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True Federalism: Catalyst for Sustainable Growth and Development in Nigeria.

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Abstract

Despite the huge potentials of Nigeria in terms of human, material and natural resources, Nigeria remained politically and economically backward. The work: "federalism: A Catalyst for growth and development in Nigeria", aimed at exploring the relationship between balanced federalism, which is sustainable federalism and growth and development in Nigeria. The theoretical perspective is centered on political economy theory. The paper adopted a discourse approach based on content analysis. The work found out that sustainable growth and development can only be achieved when appropriate balance between environments, social and economic well-being of communities and nations exist for the benefit of present and future generations. We therefore recommend for balanced and sustainable federalism possible by true restructuring via the instrumentality of Sovereign National Conference (SNC)

Keywords: Federalism, True federalism, sustainable growth, sustainable development and restructure.

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Introduction

Most of the problems, whether in politics, in the economy or in the educational system, are not caused by the system itself. What has always been the problem is the 'Man' that operates the system itself. So as we seek transformation (sustainable growth and development), God does not see real transformation first, as transformation of system, or transformation of programs and activities. God's first focus for transformation is the transformation of the people that operate the system (Akanni, 2014). Akanni went further to say that "the problem of Nigeria is not Nigeria, the problem of Nigeria is the Nigerian. If her problem was simply lack of technological advancement, then technologically advanced nations of the earth would have been spared the collapse of society that the men and women in those nations have caused.

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The term sustainability among its different shades of meaning suggests greater good for greater numbers of the members of the society. The implication is that in a federal state such as Nigeria, the components that constitute the state should be accommodated and taken care of in the sharing and allocation of the national resources in a progressive manner leading to balance and equitable growth and development. The constituent units of every state must be the nucleus of genuine growth and development. To this end, Nwaeze (2017) opined that "prior to Nigeria's independence in 1960, the Macpherson Constitution of 1954 recognized a regional structure in the nascent nation, Nigeria, which allowed each region to explore, exploit and harness economic and non-economic resources found in their regions for regional development. The regions had a healthy rivalry and competition that was pro-developmental as each region strived to outwit each order in terms of developmental trajectory. Regions were allowed to develop at their own pace without being burdened with nationwide development needs.

Political economy naturally incorporates economic analysis with practical politics. Thus, the political economy views economic activity in its political context. It goes beyond conventional economics to study the interrelation, among other things, the social and institutional processes through which certain groups of political and economic elites influence the allocation of scarce productive resources.

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From independence in 1960, various political systems and arrangements have evolved in the political scene of Nigeria. Expectedly, the reality of these political contexts have impacted heavily on the economic life of the nation. The first republic practiced the British parliamentary system, before the forceful coup of January 1966 which introduced military politics in the system. The military under AguiyiIronsi made a move to turn the country to a unitary state. The counter coup by July of the same year aborted the trend. Nigeria returned to the federal arrangement, however not without injury to the federal structure as we are witnessing till date. These and other factors led to the civil war in Nigeria between 1967-1970 as Biafra was trying to secede from Nigeria. As the military were returning power to the civilians in 1979, the system changed to the American presidential system. By 1983, the military under Buhari struck again bringing the civilian government to an abrupt end. This marked the tenure of long military presence in the polity. The military after a series of attempted failures handed over power to the civilians again in 1999. The fourth republic has been on till date.

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The weight of these changes in the political milieu of Nigeria is the element that despite the fact that Nigeria prides herself as a 'Federal' state, evidence shows that it is far from what federalism entails (Nwaeze, 2017). He further described true federalism as a political order where power is divided between a central government and other regional or constituent units. Such devolution of powers are entrenched in the constitution; well spelt out and unambiguous. Such powers may be shared in different ways. However, federalism in Nigeria showed characteristics more of unitary than federalist (no thanks to the military incursion into Nigerian body politics). These anomalies definitely have a gross impact on the economic situation and developmental stride of the country. The big question is: what is wrong with the Nigerian version of federalism and how has it hindered the development of the state? Is there any remedy in sight? All these are the concerns of this work.

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2.0 Literature Review

Concept of Federalism

A federation involves a territorial division of power between constituent units; variously called 'provinces' 'cantons', or confusingly 'states' and a common or central government. This devolution of power is naturally ingrained in a constitution which neither member unit nor common government can alter unilaterally (Nwaeze, 2017). Federalism is essentially a voluntary political arrangement that can sufficiently accommodate diverse nationalities. Federalism as captured by Ekwonna (2014: 4) is a power relationship in which there is a clear distinction of roles between the central or joint entity and the composite units, which is the different levels of political relationship, and such distinction fairly stable as it is enshrined in and, thus, protected by the fundamental law of the land. According to Ramphel (1979:40 cited in Ifegwu, Okeagu& Daniels, 2019) Federation is "a pragmatic method of organizing government so that sovereignty and political power are combined within a single nation of several territorial units but are also distributed between national and unit governments that each within its own sphere is substantially independent of the others".

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According to Appadorai (2004: 95) a federal state is one in which there is central authority that represents the whole, and acts on behalf of the whole in external affairs and in such internal affairs as are held to be of common interest, and in which there are also provincial or state authorities with powers of legislation and administration within the sphere allotted to them by the constitution. Appadorai went further to say that: The distinctive features of federation are the formal division of governmental powers by a constitution between constituent units (states, provinces, or cantons) and the larger state which they compose. The units have power on the subjects allotted to it. Both the units and the Federal Authority may exercise their legislative, administrative, and judicial powers only within the limits set by the constitution (Appadorai 2004: 95).

From the foregoing, federalism involves political arrangement where there is sovereignty, cooperation, mutual dependency as well as shared responsibility in a country between the central government and the constituent units.

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True Federalism

The concept of "true federalism" erroneously gives the impression there is "False federalism"

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Federalism as concept remain sacrosanct in its meaning and value, however, for want of words to

separate or describe what federalism stands for and the deviation, on the other hand, that

characterize federalism in many clime of the world such as Nigeria, the notion of True

federalism emerge. Nwaeze (2017) opine that "True Federalism refers to a political arrangement

between governments whereby powers of government within the country are shared between a

national country wide governments and federating units in such a way that each exist as a

government separately and independently from the others" in other words where the principles,

values and ethics of federalism is upheld and practiced is referred to as true federalist state. In

this paper we infer that a true federalism is a balanced or sustainable federalism.

According to Onyemaechi (2019) the "true federalism" group believed that the federal system of

government in Nigeria does not observe the standard metrics that drives the system in advanced

developed countries in the world such as ...the US model which Nigerian federalism was

fashioned, Brazil, Canada, India, Germany, Mexico, Russia, Switzerland etc.

Sustainable/ Balance Federalism

Sustainabilityencompasses three main dimensions: environmental, economic, and social. All

three jointly form the grounds of the sustainability. Therefore, sustainable development is a

condition which requires that an appropriate balance between environments, social and economic

well beings of communities and nations exist for the benefit of present and future

generations(Nyewusira and Nweke, 2014)

The notion of sustainable federalism entails a balanced federalism where the constituent units

and the federal government are sovereign within their sphere and co-exist to help each other

achieve their fullest potential in the present and in the future. It makes for true federalism.

Sustainable Growth

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According to UK DEFRA (2009) Economic growth occurs when real outputincreases over time. Real output is measured by Gross Domestic Product (GDP) at constant price, so that the effect of price rises on the *value* of national output is removed. Therefore, Sustainable economic growth means a rate of growth which can be maintained without creating other significant economic problems, especially for future generations. There is clearly a *trade-off* between rapid economic growth today, and growth in the future. Rapid growth today may exhaust resources and create environmental problems for future generations, including the depletion of oil and fish stocks, and global warming.

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Sustainable Development

Sustainable development is all about stability, 'it has been defined as a process which enhances people's capacity to create and consume wealth on a lasting basis' (Amali, 2006:176). Pearce et al (1992 cited in Nyewusira&Nweke, 2014) defined sustainable development as a development that manages all assets, natural resources, and human resources, as well as financial and physical assets, for increasing long-term wealth and well-being. As a goal, sustainable development rejects policies and practices that support current living standards by depleting the productive base, including natural resources, and that which leaves future generations with poorer prospects and greater risks than our own. According to Jabareen (2008) "some define sustainability as a strategy of development that results in the enhancement of human quality of life and the simultaneous. There are two types of equity according to the literature on sustainability: intergenerational and intragenerational. Intergenerational equity refers to the fairness in allocation of resources between current and future generations while Intragenerational equity refers to fairness in allocation of resources between competing interests at the present time (Jabareen, 2008) The most frequently used definition of SD emphasizes this type of equity: "Development that meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (World Commission for Environment and Development., 1987, p. 43; Jabareen, 2008). Robert Solow (1991, cited in Jabareen, 2008) also saw sustainability from the lens of intergenerational equity as he defined sustainability as a matter of distributional equity, about sharing the capacity for well-being between present people

and future people. Boyce (1994) in support of intragenerational equity argued that a more equitable distribution of power would contribute to improvement in environmental quality. His definition of a power function is based on a combination of an income inequality index, a literacy variable, political rights and civil liberties, and certain other (mainly geographical) factors (Jabareen, 2008). Boyce, Klemer, Templet, and Willis (1999 in Jabareen, 2008). Provide empirical support for the hypothesis that greater power inequality leads to greater environmental degradation. Disparities of power appear to affect not only the distribution of the net costs and benefits of environmentally degrading activities, but also the overall magnitude of environmental degradation. Minimization of negative environmental impacts".

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2.1 Empirical Review

Nwaeze (2017) pry into the political and economic structure of Nigeria and uncover that Nigeria is bedeviled with enormous economic and national developmental challenges. These challenges include but are not limited to political instability, extreme poverty, high rate of unemployment, low and unstable economic growth, dearth of infrastructure and colossal depreciation of the Naira; others include militancy, regional agitations and/or resentment, insurgency, and corruption. The paper assumes a theoretical attempt to adduce reasons why Nigeria has not made meaningful economic and national developmental progress. The position, therefore, is that Nigeria as it is presently constituted is suffering from at least three major deformities; political, economic and social. 'True' Federalism refers to a political arrangement between governments whereby powers of government within the country are shared between a national country wide government and federating units in such a way that each exists as a government separately and independently from the others. Federal political orders are therefore most desirable as an interesting solution to accommodate differences among populations divided by ethnic, economic or cultural cleavages like Nigeria. He therefore concludes that Nigeria's version of Federalism having been distorted historically, politically, socially and economically, is the bane of her economic development as it breeds instability, corruption, unproductive consumption and laziness in her political economy. As a consequence, therefore, conventional economic theories and policies may not be effective to remedy the enormity of her developmental challenges,

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without pulling down the entire architecture of her current political economy. The paper recommends holistic revolution of Nigeria's political economy by enacting a new and true Federalist Constitution that will enshrine state or zonal independence and autonomy in terms of government powers and economic resources. This would restore federal stability and healthy competition which are catalysts to economic and national development.

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Yusuf (2013) studied the implication of Nigerian federalism on sustainable development. Among his judgments are that: the federal principles requires arrangement of mutual convenience and for peace, progress and definite sacrifice by the units through federalization or unification of the state by giving up power and authority to the created central government, simultaneously retaining for themselves other power and authority at federating units on behalf of their separate and distinct communities. This is the classical precept of federalism which, contrary to the Nigerian federal system, since the adoption of formal federalism in 1954 by Lyttleton Constitution, the country continues to operate the system with push and pull and even Nigeria had to fight a civil war to preserve the system. People of different backgrounds were merged together under one system; these can tend to pull people apart. The federal precept is suggesting that the federating unit shall operate according to their peculiarities brought about by their historical, traditional and cultural background. Unfortunately, the Nigerian federal system is contrary to the above precept; in view of this, the forces of ethnic pluralism, cultural diversity, clamour for political space, demand for state police and Boko haram insurgency continue to pull the country apart with partial failure. These have greater implications to our sustainable development. Looking at devastating effects of this arrangement anomalies that emerged out of evolution of the system in Nigeria, the paper set out to analyze some of these dislocations and suggested that a new federal structure is required; a structure in which the component parts of the central government can operate according to their peculiarities, though coordinate, if our development is to be sustain.

In the same vein, Ifegwu, Okeagu and Daniel (2019) did a work on the federal government intervention as bailout to the units with the aim of uncovering the implication on the power configuration between the federal and the state. The paper adopts qualitative research strategy,

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using content analysis. The theoretical framework is structural functionalism. It was discovered that most remarkable changes in the balance of power between the Centre and unit occurs during economic turbulence, therefore the federal government, with its economic advantage, usually erodes and whittle down the power of the units in the process. Again most states with high sustainability index, unnecessarily, opted for the bailout owing to corruption tendencies. The paper therefore explains Nigerian federalism as a *Totalitarian federalism*. In conclusion, the paper posits that the federal government bailout to the state naturally deepens the dependency tendency of the states on the federal government. It therefore recommends true fiscal and balanced federalism.

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It is pertinent to state categorically that this work is not an exploration into a new field, (as there exists an avalanche of literature on the subject matter) rather an inquiry that aimed at lending effort into the fundamental political arrangements and the economic fortune of Nigeria.

3.0 Theoretical Framework

Political economy is the study of production and trade and their relations with law, custom and government; and with the distribution of national income and wealth (Bladen, 2016; Mill, 2009). A rapidly growing mainstream literature from the 1970s has expanded beyond the model of economic policy in which planners maximize utility of a representative individual toward examining how political forces affect the choice of economic policies, especially as to distributional conflicts and political institutions (Alesima, 2007; Wikipedia). Political economy undertakes the economy to mean the interplay of politics and economics and the role of power in economic decision making. It is a holistic approach to underscore the roles both political and economic elites play in influencing resource ownership and or allocation; not just from the economic sense rather as a broad discipline that incorporates both economic, political and historical perspectives and variables in analyzing the operations of the economy. As observed by Todaro and Smith (2011 cited in Nwaeze, 2017), a political economy attempts to incorporate economic analysis with practical politics. Thus, the political economy views economic activity in its political context. It goes beyond conventional economics to study the interrelation, among other things, the social and institutional processes through which certain

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groups of political and economic elites influence the allocation of scarce productive resources. It becomes imperative, therefore, for any economy desirous of development to pay utmost attention to how it is governed politically and also lay special emphasis on the processes of how those that are to govern emerges. These political processes were the beginning of economic emancipation and development. A nation who gets the political and leadership processes right would intermittently get it right economically as the allocation and control of economic (productive) resources chiefly rests on the shoulders of those who hold political powers. Whereas the developed economies have developed political cultures and stable government as well as seamless transition processes, political uncertainties, poor political and governance structures and tyranny are the banes of Third World countries especially in sub-Saharan African countries. The political developments in Nigeria and other sub-Saharan African countries could rightly be said to have chiefly accounted for their perennial underdevelopment (Nwaeze, 2017).

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3.1 Methodology

This paper adopts the discourse approach based on content analysis.

4.0 Discussion

For us to make progress in this work, we must first bring the Nigerian version of federalism into perspective, the Nigeria federalism differs significantly from other federalism in the sense that it is a devolving federalism. The Centre (through the military) created the states. The weight of this political milieu is the element that despite the fact that Nigeria prides herself as a 'Federal' state, evidence shows that it is far from what federalism entails (Nwaeze, 2017). To this end, Ifegwu, Okeagu, & Daniel (2019) stated that Nigerian federalism is "Totalitarian federalism" - a structural dysfunction which results in skewed power-sharing formula and unbalanced template for allocating state resources often enshrined in the constitution or other laws of the land. These anomalies definitely has gross impact on the economic situation and developmental stride of the country. One vital element of growth and development is stability. Political stability will result in growth and development that is progressive and sustainable. Amali (2006 pg.176) in agreement with this assertion opined that "Sustainable development is all about stability, 'it has been

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defined as a process which enhances people's capacity to create and consume wealth on lasting basis'

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Worthy of mention is the fact that the poor federal practices had engendered constant agitations for justice, consultation, opening of political space, re-negotiation of the Nigerian pacts and now restructuring (Ifesinachi, 2006). Tsuwa (2019) maintained that The Nigerian Project needs restructuring to enable it overcome its challenges of cohesion and underdevelopment.in the same vein, Nwabueze (2017 cited in Tsuwa 2019) argues that the call for restructure is beyond ethnic or regional lines but the clamour for setting up of appropriate platforms or for a to renegotiate suitable governmental structures for the pursuit and realization of our common needs for development, good governance and national transformation. From the foregoing, it is evident that at the core of restructuring the federal system in Nigeria is for sustainable growth and national development that is balanced and sustainable.

The need for restructure of Nigeria federalism cannot be over emphasized (Ifegwuet al, 2019) according to Soludo, (2018 cited in Ifegwuet al, 2019) there are three approaches to restructure. He opined that:" In terms of content and nature, we can group the various restructuring models into three categories: soft restructuring (tinkering with amendments of the 1999 Constitution); hybrid restructuring (negotiate a new Constitution with sufficient regional autonomy within the, federation); and hard restructuring (confederation or outright independence for any desiring part of the country). There seems to be a preponderance of mainstream opinion around the hybrid option, and the loudest case for restructuring is so far based on political and non-religious agitation. We now need to deepen the conversation on at least two levels. First is to ensure greater convergence of views on what should be the content of restructuring. Second and for the first one to happen, the public must understand how the proposed restructuring will affect their lives-especially their pockets. Our thesis is that while other considerations may be important, the overarching case for restructuring is economic.

Uwejamomere (2001) acknowledges that sustainable development is a 'trans-boundary and multidimensional endeavour inter-linking virtually all sectors of national economy and life'. He however, observes that the greatest challenge to Nigeria's sustainable development efforts is

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'energy development, efficiency and consumption' In stating the necessary conditions for sustainable development, Udoh (1996:32) insist that local communities must be treated as true stake-holders in exploration, extractive and exploitation activities of natural resource. In his words; "On the policy level, we do not trample on the knowledge of local people, who we realize have extensive environmental knowledge. This knowledge must be fully utilized and harnessed, and they must form an integral part of any management strategy as principal stakeholders." Since environmental sustainability is part of the overall sustainability and development agenda, Environmental Right Advocacy groups in Nigeria, according to Omolade (2003) are insisting that the same path to sustainable development is the return of the responsibility of protecting the environment and its resources to local people through a restructuring of the policy. It is the recipe for 'environmental protection and total elimination, not alleviation of poverty'Omolade (2003) categorically stated that:"We must involve the people who live on, work on and love the land. Citizen participation in the stewardship of natural resources helps people take conservation into their own hands by undertaking projects at the local level. Investors and private organizations must network with the local people. Building strong relationships and capacity within the local community would reduce conflicts and restiveness."

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The economy of the Nigerian government will not witness the required progress and development as long as the federal government continues to muzzle up every resource. First, it will create weak financial states secondly; it will kill the drive and the initiative for self-development and self-dependency (Soludo, 2018) which is the trajectory for sustainable development in Nigeria.

To create sustainable growth and development, the governmental structure must be balanced and sustainable in its strategy and approach. The government should have a policy thrust based on the principle of and guidelines for sustainable federalism. It is believed that such guidelines will impact on and bring about sustainable growth and development in Nigeria. We shall make a proposal of the principles and guidelines and its effect on growth and development hereunder.

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Table 1. Showing Principles that should guide Sustainable Federalism and the expected effect on sustainable development.

S/N	Principle of sustainable federalism	Impact on Sustainable
		growth and development
1	See that sustainability is not an option, but an	That is the key to real growth
	imperative.	and development
2	Design and build to solve more than one problem or	True federalism will deal with
	requirement.	political, social and economic
		issues in Nigeria
3	Accept that sustainability equals ecology.	Respect for the environment
		which is key to sustainable
		development
4	Design and build for need and meaningful purpose,	Investment on capital projects
	rather than for profit and consumerism and reduce	that engenders sustainable
	production of "consumables"; when they cannot be	development.
	reduced, make them recyclable or degradable.	
5	Think of organisations (and machines, technological	Restructuring the multifaceted
	processes and tools) organically – as living systems	issues of concern. The
	that must play a part in ecosystem health, vitality and	economics, political, social,
	longevity. If they do not contribute to long-term well-	educational, geographical,
	being, they should be stopped. Think less of a	administrative, security etc that
	product's life cycle, and more about its impact on the	reposition the country for
	lives of those who use or are affected by it.	sustainable growth and
		development
6	Reduce waste. Do not pollute. Use waste as a	Full introduction of e-
	recyclable resource or as "nourishment" for other	governance which results in
	systems and processes.	robust economy and waste
		management that will also lead

governance, thereby cost. 7 Design and build for durability and efficiency It will guarantee	dized in y cutting maximum
cost. 7 Design and build for durability and efficiency It will guarantee	
7 Design and build for durability and efficiency It will guarantee	maximum
	maximum
good for maximum p	people and
not for the few. This v	will ensure
administrative effective	veness.
8 Use ethical judgement in determining what is worth Sustainable federali	ism will
doing and how it may best be done (adding value to ensure equity and soci	ial balance
the community; reducing harm or threat to the which is the ferti	lizer for
ecosystem). meaningful growt	th and
development	
9 Design and build for flexibility, adaptability and ease The structure of	Nigerian
of modification (multi-use and purpose). federalism has been	too rigid
arising from the	military
domination, a s	sustainable
federalism must be a	daptive to
make room for	future
occurrences	
10 Accept responsibility for future generations and the The idea of s	sustainable
welfare of the planet. federalism is to	o build
sustainability in the na	ation's life
for posterity.	
11 Strive to become self-sustaining and self- sufficient This will mitigate del	bt burden,
(lessen dependence on external support and funding). weak economy a	and over
Build internal capacity through learning. dependence on foreign	n aids and
loans.	

12	Always investigate and ascertain as far as possible	Innovation is the driver of
	the place of a new product or idea in the wider	sustainable growth and
	system and its long-term contributions and impacts.	development.
13	Use renewable energy, particularly sunlight.	The natural resources will be
		conserved and preserved for
		future generations.
14	Strive for optimization rather than maximization.	Maximization is the bane of
		sustainability,
15	Decentralize where possible and loosen control.	It will encourage healthy
	Foster interaction, independence and	competition among state, the
	interdependence.	engine of sustainable growth
		and development
16	Strive for diversity in membership, perspective,	Challenge of too much
	experience, discipline and focus.	corruption in the system will be
		mitigated.
17	Promote (rather than destroy or neglect) bio-	Environmental sustainability
	diversity in one's surroundings (landscaping,	will naturally follow
	gardening, preserving natural habitat).	
18	Strive for the flourishing of all, seeking equity and	The problem of exploitation,
	balance across stakeholders and generations, then	agitations and marginalization
	remember that a system is only as strong as its	will end. The environment will
	weakest link.	be safe for investment(which is
		the nucleus of development)
19	Strive to co-exist with nature and within the limits of	The principles of sustainability
	nature's offerings.	must embrace the three
		dimension of economic, social
		and environment
20	Know that members of a community (like a species)	Communities should be allow

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	are not interchangeable or easily replaced.	to harness, develop and utilized
		resources within their domain
		rather than being short-changed
21	Keep in mind that problems (and opportunities) are	Sustainable federalism will
	usually more complex than they appear; resolving (or	enthrone social balance that
	capitalizing upon) them is not merely a matter of	takes into cognizance the
	rational analysis, but also of ethics, judgement and	heterogeneous nature of the
	practical reasoning based on critical reflection (see	nation. It may require a
	Ulrich 1993).	complex strategy but it is worth
		the throbbing.
22	Emphasize sufficiency - the idea that enough is	Restructuring the will end
	enough. Too much of a good thing is wasteful, self-	"feeding bottle federalism" .
	serving and potentially destructive (after Princen	States should strive to produce
	2003).	what they need as well as
		contribute to the national
		concern.

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Source: Authors compilation (2023).

Note: These principles are drawn and inferred from Hay and Reinders(2020) who themselves drew from a range of sources, including Gudmundsson and Höjer (1996), Hammond and Churchman (2008); Orr (1996); Resnick (2003); Selby (2000); Sterling (2001); Wals and Jickling (2002); Choi et al. (2001) and Dewulf and Van Langenhove (2005). The authors interpreted the prospective impact on sustainable growth and development.

One of the common denominators in the sustainability discourse is that sustainability comprises three main dimensions: environmental sustainability, economic sustainability, and social sustainability. All three are concerned with preserving the planet for future generations, and collectively form the foundations of the sustainability (Krenz et al, 2014). Nyewusira and Nweke (2014) agreed that sustainable development is a condition which requires that an appropriate

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balance between environment, social and economic well beings of communities and nations exist for the benefit of present and future generations. Unfortunately, this is not the case in Nigeria.

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Succinctly put, according to Nwaeze. (2017),

The current structural arrangement on which Nigeria is built and administered have both political and economic deformities. Politically, Nigeria's federal system could be best described as unitary, unbalanced and unsustainable. Firstly, power is highly concentrated at the centre or the Federal government at the expense of the other two levels of government (state and local government). Secondly, the 1999 constitution upon which the country is presently running is basically a military, unitary and imperfect constitution, which does not have much bearing to the will or wish of the people. Thirdly, there is also the lack of social justice or the rule of law; while the tussle for power is not motivated by service, rather by self-accumulation of wealth and greed by the elites. Economically, production is what drives conventional capitalism. In the case of Nigeria, politics, corruption, political patronage and unproductive consumption are the driving forces of our economic system

Growth, wealth creation and poverty reduction are all undermined when public financial management and taxation are weak. Fiscal policy's full potential will not be realized until good and accountable expenditure and taxation systems are put in place. Overall, fiscal policy reveals more about the political priorities underpinning a country's development strategy than any other area of policymaking. The problem with Nigeria is that we have, concentrated more on how to share poverty than how to create wealth (Usman, 2009 inNwaeze, 2017). With a balanced political federalism, balanced fiscal federalism will result in socially egalitarian society will emerge.

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6.0 Conclusion

The challenge Nigeria is facing presently is surmountable, it is the function of political will of

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the political class to accept the hard restructure which is necessary to bring about a holistic

balanced federalism where the center and the federating units can become independent but

coordinate. This will naturally bring the reality of sustainability in the polity and the economy

also. sustainable growth and development can only be achieved when appropriate balance

between environments, social and economic well-being of communities and nations exist for the

benefit of present and future generations

7.0 Recommendations

At present there have been calls for restructuring of Federalism to a fiscal balanced federalism

through re-negotiation for a new Constitution with sufficient regional autonomy within the

federation. We therefore, join in the advocacy and further recommend that sustainable federalism

is what can guarantee sustainable growth and development. The one way out is a Sovereign

National Conference (SNC) - an assembly of elected representatives of the Nigerian people,

backed by an enabling law, with the mandate and power to fundamentally restructure the

political, economic, social and constitutional future of the state.

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