# POLITICS OF STATE CREATION AND THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF SOUTH-EASTERN NIGERIA

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***Abstract***

*Factually, Governance requires basic administrative structure for the optimal executive functions and sundry governmental actions/inactions. The Nigerian State under dictatorship created a total number of 36 States to propel maximally governmental obligations to every nook & cranny of the federation. The regimes which masterminded the structural cleavages obviously enforced the actions based on tribal and nepotistic exigency. Meanwhile, the 36 states-structure in Nigerian political system failed to meet the basic standard of equity and equality in which South-Eastern Nigeria appear to be shortchanged. This paper interrogated the cause-effect relationship that yielded unavoidable consequences in sabotaging the naturalistic provision of equality and equity in running the affairs of the state for mutual interests. Inferential descriptive analysis which focuses on data generated via secondary source was employed in the study. The Group Theoretical framework formed the pivotal explanatory instrument linked to the assumption that the political system ever accommodated groups fighting for distinct objectives thereby producing winners and losers. The position of the South-East in the Nigerian military regimes that created the states has always been so weak to protect its interest. Corollary to the aforementioned, constitutional review or amendment of the Nigerian version of Fiscal Federalism in a state of comatose cannot be swept under the carpet in the guise of ethnocentrism having been entrenched and constituted by the tiny but powerful group that determines the political economy of the affected region. Thus, the stakeholders / ethnic nationalities should reconsider the lukewarm behavior towards a National Conference that would usher in an appropriate administrative structure needed to balance the lopsided existing structure founded by the successive autocratic regimes.*

***Keywords****: State Creation, Political Economy, South-East, Dictatorship, National Conference*

## Introduction

Conceptualization of States' creation in Nigeria involves the subdivision of larger territorial integrity to a minimal political and administrative organ. Philosophically and historically, the overall intent is to address supposed marginalization, inequity, inequality, imbalance structure and ill-governance. Pre-independence Nigerian state was administered as a federation of three

regions comprise of Western, Eastern and Northern regions with the Mid-western region coming next in 1963. The fragmentation of the country into various states-structure at interval according to analysts was motivated by military and political exigencies oppose to democratic dialogue. This would have ushered in an opportunity for the ethnic nationalities that make up the country to be involved in determining the kind of federation appropriate to the Nigerian people.

Nnoli, (2003) cautioned the inherent danger deep seated within the Nigerian political system in which reasonable efforts were not applied in restructuring the country basically configured through imperialist desire of the British colonial establishment. Sustenance of the British colonial practices against the ambition of formulating a new political order for the goodness of the indigenous people, is usually counter-productive. The policy of state creation in Nigerian context is ever linked or equated to amalgamation of the Southern and Northern Nigeria which obviously became an instrument to advance the objectives of the amalgamators and the oligarchy.

The global political searchlight affirms that western societies comprise majorly of North America and Western Europe currently believe in socio-economic and to a reasonable extent political unification oppose to an outright autonomous or undiluted holistic independent existence a hallmark of the African political dimension today. The power in congregating diverse interests within the political system cannot over-emphasized given the theory of comparative advantage bestowed on countries, regions and climes by nature. Historically, it's been a different situation in the country called Nigeria where the yearnings or fierce agitation for autonomous existence has been instituted since the period of amalgamation. With the 36 states structure currently recognized in constitution, countless agitations are ever pouring out for more states' creation (Nwankwo, 2002)

Politicization of sates creation in Nigeria gave impetus to various agitations through which every ethnic nationality or socio-economic and politically conscious groups draft their arsenal or instruments of goal-achieving method, ensuring that states were allocated to them. Most times, the constitutional provisions would be sidelined to appease certain groups or ethnicity. However, the creation of twelve states in Nigeria by General Yakubu Gowon retired was to achieve the boundary demarcation against the South Eastern people of Nigeria. The policy of boundary adjustment, backed up with decree number 2, out-rightly usurped the Igbo-land mass and human population in favour of their neighbors in present day Rivers State, Akwa Ibom and Delta State in a bid to land lock the Igbos' access to international water ways (Orjiako, 2016).

African context implies that the balkanization of a given country demonstrates the mindset of the oligarchy in securing vintage position to maximize opportunity accessing the national wealth. It stems from the fact that the elites strategize politically for the control of resources accruing to the thirty six states usually controlled by the powerful men in power. Hence, most of the state creation if not all, were carried out by the military dictatorship gunning for legitimacy and private regarding objectives. In supporting the above argument, Alapiki, (2005) avers that state creation embarked upon at interval by Nigerian State is a failed Nation-building concept. To him, the process exacerbated ethnic rivalry, grudges and deep seated animosity among the

beneficiaries and those favoured by the undemocratic and dictatorial pronouncements. Indeed, the more states are created, the more demands are articulated. This had earlier been denounced by Henry Willink Commission's Report 1957 stating that state creation was not necessary for administrative purpose of Nigeria.

Obviously, successive governments of Nigeria had attempted to resolve the challenges of mistrust and suspicion seen as primary motive for state creation clamour via policies and programmes; comprises of the state creation, National Youth Service Corps (NYSC), Unity Schools, federal character principle, National Orientation Agency etc. In spite of these laudable initiatives or policy roadmap, the crisis of disunity and ethnic loyalty oppose to national patriotic values had been disrupted and replaced with regional exigencies (Alapiki, 2005).

The politicization of the subject matter (state creation) in Nigerian context is hinged on the condition which left the South East Region with five states whereas other regions of; South South, South West, North East, North Central and North West benefited six and seven states respectively. Nevertheless, there is persistent agitations/proposals before the National Assembly to par/balance this military politically conceived imbalance in favour of the cheated region (south east) regards to the arrangement of state creation in Nigeria by the military oligarchy (Ben-Bruce, 2014).

On the other hand, the political economy of the South East Region has been in coma or employed to the services of others regions, leaving it depressed and underdeveloped thereby satisfying the exigencies of others regions. This has become highly condemnable considering the fact that state creation and number of local governments are the primary basis of revenue/resources accrued to the regions or geo-political zones. Nonetheless, this paper attempts to underscore the argument that such practice contradicts the principles of federalism which emphasizes on the autonomy of each federating unit mostly in relation to generating resources and expenditure. Equally, over-centralization of socio-economic and political issues obviously perceived as heavy/overloaded exclusive and concurrent lists suggesting politics of favouring and shortchanging certain geo-political zones in Nigeria federation (Nwankwo, 2020).

## Conceptual Analysis

State Creation: mostly in Nigerian context, this phrase implies the balkanization of an existing statutorily recognized political unit 's' in pursuit of both overt and covert interests meant to achieve a defined objective. Equally, it serves as instrument within the disposal of powerful political elements to control the socio-economic and political affairs in a specific area in which their interest could be protected. However, more apparent definition of 'state creation' cannot be anything lesser than; issuance of proclamation through a military fiat carving out or subdividing an already existing political unit which hitherto has been identified as a whole-unit. Many times, the actions surrounding state creation in Nigeria lacked democratic consideration or baseline, creating an impression that the process/procedure adopted on the state creation Nigeria is self-serving.

The rise to proliferation of state creation was predicated on multi-ethnic complexity of Nigerian state demonstrated countless times. For instance, Alapiki, (2005) captured concisely, what led to the UPGA boycott of election 1962 of the federal house of representative, was mishandling of the entire process in which the prime minister drafted the army into the electoral matters and the physical abuse meted on the Igbos' representative. With the army carrying out coup in January 1966 when the center could not hold, firstly, it embarked on subdividing the existing entity having sensed that the people could not function without grievances and divided ambition or loyalty. The already established balkanization of the hitherto British colonized-amalgamated entity named Nigeria, was instigated through the past ugly events orchestrated by the military conspiracy of domination and dictatorship. Thus, the Nigerian state has ever been proliferating her socio-economic and political structures oppose to unification it multiple nationalities. A country which started with three regions ended up with 36 states within a period of 65 years without any meaningful achievement regards to unity of purpose.

Political Economy: by mere understanding or explanation, political economy as an interdisciplinary relationship attempts to interrogate the interconnectivities existing between politics and economy and the role exerted by duo in maintaining a desired balance of the state. Given the angle of interest evaluation; i.e. dependent on multifarious dimension, politics could serve as superstructure to the economy; vice versa. Therefore stressing further the umbilical cord connecting these fields of study and application, we presume that condition at various interval could determine either of them to assume the superstructure and the other minor. Essentially, the critical importance of political economy as a subject-matter is located at the door step of political interest, national interest, group's interest, strategic interest and the unknown motivation. In political science analysis, we employ the concept in measuring the level of influence either of them impacts one the other. Empirically, to secure the state power, would translate into economic advantage to friends and relatives but mostly in African cum other socio-economic and politically impoverished climes. An average Nigerian politician strive towards accessing political power in order to reposition his/her economic interests most times at variant with the demands of the people.

The political economy approach as concerns with Karl Marx and the Marxists focuses on the attitude of the privileged class in relation to the appropriation or privatization of the nations' wealth and economic resources. To this framework, this powerful group undermine the general welfare meant for all and sundry. They are bent in pursuit of projects which further impoverish the commoners (compradors) who receive stipend as wages /salaries in the end go as peasants while the elites (bourgeois) swim in affluence and enough for their pets and beggars. The political economy theorists castigate the practice of capitalism which left the common wealth in the hand of few men in control of the state power. (Udenigwe, 2010).

South East: advocates and/or the initiators of this political lexicon in Nigerian contextual analysis, firmly believe that it goes a long way in addressing the awaited equity and equality. Considering decades of militarily imposed inequitable economic and political structures, southeast geo-political zone has become synonymous with the condition of neglect and government of Nigeria dumping ground. However, the term or coinage represents multiple

concepts including; geographical, political region, socio-cultural setting, homogeneity cum entrepreneurial potential. The political dimension of it stresses the fact that the Nigerian state comprises of six geo-political zones; three zones in the south and three zones in the north. All these zones were further subdivided into six and seven states respectively, with exception of southeast zone with five states. Indicating that it has the least number of states compared to others. The gross implication, conforms with the argument that, with the heterogeneity nature of the country, in which resources and positions are distributed based on the number of states allocated to a specific population or ethnic nationality, the southeast geo-political zone stands to lose by benefitting/receiving the least of these benefits. During the 1989 constitutional review conference organized by the dictator Sani Abacha, a former Vice-President Alex Ekwueme among others within the Igbos' delegation, presented the six geo-political zone-structure on the basis of a federating-unit structure of Nigerian state.

The proposal generated mixed reactions which was eventually agreed upon as an empirical formula to douse the tension of inequitable and inequality status deliberately unleashed via military autocracy. It was firmly equally addressed that for the country's political restructuration and administrative convenience, the southeast with the least number of states should be made to have another state to be at par with other zones. With the politics of exclusion ever targeted against the southeast zone, the successive governments after the death of Abacha, refused to implement the agreement/resolution. Since that period, the southeast has remain underrepresented, underdeveloped and grossly defrauded in respect to the country's wealth distribution, exchange and consumption.

Dictatorship: another political jargon normally used in describing the political environment heavily inclined in despotic practices or inclination. Dictatorship refers to a political order which evolves through the rulership of one man who appropriates 0rgans of the state via unscrupulous means thereby stunting the prospects supposedly inherent in national development. It's always been associated to wicked rulership inclined in a government system which expresses autocratic rule that unleashes absolutism and undiluted sovereign power against the majority wishing to have a democratic administration. Dictatorship further implies conspiracy of the oligarchy that contradicts transparency in handling the public entrusted resources and privileges; amounting to various political scrambling for positions and privatization of the state power.

Dictatorial expressions found applicability of autocracy an effective instrument by those in power who had been ambitious to appropriate national wealth and the state power to extremity of dictatorship; accounting to the condition which has left the southeast geo-political zone shortchanged, measuring its economic statistics index that has proven ill-structured and marked to end disastrously . The whole matters concerning the state creation in the country was conceived earlier conceived to devastate the zone psychologically, physically, socially etc, ensuring that the dictatorial will/ambition is fulfilled.

A pragmatic manifestation of dictatorship is military rule via coup de 'tat (forceful change of government). Under such arrangement or development, the hitherto people's oriented constitution would be thrown out, replaced with decrees/proclamations and the unleashment of repressive orders/command which harasses the psychology cum the gross existence of the

people. With this kind of situation, the civil population is already entrapped to captivity and helpless. This was the situation faced by the people of southeast Nigeria when the Nigerian military command took charge of the socio-economic and political affairs; 1966 x2, 1975, 1982, 1983 and 1985 etc. in addition, military dictatorship is equivalent or compared to democratic-autocracy which is in reign of today's Nigeria.

National Conference: a national retreat schedule to address certain issues or unusual phenomena through deliberation/dialogue of the affected population. Government embarking on conferences emanate from unsettled matters which could instigate further crises/conflict if unattended to…. Nigerian governments embarked on conferences during military regimes and civil rule on various occasions. Dictator Ibrahim Babangida had several talk shops in lieu of socio-economic and political crises that engulfed his regime due to repressive and wicked decrees meted out. Dictator Sanni Abacha equally organized a constitutional conference which was aimed at the project of civilianization cum life presidency ambition. Indeed, autocratic democracy under President Olusegun Obasanjo didn't escape replicating the usual deceitful national conference project. He employed all tact's /strategies to achieve power elongation via third term ambition sold to his political jobbers as a way out from the country's multiple challenges. Under him, a national conference was set rolling tagged PRONACO. The conference's resolution which excused cum trashed the power elongation ambition made the conference recommendation never to see the light of the day. In other words, the supposed democrat the spent billions of Naira in organizing so-called constitutional review conference rendered the resolution impotent having lost in achieving his ambition through a parliamentary intervention. President Ebele Jonathan, the weakest of them all, also did organize another constitutional review conference/retreat. In this case however, above six hundred resolutions were adopted via consensus of the participants, yet thrown to the trash-bin eventually having spent seven billion Naira. On this Jonathan's conference, the imbalance which has ever constituted dilemma within the country, regards to creation of state and balancing the inequity, was dimly resolved. Unfortunately, the president refused to sign it into law. The general or universal concept of National Conference is to create an opportunity to revisit certain areas in the life of a country that needs adjustment /amendment. During the making of National Conference in erstwhile Union Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) it dawn on the former nations under the republic that there was no basis for running a single country. The republic was peacefully dissolved into several countries that are very healthy and fruitful today.

## Theoretical Perspective

Arthur Fisher Bentley was an American political scientist and philosopher who worked in the field s of epistemology, logic and linguistic and contributed to the development of behavioral methodology of political science. Born 1870 and died 1957 Paoli, Indiana, United States.

Arthur Bentley originated the group approach to the understanding of politics in his work; Process of Government. This theoretical perspective drew further elaboration from David Truman in his (governmental process) thereby explained politics from the perception of groups'

competition or rivalry. In lieu of this; political groups exist when and if men share multiple interests, interactions and objectives through political processes and/or activities (Bentley, 1969).

The central thesis of the Group Theory stem from the assumption that the society comprises of competitive interest groups, with these interactions and competitions amongst them, often influence the state policies and actions. Given to its assumption inter alia, the success of each of these groups is determined by it strength, composition and structural capacity. However, it flaws are in tandem with the belief that it doesn't recognize individual characteristics, implications of said activities to the country, states/regions and the society generally. Secondly, non-recognizing certain conditions that even within a particular group-organization, there bound to be an identified selected few that actually formulate decisions and implements them.

Applying Group Theory to understanding the politics of state creation and political economy of the southeast Nigeria, would afford an ample opportunity in explaining the scientific and systematic process in relation to the activities of various groups that mobilize strength, resources, political groups and state institutions ensuring that their objectives are met. From this dimension, state creation in Nigeria has been predicated on the concept of political economy vis-à-vis pursuit of private/groups' interest which ironically, most often than not, detrimental to the general wellbeing of the country. The contentious atmosphere inherent in a polity comprised of distinct values and interests, instigated through ethnic divide, would predictably dysfunction in respect to harmonious development growth devoid of rancor and distrust.

Nigerian state is a good example in which the political actors rather than embarking on policies/programs that would encourage equitable distribution of the state's economic and political values, resort to undermining the logic of equity and equality. Thereby promoting unhealthy competitions and rivalries, further deconstructing the logic of mutual cooperation and existence. Under an unprecedented political atmosphere, in search of agreeable formula to maintain a balance; federation called Nigeria, the elderstatemen gathered to fine-tune most acceptable pattern of co-existing as a country-state, recommended a six geo-political zones as federating units, through which positions and values would be allocated, but groups' interests culminated the reversal implication. Officially and unofficially, the concept of the six geo-political zone has been recognized as a way forward, yet implementation remains implementable and unattained. Inter alia, Nigeria wears the badge of six geo-political zones and the heart of Unitarianism. With this configuration, no one needs to be told that the few selected individuals in charge of the state values and positions determine who gets what, when and how.

Going by the state creation/local government allocation of Nigerian project, obviously, the southeast of Nigeria has been mercilessly shortchanged and incapacitated to the extent that the entire zone is comparable to the resources accrue to certain local government areas within the North east and North west geo-political zones. This injustice against the southeast geo-political zone which owns the oil-wealth and gas deposit, yet shootout from the door and window of sharing formula. The group theoretical analysis has warned us about the magnitude of strength embedded in some of the groups compared to the weak ones. For instance, Ohaneze, Arewa and

Afenifere all represents different regions of the country. But their strengths and influence are not on the same level. While Arewa and Afenifere have been championing the affairs of their people successfully, it's not been rosy to Ohaneze. The membership composition of these groups with exception of Ohaneze, are mainly retired military men and women who ever began the balkanization of the country in line with military absolute power, shortchanged the southeast and repositioned it to a disadvantaged and insignificant status (Okakpu, 2009).

The emphasis on Groups' control via the Group Theoretical perspective is further demonstrated on the political economy of the southeast which has been submerged by the external conquest, subduing the internal mid-powers with no superordinate capacity to challenge the existing group's force. This groups' struggle over the economic values supported by the political actors in critical position of power, usually determine the allocation of oil wells /block to their cronies and agents. In Nigerian context, the oil industry and its attendant matters are under the control of the federal government. Despite the quasi-federalism, the control of the resources would have been a zonal/regional/states' concern dependent on the environmental resource accessibility. The federal government of Nigeria is bent on allocating the oil wells to certain groups or individuals appealing to its whims and caprices. Through the group instructiveness, the general wellbeing of the citizenry are thwarted, truncated and deconstructed on the bid to safeguard the group's objectives which have been long established and perhaps the basis on forming such government/regime (Okakpu, 2009).

Udenigwe, (2010), in the same vein, states that the thrust of Resource Control Theory holds that; the practice of federalism in Nigeria has elicited multidimensional crises and debate bordering on misapplication of principles of fiscal federalism. To this end, derivative principles should represent beacon of hope to the states /regions in which the resources are generated and adequate infrastructures developed therein. The states/regions should be allowed to harness economic resources naturally deposited within and pay taxes/royalties for the running the affairs of the federal government. The overall objectives in creating the states and local governments in Nigeria has been linked to economic and political advantage or benefit. The number of states and local governments a region is allocated to, would essentially determine its economic potentials or power. Equally the number of states determine the voting strength when it comes to democratic elections.

Comparatively, Kano State and the entire South-East region are competing over resources allocated based on the monthly revenue accrue from the federation account meant to be distributed among the thirty six states and seven hundred and seventy four local governments. The Nigerian military oligarchy that formulated the constitution and the project of state creation, had in mind this skewed federal structure to favor and disfavor certain regions and states (Okapku, 2009).

## Methodology

The research methodology is hinged on the efforts employed to collect/apply the relevant and valid data needed for interrogation, verification and findings therein. The essentiality of research

methodology rests on the assumption that relevant valid data is critical in resolving a situation having been problematized or identified as a social problem.

Indeed, it is one thing to identify a societal problem and another to adopt an effective means of solving the problem in question. That is when the issue of methodological process or instrument comes in. Our research falls into the class of ex-post facto research, which means having to do with the past events or actions. An ex-post facto research is a study carried out after the independent variable has occurred. The researcher is however expected to examine the relationship among the independent and dependent variables of interest. It cannot establish cause-and-effect conclusions.

In effect, the most appropriate data for analysis or interrogation would ordinarily fall into the category of secondary data collection method since the researcher could not manipulate the independent variable, hence the difficulty associated to the independent and dependent variables relationship. It involves relying substantially on secondary sources that include academic published works ranging from books, journals, conference papers, magazines, official-government documents, online/internet publications, national/international media outfits etc. The reliance on secondary data informed the descriptive analytical perspective adopted herein in offering solutions in relation to the politicization of state creation and the political economy of south east Nigeria.

**Socio-Economic and Political Challenges of the South-East**

Decades of allegations against the government of Nigeria in relation to the issue of deliberate marginalization and the governmental backed conspiracy of the southeast economic rebirth. Ironically, the erstwhile hub of the former eastern region, known today as southeast geo-political zone had suffered untold discriminatory socio-economic and political exclusion from vital organs of the state. The region believed to be the fastest growing economy in Africa cannot sustain such fame or ingenuity today due to numerous factors;

Least of the federal government allocation: despite the southeast huge population comparable with other geo-political zones, the zone (southeast) receives the lowest figure or amount from the federal government monthly allocation. The Nigerian quasi-federalism empowers the center government to distribute the resources of the country under a unilateral circumstances negating the precepts of federalism. There are overwhelming concentration of powers of political administration at the center allowing the level of government to play god at all times. There is no cogent/sufficient reason why the federal government should harness and distribute the economic values, naturally deposited around the regions. The southeast geo-political zone is naturally endowed with oil and gas mineral resources, yet the least compensated regards to monetary allocation accrue to each of the six geo-political zones. This is outright politicization of law of equity and equality on the basis of federating units which comprised the federation. The current sharing formula in Nigerian federation/polity is an embarrassment to the course of nation building. A situation where the chicken that lay the golden eggs is neglected and treated as

inconsequential and of no value. The entire southeast is blessed with oil and gas, hence the federal government insistence in marking some of parts as Strategic Reserve Area (STA). What the government is doing to ensure that this zone is sustained for the future mega income for economic growth and development of the country is left for posterity (Nnoli, 2003).

State creation and attendant variables: state creation invariably connotes multiplication of the existing number of states to have more states. So far, it draws mixed feeling and reactions from the populace confirming crucial nature of the issue. This matter (politics of state creation in Nigeria) obviously interrelate with the foundation of Nigerian state in which every part or section of it attempts to supersede other for private regarding interests ranging from; political patronage, appropriation of economic resources, positions/responsibility, political jobbery and devil's advocacy. Inter alia, clamor for state re-creation or multiplication has never been on the basis of attainment of economic productivity/reliance or scientific/technological breakthrough. Rather, securing the necessary mercenaries in pursuit of private objectives many times would run into conflict with general interest (Rotimi, 1991).

The underlying currency regards to the state creation and political economy boost that maximizes certain interests cannot be swept under the carpet. Southeast has been exposed to socio-economic and sundry liquidations/strangulation going by the number of states and local government areas allocated to it baselessly or sentimentally. Since the event of the Nigerian/Biafran war which ended 1967 with the cold-war objectives being prosecuted, it appears that there are hidden agenda of Nigerian state to reduce Igbos ingenuities and other natural dispositions in relation to political-administration cum the substances of power inclined in them. This condition which Nigerian state subjected the southeastern people unto must have provoked Nwankwo, (2010) to capture succinctly without any fear of contradiction that the federal government of Nigeria, starting with the Gowon's regime, deliberately weakened the substances of the Igbos' political economy through the policy of indigenization and industrialization. This dehumanizing policies excluded southeast from government of Nigeria's national economic plan that centralized every industrial project outside Igboland. Beside the industrial supposed complex exploration after the war, sharing of the petrol dollar investment was meant to hunt down southeast geo-political zone:

**Total net allocation to each of the thirty six state s in the first seven months of 2025(January –July) 2025**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Delta | N361,230,000,000 |
| 2 | Rivers | N301,180,000,000 |
| 3 | Lagos | N279,030,000,000 |
| 4 | Akwa Ibom | N278,110.000,000 |
| 5 | Bayelsa | N274,810,000,000 |
| 6 | Kano | N149.810,000,000 |
| 7 | Oyo | N119,810,000,000 |
| 8 | Anambra | N101,820,000,000 |
| 9 | Borno | N128,000,000,000 |
| 10 | Ondo | N119,840,000,000 |
| 11 | Katsina | N109,310,000,000 |
| 12 | Edo | N109,850,000,000 |
| 13 | Jigawa | N109,870,000,000 |
| 14 | Imo | N102,000,000,000 |
| 15 | Benue | N104,580,000,000 |
| 16 | Abia | N94,120,000,000 |
| 17 | Niger | N97,380,000,000 |
| 18 | Sokoto | N97,050,000,000 |
| 19 | Kogi | N98, 200,000,000 |
| 20 | Kebbi | N94, 690,000,000 |
| 21 | Kaduna | N92,980,000,000 |
| 22 | Enugu | N90, 710,000,000 |
| 23 | Adamawa | N91,900,000,000 |
| 24 | Zamfara | N89,260,000,000 |
| 25 | Bauchi | N87,500,000,000 |
| 26 | Plateau | N86,680,000,000 |
| 27 | Yobe | N86,300,000,000 |
| 28 | Taraba | N84,570,000,000 |
| 29 | Nasarawa | N82,860,000,000 |
| 30 | Kwara | N81,980,000,000 |
| 31 | Osun | N89,860,000,000 |
| 32 | Ebonyi | N78,290,000,000 |
| 33 | Gombe | N75,920,000,000 |
| 34 | Cross River | N72,450,000,000 |
| 35 | Ekiti | N70,830,000,000 |
| 36 | Ogun | N67,200,000,000 |

Table 1 (Source: NBS, FAAC)

**Marginalization in infrastructure:** the southeast geo-political zone or region of Nigeria had been neglected in respect to critical infrastructural location, including the often touted federal government trunk 'A' roads, rail-lines cum other infrastructures never considered to be made available. The year 2024 witnessed the Ohaneze Ndigbo World-wide's another condemnation of the federal government intentional and wicked exclusion of the southeast from access of the national-wealth and resources. In a related development, the federal government of Nigeria denied the marginalization claims, referencing the N445.8 billion released for the region's road projects (ResearchGate, 2024).

**Centralized resource control:** analysts contend that the federal government conspiracy in centralization of the revenue resources and the federating states incapacitated status in controlling various mineral resources naturally endowed to the respective regions or geo-political zones. This practice has been replicated both in military and civil rule. This kind of activity, disproportionately exposes the resources inclined southeastern region into jeopardy.

**Exclusion of the Southeast:** Chinweizu, (2025) some worth corroborated the aforementioned when he avers that the government resolve to neglect and disregard the Southeast's interests is tantamount to conspiracy. Hitherto, lack of the political will to address the post-civil war grievances that culminated resentment and alienated spirit within the Igbo population. It is out-rightly dysfunctional that the government of Nigeria unleashes insecurity on the region to scare away the remaining investors and local entrepreneurs through the government's politicized policy of security and insecurity. The post-war period has been marked by perceived failure to address the regions historical discontentment, instigating the on-going tensions and sense of injustice.

**Insecurity/herdsmen attacks:** corroboratively, Nwankwo, (2022) affirms that the southeast has been blackmailed into contending with major socio-economic and political disruptions with terminal capacity due to official and unofficial intervention or approach. The unknown gun men incessant attacks alleged to have link with government sponsorship and coverage disrupted on a larger scale normal life very accustomed to southeast region before APC took over power 2014. Ascertained is the fact that economic activities, livelihood and human life had been negatively throughout this trail period within the southeast mainly described as tormenting years. Consequently, such ill-fated situation jeopardizes and undermines investment friendly, national stability and economic progressions. Many initiatives had been articulated towards reinvestment projection of the southeast political economy review including the master plan of the southeast investment and business summit (SIBES) which has launched a N50 billion capital investment 2026 to reawaken the southeastern economy. On the other hand, the incessant attacks from Fulani herdsmen, disrupting farming/agricultural activities has been variously condemned and described as politicization of security system of the country that ought to rise to the challenge of bringing to book the culprits who're covered under the patronage of the federal government of Nigerian security agencies. To borrow a leaf from a Nigerian former head of state; any default security system that lasted more 48 hours, hold the government accountable. This reminder suggests that the Fulani decade of terroristic invasion of Igboland cannot happen without the state's connivance or support (Nwankwo, 2022).

## Conclusion

Failure to address the lingering crisis associated to imbalance structures of the state of Nigeria, it would be instructive to revert to regionalism, but this time around by adopting the six geo-political zones as the officially recognized socio-economic and political basis for the political administration of the country. The states which were created through the permutation of military dictatorship, could not resolve ethno-religious demands cum economic reliance on the center government expected to be addressed.

Meanwhile, the federal government of Nigeria must have to deemphasize on the politicization of the revenue sharing formula by reintroducing and application of the precept of federalism through which the mineral resources endowed in a particular region or geo-political zone would be harnessed by it and the statutory royalty paid to the federation account for maintenance purposes. The version of Nigerian federalism and abuse of its precepts does not encourage economic growth and development. It's rather akin to the practice of taking away what rightly belongs to a region and giving to another for a subjective consideration.

## Recommendations

The concentration of national elements of power should be discouraged and abolished henceforth; due to the fact that it triggers animosity, multiplies already existing grievances, refreshes old wounds accumulated during the Nigerian/Biafran war which ended on mutual agreement to reconcile as brothers and sisters of one destiny and faith (Nnoli, 2003)

The Nigerian version or approach to democracy must have to be revisited in order to cultivate an indigenous democratic norms suitable for our heterogeneous society. Democracy as practiced in various countries today, reflects on the configuration of the people and cultural values. In other words, the westernized democratic norms could be frictional to a strange environment thereby producing unwanted results. In lieu of this, democratic presidential power should be rotational among the six geo-political zones, Vis-a-Vis southeast, south-south, southwest, northeast, northwest and northcentral.

The allocation of the national oil block license and lifting of crude should be evenly allocated among the capable business moguls from the six geo-political zones. The sharing of governmental powers, positions, assets and opportunity should take cognizance of the six zones that requires urgent statutory recognition/amendment.

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