RESEARCH ARTICLE

Restructuring, social order and development in Nigeria

*Emmanuel I. Wonah

Department of Political and Administrative Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Port Harcourt, PMB 5323, Port Harcourt Nigeria

ABSTRACT

The paper examined Restructuring, Social order and Development in Nigeria. It established a nexus among restructuring, social order and development and argued that development may be elusive if there is no restructuring of not only the political landscape but also the mindset of Nigerians which should be predicated on social order. Thus, restructuring and social order are quintessential for development in Nigeria. The paper identified the nature and character of Nigerian state as an underlying factor which has tremendously influenced restructuring, social order and development in Nigeria. The paper adopted behaviouralism as an analytical construct and relied on secondary sources of data. One of the assumptions of behavouralism is that the efficacy of the institutions of the state is dependent on the behaviour of those who occupy the institutions of the state. The paper noted that the nature and character of Nigerian State and the preponderant negative values and norms have adversely affected social order and development, and there is therefore the need for restructuring. Consequently, the paper recommended inter alia, that there should be restructuring of the political system and the mindset of Nigerians. This would facilitate and entrench the social order needed for development in Nigeria.

INTRODUCTION

It is the desire of man to live a happy and fulfilled life. Man, therefore is constantly striving for survival. Man's survival is a function of his environment. The environment in this context is not only about the physical structures, ecosystem and biodiversity but also the values and norms which underscore his social interaction. Nature has placed some inadequacies on man. This explains the gregarious nature of man as he loves living together in a community with his fellow man as social animal. However, it should be noted that no two persons are exactly the same, not even identical twins. Consequently, they have different tastes and preference and by extension, different interests. A time comes when these interests can clash and if they are not checkmated, they can degenerate to conflict. Thus, while the centripetal forces are pulling man together, the centrifugal forces are pulling man apart. There is therefore, the need for a social order that can deodorize, recalibrate and mitigate the harsh realities of centrifugal forces. The social order regulates individual values, which is conflictual, in tandem with the generally acceptable norms. These generally acceptable norms explain the social order which is a precipitate of restructuring necessary for development. It is against this backdrop that the paper takes a critical look at restructuring, social order and development in Nigeria.

Corresponding author: **Emmanuel I. Wonah,**
Department of Political and Administrative Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Port Harcourt, PMB 5323, Port Harcourt Nigeria.

Conceptual clarification

Restructuring: Nigeria is a federation. This means that Nigeria practices federalism as a system of government. According to K.C. Wheare, one of the founding fathers of federalism, federalism is a system of government that has two coordinate levels of government and each of them being independent in its own areas of jurisdiction as allotted to it by the constitution. However, in Nigeria, by the 1976 local government reforms, local government became a constitutionally recognized third tier of government in a federal arrangement. It follows that local government is also independent in its own areas of jurisdiction as allotted to it by the constitution. Nigeria's third-tiered federalism, even though it is a marked departure from K.C. Wheare's typology of two levels of government, is a precipitate of decentralization through the devolution of powers and functions which is characteristic of a federal system of government. The essence is to give a sense of belonging to the different federating units as they unite in diversity. Unity in diversity is predicated on democracy which allows the people to participate in the governance of their affairs. Nevertheless, democracy should not only be at the level of mere presence of democratic institutions but also and more importantly, the internalization and demonstration of democratic values. To corroborate the importance of democracy in federalism, K.C. Wheare as cited in Amuwo and Herault, (1998) noted that "federalism demands forms of government which have the characteristics usually associated with democratic or free government."

Regrettably, aside from the imposition of federalism on Nigerians, the colonial tactics of divide and rule infused fear of domination and exacerbated the fissiparous tendencies among the different federating units. The implication is that ethnicity became the order of the day and issues that would have been seen from the broader national perspectives are now seen from the narrower regional or ethnic point of view. Another note of regret is that the long years of military interregnum, going by their command structure, has not only militarized the Nigerian State but also concentrated power at the centre. The impact is that there is unitary system of government in the garb of federalism. In the biblical parlance, the hand is Easu (Federalism) but the voice is Jacob (Unitary). Again is the fact that in a federation, the different federating units should develop at their own pace by controlling their resources and pay royalty to the central coffers. Unfortunately in Nigeria, this is not the case and the above scenarios have reinforced discrimination, exploitation, oppression, injustice and marginalization in Nigeria, thereby robbing some federating units the much needed sense of belonging. The effect is that the corporate existence of a federation like Nigeria will be threatened and there will be separatist agitations for self-determination. The case of Indigenous Peoples of Biafra (IPOB) and other "bottled" or suppressed agitations are eloquent testimonies. In order to sustain the Nigerian federation, there is therefore the need for restructuring. It is instructive to note that political restructuring seems to be informed by the poor praxis of an admittedly formal federal system. In other words, the clamour for restructuring is more stringent in countries with a federal form of government – and perhaps also a federal constitution – but with a Unitary practice (Amuwo and Herault, 1998).

William Riker (cited in Amuwo and Herault, 1998:5) noted that "what counts is not the rather trivial constitutional structure, but rather the political and economical culture". In as much as we agree with William Riker on the political and economical culture aspects of his postulation, but obviously we do not subscribe to the fact that the constitution should be trivialized especially in an endemically heterogeneous society like Nigeria. The constitution as the grundnorm gives authority and credence to the different levels of government with regard to their independence in the performance of their constitutionally determined powers and functions. The constitution gives protective cover to the political and economic culture, especially when you consider the fact that in the views of Amuwo and Herault, (1998:5), "The political and economic culture of a federal system in terms of the aggregate premises – both value and factual – of governance can, to varying degrees, depending on the nature and character of the federal state, be antithetical to the wishes, aspirations, and goals of individuals and nationalities". Furthermore, Awuwo and Herault, (1998) noted that when a neo-patrimonial federal logic makes happy only state officials and their acolytes, even if the latter and across ethnic, religious, regional, class and gender cleavages, pockets of dissent dissidence and contestations will naturally emerge. In their view, Olukoshi and Agbu (cited in Amuwo and Herault, 1998:5) averred that it is necessary to recognize that the crisis of Nigerian federalism is not just about bickering 'tubes' but also about social injustices that are rooted in cross-national class and gender conflicts. It therefore, follows that whilst federalism has brought several nations within the Nigerian polity together, actual federal practice has hardly been able to keep them together happily. In other to keep the Nigerian polity together, there is the dire need to restructure Nigeria. Restructuring in simple terms is the repositioning of Nigerian State in other to enhance structural balance, equity, justice and social order necessary to give individuals and their nationalities good sense of belonging. According to Bello (2017), Restructuring is the process of increasing or decreasing the number of component parts that make up a system and re-defining the inter-relationship between them in such a way that the entire system performs efficiently. In the views of Osuntokun (2017), restructuring is simply a call for the restoration of federalism – the foundational constitution structure to which all Nigerians subscribed as encapsulated in the independence constitution of 1960. It should be borne in mind that all the ills presently plaguing the country are directly or indirectly a consequence of the wrong anti federalist diversion Nigeria took in 1966. The violation has concomitantly resulted in the unitary command culture of military dictatorship in which the constitutionally prescribed decentralization and devolution of powers have been subverted and supplanted with centralization of power (Osuntokun, 2017).

In a nutshell, restructuring is the elimination of those unitarist factors that concentrate power at the centre. These unitarist factors perpetrate and pertuate exploitation, injustice, oppression and marginalization. For instance, the over bloated exclusive list, the promulgation of the land Use Act and the brazen distortion of the derivation formular have truncated the devolution of powers and functions to other tiers of government as expected in a federal system of government. It should be reiterated that, the sense of a federation, such as we had under the 1960 and 1963 constitutions, is an agreement to form it by its constituent units, and an appropriate balance of powers between the constituent units and the center. A perversion of this cardinal principle has created injustice, which has created disunity. It has led to a retreat from Nigerian-ness, egged on by these valid resentments at inequity and injustice, back to primordial identities that make a mockery of our nationhood. Everyone is essentially a happy and fulfilled camper on the basis of collective interest, not one in which some groups or individuals feel they are held "captive". Restructuring is the elimination of those structural rigidities which abnegate structural symmetry and equity, and are seen as anathema to the basic tenets of federalism.

However, it is not just enough to restructure the political system through devolution of power and functions to the different tiers of government, but also important is the restructuring of the mindsets of Nigerians. This is premised on the fact that structures make up the system and system do not exist in a vacuum. Systems are personified by human beings whose behavior influences the efficacy of the structures or institutions and the political system. The behavior of those who occupy the structures or institutions and the political system is a reflection of the prevalent values and norms in the polity. There is the prevalence of such negative values such as corruption, nepotism, favourism (man-know-man), religious intolerance and ethnicity. Except there is value re-orientation and restructuring of the mindset of Nigerians, efforts made at the level of political restructuring may be an exercise in futility. The process of re-orientating, restructuring or proselytizing the mindset of Nigerians should be reinforced by exemplary lifestyle, worthy of emulation, of not only Nigerians but more importantly, Nigerian leaders. Restructuring, therefore, should be holistic and comprehensive involving the restructuring of the political system and the mindset of

Nigerians. This would enthrone equity and justice necessary for peace and an acceptable social order that can foster development in Nigeria.

Social Order: It should be reiterated that man is a social animal. This is mainly predicated on the fact that nature has placed some inadequacies on man. This means that no man can do everything for himself or herself. There is therefore the need for exchange and cooperation in order for man to achieve self and collective actualizations. Thus the gregarious nature of man necessitated the need for man to live together with his fellow man in a community. The ever conflicting interest of man can be harmonized by an umpire, the state. The state is a product of social contract and Aristotelian teleology. At this juncture, society is expected to be disciplined and by extension, civilized as the citizens adhere strictly to the laws of the land. However, due to individual's motion for felicity, which can be conflictual, there is therefore, the need to invoke the Kantian imperatives to achieve an acceptable social order. Norms and values constitute a social other. In words, social order is a function of the effective enforcement of norms and values. Whereas values are internal criteria of evaluation as they apply to individuals, norms are enforced externally. The degree of enforcement of norms will to a large extent influence values (i.e. individuals perception of reality) and this will subsequently influence the norms. Value and norms are social-order—keepers and the exception to their idea can lead to deviant behavior. Deviant behavior, which can find expression in all kinds of social vices, can prevent social justices and social justice demands that there should be effective authoritative social control.

Social order is a reflection of social justice and it is hinged on the principle of extensiveness.It (principle of extensiveness) states that the more norms and the more important the norms are to a society, the better these norms tie and hold together the group as a whole (https//eri.wikipedia.org.wiki/social_order). It follows that norms shape and direct values in order to engender effective authantative social control necessary for social justice and an acceptable social order, social order can be used in two perspectives. First, it refers to a particular set or system of linked social structures, institutions, relations, customs, values and practices, which conserve, maintain and enforce certain patterns of relating and behaving. Second, social order is contrasted to social chaos or disorder and refers to a stable state of society in which the existing social order is accepted and maintained by its members. Some philosophers have different views about social order. Thomas Hobbes was conceived with the problem of order or what may be referred to as Hobbesian problem. This is expressed in the state of naturewhere life is short, nasty and brutish. In order to achieve a social order that can guarantee the safety and fulfilled life of citizens, Hobbes conceived the notion of social contract. For Karl Marx, it is the relations of production or economic structure which is the basic of a social order. For Emile Durkheim, it is a set of shared social norms. For Talcott Parsons, it is a set of social institutions regulating the pattern of action-orientation, which again are based on a frame of cultural values. And for JurgenHabernas, it is all of these, as well as communicative action (https//eri.wikipedia. org.wiki/ social_ order). The first theory explains the fact that order results from a large number of independent decisions to transfer individual rights and liberties to a coercive state in return for its guarantee of security for persons and their property as well as its establishment of mechanisms to resolve disputes.

The second theory is that the ultimate source of social order resides not in external controls but in a concordance of specific values and norms that individuals somehow have managed to internalize. The above two theories of social order in a way alludes to the fact that the problem of social order arises because human beings are both individual and social. This fact also approximates the centripetal and centrifugal forces earlier mentioned. For social order to arise and be maintained, two separate problems must be overcome. People must be able to coordinate their actions and they must cooperate to attain common goals. Co-ordination requires that people develop stable expectation about other's behavior while cooperation entails people working together for the same end. But life is hard; it is predictable but not what we would call orderly. Something else is required for social order to be maintained. If people are to live together, they must not only be able to coordinate their activities but also to interact productively-to-do things that help rather than hurt others. Thus, highly ordered societies have a remarkable capacity to sustain cooperation. However, the challenge is that behaving cooperatively may impose costs on the individual. For instance, everyone thinks it is a good idea to spend money on education but nobody wants to pay more property taxes. This proves the fact that the interests of individuals are at odds with that of group. Consequently, individuals do what they want to do regardless of the effects of their actions on others. These tendencies must be removed if social order is to be maintained.

Development: Development is not just about the increase in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) but is also about improving the living conditions of man. It is the progressive and consistent transformation of the life of the people. Whereas, the increase in GDP may lead to economic growth but such economic growth may not translate to development if what is produced is not fairly and equitably distributed to positively influence the standard of living of the generality of the citizens. In the views of Elemini (2002), genuine development creates the opportunity for man to live a productive and creative life and to realize his full potential. The transformation of the life of the people is, among others, mainly predicated on main's incremental mastery of nature (Igwe, 2005) Man applies his labour power on nature to derive value. The more he improves on his labour power, the more values he derives from nature for survival.

According to Ake (cited in Elemini, 2002 p:6). Development is man-centered. It is man as an individual who interacts with other individual to make social life possible. Man being the bearer and sustainer of social life must be the beneficiary of the development process. In fact, development is a concept that is interested in the good life for man.

One good reference that can be drawn from the above quotation is that development requires cooperation among the people which is also a necessary condition for an acceptable social order. It follows that social order is a sine qua non for development. In other words, development may not take place in a disordered society. Again, from the above quotation, it means that man forms the pivot around which development revolves, man, therefore, should participate in the development process. Ake in (Elemini, 2002) noted that development is not a process that can be executed over and above the people. It is rather a process which must involve the people in order to effectively participate in the development process.

The people therefore must be insulated from oppression, intimidation, exploitation, marginalization and injustice. Rodney (1972) avers that development implies, at the individual level, increased skill and capacity, greater freedom, creativity, self-discipline, responsibility and material well-being. The gregarious nature of man, the emergence of private ownership of property and the improvement in the productive forces have ostensibly led to the socialization of production and indeed development. The Aristotelian teleology is consummated with the formation of state. The state through its government formulates and implements development policies and programmes. National development therefore is the effort made by the people through their government to improve their quality of life and ensure free and egalitarian society within the national boundary**.** In the opinion of Annang (2012), national development is seen as the spiritual life of a nation, and which must be realizable in ways consistent with the protection of human dignity. Lawal and Oluwatoyin (2011 see also JajaNwanegbo and Odigbo, 2013. Lawal and Oluwatoyin (2011 see also JajaNwanegbo, and Odigbo. 2013), see national development as the overall development or a collective socio-economic, political as well as religious advancement of a country or nation. Aside from the economic aspect of national development which is facilitated by production, industrialization and accumulation of savings, the political aspect places premium on the role of the state as a controlling institution (Annang, 2011).It is obvious that the state and its institutions should have the appropriate mix of human and material resources and ensure that what is produced is fairly and equitably distributed. National development can be seen with the purview of development indices like reduction or outright eradication of poverty, improvement in literacy, health services, housing condition and political awareness of the people.

However, it should he noted that national development does not exist in a vacuum. It is hoisted on the strong pillars of rule of law and democracy in a political system. The political system should be orchestrated in such a way that it upholds the tenets of rule of law and democracy. Democracy not only at the level of institutional arrangement but more importantly.The internalization of democratic values (Wonah, 2010). Democracy requires that the people participate in making decisions that affect their lives. The participation of the people in the national development process underscores the people as change agents. Although these change agents can bring about positive or negative effects on national development depending on their level of civilization. It therefore, follows that what matters greatly in national development is the status and quality of life of the people. The need for improved human capacity building is being validated by the role of the people in national development.There is therefore the need for the development of the human person. This view was corroborated by Martin Luther king Jr. when he said that:

the prosperity of a country depend not on the abundance of its revenue nor on the strength of its fortification, not on the beauty' of its public building but it consist in the number of cultivated citizens, its men of character and enlightenment.

On the contrary, national development cannot take place when the people are oppressed, intimidated, exploited, marginalized and are not equipped with right skills for positive change. The elimination of these negative forces through restructuring can

engender a social order which is capable of fostering development.

Theoretical framework – behaviouralism: In political science and indeed other related disciplines, emphasis seems to have shifted from institutional analysis to behaviouralism. This means that in trying to understand the efficacy of institutions in the performance of their roles, emphasis is placed on the behavior of those who occupy these institutions. According to Norman P. Barry (as cited in Ntete-Nna (2002), behaviouralism is a form of social explanation in which observed behavior is stressed, rather than the simple description of institutions. In the views of Robert E. Dows and John A. Hughes (as cited in Ntete-Nna, 2002), the behavioural movement emphasizes the"necessity of looking at and explaining the observed political behavior underlying particular intuitional legal arrangements". To corroborate the above fact, Nwaorgu (1998) noted that its emphasis is on the role of behavior of the individual at different levels of political phenomena and performance. Behaviouralism is a reaction against the unrealistic and inadequate institutional approach which ignores several factors that influence political behavior. The institutional approach concentrates on legalistic and constitutional factors. In order to transcend the limitations of the traditional approach, the behavioural approach focuses on the behavior of the individual citizen as a political actor within organized groups such as interest groups, political parties or the legislative body (Alapiki, 2010). The behavioural approach assumes that by applying more rigorous empirical methods for gathering research data and utilizing statistical tools of analysis, the political scientist can achieve greater accuracy in predicting political behavior. However, behaviouralism has been criticized for subjecting unsteady human behavior to empirical method of study. In as much as it is not the intention of this paper to join in this debate, but suffice it to say that the adoption of the scientific method of study enables us to make predictions of political behavior.

Nevertheless, the focus of this paper is also on the behavior of not only individual but also those who occupy the institutions of the State and how their behaviors influence the efficacy of the State. The behavior of individuals is a reflection of the prevalent values and norms in the environment and can to a very large extent influence the nature and character of the state. These values and norms can be positive or negatives. As earlier noted, the values and norms determine the social order. But if the values and norms are negative and hostile, it will lead to a disordered society which will adversely affect development. The relevance of behaviouralism in this paper can be seen from the purview of the fact that the behavior of individuals, particularly those who occupy the institutions of the state, is derived from the lens of the prevalent values and norms in the society.

The state, restructuring and social order in nigeria: The state is a political organization conferred with the authority to make laws, decisions, formulate public policies and implement same in order to engender a mutually beneficial, peaceful and conducive society. In affirming the sacrosanct nature of state and its importance in ordering society, Hegel sees the state as" the march of God on earth (Guaba, 1981). For the liberal democratic theory, the state is treated as a product of the will of society, an instrument of "conflict resolution" and of securing the common interest. It authorizes society to constitute a government by free choice, and demands that the

government should be responsible to the people, and work with the continuous consent of the people (Guaba, 1981). The Marxist theory regards the state as an instrument of class exploitation, and advocates transformation, and ultimate withering away of the state in order to restore authority to a classless society. From the foregoing, it is evident that the state is a symbol of authority. The state not only commands the respect and obedience of the citizens, it also in turn performs some basic functions that can reinforce the respect and obedience of its citizens. Some of the basic functions of the state include – the protection of lives and property, promotion of the welfare of the citizens, maintenance of law and order, fair and equitable distribution of state resources, and the promotion of good governance by formulating and implementing policies and programmes that have direct bearing on the people. Thus, the state exists for the interest of the people and those who occupy state institutions must act in conformity with the "general will" of the people. However, it appears the Nigerian state seems to have abdicated itself of the good traits of a state. The imposition of state by the colonial masters and the plural nature of Nigerian society are at the root of the political and socio-economic turpsyturvey in Nigeria. The plurality of the Nigerian state aggravated by the fissiparous policies and subterfuge of the erstwhile colonial masters induced the "labour" which unfortunately led to the delivery of the premature "baby" called Nigeria. The exploitative, repressive and oppressive tendencies of the colonial state were replicated and institutionalized by the post-colonial state in Nigeria.

The political elites who were and are still intoxicated with power engaged in primitive accumulation of wealth as they saw and are still seeing the state and its apparatuses as veritable, means of amassing wealth. Corruption with impunity became the order of the day and ascendancy to power became a do-or-die affair. Consequently, the electoral system is marred with electoral irregularities with the concomitant devastating electoral violence (Oddih, 2007). Corruption which is a manifestation of a faulty distributive mechanism places more of the state resources in the hands of the elites while the majority of the people are marginalized and wallow in seemingly abysmal poverty and utter neglect. The above facts reflect the nature and character of Nigerian state which approximates politics, particularly as it adversely affects social order in Nigeria. The divisive tendencies reinforced by ethnicity and religious intolerance, brazen disregard of federal character principle as enshrined in the constitution, marginalization, corruption, exploitation, oppression and the promulgation of the obnoxious land Use Act are some of the factors that infused disorder in Nigerian society. There can be no social order in a disordered society. In the views of Ekeopara and Ogbonnaya (2014), social order is a state of well-being in the society wherein the individuals within the society are at peace with one another and have their lives and property will secured. Aside from the security of lives and property, peace can also be secured when the sources of livelihood of the citizens are not threatened and poverty reduced to its bearest minimum. There can be no peace and by extension, social order when the people are poor, exploited, marginalized, oppressed and their environment degraded. The Nigerian state by its nature and character has egged on those anti-social order tendencies which have led to separatist agitations corruption and their social vices which lead to disorderliness and threatens the corporate existence of Nigeria.

The needfor restructuring has therefore become imperative especially at the level of institutions and decentralization through devolution. In the opinion of Burns and Carson (2003, p.5).

Each institution as a rule regime provides a systematic, meaningful basis for actors to orient to one another and to organize and regulate their interactions, to frame, interpret, and to analyze their performances, and to produce commentaries and discourses, criticisms and justifications, such a regime consists of a cluster of social relationships, roles, norms, "rules of the game". Etc. The system specifies to a greater or lesser extent who may or should participate, who is excluded, who may or should do what, when, where, and how and in relation to whom. It organizes specified actor categorizes or roles vis-à-vis one another and defines their rights and obligations – including rules of command and obedience – and their access to and control over human and material resources.

Beyond institutional arrangement, and the need for its proficiency, is the restructuring of the mindset of the citizens which can deodorize the values and norms for an acceptable social order.

The impact of restructuring and social order on development in nigeria: In its simpler form, restructuring ensures that the different structures in a system are fortified in order to enhance the efficacy of structures for favourable systemic performance. The federal political system, by constitutional allotments, demands that the various tiers of government should be independent in its own areas of jurisdiction. The essence is to ensure that they develop at their own pace and contribute to the sustenance of the centre. This would enable the different federating units, with their governments, to look inwards and generate the needed revenue for development. The generation of revenue through economic activities which have multiplier effects is a function of the mindset and collective efforts of the people. It should be noted that those asking for restructuring are of the opinion that it will make the nation more stable politically and also bring more economic progress by encouraging hard work and competition among the federating units hence allowing each unit to develop at its own pace. However, political stability is not a function of ethnic homogeneity or religious purity. For instance, Somalia is a nation in which over 90% of the population speaks the same language. Also, Somalia is 99%. Muslim by religion, yet it is one of the most unstable countries in the world. On the other hand, Switzerland consists of 3 major languages (German, French and Italian). It has no single gram of mineral resources, yet it is one of the most stable and one of the richest countries in the world. It can therefore, be concluded that the mindset of the citizens of a country is the major determinant of political stability and economic progress. The most important restructuring we need in Nigeria is that of our mindset. That should be the starting point and the mother of all restructuring (Bello, 2017). There are certain unproven statements and beliefs that have found a permanent residence in the heart of Nigerian adults. For example, corruption cannot be eradicated, we can never have correct census. If you do not bribe, you cannot get a contract, if you do not bribe voters you cannot win elections, merit alone cannot get you job or promotion etc. They give the negative impression that Nigeria is an impossible country and the worst place on earth to live in (Bello, 2017).

Unfortunately, young men and women today are growing up with the same orientation and belief that if you do not know a big man somewhere (e.g.Senator or Minister) you cannot secure employment, win a contract in a ministry or get admission into a Tertiary Institution. Also, if you do not join the corruption train, you can never be rich, or make it. We need to re-orientate our mindset. No amount of political or economic restructuring can bring any meaningful progress unless we first restructure and re-orientate our mindset, change our value system and develop sound character. Human beings start and end development process. It follows that human beings must participate in the development process. It means that human beings need to be cultivated with the right ideas, values and norms, skills and knowledge, and must be free from exploitation, oppression and marginalization. With cultivated Nigerians whose mindsets have been restructured, it can lead to peace which can foster cooperation among Nigerians and the federating units and ensure a social order necessary or development. There will be no development in a disordered society.

There is also the need for structural restructuring which can eliminate structural inequities and imbalances. This can be done through devolved decentralization that can whittle down the power at the centre. This can guarantee the autonomy of the federating units as they begin to solve them problems in their own way. Nevertheless, constitutional autonomy may be a sham if it is not backed up by economic independence. Consequently, the federating units should stop depending on the centre for allocations. The bloated exclusive list should be reduced to enable the federating units to have more responsibilities and powers. This can encourage healthy competition among the federating units and facilitate national development in Nigeria.

The way forward: Nigeria is a federation and the various tenets of federalism, especially, fiscal federalism, should be upheld. The three tiers of government should be independent in the areas of jurisdiction allotted to them by the constitution. Consequently, all the constitutional provisions that erode their autonomy should be repealed. However, in order to enhance the constitutional autonomy, the various federating units must be economically independent. They should look inwards and explore available resources for economic growth and development rather than depending on federal allocations. In fact power and responsibilities should devolve to the federating units. Development is man-centred and it is dependent on social order which is rooted on the cooperation and collaborative efforts of the people. It follows, that man should not only be equipped with right skills and knowledge, be free from exploitation and oppression but also have the right mindset capable of engendering the needed social order necessary for development. The mindset of Nigerians needs to be restructured in order to cultivate the right citizens needed for development. The negative values and norms should be expunged from the mentality and belief system of Nigerians and the Nigerian state must live up to its basic responsibilities. The present programme of the federal government on the "change begins with me" must be intensified and made to be a national value. The process of reorientation, restructuring or proselytizing the mindset of Nigerians should be reinforced by exemplary lifestyle of Nigerians and their leaders. There is also the need to alleviate poverty and eradicate corruption. Nigerian government at every tier should embark on economic activities that have multiplier effects and ensure that the scarce state resources and opportunities are fairly and equitably distributed. Federal character principle and rotation of public offices among the component units should be upheld. Democratic values should be imbibed and demonstrated by Nigerians. Ethnicity and religious intolerance should be eliminated. The above measures if adopted would give a sense of belonging to Nigerians and enthrone peace which is needed for a social order that can facilitate development.

Concluding remarks: The fissiparous tendencies in the political system are plaguing the corporate existence of Nigeria. This is worsened by the concentration of power at the centre contrary to the tenets of federalism. Furthermore, the oppressive, discriminatory and exploitative tendencies of the Nigeria state have brazenly disordered the Nigerian society. Thus, such negative values and norms such as ethnicity, religious intolerance, favoritism (man-know-man), nepotism and corruption seem to have permeated the cloaks of Nigeria society. The implication is that Nigerians are bereft of a sense of belonging and as a result, conflict and general insecurity which seems to approximate the "Hobbesian state of nature" have obsessed the Nigerian society. There is therefore the need to restructure not only the political system, but also and more importantly the mindset of Nigerians which can enthrone social order needed for development in Nigeria.

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