

CRISIS OF DEVELOPMENT AND ETHNIC AGITATIONS FOR RESTRUCTURING NIGERIA

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Abstract: The crisis of development in Nigeria has been an ugly state of the nation over the decades. Stringent economic and political conditions characterizing the period put the lives of most Nigerians in serious jeopardy. Hence, the paper examined ethnic reactions to the crisis of development presented in form of agitations for restructuring Nigeria. The target is to interrogate the underlying forces perpetuating the crisis and the resultant agitations infuriated by the stringent socio-economic and political conditions of the people. The paper is descriptive as well as qualitative in typology. Methodology relied on the analysis of published data and anchored on the Marxist political economy of international capitalism for an explanation. Findings showed that colonial centralization of Nigerian state power lingered into the post-colonial era and developed an oligarchy that serves international capitalism in Nigeria without committed effort to development. The government's failure to control corruption, illegal accumulation, insecurity, and the arbitrary use of state powers resulted in the undesirable conditions of life and ethnic clamour for restructuring. Those hunted by this present situation clamour for restructuring. Others who felt they are favoured by the system are jittery for a change. A workable option for a stable and prosperous Nigeria finds better expression in the re-federalization of the polity. Re-federalization requires committed efforts to basic federating principles and practices.

Keywords: Development, Crisis of Development, Ethnicity, Ethnic Agitation, Restructuring

I. Introduction

The crisis of development in Nigeria and ethnic agitations found their roots in the underlying colonial economic motives and the accompanying neglect for domestic development by colonial and post-independent regimes. The situation was reinforced by the post-independence militarization of the polity and the attendant misuse of human and material resources by successive governments. Colonial character in Nigeria lingered into the post-colonial era and development was not on the agenda (Ake, 2009). British imperialism in Nigeria was orchestrated by the 1885 Berlin Conference that ceded Africa, from the Sahel to the Atlantic Sea, to the United Kingdom as British Crown Territory, Nigeria areas inclusive. Thus, the British Government colonized Nigerian areas and centralized state power in the colony. Recall, at 1950 All Nigerian Constitutional Conference Ibadan, delegates in their wisdom adopted the federal system of government for the country (Olaide, 2015). But January 1966 coup marked the beginning of military intervention in Nigerian politics and the attendant dismantling of the regional structure, states created and unitization of state power (Obi-Ani & Obi-Ani, 2016).

The attendant implications and adverse conditions resulting from the situation remain the tragedy of life in this present-day Nigeria. The effects stripped Nigerians the opportunity and freedom to choose and aspire for the courses of life they desire to live. Self-determination and development became unattainable as the ever-powerful central governments always controlled powers and resources, and used force to tame opposition. The situation is politically and economically structural and has been of age. With the fall in crude oil price, lack of productive and export capacity, high-level corruption, mismanagement, and leadership ineptitude, government, people's living condition worsened.

From the beginning, Nigerian National Development Plans lacked a domestic foundation to succeed. They were imperial packages for exploitation, deceptive political propaganda and plans without domestic vision. As such, the attendant effect of failure to development manifested in hunger, poverty, corruption, mass murder, unemployment, crime, insecurity, terrorism etcetera.

Thus, the clamour to restructure Nigeria has historical as well as dimensional antecedents. It started with colonialism in form of agitation for constitutional amendments to allow increased indigenous participation in law and policymaking. From Clifford era to Richard Constitution, Macpherson to Lythletton to Independence Constitution etcetera. The post-independence era, to date, witnessed increased outcry for restructuring among ethnic groups. Those in favour of restructuring call for resource control, economic, political, fiscal, constitutional restructuring. Agitations anchored on their wide desire for devolution of powers to the federating units to allow self-development as a way to tackle these unaccepted conditions of life confronting them.

The post-independence era witnessed the centralization of state power by the Aguiyi-Illonsi military regime in 1966 and the dissolution of the regional political structures in May 1967 by the Yakubu Gowon junta. The general belief, particularly among supporters of Gowon as Head of State, was that division of regional governments into twelve states would weaken the secessionist power of the defunct Biafra Republic. The power actors were not mindful of the implications and the basis upon which Nigeria's tripod pillars and foundation were built. So, when the effect of power taken away from the regions started hunting Nigerians, agitation upon agitation became the result. The all-powerful federal authority unable to govern the mass of land abandoned rural development. National development plans embarked upon lacked people and grassroots involvement and, as such, failed often. Agitation among ethnic nationalities became commonplace.

In the South-East and South-South, there was a declaration of the Republic of Biafra in May 1967 as a result of mass killing of the people of this region in other parts of the country, particularly, in the North. MASSOB and IPOB agitations for self-determination and resurrection of the defunct Biafra Republic still exist in these zones. A new dimension is the declaration of the Biafra De-Facto Customary Government by Mujahid Asari-Dokuba (Dailysun, 2021). In the Niger Delta, MASOP led by the human rights activist Ken Saro Wiwa agitated for resource control. Despite, extrajudicial murder of the human rights activist, the agitation continued. MEND, Avengers and other similar groups have taken up arms as a new dimension of agitation for resource control. The cultural association of the Igbo, Ohaneke Ndigbo, has remained at the forefront calling for economic and political restructuring and a stop to the incessant murders of the Igbo in Nigeria (Segun, 2018). In the South West, NADECO agitated for the actualization of the June 12, 1993, Presidential election widely believed to be won by M. K. O. Abiola and annulled by General Ibrahim Babangida Administration. Afenifere and OPC have remained at the forefront of the agitation for restructuring Nigeria's economic and political structures to allow Yoruba people to determine, to a great extent, how they run their lives (Segun, 2018). In North Central, J. S. Taka agitated against economic and political marginalization. Herdsmen terrorists currently use AK 47 to commit mass murder in Nigeria as a way of agitating for cattle rustling and demand for cattle colony. In the North East, Boko Haram has caused the devastation of lives and property agitating for the Islamic State. The group employed the worst form of force by shooting and bombing innocent civilians, in some cases, using the child bomber as a tool for wanton destruction.

Currently, a conglomeration of these and other arrays of agitations across the country and the government's inability to address them have mounted a major pressure on the Nigerian security system. Particularly, the cases of high-level banditry, military invasion of communities, attack and murder of the police, and general insecurity. There is social division, undermined national loyalty, patriotism and threat to the unity and cooperative existence of the country. Poverty, conflict, corruption, crime, money politics and bad leadership remain some of the daily experiences tormenting Nigerians. Gunmen are in a free spray of bullets on the streets and communities committing murder, arson, kidnapping, and raping. Incessant killing by Fulani terrorists across the country has overtaken the Boko Haram menace. On the political front, contestation of power has become very expensive that only those who have the money can contest. Poverty has rendered the electorates vulnerable to vote-selling. Many lost interest in politics while others develop apathy for voting. Money plays a major role in mobilizing voters and winners of elections abandon voters after elections because they paid to secure their votes. Voters complain of abandonment and vow not to vote for candidates who abandoned them. Yet, when such candidates pay party executives for the party ticket. Thus, voters have no choice but to ratify one from candidates the party leadership has chosen in what is called party primary elections. Candidates not wanted by the party leadership are disqualified and the highest bidder among the perceived loyalist has his way. This paper, therefore, examined ethnic agitations for restructuring as reactions against the crisis of development tormenting Nigerians.

II. Methodology

This study is descriptive as well as qualitative in typology. Method of data collection relied on documentary sources of data. The Marxian political economy of international capitalism served as the theoretical framework for explanation. Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels had earlier identified the existence of bourgeois and proletariat classes in the process of production of the wealth of nations. This was a result of the interplay of

economic and political forces that determine the general conditions of the people's life. Hence, they argued that the former exploited the latter by appropriating surplus value and using state machinery as an instrument to promote its group interest and dominate the proletariat. This state of affair is a replica of the Nigerian situation where the colonial concentration of state power at the central level of government and the use of same for economic exploitation of Nigeria lingered into the post-colonial era and produced economic, political and executive oligarchs; a class that protects international capitalism in Nigeria; private accumulation and oligarchic hold and use of state power – with domestic and foreign oligarchs as partners and beneficiaries. Failure to control capitalism in Nigeria promoted oligarchy and created undesirable economic and political conditions confronting the dominated class, leading to agitations for structuring to change the situation. Nigerians find identity and expression in their ethnic organizations as major platforms for the clamour to restructure Nigeria.

III. Development

Development is aimed at improving the standard of living of the people of a society. It holds that for anything to be called development, it must have a positive impact on the well-being of the people. As such, the human index is a major yardstick for measurement. Development refers to policies and programmes that enhance the qualities and well-being of people in food, clothing, shelter, healthcare, human capital, education, peace and security etcetera (Agbaenyi&Akunne, 2015). It is the use of material and human resources to achieve a better standard of people's living. Development is a many-sided process explained from individual, social, and economic levels (Rodney, 1972). Whatever indices that are used for measuring development should, as a matter of responsibility, possess human relevance.

IV. Indices for Measuring Development

Gross Domestic Product (GDP):The notion that GDP or national economic growth can measure development is a front line perspective propagated by the Modernization theory. However, this perspective fails to explain the reasons for the existence of poverty and other difficult economic conditions in some Third World societies that recorded economic growth. It neglects the fact production can yield profit but failure to use the profit to achieve societal needs negates development. For instance, increased production by foreign multinational corporations can only make a major profit for the mother country without being a reliable means for developing the host country since social corporate responsibility is meagre. The Dependency and Centre-Periphery theorists like Raul Peblish, Gunder Frank, and William Wallerstein faulted this notion.

Human Development Index (HDI): More humane approaches to development are interested in the relationship between GDP and the living standard of the people. In other words, HDI focuses on how the wealth of the nation or the gross domestic product is used to provide an improved living standard for the people. It interrogates the gap between the rich and the poor and how this relationship has contributed to poverty and underdevelopment. The concern is over the way the rich or developed countries exploit the poor or developing countries and how this relationship explains the underdevelopment of the developing countries and the development of developed countries. The Marxist approach is a leading theory in this line of thought and is complemented by dependency and centre-periphery theories. Marx and Engels in *The Manifesto of the Communist Party* believed that bourgeois exploitation of the proletariat created surplus values for the former and abject poverty for the latter. The dependency theory made it clear that underdevelopment was a situation in which resources were being actively used in a way that benefited dominant states at the expense of dominated states in which the resources are found (Ferraro, 1996). Similarly, the Centre-periphery perspective observed that integration of poor economies into the metropolitan economies developed metro economies and underdeveloped peripheries (Simon, 2011).

Accordingly, development is billed to improve human lives. Hence, the human index is an important criterion for measuring development. Attention focuses on how development improves the life of the average citizen and society in general.

Improvement of Human Lives:This is done in three different dimensions: (a) Life expectancy which measures life expectancy at birth, the longevity of life and healthiness of life (b) Level of Education for adults up to 25 years and expected years of schooling for children of school entering age and of course the quality of education based on behavioural output, and (c) Decent standard of living looking at the gross national income per capita. (UNDP, 2018)

Inequality-adjusted Human Development:This aspect of measuring development focuses attention on the rate of the identified gap between social classes are bridged to reduce the problems of the dominated class and enhance distribution of wealth. It looks at the rate inequalities in gender, religious, political, ethnic and other social cleavages in the society are continuously reduced.

Quality, Quantity and Sustainability: Measurement of development does not stop at its capacity to improve living standards, it further looks at the quality and quantity of the standard of life provided. It also looks at the sustainability of living standard. This is to measure the security of life guaranteed by development. Development must provide security of good living by guaranteeing quality, quantity and sustainability of good and improving living. A high standard of living without sustainability can depreciate and be worse or stagnate if not sustained.

V. Crisis of Development

Crisis of development manifests in uncontrolled poverty, hunger, unemployment, insecurity, agitation, insurgency, crime etcetera. The crisis can come in different forms based on the unique nature of the society concerned. Africa's problem of development was a result of the integration of her economy to the international capitalist system and the resultant exploitations of the continent (Rodney, 1972). In other to balance this view, reference needs to be made to bad leadership and the attendant mismanagement and corruption that characterized most governments of societies experiencing such crisis. Despite this and other arrays of factors suggested explaining the apparent failure of development in Africa, the crisis of development in Africa is not because development failed but it was never really on the agenda (Ake, 2003). Hostile political conditions, he said, were the greatest impediments to Africa's development. The liberal notion of development like the ideas of W.W. Rustow and Goran Hyden failed to resolve the problem of development in Africa and rather kept the continent in perpetual subordination to Western Europe and North America. Rustow argued in his work *Stages of Economic Growth* that the development of any society must begin with the traditional state of development. He posited that African societies were still in their traditional stages and should follow the following stages to attain development in line with the western model namely: traditional stage, pre-condition to take-off stage, take-off stage, stage of maturity and stage of high mass consumption. Rustow failed to explain why countries that followed this model are unable to develop. This view is targeted at keeping developing countries behind developed countries.

VI. Ethnicity

Arrays of concepts and phrases have been associated with ethnicity as defining elements. However, this gamut of concepts, other than "common ancestral origin" and indissoluble identity are found in other social groups and, to that extent, are not differentiating factors of ethnicity. For instance, common language, culture, tradition and custom exist across many social groups. Hence, ethnicity connotes a unique social group differentiated from others based on common ancestral origin and indissoluble identity among members. In other words, indicators other than these two qualities are not exclusive properties of ethnicity. Ethnic identity is natural and not something that individual rationally decide to assume (Badmus, 2009). Thus, an individual is choice-bound in a matter relating to it because it is an unchanging legacy of one's birth. The similarity in language and culture can occur through long-standing cross-pollination in socialization. So, ethnicity has defining features shared by other groups but the common ancestral origin and indissoluble identity are exclusive and unique properties by which an ethnic group is differentiated from other social groups.

VII. Ethnic Agitation

Public protest has been an identifiable method for making political demands, particularly to adamant and dictatorial regimes. It comes into play when normal communication channels between the political system and the environment are, for a long time, unable to achieve the expected goals. It can come in form of civil disobedience, demonstrations, strike actions; warnings, stern demands, ultimatum or deadlines to the government to respond to the plights and concerns of the people. Such agitations are carried in public media especially where the press has a good measure of freedom. It helps to sensitize the world to the plight of the agitators. Agitation intensifies when the regime continuously pays a deaf ear to the yearnings of the people or uses violence to suppress them. Ukiwo, (2009) argued that the emergence of Post-Civil War Nigeria of regimes that adopted mass violence against restive social groups remained a salient factor for understanding ethnic-nationalist movements. Agitation becomes ethnic when agitators are members of an ethnic group. It is a way of demonstrating their discontentment against government actions or inactions detrimental to their living.

VIII. Restructuring

In Nigeria, restructuring has become an umbrella concept for demands to reorganize economic and political structures to usher in a state of affairs that allows some measure of autonomy and self-development of the component social units that make up the country as ways to address undesirable conditions that make lives in

Nigeria miserable. It involves law-making and amendments of existing laws to decentralize more powers to the federating units of government. This is targeted at providing more economic and political activities to the state and local governments and reducing over-centralization and pressure on the national government. Ebiziem and Onyemere, (2018) argued that the call for restructuring was born out of some perceived injustice, inequality and discontent witnessed by Nigerian society due to bad leadership and faulty federalism. Restructuring does not end in law-making and amendment of existing laws. Committed implementation of laws so made or amended is a prerequisite for restructuring to take place. Besides, a clear understanding of the current situation of things, the covert and overt causes and effects of the present situation and best options to address it should precede restructuring.

Three major views dominate the sphere. The first see restructuring as the solution to poverty, conflict, insecurity and developmental challenges that confront the Nigerian state system. The second perspective fails to find fault with the structure, rather it blamed prolonged bad governance as the factor causing the problems. The latter fails to explain why despite consecutive changes in government since independence the forgoing problems persisted. The third school of thought found fault with colonial inheritance, neocolonial influences and general imperial manipulation of the country by superpowers. Again, this thought did not recognize gigantic corruption, mismanagement and general bad leadership perpetuated by Nigerian political elites over these decades and their inability to control imperialism like other successful formerly colonized nations.

IX. Ethnic Agitation for Restructuring Nigeria

The 2018 OhanezeAwka Declaration: OhanezeNdigbo is the socio-political umbrella organization of the Igbo people of Nigeria. It represents the mouthpiece of Igbo people in Nigeria and the diaspora. Though there are other cultural organizations like Igboezu, Izu Umunna etcetera Ohaneze serves as the widest Igbo cultural organization representing Igbo people the way Afenifere and Arewa Consultative Forum represent the Yoruba and the North respectively. The organization is diplomatic in approach concerning its agitation against the marginalization of Igbo people. It does not hesitate to air its views on national issues. It was established in 1976 to unify and speak for Igbo people home and in the diaspora. In its Famous Awka Summit on Restructuring held on 21st May 2018, Ohaneze marshalled out the outstanding positions of the Igbo people on 'restructuring.' The former Governor of the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN), Prof. Charles Chukwuma Soludo first read the Igbo Agenda as follows:

It was the result of accumulated years of work by successive regimes of OhanezeNdigbo, as well as the various Igbo think-tanks, especially the submissions of the Igbo Leaders of Thought for the 2014 National Conference; Igbo position for the 1994 Constitutional Conference and 2005 and 2014 National Conference. It also included the report of the committee set by South-East Governors on the review of the 1999 Constitution, the report of the World Igbo Summit by the Igbo Renaissance Centre, Uturu, Abia State, various submissions and reports by Aka Ikenga; Izu Umunna, Nzuko Umunna; the Igbo Intelligentsia; the World Igbo Congress; reports of various meetings and conferences of Igbo stakeholders and leaders, among others (Ujumadu, 2018 p2).

The summit was highly attended. Attendants included representatives of Afenifere, the Niger Delta, the Middle Belt, who is who in Igbo land, organizations, and politicians. Others were members of the press, youths, student unions etcetera. The summit, firmly stated the position of the Igbo people as read out by Prof. Soludo. The following issues run prominently in the list **(a)** a national convention **(b)** a new constitution **(c)** convocation of the constituent assembly **(d)** six-year tenure for the president **(e)** vice-president from each of the geo-political zones with VPs holding key ministries **(f)** rotation of the president among the geopolitical zones **(g)** scrapping of local government system **(h)** creation of additional states in the country, among other demands (Obeta, 2018).

As an umbrella organization of the Igbo people, Ohaneze is challenged by the fact that its nation (the Igbo) is marginalized in the distribution of power and resources of the Nigerian unitary federation. Besides, the majority of the people look forward to it as a platform for achieving redress. Nigerian government's reluctance in accepting restructuring as a way to effect a positive change makes the task more difficult. Determined to achieve this goal, the organization is liaising with organizations that have similar interests. Awka Summit on Restructuring was one such bridge-building gesture during which the organization presented its position to other ethnic groups and recorded their contributions. Only restructuring of Nigeria can guarantee full maximization of potentials of the different groups in the country (Agbakuru, 2018).

X. Afenifere, the Yoruba Cultural Group

Afenifere is a socio-cultural umbrella organization of the Yoruba people of Nigeria. It is the mouthpiece of the ethnic group in many internal and national issues. The organization was at the forefront in the agitation for

justice during the dark days of the annulment of the June 12, 1993, Presidential election in Nigeria widely believed to be won by M. K. O. Abiola of the Social Democratic Party (SDP). It is a major proponent of restructuring with the view that the exercise will offer the Yoruba the opportunity to run their lives at the local level without interference from the federal authority. Akinrefon, (2018) reported that the Afenifere Publicity Secretary, MrYinkaOdumakin implored AlhajiAtikuAbubakar and Mr Peter Obi to remain steadfast in restructuring Nigeria. The call became necessary following Obi's emergence as Atiku's running mate in the 2019 presidential election on the platform of the People's Democratic, Party (PDP). Afenifere found its choice in Atiku/Obi ticket following Atiku's campaign for restructuring – an issue the organization has been clamouring for. Afenifere condemned herdsmen killing innocent Nigerians and rejected the federal government's plan to establish a cattle colony. Ojuola, (2018) reported that the pan-Yoruba socio-political organization, Afenifere rejected cattle colonies as the concept was offensive, repugnant, and an affront on the rights of non-Fulani communities across Nigeria. The organization demanded immediate disarming of all Fulani herders carrying AK 47 across Nigeria. The communique was read by its National Publicity Secretary, MrYinkaOdumakin after their monthly meeting in Akure, the Ondo State capital.

Afenifere's responsibility, as a Yoruba associational umbrella is to agitate to secure Yoruba's control of their ethnic environment and full involvement in Nigeria national affairs. The organization believes that restructuring is the means to achieve this noble goal as it will not like to lose its present economic dominance in the country highly concentrated in Yoruba areas.

XI. Arewa Consultative Forum (ACF)

The forum is a cultural and political association of the people of Northern Nigeria. It sprang up in the year 2000. It is a rallying point and mouthpiece of the people of the north. The group is powerful and a formidable force on national and political matters. It is powered by the fact that the north has been in power for a long time and the association has been a major supporter of governments led by Presidents/Heads of States from northern extraction. Its Secretary-General, Anthony Sani presented the view of the forum on the agitation to restructure Nigeria. He made it clear that ACF is not part of the clamour for restructuring Nigeria. The forum he argued did not believe that the Nigerian problem is structural or as a result of a faulty system of government but due to the collapse of national ideals and core values of humanity. The ACF Secretary noted that the country practised confederation, unitary system of government and federalism as a compromise between the two systems. The forum, according to the secretary, did not understand the meaning of restructuring being propagated because of a divergent version of the nature of the so-called restructuring. For him, some people talk about fiscal federalism, resource control and resource ownership. ACF is not for restructuring and has not given restructuring any serious thought (Sani 2018).

Debate on restructuring has lasted long in Nigeria and attracted enormous literature both in print and electronic media that any can-read, interested in this national issue should have grasped and assimilated the basis for the clamour, contending and dominant views. For the secretary of ACF to claim he or ACF has not given the issue a serious thought may have not gone down well with the truth, otherwise, how did he or the organization come up with its position? It is quite clear that those who benefit from a system do not support a change but the conditions of those who are victims of the system should be put into serious consideration, otherwise, the system may one day change itself by force, since change is constant and no system is sacrosanct.

XII. Beyond the Demand for Restructuring Nigeria

Beyond agitation for restructuring, Nigeria is the demand for national independence. The Movement for Actualization of Sovereign State of Biafra(MASSOB), the Indigenous People of Biafra state of Biafra(IPOB), Biafra De-Facto Customary (BDC), and Ilana Omoodua Youth are notable agitators for national independence from Nigeria. The groups are convinced that the Nigeria project as a state is not working and will not work. Thus they agitate for the secession of the so-called Federal Republic.

MASSOB and IPOB: The groups are led by Uwazulike and Nnadi Kanu respectively. They started with the non-violent approach in their struggle for self-determination. Their agitation is premised upon the prolonged marginalization and persecution, by successive Nigerian governments and institutions of the state and killing of people of the defunct Biafra area (South-East and South-South) of Nigeria in different parts of the country. Some of these include exclusion from Service Chiefs, Inspector General of Police, and Controller of Customs, Immigration Civil Defense Corp and other important governmental positions in the country. The people of this area are denied employments in Federal establishments like their Hausa/Fulani and the Yoruba counterparts. They are killed in different parts of the country without serious intervention from the government. The situation started after the 1966 Military Coup. With the incessant killing of the people of these areas, IPOB took up arms to defend the people and fight for their independence.

MASOP, MEND, Avengers and Biafra De-Facto Customary (BDC): Major issues at the core of the Niger Delta agitations: (1) absence of the expected development in the area (2) environmental pollution and (3) perceived exclusion of the Niger Delta people from the centre of controlling resources (oil) extracted from their land. Niger Delta comprises Akwa Ibom, Rivers, Delta, Bayelsa, Cross River, Ondo, Abia, Imo and the Edo States. Their soil is rich in oil and fertile in agriculture while their rivers are major sources of fishes and other aquatic animals. The exploitation of oil in the area by the Federal Government of Nigeria in partnership with multinational oil companies exposed the area to pollution. Life in their water is adversely affected in such a manner that fishing as a primary occupation of the natives is greatly undermined. Heavy chemical substances from industrial production were not properly channelled and this led to contamination of rivers and death of river animals serving as food to the Niger Delta population and beyond. Farmlands suffer similar problems. The agony of the situation is made worse by the economic and political marginalization of the people of the area and the attendant poverty, lack of development and failure to allow them adequate representation in governments of the federation. Their calls for resource control and inadequate government intervention did not change the situation.

The events that followed were the formation and use of the different group as a platform for agitation. Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MASOP), Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta, MEND and The Niger Delta Avengers (NDA or Avengers) are prominent groups Niger Delta use to air their grievance and clamour for a redress. MASOP, led by Ken SaroWiwa agitated against environmental pollution of the Niger Delta and Ken was hanged by Abacha led Federal Government of Nigeria as a result of the struggle. NDA Vowed to resume attacks on Bonga Platform, Agbami, EA Field, Britania-U Field, Akpo Field among others if the Nigerian Government fails to restructure Nigeria (Amaize, and Prisibe, 2018). For Avengers, anybody who is against restructuring is an enemy and should be treated as such. The group emphasized that Niger Delta people want to control their resources and use the same to develop their society instead of being enslaved and be begging for crumbs that fall from the master's table (Amaize, and Prisibe, 2018). The agitation has given successive states and federal governments sleepless nights. The activities of these groups destabilize peace and order in the oil-producing areas and affected the operations of multinational corporations. There are records of the kidnapping of oil company workers. For instance, gunmen kidnapped five workers of Nigerian energy firm Sahara Energy Oil Company in the southern oil-rich Delta State on Wednesday 17, 2018. The news came shortly after the police announced the release of some oil workers abducted previously (Paraskova, 2018). There are also oil pipeline vandalization and an attendant faceoff between the agitators/liberation fighters and government security agents. Etepeke and Okolo, (2017) revealed that unmet expectations coupled with environmental degradation created frustration that consequently, led the youths to vandalize oil pipelines in the Niger Delta.

The latest development is the declaration of the Biafra De-Facto Government by AsariDocubo demanding the independence of the Biafra Area South-East and South-South Nigeria.

XIII. Conclusion

Ethnic agitation in Nigeria is a core response to the prolonged unacceptable economic and political conditions of Nigerian citizens across the country. The agitation is multi-dimensional. Prominent among them come from MASSOB/IPOB, to MEND, Avengers, Biafra De-facto Customary Government and in the South-West, Ilana Omoodua Youth all demanding self-government. Boko Haram and Herdsmen terrorist and their incessant killing attempting forceful occupation of the people's territories. Afenifere in the South West demands autonomy. Ohaneze in the South East demands an end to the marginalization of Igbo people through restructuring. The agitations have persistently clamoured for restructuring of the faulty economic and political structures of the polity to allow devolution of powers, self-determination and the attendant self-development as ways of tackling poverty, conflict, insecurity and other undesirable conditions of life confront Nigeria citizens. International capitalism is in this present time unavoidable. Successive Nigerian governments' failure to manage it well created economic, political and executive oligarchies that high jacked Nigerian state power and resources. The government's use of violence, deception and other cosmetic approaches to economic and political problem emanating from their actions failed to achieve success and clamour for restructuring remains the people's response.

This paper is mindful of the current use of arms by different agitators demonstrating their discontent with the Nigeria state system. It fears that such developments may worsen if the causes of agitation are not resolved through structuring. The debate on restructuring is delaying this noble exercise and arguments against restructuring contain no logical reason at the base. Those who clamour for restructuring are in the majority and cut across the country. The economic and political conditions of Nigerian people are bad across the country except for a few who

fraudulently high jacked the wealth of the nation for their reckless lifestyle and perpetuation of self on state powers. Restructuring remains a workable option to address economic and political challenges that generated agitations among Nigerian citizens. Further delay may degenerate to armed conflict and the attendant devastation of the country resulting in susceptibility to foreign intervention and undercut of Nigerian sovereignty.

However, the paper also concludes that the agitation can replace “restructuring” with re-“federalization.” This is because the North is jittery with the term, yet, each of the two concepts targets reorganizing the economic and political structures of this present system. The paper is mindful of the fact the present system is unitary in federalism because it fails to implement federal principles and practices provided in the constitution. Re-federalization can reorganize the polity to practice federalism for what it is.

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