economy is advocated by this study on an agreed percentage. The central government should continue to receive support and finance from the regions while critical issues or sources of revenue such as mining, currency and import and export duties should still reside with the government at the Centre. The logic behind it is to maintain to a certain degree the powers and influence of the FG in order to provide with the leverage to continue to strengthen national unity and cohesion. The regions that are backward and economically vulnerable in the country should be supported with special funds and special interventions to ensure even development in future. Some dominant areas of control by the FG such as security can now be co-managed by the FG and the States in cooperation. This will enable for community policing to cater for the menace of insecurity that is bedevilling the country for many decades. The critical national policies on economic development should reside with the FG to give a clear direction for the regions to build on for national development in a uniplanar way.

### **Conclusion and Recommendation**

The paper concludes that Nigeria as a country has underwent several political turmoil's and vicissitudes of historical antecedents that are unpleasant and not convenient for steering the ship of national development towards the desired destination. The independent separate political entities in pre-colonial Nigeria were forcefully and arbitrarily conjoined together by the British colonialist for their convenience only. The struggles for political freedom in Nigeria was hitherto disjointed and fragmented by the regional nationalists. The

national political freedom failed to yield the desired result of national cohesion, national integration and political and economic development as dreamt by many citizens during the euphoria for the celebration of independence. The country's political structure was not satisfactory for all the regions that constituted the present-day Nigeria and that has led to several agitations for many decades of restructuring the political system. Politicians across the regions sponsored or directly engaged in the calls to pressurize for securing of power especially at the Centre to enable for elite political manipulation. This study instead provided an alternative framework model for a better Nigeria politically and economically. It is suggested that a modified presidential system should be adopted with a regional approach and a new economic or financial arrangement based on an agreed formula.

The study recommends that it is necessary to look into a workable political system and structure that will foster national development. This study thus, suggested that the alternative structure offered in this work should be studied critically by the policymakers and intellectuals for an argument that will lead to expansion, extension or minimization of the framework provided or a total adoption without moderation as a contribution of a nationalist and a social responsibility from a patriotic citizen for national development.

## **References**

- Abdulkadir and Maigari, (2018). "Restructuring Nigeria: Beyond Political Rhetoric and Moral Panic. *International Journal of Humanities, Arts and Social Studies (IJHAS)*. 3(3), 33-45.
- Adamolekun, L., and Osuntokun, J. (1977) *Government and Politics for West African Students*. Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books.
- Adebanwi, W., and Obadare, E. (2013). "Introduction". In Adebanwi, W., & Obadare, E. (Eds.) *Democracy and Prebendal Politics in Nigeria: A Critical Interpretations*, pp.1-11. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Adejumobi, S. (2010). *Governance and Politics in Post-Military Nigeria: Changes and Challenges*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Adeniyi, A.G. (2010). "Political Culture and the Future of Democracy in Nigeria". *Sustainable Human Development Review*. 2(34), 47-65.
- Aderonke, M. (2012) "Democratization and Development in Nigeria: The Fourth Republic in Perspective" *International Journal of Academic Research in Economics and Management Sciences*.1 (5), 62-74.
- Adesoji, F. (2017). *The Structure of Nigeria's restructuring Rhetoric*. Ibadan: Centre for Allied Research and Economic Development.
- Akinboye, S. O., and Anifowose, R. (2008)." Nigerian Government and Politics "in Anifowose,

- R., and Enemuo, F. (Eds) *Elements of Politics*, pp.244-2269. Lagos: Sam Iroanusi Publishers.
- Akinwunmi-Othman, N.M. (2017). *Globalization and Africa's Transition to Constitutional Rule: Socio-Political Development in Nigeria*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Babawale, T. (2006) *Nigeria in the Crises of Governance and Development: A Retrospective and Prospective Analysis of Selected Issues and Events: The Political Economy of Development, Governance and Globalization*. Vol. I. Lagos: Political and Administrative Resource Centre (PARC).
- Campbell, J. (2011). *Nigeria: Dancing on the Brink*. London: Roman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Chukwudi, O. R. (2015). "Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria: Progress and Challenges". *Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review*. (5), 21-34.
- Coleman, J. (1960). *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism*. London: Longman.
- Collier, P. (2007). *Wars, Guns and Votes: Democracy in Dangerous Places*. New York: Harper Colins E-Book.
- Crowder, M. (1978). *The Story of Nigeria*. London: Panaf Publishers.
- Dan Azumi, J., Jega, A., and Egwu, S. (2019). "The Challenges of Re-Federalizing Nigeria: Revisiting Recent Debates on Political Restructuring". *Journal of Political Sciences and Public Affairs*. 7(1), 1-8.
- Dawood, E.O. (2015). "Fifteen Years of Democracy, 1999-2014: Reflections on Nigeria's Quest for National Integration" *African Research Review*.7 (5), 253-265.
- Diamond, L. (1988). *Class, Ethnicity and Democracy in Nigeria: The Failure of the First Republic*. London: Macmillan Press.
- Dike, V. (2002). *Democracy and Political Life in Nigeria*. Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University Press.
- Dudley, B.J. (1976). *An Introduction to Nigerian Government and Politics*. London: Macmillan.
- Ekundare, R.O. (1973). *An Economic History of Nigeria*. London: Methuen.
- Falola, T. (1996). *Development Planning and Decolonization in Nigeria*. Florida: Florida State University.
- Falola, T., and Heaton, M. (2008). *A History of Nigeria*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Falola, T., and Aderinto, A.S. (2010). *Nigeria, Nationalism and Writing History*. Rochester: University of Rochester.

- Gambari, I.A. (1980). *Party Politics and Foreign Policy: Nigeria under the First Republic*. Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University Press.
- Hill, J.N.C. (2011). *Nigeria after Independence: Forever Fragile?* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ighodalo, A. (2012). "Election Crisis, Liberal Democracy and National Security in Nigeria's Fourth Republic" *British Journal of Arts and Social Sciences*. 10(2), 163-174.
- Ita, V.E., Itoro, E.B., and Inimo-Etele, T. (2019). "Restructuring Nigerian Federalism: A Prognosis Nation-Building and Socio-Political Stability. *Journal of Political Science and Leadership Research*. 5(1), 1-18.
- Joseph, R. (1981). *Democracy and Prebendal Politics in Nigeria*. New York: Cambridge.
- Lenshie, N.S (2014). "Ties that Bind and Differences that Divide: Exploring the Resurgence of Ethno-Cultural Identity in Nigeria". *Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa*. 13(2), 153-212.
- Le Van, A. (2015). *Dictators and Democracy in Nigeria: The Political Economy of Good Governance in Nigeria*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Maier, K. (2000). *This House Has Fallen: Nigeria in Crisis*. London: Penguin Books.
- Metumara, D.M. (2010). "Democracy and the Challenge of Ethno-Nationalism in Nigeria's Fourth Republic: Interrogating Institutional Mechanics" *Journal of Peace Conflict and Development*. 1(15), 92-106.
- Mohammed, G.D., and Sulaiman, M.A. (2018). "Federalism, Restructuring and National Question in Contemporary Nigeria: The Way Forward". *Arts and Social Sciences Journal*. 9(5), 1-6.
- Mundt, R.J. and Aborishade, O. (2005). "Politics in Nigeria" in Almond, G. Powell, G.B. Strom, K. and Dalton, R.J. (2005) (Eds) *Comparative Politics Today: A World View*, pp.446-483. New Delhi: Pearson Education Inc.
- Ochonu, M.E. (2009). *Colonial Meltdown in Northern Nigeria: Northern Nigeria in the Great Depression*. Ohio: Ohio State University.
- Ogundiya, I.S. (2012). "A Nation in the Wilderness: Corruption, Elite Conspiracy and the Illusion of Development in Nigeria" in Abdurrahman, D.A., Ogundiya, I.S., Garba, T., & Dankani, I.M. (Eds.) *50 Years of Nigeria's Nationhood: Issues and Challenges for Sustainable Development*. pp. 1-15. Ibadan: Crown Publishers.
- Okafor, V.O. (2008). *A Roadmap for Understanding African Politics: Leadership and Political Integration in Nigeria*. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis.

- Okolocha, M. (1992). "Prolonged Faltering Democratic Transition in Nigeria" in Osaghae, O. (Ed.) *Democratic Transition in Africa*, pp.132-143. London: Kraft Publishers.
- Nnoli, O. (1986). *Ethnic Politics in Nigeria*. Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishers.
- Sidi, S.T., Lawal S.M., and Ahmed, I.Y. (2019). "The Politics of Restructuring and the Nigerian Unity: The Role of the Leadership". *International Journal of Arts and Humanities (IJAH)* Ethiopia. 8(2), 31-39.
- Smith, D.J. (2007). *A Culture of Corruption in Nigeria: Everyday Deception and Popular Discontent in Nigeria*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Sule, B. (2017). "Political Behaviour and Voting Pattern in Nigeria's Fourth Republic: The Case of 2015 Presidential Election" *Asia Pacific Journal of Education Arts and Sciences* 4(4), 1-13.
- Usuanlele, U (2017). *Minority Rights and the National Question in Nigeria*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Uwa, O.G., Thomas, A.A., and Oyindamola, O.O. (2018). "Political Restructuring, Federalism and Democratic Sustainability in Nigeria". *Journal of Economic Development and Sustainability*. 9(21), 100-116.
- Venter, Al J. (2015). *Biafra's War (1967-1970): A Tribal Conflict in Nigeria that Left a Million Dead*. West Midlands: Helion & Company Limited.