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Editorial Comment

This edition is diversified in content and geo-political spread of Nigeria just as the previous edition. However, issues relating to security and anti-corruption appeared to be of greater concern reflecting the trend of events in Nigeria except for the impending 2019 elections.

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Prof. S. B. Abdulkarim

Editor-in-Chief

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Challenges of Counter-Terrorism in Nigeria: The Hard Military and Soft Social Strategies

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Abstract

Terrorism and counter measures against it have been a source of debate. This paper adds to the discourse on the antecedent, trends and strategies to contain terrorism in Nigeria. It delves into the evolution of the Boko Haram and various approaches adopted to defeat insurgents by the country. The introduction of a multi-pronged approach that attempts to defeat the group militarily and the “soft” dimension aimed at ameliorating the social and economic conditions that gave rise to terrorism is discussed. Underlying factors like lack of political will and graft were identified as factors militating against the defeat of terrorism. There is need to vigorously apply counter-terrorism measures to overcome all obstacles in the path to achieving the war against terrorism in Nigeria.

Keywords: Counter-Terrorism, Hard Military, Insurgency, Soft Social Strategies

Introduction

Today, terrorism is a globally distributed phenomenon. Over 80% of lives lost to terrorist activity in 2013 occurred in only five countries. These countries are Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Nigeria and Syria. However, another 55 countries recorded one or more deaths from terrorist activity. Since 2000 there has been over a five-fold increase in the number of deaths from terrorism, rising from 3, 361 in 2000 to 17, 958 in 2013. However, for four years, starting in 2007, there had been modest decreases in terrorist deaths and also a slight decrease in the number of countries experiencing greater than 50 deaths from terrorism per annum. The latest terrorist activity coincided with the commencement of Syrian civil war in 2011. The threat of terrorist activity is a major national security risk for many countries. The recent

rise of ultra-violent groups such as ISIL in Syria and Iraq is underpinned by greater territorial ambitions in the Levant which include the countries of Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Jordan, Palestine, as well as Southern Turkey increased the risk of further destabilization in the Middle East region. The majority (66%) of claimed deaths from terrorist attacks in 2013 are claimed by only four terrorist organizations namely; ISIL, Boko Haram, the Taliban and Al-Qaeda and its affiliates (Global Terrorism Index, 2014).

Terrorism in Nigeria became potent after the return to civil rule in 1999. For instance, the Yoruba nationalist's organization popularly known as the *Oodu'a People Congress* unleashed terror attack on the police and police stations from 1999 to 2003. Also, the Niger Delta militant are known to have sabotaged oil production facilities through pipeline vandalization and establishment of illegal refineries, kidnapping foreign oil workers and using explosives to cause mayhem in various gathering such as the 2010 Independence Day bombings in Abuja. Furthermore, the northern part of the country which used to be relatively peaceful despite the low income and poor state of education of the people compare to other parts of Nigeria, is now engulfed in the worst form of killing and wanton destruction of properties by the terrorist group, Boko Haram, so far making it the worst in Nigeria's recent history. For instance, following the bombing of Nigeria Police Headquarters and the United Nations building in Abuja in 2011, and the kidnapping of over two hundred secondary school girls in Chibok Local Government Area of Borno State, the group has proved that defeating terrorism is not as easy as it seems (Usman, 2015). As described by US General Wesley Clerk (Rtd) on the Nigerian situation. Defeating terrorism in Nigeria is more difficult and far reaching than people have assumed. People may be advancing the ball down the field at will, running over our opponents defenses, but winning the game is another matter altogether.

There is a common consensus in the Nigerian public sphere that government's response to insurgents has been reactionary rather than proactive. Those who share this sentiment argue that Government usually waits for the insurgents to launch attacks on Churches, Mosques, Schools, Police Stations and other public institutions, before it reacts. Between 2009 and 2013, the insurgents have killed more people than the Al-Qaeda terrorist organization did in the World Trade Centre in the United States of America in 2011, and are still killing, without the

government being able to deflate them substantially. In spite of the state of emergency imposed by the Nigerian government in some parts of north east region, the insurgents are still attacking both security agents and innocent citizens. What this simply signifies is that the military's hard strategy or counter-offensive strategy is not yielding the right results.

The former President of Nigeria, Goodluck Jonathan has been able to capture vividly government's response to the threat posed by the insurgent group on the country. In his response to former President Olusegun Obasanjo's letter in 2013 on the state of the nation titled, "Before it is too late", President Jonathan averred some measures deduced from the President's letter to include poverty alleviation programmes, economic development, education and social reforms (Jonathan, 2013). The details are the provision of modern basic education schools for the *Almajiri* and the establishment of nine new federal universities in several northern states. The government aggressively addressed the challenges of poverty through its youth empowerment programme like You Win, and investing massively in infrastructure to promote economic development. At the height of the insurgency, the government set up an administrative panel to discuss with the insurgents, but they bluntly refused to meet with the government team.

Consequently, governments have no option but too effectively respond in order to not only decisively defeat terrorists but to also deter such intention among other citizens; and this of course is one of the most challenging priorities facing the nation today. Amnesty International stated that across the world, the existence of militant groups, organized criminal gangs and the nexus between them is not a new phenomenon (Amnesty International, 2012). In West Africa particularly, terrorist activities are increasing due to the activities of Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), the Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa (MUJAO), Ansar Dine, Boko Haram and Jama'atu Ansarul Musilimina Fi'Biladis Sudan (Ansaru) in addition to other sleeper militant networks (Onuoha, 2012). Further complicating the security landscape is the increase in the outbreak of Transnational Organized Crime (TOC) that feed into the so-called terrorist loop in West Africa (Amnesty International, 2012). In reaction to the spate of attacks, the former Nigerian President, Goodluck Jonathan and his counterpart from Benin, Chad, Cameroon and Niger approved an action plan to counter the activities of terrorist group blamed for over 2,000 deaths that year and the Chibok girls abduction. The countries also agreed to push for UN sanctions against the leaders

of Boko Haram and another Nigerian Islamic group, the Ansaru (Jama'atu Ansarul Muslimina fi'biladis Sudan).

According to Austin (2010) there are at least three perceptions of the problem at hand. The first focused on how Al-Qaeda was exploiting the largely nationalist insurgencies in Nigeria, Iraq and Afghanistan in order to play the role of strategic spoiler. The second focused on the resilient and adaptive nature of terrorist groups as a global organization and its ability to project its ideology worldwide in order to gain more recruits and encourage new attacks. The third centred on the need to change the facts on the ground and address the root causes of terrorism.

In the words of former Nigeria's National Security Adviser, Colonel Sambo Dasuki (Rtd) described on a programme unveiled, Nigeria's Soft Approach to Countering Terrorism (NACTEST), which defines the roles and responsibilities of ministries, departments and agencies, as well as the role that civil society has to play in the fight against violent extremism (Ayorinde, 2014). The soft approach to countering terrorism which has resulted in the development of a Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) Programme is both vertical involving three tiers of government, federal, state and local and horizontal involving civil society, academics, traditional, religious and community leaders. The programme utilizes existing structures within and outside government to deliver targeted programmes and activities that further the overall goal of stemming the tide of radicalization to build resilience to violent extremism (Ayorinde, 2014). To this end, the main objective of this paper is to assess the challenges of counter-terrorism in Nigeria. It focuses on the hard military and soft social strategies.

Concept of Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism

The words "terrorism" and "counter-terrorism" have proved to be some of the most difficult concepts to define; indeed, no concept has defied consensus in their definition in recent times like these two. Perhaps, the only consensus among analysts with regard to terrorism and counter terrorism is that there is no universally acceptable definition of the concepts. Literature survey by the National Research Council (NRC) attempted what it considers a working definition of terrorism in the social and behavioural sciences, consisting of the following elements: (i) illegal use or threatened use of force or violence (ii) with

an intent to coerce societies or governments by inducing fear in their populations (iii) typically with political and/or ideological motives and justifications (iv) an extra societal element, either outside society in the case of domestic terrorism or foreign in terms of international terrorism (NRC, 2002).

According to Schmid (2011), terrorism is a doctrine about the presumed effectiveness of a special form or tactic of fear-generating, coercive political violence and, on the other hand, to a conspiratorial practice of calculated, demonstrative, direct violent action without legal or moral restraints, targeting mainly civilians and non-combatants, performed for its propagandistic and psychological effects on various audiences and conflict parties. For instance, if the terrorism is part of a broader insurgency, counter-terrorism may also form a part of a counter-insurgency doctrine, but political, economic, and other measures may focus more on the insurgency than the specific acts of terror. Counter-terrorism includes both the detection of potential acts and the response to related events. It however incorporates the practice, tactics, techniques, and strategies that governments, militaries, police departments and corporations adopt to stop or mitigate terrorist threats and/or acts, both real and imputed.

Broadly speaking, the term “counter-terrorism” covers any activity designed to prevent terrorist acts or eradicate terrorist groups. Ironically, the measures effectively covered by this term depend entirely on the agency undertaking them. Military organizations, for instance, traditionally interpret counter-terrorist measures to be of highly operational and tactical nature, often involving the physical neutralization of terrorist networks. Internal security forces in turn usually include law enforcement measures, whereas private business enterprises focus on the protection of infrastructure and assets from potential terrorist attacks (United Nations, 2006 cited in European Union, 2017).

Globally, organizations such as the United Nations (UN) have used a much broader and longer-term approach to counter-terrorism than these, however. The UN’s 2006 counter-terrorism strategy has focused on four pillars. These pillars go beyond the strictly military and security interpretations of counter-terrorism but include addressing of conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism, the prevention of and combat against terrorism, the building of state capacity to prevent and combat terrorism as well as counter-terrorism cooperation with the Southern neighbourhood ensuring respect for human rights for all and the rule of

law as the fundamental basis for countering terrorism (United Nations, 2006 cited in European Union, 2017).

According to Kenneth (2013), counter-terrorism is used to describe force operations. It refers to a drone warfare targeted at killing; most obviously, efforts intended to deny territory to terrorist groups. While terrorism is a tactic that cannot be entirely eradicated, counter-terrorism provides steps that can be taken to disrupt, dismantle, and ultimately defeat organizations that use terrorism.

Antecedent of Terrorism in Nigeria

Nigerian poverty situation has been described as an embarrassment and irony to her abundant natural resources buoyed by oil wealth discovered since 1953. Poverty has led to frustration and anger amongst the poor and the marginalized cultural and religious groups in the country. Poverty among the unemployed youths in the North fuelled by corrupt leaders has been identified as one of the causes of the violence. Most of the recruits used by the Boko Haram as foot-soldiers and suicide bombers are largely drawn from the former *Almajiris* (poor street children, from poor Muslim parentage, who had been denied formal Western education but had been exploited while growing up by Islamic clerics who sometimes use them as street beggars to ask for alms on the streets of Northern Nigeria). The Boko haram sect usually offers food, shelter, security and alternative succor to these homeless children and youths to get their support. It gives them some sense of superiority and religiosity to be fighting ostensibly for a holy cause.

It was observed that terrorism in Nigeria, in which ever dimension is stimulated by socio-economic considerations. For instance, the Niger Delta agitations are greatly underpinned by the bid for primary material condition. The ethane driven terrorism is also traceable to economic reason, this is because every ethnic group in Nigeria is in the struggle to achieve control of state resources. Religious extremism for instance is considered one of the stimuli, and cases abound where Muslims and Christians alike try to overthrow the secular government and replace it with a theocracy. Examples of countries affected are Nigeria, Egypt, Indonesia and the Philippines. In Uganda the Lord's Resistant Army (LRA) wanted to enforce the Ten Commandments on the Ugandan constitutions and violence

became the order of the day. In line with this, Walker (2012) further observed that Boko Haram is a violent Islamic militant organization based in the northeast which strongly opposes man made laws and modern science and seeks to establish Islamic government and Sharia laws in the country. However, the group paradoxically uses modern scientific artifacts like the social media for propaganda, guns, explosives, and motor vehicles that are products of modern science and technology in its operations.

Bappah (2009) explained that the real issues are poverty, ignorance, joblessness, frustration, hopelessness, and anger, arrogance by official, corruption, insensitivity, impunity and general bad governance. He further said that it is not wrong to say that terrorism is caused by both internal and external factors that increase vulnerability to terrorism, and includes the foreign policies of a country, in particular the U.S. as well as globalization especially in telecommunication which enable likeminded individuals to unite and conspire against common enemies. While Anneli (2009) posited that internal factors that may lead to terrorist activities include economic deprivation, political oppression, and government suppression, ethnic and religious persecutions.

Mu'azu (2010) argued that the environment in which Nigerians live and their experience of government policies could be contributory factors to the existence of terrorism. It is this that is giving groups the courage to take on the Nigerian state, because of the perception that it is unjust to its citizens and cannot guarantee individuals of their safety and security. There is wide spread perception and evidence to suggest that the citizens are not getting a good deal from the State and are justified to resort to violence.

Many of these conditions pre-date Boko Haram, its existence and agenda are tangential to these problems. Yet, it is true that the continuing failure of the Nigerian government to address these and other critical issues satisfactorily contributes to general mistrust among its people. Though Boko Haram cannot solve these crises, they are reaping the benefits of a frustrated, disillusioned population. They are angry unemployed young men who form a massive pool of ready recruits from which Boko Haram can draw from. The broader Nigerian society somewhat justifiably views the federal government and security services as having a hand in the group's acts of violence and concomitantly views attempts to eradicate Boko Haram with contempt. For the purpose of this paper, secondary

data were obtained from materials related to the phenomenon of terrorism from journals, books, periodicals and other published and unpublished sources.

Theoretical Framework: Public Policy Perspective

Looking at counter-terrorism through a policy lens allows the policy makers to examine the relationship between different forms of terrorism and the general policy principles necessary for countering it. Since counter-terrorism efforts constitute actions taken by governments to hinder attacks or curtail the consequences of terrorism, the formulation of counter-terrorism policies should reflect its underpinning goals and mission. Distinguishing the types of counter-terrorism practices available to governments is one way of structuring theoretically based suggestions for future measures. Pointing out the difference between proactive and defensive measures, for example, Sandler (2005) attempts to draw conclusions on the implications each has for coordinated multilateral counter-terrorism actions. Sandler's understanding of proactive measures is the targeting of terrorists and their supporters with the aim of weakening the ability of the enemy to operate and subsequently reducing the occurrence of attacks. Defensive measures on the other hand are aimed at protecting potential targets and seek to decrease the amount of damage caused by an attack. Further outlining the goals governments may have in countering terrorist threats, Ganor (2005) distinguishes three aims of counter-terrorism policies: eliminating terrorism, minimizing damage caused by terrorism and preventing escalation of terrorism. The goal of eliminating terrorism is grounded in the desire to eradicate the adversary by removing the incentive to commit terrorist acts and use violence. In other words, the destruction of a terrorist organization is the ultimate goal, albeit perhaps one of limited probability.

Minimizing damage caused by terrorism may include efforts to reduce the number of future attacks or prevention of certain types of attacks such as suicide bombings or mass killings. A decrease in the amount of damage done to property and infrastructure may also be of relevance. Preventing the escalation of terrorism, according to Ganor (2005) is based on ensuring that the conflict does not spread as well as making certain that the scope of attacks does not escalate further. As such, governments will seek to preclude an organization from gaining certain political achievements, including receiving support from foreign countries.

For instance, clearly demarcated goals allow policymakers to formulate counter-terrorism policies that are based on an analysis of successful tactics that have been used in the past. Additionally, policies should be within the bounds of some basic assumptions about the sorts of actions acceptable to a democratic society and capable of absorbing change as a result of research and new data (Ganor, 2005).

The public policy perspective addresses the Nigerian counter-terrorism strategies. The strategy which seeks to pursue several key principles, include:

- Upholding core Nigerian values, including rule of law, civil rights, and civil liberties of all Nigerians;
- harnessing every tool at a country's disposal, including intelligence, military, homeland security and law enforcement, and maximizing cooperation between communities;
- building partnerships with international institutions and partners so that nations can take the fight to Boko Haram, its affiliates and adherents in their own countries;
- applying tools appropriately, recognizing that different threats in different regions demand different tools;
- building a culture of preparedness and resilience at home to prevent terrorist attacks and ensure we can quickly recover should an attack occur; and
- putting into consideration the economic cause of terrorism that is working to improve the economic conditions of Nigerians through job creation, improve education, health, security, industry, etc.

Trends of Terrorism in Nigeria

Related to the concept of terrorism are the methods or tactics which terrorists often employ to achieve their goals. Such tactics or strategies also constitute categories of terror violence according to Adeoye (2003) include: kidnapping, hostage taking, ambush and barricade, sabotage or vandalism, hijacking, car-jacking, kneecapping, threat of hoax, explosive or fire bombing, assassination, mass murder, exotic pollution, arson, arms smuggling, extortion, violation of diplomatic immunity, shoot out with security operatives, armed attack, suicide attacks and bombings, biochemical attack, etc.

It should be emphasized here that terrorism can be domestic or international. It is international when the attack is against a foreigner, and it is also domestic when the insurgent attacks or targeted on Nigerian officials. Acts of terrorism takes place around the world for a variety of motives, whether the terrorists style themselves as separatists, anarchists, dissidents, nationalists, or religious believers, what makes them terrorists is that they direct violence against persons (and property) with the goal of terrorizing a wider audience than the immediate victims thereby attempting to gain political influence over the larger audience (Friedlander, 1992).

Shafritz (1988) observed that terrorists organizations have shrewdly sought to come under the umbrella of legitimacy. They typically assert that they are seeking self-determination and are engage in a war of liberation, such tactics, designed to further legitimacy have often succeeded. Terrorism has been adopted as *modus operandi* of national liberation movements and as the ultimate weapon of self-appointed, political, ideological, ethnic, religious, national or social groups seeking to topple existing regimes or secede from established entity. Therefore, it is not surprising that at its outset, terrorism has become the last refuge of the hopeless cause.

Rashid (2012) asserted that the perpetrators will need to know about security agencies movement in around their theatre of operation and it is wrong to always believe that they are insiders. The perpetrators will need to know what adaptable vehicle is necessary. It is wrong to believe that cars and motorcycle are choice vehicles to carryout murderous rampage. The killers could have arrived on foot and seized security agencies vehicle at gunpoint. The perpetrators will need to return to their base as safe and as quickly as possible but does not fear to die. It is wrong to think that these killers are always on suicide missions. The perpetrators will need to buy their weapons or supplied such weapons from sponsors. However, it is wrong for security agencies to assume that these killers are sponsored all the time.

In addition, Alozieuwa (2012) is of the view that one of the outcomes of security challenge imposed by the Boko Haram insurrection on Nigerian society has been the emergent preponderance of theories that attempt to explain the motive of the so-called Islamic group. Unlike the Niger Delta militancy which preceded it, and

which predicated its desire for a separate state from Nigeria on decades of conspiratorial neglect by the Nigerian state and multinational oil prospecting companies in the Niger Delta region, Boko Haram has refrained from articulating and formally presenting its grievances, apart from its declared desire for the strict interpretation of Islamic Law in Nigeria. The confusion also grows out of the changing dynamics in the operations of the sect. For instance, its terror campaign, which initially targeted security formations and personnel, has expanded to include civilians and non-government targets, and the Nigerian public in general.

A number of trends have emerged from Boko Haram's claimed attacks, each demonstrating increasing capabilities and sophistication. Accordingly, in June 2012, a report on Nigeria issued by the Congressional Research Service, States that Boko Haram's attacks has increased substantially in frequency, reach, and lethality, now occurring almost daily in northeast of the country, and periodically beyond. As detailed later on, they may have also taken steps to penetrate Nigerian security forces. If that is true, that level of sophistication is an indication that the group continues to further mature in their operational savvy, and expand their threat. There has also been an increase in the group's use of suicide bombings. As of May 14, 2013, Boko Haram had engaged in at least sixteen different suicide attacks, according to Institute for the Study of Violent Groups and Nigerian media reports. These attacks targeted churches, mosques, police stations, local newspaper offices, and government buildings. In comparison, between Boko Haram's first suicide attack on June 16, 2011 and December 31, 2011, they conducted only six suicide attacks. This development indicates two things: that the group has attracted a core of recruits willing to die for their cause, and that it possesses the capability to build sophisticated explosives at a rapid pace. Boko Haram's efforts to wreak havoc in Nigeria have driven interreligious relationships to an all-time low and have created a culture in which the public does not trust in the security institutions that are supposed to protect them and thus resort to violence to protect themselves (Centre for Security Studies, 2012).

Counter-Terrorism Strategies: The Case of Nigeria

On March 23, 2014, the former National Security Adviser (NSA) Col. Sambo Dasuki (Rtd), to the President of Nigeria, released a statement announcing that the office of the NSA has unveiled a new approach to counter-terrorism. It defines the

roles and responsibilities of ministries, departments and agencies, as well as that of the civil society on how to fight against violent extremism. Dasuki said the programme which is the PREVENT strand of Nigeria's national counter terrorism strategy was developed by the NSA office, international partners, experienced academics and selected non-state actors based on the experience of other countries in tackling terrorism. The strategy was developed taking into account the root causes of terrorism.

This approach involves the establishment of Counter Terrorism Center (CTC), under the office of the NSA. The CTC comprises of two departments, the Joint Terrorism Analysis Branch (JTAB) and the Behavioural Analysis and Strategic Communication Unit (BASCU). The CTC further developed a dynamic and comprehensive National Counter Terrorism Strategy (NACTEST), in consultation with experts and international partners. This approach will be premised on rehabilitation of apprehended terrorists; providing needed infrastructure in the North; employment opportunities; etc. There is also another positive indicator, which is the pronouncement of Chad, Benin, Cameroon, and Niger Republic on international joint border patrol.

The Behavioural Analysis and Strategic Communication Unit developed a programme that seeks to implement the PREVENT strategy of the national counter-terrorism initiative. Thus visits were made to Saudi Arabia, Indonesia, Singapore, Algeria and Australia, countries that had experienced terrorism and several attacks, and also talked to officials from the United Kingdom, United States of America and the European Union, academics and members of civil society groups both at home and in abroad. Simultaneously, the Economic Intelligence Unit sought to explore the efficacy of economic interventions that will contribute to the PREVENT programme. The team investigated other nations' approaches in tackling terrorism and in particular the team also studied their success stories in the areas of job creation, poverty alleviation and economic development. Based on these assessments, the need for an economic turnaround initiative in the aftermath of the State of Emergency in Adamawa, Borno and Yobe States was made. These activities gave birth to the "soft approach" to countering terrorism (Dasuki, 2014).

The soft approach to counter-terrorism has resulted in the development of a Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) programme that is both vertical involving three tiers of government: federal, state and local and horizontal involving civil society, academics, traditional, religious and community leaders. It consists of three streams with different layers of partners: Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs), including the civil society. The programme utilizes existing structures within and outside government to deliver targeted programmes and activities that further the overall goal of stemming the tide of radicalization.

The first stream is: De-radicalization of convicted terrorists, suspects awaiting trial and those who might be released through court orders or such other government decisions arising from the ongoing engagement and dialogue with repentant suspects. The de-radicalization programme is prison based, and the Ministry of Interior along with the prison service will drive the programme. The initiative will require substantial capacity building of prison staff in areas such as psychology, sports and arts therapy, faith-based instructors and vocational training experts that would engage the targeted beneficiaries. The objective is to engage violent extremist convicts/suspects in theological, ideological, physical and entrepreneurial value change that leads to a change in their behaviour. Families, community leaders and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) are given access to participate in the process in a fair and transparent manner to speed up easy assimilation of convicts/suspects back into society. Two prisons were refurbished for this purpose together with international development partners to provide appropriate structures for this programme within prisons. The second moves from government to society approach on counter-terrorism thinking. The third one was built on capacity through strategic communication between the military and law enforcement agencies. The fourth stream, based on the understanding of economic root causes of terrorism and global best practice in addressing terrorism works with the governors of the six north-eastern states to design an economic revitalization programme, a sort of Marshal Plan, targeted at the states most affected by terrorism. The former NSA added that under the strategy, government would build resilience to violent extremism through families, communities and faith-based organizations. The government will also build an inter-party collaboration for counter-terrorism to ensure party affiliation is not a hindrance to contributions against efforts to counter terrorism. In addition, government will equally develop a monitoring and evaluation framework that

would track the implementation of each stream of the CVE programme (Dasuki, 2014).

The sum of the administrative framework within much of the counter-terrorism policy which has been implemented, especially within the context of Boko Haram are that troops have been reinforced, international Joint Task Force (JTF) has been put in place, the army has taken over the provision of internal security (declaration of state of emergency), curfew has been imposed, GSM services have been banned and restored, civilian JTFs have been established, road blocks have been set up and investment in security equipment, bomb detection units, communication and transportation as well as the Chinese CCTV system have been put in place.

Challenges of Counter-Terrorism Strategies in Nigeria

Maintaining internal or national security in Nigeria has been hampered by a number of challenges. According to Gadzama & Abubakar (2012), internal security is a complex issue which should fall within the area of politico-military affairs that involves strategies and resources being deployed for the purpose of achieving the safety of a country. Gwarzo's (1998) cited in Audu (2010:22-23) sees national security as:

Freedom from hunger, or from threat to a nation's ability to protect and defend itself, promotes its cherished values and interests, and enhances the well-being of its people. It means that national security is not restricted only to weapons and military preparedness but encompasses political, social and economic well-being of the people.

National security is also a requirement to maintain the survival of a nation-state through the use of economic, military and political power and the exercise of diplomacy Audu (2010). Therefore, one of the challenges facing Nigerian counter-terrorism strategies is paucity of well-trained security operatives (police, army, navy and air force) that can physically and intellectually meet up with contemporary security dynamics. Nigeria unlike other developed nation is grossly under policed, considering the ratio of security personnel and citizens there is a clear mismatch between Nigeria's population and security

workforce. However, the total security workforce of Nigeria is grossly inadequate to manage the growing crimes and insurgency in different parts of the country.

Another challenge facing Nigeria's counter-terrorism strategies is porous border posts; a development that has made it easy for terrorists, human traffickers and drug barons to infiltrate the country and perpetrate heinous crimes and acts of terrorism. These scenarios point answer to the burning question, thus; where does Boko Haram, Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND), Armed robbers get their stock of arms and ammunitions? Onuoha (2006) corroborated this point and maintained that the Nigerian Customs Service during routine surveillance intercepted large consignment of arms and ammunition worth over N4.3 billion (US\$30 million) at border posts. This seizure confirms that potent role that illegal or illicit trafficking of arms by criminal elements perpetrating violence and heating up the security situation in Nigeria.

Vogte (1990) noted that the most important constraint to effective defence policy formulation lies in the worsening of internal or national security breaches and especially in the low morale of the average Nigeria. For instance, the economic depression which has produced a large number of unemployed persons cannot be an adequate platform on which to build effective security. Unemployment is a prime trigger of terrorism. Where there is preponderance of the unemployed youths, there is infestation of disenchantment. Profoundly, these idle creatures make ready and easy recruits as terrorists. Simply put, the Nigeria government cannot be assured of a full-allegiance of its people when confronted by external attacks. The failure to modernize and industrialize is an underlying factor in the negative direction.

Eliagwu (2005) argues that several incidents have exposed the inadequacies of Nigeria's counter- terrorism strategies in dealing with threats of vital nature to the country's security. These inadequacies, Bello (2012) noted stem on the most part, from lack of clarity of the strategic doctrine that should guide the deployment of forces. These observations are in conformity with the communiqué of Security Summit held in Abuja in 2012 which noted that there is lack of synergy in Nigeria security arrangement. The summit further noted that there is lack of fusion among security agencies. Specifically, Nigeria security agencies hardly corporate and collaborate in intelligence gathering and sharing. Their relationship is characterized by competition rather than collaboration. This is equally means that

when the Nigeria citizens were massacred by Boko Haram, the absence of a clear contingency plan designed to deal with the security of life and property of Nigerians even within her country was exposed.

Experts in security matters are of the opinion that terrorism germinate, takes root and festers in an environment of abject poverty, mass illiteracy, corruption, and a yawning gap in socio-economic parity. By this, it is argued that poverty, begets terrorism and other crimes. This argument is not new especially when located within the context of the theories of revolution and social change as encapsulated in the rising expectation-frustration thesis. Simply put, when people expect that a lot but merely gets a little, the platform for violence is laid. In the Nigeria case, 1999 general election gave Nigerians hope but as at today, the society has not changed for the best. Poverty continues to rise, standard of education continues to fall, the best brains are drained by more serious, industrialised and economic advanced countries, power generation and supply is erratic and life expectation and standard of living are low. Thus, for proponents of the socio-economic thesis, Nigeria has fulfilled all the conditions for violent and dangerous outburst against the state.

The socio-economic thesis is in line with the communiqué of Security Summit in Abuja which recommended that government should, as a matter of urgency, address the socio-economic and political triggers of insecurity like poverty, unemployment corruption, inequality, bad governance, etc. Nwankwo (2012) had earlier argued that fundamental problem of most of the security challenges in Nigeria is rooted in socio-economic issues. According to him, the factors underlying many of these crises have been economic and political issues, the use of force cannot be an enduring solution to the problem, and it can only abuse the crisis or prevent escalation. This view tally with the postulation of Ezeani (2012) that if the fundamental problem (poverty) is not addressed, we are more likely to encourage the formation of better organised and more aggressive insurgencies. The unacceptable level of poverty in the land should be realistically addressed. Nigeria leaders have failed to recognize that mass poverty and underdevelopment interact and exacerbate crime and by extension terrorism.

Oshodi (2012) posited that another major missing link in Nigeria's Security Issue is the absence of a functional national data base that will facilitate co-ordination

of intelligence on crime matters and possible breach of security in the county. Poor security data gathering, security experts have argued results that lack of central national intelligence gathering centre similar to the national counter-terrorism centre in the United States of America where intelligence reports are gathered for analysis and distributed to the relevant agencies for action is direly needed. This has compounded the security challenges in Nigeria. The central activities of such a centre will include interception of communications and tracing of persons connected with acts of terrorism, analysis and management of intelligence report gathered by different security agencies, initiation of action through the relevant agencies, etc. For instance, building counter-terrorism strategies include intelligence gathering, management and analyses, effective security information management to counter the propaganda and indoctrination. The Boko Haram incidence has exposed the lapses and poor co-ordination of intelligence and security information gathering in Nigeria. It is argued that the absence of efficient lines of communication and lack of clearly understood internal security doctrine have resulted in situations of near anarchy, with more lives lost than when quicker intervention by the military would have brought the problem under control. More often than not, criminals use to take Nigeria security agents unaware due to poor intelligence network.

In recent times, the Nigerian government has been using “kinetic strategy” to combat the Boko Haram insurgents (Udounwa, 2013). This strategy suggests the use of hard military power through kinetic operations against this group. It also involves the use of manoeuvres, massed movement of infantry and the observance of rules of engagement as *modus operandi*. This adherence to conventional military doctrines, strategies and tactics cost Nigeria a huge amount of money between 2010 and 2015 (Falode, 2016a). It was observed that the country recorded successes against the insurgents towards the end of 2015 and early 2016 when it decided to complement both conventional and unconventional counter-measures against the insurgents. At the initial stage, the Nigerian government’s made use of its police force to check the excesses of the group. The group’s activities were seen as that of civil, social and religious disobedience to established norms within Nigeria. The Nigeria Police Force (NPF) made extensive use of roadblocks and mass arrest at the sites of attacks by the group to curb and contain its activities. NPF’s inability to check the Boko Haram forced the Nigerian government to form the Joint Task Force (JTF) in 2003. The JTF comprised of the military and police personnel specifically tasked with checking

and containing the burgeoning power of the insurgents. It was at this period that the group had started actively targeting and burning police stations in Yobe State. For instance, in 2007, the JTF launched “Operation Flush” to arrest and contain the activities of the Boko Haram in Borno State. By 2009, the JTF succeeded in killing the pioneer founder of the group, Mohammed Yusuf. The death of Yusuf generated a lot of controversies nationally and internationally. The Nigerian government was accused of extra-judicial killing by its troops. This is because Yusuf was captured alive and held in police custody before his death. With the death of Yusuf, Abubakar Shekau then took over the mantle of leadership of the group; hence the conflict entered a more virulent phase (Serrano & Pieri, 2014; Falode, 2016a).

In addition, the Boko Haram insurgents started using some tactics and methods like suicide-bombings and counter-value attacks, which is considered to be more than guerrilla warfare. In 2011, this was also what forced the Nigerian government to establish the Special Military Joint Task Force (SMJTF). This Task Force was made-up of personnel from the Nigeria Police Force (NPF), the Department of State Security (DSS), the Nigerian Immigration Service (NIS) and the Defence Intelligence Agencies (DIA). However, the new phase that Shekau took the conflict galvanized the Nigerian government to fully mobilize her armed forces to confront the security challenges created by the Boko Haram as well as the introduction of Counter-Terrorism (CT) and Counter-Insurgency (COIN) strategies (Falode, 2016a).

In May 2013, the Nigerian government declared a state of emergency in Adamawa, Borno and Yobe States respectively to tackle the menace of Boko Haram insurgency. The three states have not only become the main Contested Zones (CZs) of the war but also Boko Haram’s stronghold in north eastern Nigeria. During this period, Nigeria established the Civilian Joint Task Force (CJTF) to complement the efforts of the military in containing this group of terrorists. The CJTF is composed mainly of vigilante groups, hunters, farmers and some youth organizations. In addition, Nigeria created a new military formation, the 7 Division in Maiduguri with the strategic role to directly contain and rout the Boko Haram. To this end, in 2013, the Nigerian government fast-tracked the passage of the Anti-Terrorism Act, which stipulates, among other provisions, death penalty for terrorists and insurgents and the destruction of suspected

terrorist enclaves. Likewise, apart from the military counter-measures used to curb and contain the Boko Haram, the federal government also made use of non-military measures, such as the offer of strategic dialogue with the group. However, the Boko Haram steadfastly and severally rebuffed this offer (Falode, 2016b).

Interestingly, in December 2015, President Muhammadu Buhari declared that the Boko Haram has been “technically defeated” because the Nigerian troops had retaken most of the territories in the contested zones previously occupied by the Boko Haram (Buhari, 2015b) while in January 2016, President Buhari further added that Boko Haram “is now on fall-back”. Prior to this period, the group had established administrative and political centres/territories in both Borno and Yobe States. However, with the successes and achievements recorded in the early part of 2016, it has become impossible for the Boko Haram to launch conventional attacks against federal troops in the contested zones. Consequently, the group has fallen back into its stronghold of Sambisa forest in Maiduguri, a mountainous border region in the heartland of the insurgency. For instance, Nigeria was able to achieve this feat because it engaged troops from neighbouring countries like Chad, Niger and Cameroon, and other foreign mercenaries (Nwabughio, 2016). In early 2015, Nigeria further employed white South African mercenaries known as “Specialized Tasks, Training, Equipment and Protection (STTEP)” to render assistance in the war against the Boko Haram. The mercenaries, veterans of bush warfare in South Africa, trained elite counter-terrorism troops in Nigeria and conducted sortie against the group. Using a policy of “relentless pursuit”, an unconventional military mobile warfare tactic created by STTEP to equal Boko Haram’s attack mode of hit-and-run, the Nigerian government was able to evolve an effective counter-offensive against the group (Freeman, 2015). By the time the Multi National Joint Task Force (MNJTF) came to the aid of Nigeria in late 2015, the STTEP had succeeded in putting the Boko Haram on the back foot. It was not until troops from Niger, Chad, Cameroon and Benin, under the auspices of MNJTF, were introduced to the war in late 2015 President Buhari said that Nigeria’s counter-offensive against the Boko Haram has yielded positive results. Battle-hardened troops from Chad and Niger played crucial roles. In some instances, they had to enter into territories in the contested zones to dislodge the insurgents (Falode, 2016b).

Since January 2016, the Boko Haram has been hitting counter-value targets in the contested zones. The group started using under-age children (boys and girls) and grown-up women as male and female suicide bombers in its bid to destabilize the country. That is to say the Nigeria-Boko Haram war has only entered into a new strategy and tactics. It is “new” in a transitory sense. Still, in early 2016, showing a departure from its ineffective kinetic strategy against the group, the Nigerian military introduced an “asymmetric mobile tactics” and a “combat motorbike battalion” consisting of a rider and another riding shotgun (Omonobi, 2016). This is one of the remarkable policies created by STTEP in the north eastern Nigeria. For instance, Troops from the new battalion were deployed in almost all the major conflict areas in the northeast. Since the new phase of the war is targeting at villages and remote areas. This strategy has worked far more effectively than the kinetic response and has made it possible to be more fluid, dynamic and flexible in its response against the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria. For instance, the Army’s operational headquarters was moved from Abuja to Maiduguri, the hot-bed of the conflict in June 2015 (Ibeh, 2015). Since then, the army strategically focused its operations to Boko Haram logistic routes (Blanchard, 2016). This buttresses what President Buhari stressed during his inaugural speech on May 29, 2015. According to him:

The most immediate is Boko Haram’s insurgency. Progress has been made in recent weeks by our security forces but victory cannot be achieved by basing the Command and Control Centre in Abuja. The command centre will be relocated to Maiduguri and remain until Boko Haram is completely subdued. But we cannot claim to have defeated Boko Haram without rescuing the Chibok girls and all other innocent persons held hostage by insurgents. This government will do all it can to rescue them alive.

Mr. President in his speech further holds that:

At the end of the hostilities when the group is subdued the government intends to commission a sociological study to determine its origins, remote and immediate causes of the movement, its sponsors, the international connections to ensure that measures are taken to prevent a recurrence of this evil. For now the Armed Forces will be

fully-charged with prosecuting the fight against Boko haram. We shall overhaul the rules of engagement to avoid human rights violations in operations. We shall improve operational and legal mechanisms so that disciplinary steps are taken against proven human right violations by the Armed Forces. Boko Haram is not only the security issue bedeviling our country. The spate of kidnappings, armed robberies, herdsmen/farmers clashes, cattle rustlings all help to add to the general air of insecurity in our land. We are going to erect and maintain an efficient, disciplined people-friendly and well-compensated security forces within overall security architecture (Buhari, 2015a).

Concluding Remarks

The paper has established that the fight against terrorism must be a multi-pronged effort; no single approach is a panacea to the problem. However, the experience in Nigeria has been and is still that of lack of a political will to confront terrorism. Grand corruption on the part of state actors and individuals greatly hampered the counter-terrorism effort to be effective. Even when a workable initiative to defeat terrorism had been initiated, the funds needed for its implementation were diverted. The allocation to security in the national budget for about a decade ago was the largest; however the terrorist continued to grow bold enough to hold some places as territories and declare a “Caliphate”. Indeed, the “hard” military and “soft” socio-economic approach to fighting terrorism would have drastically curtailed terrorism in Nigeria as evinced by the application of similar strategies in Iraq and Afghanistan. The Niger Delta amnesty programme arguably could be said to follow a similar track. The socio-economic conditions that foster crime and terrorism must be ameliorated, and the conditions of deprivation and alienation that arise out of counter-terrorism measures must be limited and curtailed to the barest minimum.

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Impact of Ethnic and Religious Conflicts on Women and Children in Nigeria

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Abstract

This paper examines the impact of ethno-religious conflicts on women and children in Nigeria with Kaduna State as a case study from 1999-2007. The issue of ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria has been a reoccurring phenomenon and is characterized with high degree of casualty in both human and material resources with reinforced prejudice and animosity for group over the other. The research problem therefore is, considering the patriarchal nature of Nigeria and Kaduna State in particular and the manifestation of these into conflicts in ethnic and religious forms; how are women and children impacted by these conflicts. The paper adopted the case study approach as its methodological template. Analysis and interpretation of data for this study was established at both theoretical and empirical levels. Theoretically, the social conflict theory served as guide in our analysis of the problem. The paper revealed that, ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna State are as a result of historically established structural imbalances and prejudices between different social groups. Also, the paper shows that, compared to other social categories, especially men, women and children experience severe economic deprivation, abandonment, sexual violence, rape, forced labour, slavery and other social ills as a result of their vulnerability occasioned by ethno-religious conflicts in the State. Finally, the study revealed that, government intervention has been a failure on policy framework. This is because government is seen as part of the problem. Based on these findings the paper recommends that, government needs to do more and support conflict resolution mechanisms foisted at preventing identity related violence, by ensuring that the state government adopts the reports of the various commissions of inquiries established in the past, arresting and bringing to justice those responsible for supporting these conflicts. Further, it recommends that government should ensure that, women and youth should be involved in conflict resolution and peace building process as they are an integral part of the society, and are frequently heavily impacted during and after conflicts.

Key Words: Religion, Ethnicity, Conflict and Gender.

Introduction

Ethnic and religious identities are a major cause of conflicts in Africa generally and in Nigeria particularly. Ethnicity is normally a benign construction that does not cause conflict nor does it create destabilizing effects for state and nation building; rather certain underlying factors with ethnic connotations have been used for instigating ethnic violence. Socio-economic imbalances often translate into political tension, and a key factor which instigates conflict and not ethnicity per se. Indeed Quashigah (1991:285) argued that, the control of political machinery creates easy access to the national wealth, not only for the individual in authority, but also for his immediate family members and ethnic group. Even a subjective interpretation of ethnicity does. Therefore, ethnicity becomes a source of conflict due to long term domination and ill treatment with unresolved socio-economic and political imbalances, injustices and inequalities by the politically dominant ethnic group as well as faulty interpretation of the concept. Religion on the other hand was always seen as a factor for conflicts in Nigeria but it is not necessarily true. What has been the problem putting religion as a source of conflict is the lack of religious tolerance, fanaticism and politics.

While group identity has often instigated conflicts and their formation could be attributed to lack of control by the Nigerian state in terms of security provision to the people, poor governance and unfair distribution of the nation's material resources. The lack of significant developmental support and dividends of democracy to the populace has spawned an avalanche of civil groups and militia groups, which to a large extent, champions exclusivist primordial causes using violent means (Omeje, 2007:24). Most of these militia groups are equipped with small arms and light weapons and often operate as ethnic armies. According to Omeje (2007), these ethnic armies do not only confront and attack the state and its agencies, but they also spearhead communal and inter-ethnic wars, including offensive, defensive and retaliatory killings of members of rival groups. Also, these militia activities have intense ethnic import and primordial linkages, a large number of the civil militia groups are tacitly supported, funded and armed by some of the ethno-political elites. Consequently, the civil militias are often recycled individually and as groups for political and electoral violence by some of their ethno-political elite patrons. It is the complex elite connections and support of the civil militia groups that mostly complicate the efforts of the state to stamp out or curb the phenomenon (Omeje, 2007).

Accordingly, Kazah-Toure (2003) posited that, the subject of ethno-religious conflicts in the contemporary epoch has remained a challenging one for Social Scientists. Humanity is living in a paradoxical epoch that is full of hope for peaceful co-existence between peoples but also dangerous, with the possibility of a series of explosive conflicts based on the mobilization of various identities and deterioration of relations at the different levels of the identity divides. The survival of some states is being confronted and threatened by ethno-religious conflicts. This is because the aftermath of the conflicts always leaves behind socio-economic and political repercussions on the most vulnerable in the society i.e, women and children.

It is interesting to note that ethno-religious conflicts have a deep rooted foundation and can be traced to British colonialism which forcefully merged divergent groups in cultural, linguistic, ethnic and religious units into uneasy bond of co-existence and throughout these period conflicts happened in incessant occurrence like the Zango Katab crisis of 1946 among others. In the first republic such crises occurred based on regionalist identities such as the census crisis of 1962/1963, electoral crisis of 1964/1965 to the 80's and 90's where Nigeria experienced ethno-religious conflicts such as the Maitatsine riots in Kano, in 1980 with its extension to Bulumkutu in Borno in 1982, Yola and Gombe in 1985, the Kafanchan and Zangon-Kataf conflicts in 1987. A total of about 20 different ethno-religious conflicts across the country within the period of the 1980s and 1990s (Elaigwu, 2005) can be seen during the authoritarian military era before the coming of the present democratic system in 1999 to today. In these crisis women and children were always impacted on.

This paper focused on Kaduna State which is one of the oldest and largest in Nigeria. Kaduna State was chosen due to the incessant ethno-religious clashes which are always sparked off due to struggle for power, and dominance in the state because of her two unbalanced population distribution, that is, the northern and the southern Kaduna. That is, there exist a deep political divide between the two groups and this divide extend to their ethnic background where the northern Kaduna populace are predominantly Hausa and Fulani ethnic groups who are considered to be the majority and the southern Kaduna people are predominantly dominated by different smaller ethnic groups such as, the (Atyap, Ikulu, Ninkyop, Adara, Bajju, Ham, Kurama) and a combination of all from the minority southern Kaduna populace (Kazah-Toure, 2003).

In terms of religious affiliation, the majority northern Kaduna populace is Muslims with minority southern Kaduna populace being Christians. Areas like Zango Kataf and Kafanchan which are situated in the southern part of Kaduna have a mixed population of the Hausas and Fulani's meaning that the populations of these two areas are not completely Christians or Muslims. Although, a common trait can be identified between the two groups, that is, their ability to understand each other using a common language, which is Hausa. Therefore, the social formation of the state has always led to most conflicts in the state and this have since given rise to the study of ethno-religious conflicts in the state in terms of its causes and impact to the state. This paper investigates the impact of ethno-religious conflicts on women and children. The years 1999 to 2007 were volatile as we experienced security challenges as a result of the various conflicts that occurred in different parts of Nigeria. Since May 1999 there have been over 100 conflicts of different dimension in the country (Eliagwu, 2005). Kaduna state has experienced many ethno-religious conflicts. These include the ethno-religious conflict of 1999, 2000, 2001 and that of 2002

Conceptual Clarifications

Ethnicity

This is a very ambiguous concept to properly conceptualize. However, Otite (1990) defined ethnicity as categories of people characterized by cultural criteria of symbols including language, value systems and normative behavior, and whose members are anchored in a particular part of the new state territory. Distinctively, Rose (1965) conceptualized the term as a unique social and cultural heritage where members of a group share a unique social and cultural heritage passed from one generation to the next are known as ethnic groups. According to Osaghae (1992), ethnicity refers to a social formation resting upon culturally specific practices and a unique set of symbols and cosmology. Hence, ethnicity is a designed trait of character, values and norms to members of a group with a defined trace of heritage from origin.

Religion

The relationship between religion and society has frequently attracted the attention of anthropologists and sociologists. Karl Marx sees religion as the sigh

of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, and the soul of soulless condition. It is the opium of the people (cited in Trotter, 1941). Coming from the same persuasion, Lenin argued that “religion is the opium for the people. Religion is a sort of spiritual booze, in which the slaves of capital drawn their human image, the demand for a life more or less worthy of man” (Lenin, 1965:7-8). In their study Tar and Shettima (2008:300) see religion as any belief system in which adherents submit themselves to a particular supreme being – supernatural, material or cosmic – as a sacred independent entity with invisible capacity to supply a range of mundane and afterlife satisfactions in return for unconditional obedience, devotion and loyalty. The above is contrary to the Marxian position on religion, in that here, religion is given a lofty position in the life of the adherent as submission to the Supreme Being attracts an afterlife satisfaction. In this study, religion is seen as a way of belief in which adherents give in to a supreme being that is intangible and adhering to its laws attracts everlasting rewards and the opposite of that too.

Conflict

The concept conflict has attracted different interpretations from various scholars. Zartman (1989:8) is of the view that, conflict refers to the underlying issues to disputes between parties. And these issues are related to needs and interest of individuals and groups within a society. Woodhouse (2000) sees conflict as a situation that arises when individuals or groups identify a goal they want to secure in order to satisfy material interest, needs or values and these perception lead to actions that come up against the interest, needs and values of others. This definition shows that, conflicts arise or occur as a result of clash in interest between individuals or groups as a result of their needs and aspirations in the society. While Dahrendorf (1958) maintained that conflict is intrinsic to all societies and associations due to perpetual competition for authority within such groups. Conflict is therefore inevitable in all human societies.

Ethno-Religious Conflict

Ethno-religious conflict is a situation whereby the relationship between members of one ethnic or religious group and another of such group in a multi-ethnic and multi-religious society is characterized by lack of cordiality, mutual suspicion and fear, and a tendency towards violent confrontation (Salawu, 2010). According to Ibrahim (2005) ethno-religious conflicts refer to disputes arising from ethnic and

religious differences. Such conflicts are often associated with ethnic or religious sentiments. She further stated that the usage of the concept denotes the fact that all crises that have religious and ethnic undertones are ethno-religious conflicts i.e. either of the two can give way to the other. The point is that ethno-religious conflicts do vary depending on the basis of a group's objective, its orientation towards the state, and the way it defines the discourse of its struggle.

Gender

According to Haralambos and Holborn (2008) gender is a concept that contains psychological and cultural manifestations; when the proper terms for sex are female and male, the original terms for gender are feminine and masculine; these latter terms might be actually independent of biological sex. In the same instance, Idyorough (2005:2) said that "gender issues are not women issues alone, they are issues of men and women and the attendant power relations between the sexes". The issue here is that gender is a sociological term as well as a socio-cultural phenomenon that divides people into various categories such as "male" and "female", with each having associated dress, roles, stereotypes, etc.

Situating Women and Children During and After Conflicts in Nigeria

This section seeks to preamble the analysis of the impact of ethno-religious conflict on women and children in Nigeria. On this instance, Okoye (2000) provided an explanation of the impact of ethno-religious conflicts on women and children. The work provided information on the extent of destruction in selected conflicts areas of Northern Nigeria. He argued conclusively that women and children have been the worst affected by the various ethnic and religious crises that the Northern Nigeria has witnessed. Women have lost their bread winners and are made to fend for themselves.

Generally, available studies on gender dimension of violent conflicts tend to portray women as group of vulnerable who are not capable of any action or decision of their own. Rather, they are seen as 'weaker sex' whose problems and issues are the same as those of children (Abdu, 2002). As Nwabara (1997) puts it, "women were given shadow of existence, acting as spoils to highlight the sagacity and prominence of the male character. In the same vein Ntunde and Ugwu (2005) stated that conflict is a gendered activity; women and men have different access to

resources, power and decision-making before, during, and after conflicts. The experiences of women and men in situations of tension, war and riots are significantly different. Therefore, this paper seeks to challenge the argument of the subject and as well appreciating some of the issues.

While Mijah (2007) in his study of the Numan conflict and its impact on women and children stated that, women and children in Numan, as in most other communities in Nigeria, are victims of structural violence, especially during crisis situations. However, perceiving women and children as victims of conflict suggests that these categories are incapable of responding to the exigencies of their vulnerabilities. That is why he argued that, because women and children may not be aware of their vulnerabilities, as a result of which they suffer differing extents of violence, or be consciously ready to challenge same, does not justify any form of structural violence against these categories.

According to Kunder (1998) in situations of internal political violence and material poverty, especially in Africa, children are no longer juveniles, but young adults. They are no longer underage persons requiring adult protection, but real and potential competitors for resources with the adults. They are no longer mere consumers of resources, but must earn a living. They are no longer innocent bystanders in conflicts, but actual and potential combatants. This end to juvenility in conflicts means that millions of children are forcibly separated from their families, physically abused, abducted into military groups or starved to death. On this note of intensity it was observed that in the Jos crisis in Plateau state, over 53,000 deaths were recorded out of which 17,397 of them were women. By this estimation it translates to 32.8% of the total deaths (Yesufu, 2007).

In a study by Okoye (2000) of six major conflicts in Northern Nigeria, it was reported that on the average about 20% of children are left to fend for themselves following the conflicts. A Study show that, children are more at risk than adults during violent conflicts as over 80% of children exposed to violence had symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder one or two years later (Stavrou, 1993). Women in Nigeria cannot be treated as a homogenous group. There are variations in socio-economic class, ethno-religious identity etc. Yet they share a common identity of being discriminated against because they are women. Therefore, this study intends to specifically concentrate on the impact of ethno-religious conflicts on women and children in Nigeria.

Theoretical Framework

Theories act as foundations for analysis and interpretation of problems. This is because everyone creates a theory to help him make sense of what he experienced. For this paper, the social conflict theory shall serve as the theoretical frame work in our analysis and interpretation of the impact of ethno-religious conflict on women and children. The constructivist/invention theory was used in describing ethnicity and religion and we concluded that colonialism is the major factor responsible for the present form of ethno-religious identity in Nigeria. Basic questions have to be posed in relations to central theoretical issues in the discussion on conflict in Nigeria.

The social conflict theory consist of several interrelated parts and they are; frustration aggression, structural conflict; realist; human needs; biological; relational, human need theories and many more. Comte, Marx, Engels, Lenin, Ross, Simmels, Weber, Sorel, Collier, Coser, Dahrendorf, Mills, Galtung and Collins are the major proponents of the social conflict theory. To all of them, social conflict means that the political and socio-economic structure of a society brings about conflict, that is, conflict emanates from the competition for scarce resources amongst actors and structures in a society. It can also be linked to the dislocation in society such as ethnic, racial, gender and religious (Ritzer, 2008:62). The social conflict theory is based on two significant factors; conflict occurring as a result of structural defects in the society. Where Faleti (2006:41) argued that, this type of conflict is as a result of the way a society is organized and structured. The second factor is hinged on the mechanism and actions of structures within the society. And this is as a result of the social relations they entered into which ultimately leads to conflicts. That is to say, when competition and weak social structures defines the features of a society, then conflict becomes inevitable in that society.

The social conflict theory is a Marxist based theory which argues that, “individuals and groups (social classes) within society have differing amounts of material and non-material resources (such as the wealthy versus the poor) and that the more powerful groups use their power in order to exploit groups with less power” (Ryazanskaya, 1971). In other words human history is all about this conflict; a result of the strong-rich exploiting the poor weak. This therefore

explains why the social conflict theory argued that, groups within a capitalist society (like ours) tend to interact in a destructive way that allows no mutual benefits and little cooperation. And that the various institutions of society such as the legal and political systems are instruments of the ruling class domination and serve to further its hold on power and their interest.

The social conflict theory was better explained by the founder of the peace studies school of thought Johan Galtung (2009) as a special case of incompatibility a situation where actors use conflict behavior against each other to attain incompatible goals and or to express their hostility. His theory on negative and positive peace, also elaborates on how conflict can occur in a society, at individual level through the presence of direct violence against individuals, fear, injustice, structures and unequal relations. The structural model of social conflict theory assumes that government institutions and agencies, traditional structures, religious structures as well as family structures existing within the society are all involved in the struggle for resources and power. A struggle between all these structures, among individuals and groups within these structures, as well as against actors in society, combine in effect to result to disagreement, violence and also conflict in social interaction. And the major victims in this type of conflicts are always women and children no matter the stage of development of that society.

From the above discussion on the social conflict theory, its suitability as a tool of theoretical frame is apt. It argued that economic and political factors always bring about conflicts, deflected into ethnic and religious factors which are secondary and prolongs the conflicts and sufferings of the most vulnerable women and children the main focus of this paper.

Methodology

For the fact that our study is an examination of the impact of ethno-religious conflicts on women and children in Nigeria Kaduna state; to be specific, we adopted the “case study” approach as its methodological plan because case studies are in depth investigations of a single or small number of units. The unit may be individual people, patients, groups or organisations. One of the most common uses of case study method is evaluative studies (Abdallah, 2006:66). Hartley (2004) argued that, the case study approach is a way of studying a problem or

phenomena in the society in-depth. It allows for a clear understanding of the relationship of socio-economic factors and processes as exhibited in the study area.

In choosing the case study plan for our research, the work of Mbachu (2005) and Yin (1999) were quite useful in informing our choice. While, Mbachu argued that, in the case study approach the study pays particular attention to a single event, phenomenon and institution and attempt to relates the attributes of that case study to other variables (ibid:39). Yin (ibid) on the other hand, came up with the following yardsticks, namely: representativeness, comparability and prevalence rate. In adopting it to our study, we considered that, the six local governments (Kaduna North, Kaduna South, Zaria, Sabon-Gari, Kachia and Chikun) of Kaduna State are truly representative of Nigeria in terms of their relative comparability and occurrence of ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria. It is well known that, Kaduna state witnessed various violent conflicts of different dimensions and propensity.

Analysis and interpretation of the data collected is established at both theoretical and empirical levels. Theoretically, the social conflict theory served as guide in our analysis of the problem. And empirically, we used both the qualitative and quantitative methods presented under the themes, sub-themes and simple statistical tools specifically set up to address our research objectives/questions. Therefore, data collected for this study is presented and analyzed through the mixed research methods.

A mixed research method is a general type of research (it is one of the three paradigms) in which quantitative and qualitative methods, techniques, or other paradigm characteristics are mixed in one overall study (Adamu, Mohammed and Dandago, 2006:67). The fact that, this study is based on mixed research methods is not in doubt. The study uses the qualitative research paradigm for one phase of the study and the quantitative research paradigm for another phase of the study. In this study, questionnaires were first administered as an experiment (quantitative) and there after the FGDs and the interviews were conducted with participants (Qualitative) to ascertain the first experiment and confirmed or reject its results. Mixed method research is like conducting two mini-studies within one overall research study (Ibid, 67). And it is a type of social science research that uses

various tools such as case studies, observations, phenomenology, grounded theories, historical studies and ethnography to investigate a phenomenon (Greertz, 1973; Patton, 2002; Adamu, Mohammed and Dandago, 2006). Qualitative approaches to data collection, analysis, interpretation and presentation contrast sharply from the quantitative approaches.

The study made use of one of the major category in qualitative research: phenomenology to gather open-ended, newly formed data with the sole intention of examining the impact – negative and positive (ethno-religious conflicts) has on women and children in Nigeria. Phenomenological research investigates individuals' lived experience of events (Adamu, Mohammed and Dandago, 2006). It asks proving and incisive questions like 'what do you think is the major cause of ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna state?'

The adoption of the mixed research method over the application of either qualitative or quantitative research approach alone was because, when distinct approaches are applied to concentrate on the same phenomenon and they brought out the same outcome, you have "corroboration" which means you have higher evidence for the outcome. Again, mixed research is employed to complement one set of results with another; to expand a set of result or to discover something that would have been missed if only a quantitative or qualitative approach had been employed (Abdallah, 2006).

Results and Discussions

Impact of Ethnic and Religious Conflict on Women and Children in Nigeria

Ethnic and religious conflicts have a serious impact on women and children in Nigeria. Below are some of the major impacts of ethnic and religious conflicts on women and children.

Displacement of Women and Children

Women and children always bear the disproportionate brunt of ethnic and religious conflicts. Many were internally displaced. It is on record that, between October 2010 and October 2011, the National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) in Nigeria stated that, 377,701 Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) due

to ethnic and religious violence (Laden, 2012). Concurring to the above, the Nigerian Red Cross in their report suggested that, over 17,500 families were displaced. In fact, studies conducted immediately after the Shari'ah crisis, also shows that well over 63,000 people were displaced, of which about 75% of them were women and children (HRW 2003).

Economic Impact

The finding of the study also show that, women and children experience economic deprivation of various intensity as a result of very high cost of living and decline in their standard of living because as widows and orphans they had to cope with the heartbreak of not only losing the bread winner and head of the family, but also the responsibility of taking care of their families within a fractured society. Their economic predicament is further worsened by the insecurity and loss of their ancestral land occasioned by the conflicts especially in rural parts of the Nigerian state. The implication here is that, women and children were forced to take on non-traditional roles such as forced labour, child slavery, forced prostitution, thuggery, theft, etc, because of their vulnerability caused by ethno-religious conflicts.

Socio-Political Impact

The findings of the study show that women and children are the most negatively impacted during conflicts due to their extreme vulnerability and that majority of them became internally displaced and were subjected to sexual violence. It is important to note that in situation where family members are displaced as a consequence of conflict, children were naturally left in the care of their mothers. Internal displacement can create an unhealthy environment that can promote poverty, unemployment, under-employment, hunger, malnutrition, starvation and diseases, youth restiveness or delinquency and criminality. Others suffer permanent injuries – loss of body parts. The implication is that, many families were forcefully separated and many more migrated with their children to safer areas within and outside the state and the implication is that, these children were denied access to basic education and primary health care. The physical and social separation between husband and wife further worsen the already bad situation.

Psychological Impact

One significant impact of ethnic and religious conflicts on women and children is psychological trauma. A lot of the victims suffer from post-traumatic syndrome from the experiences that they had. Therefore, would require psychological counseling and training which is really not available in this country. One of the problems of Nigeria today is that, we have three to four million IDPs in the country. This is a huge number and it is more than some African countries. We as a nation do not have the capacity to handle the trauma this millions have gone through. And of course for children in particular, being subjected to this life of trauma could create a situation where they believed that, the sort of life of violence visited on them is normal! They would likely visited same type of violence on others when the opportunity presents itself.

The United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women defined Violence against Women as “any act of gender-based violence that result in or likely to result in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threat of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty occurring in public or private life...”(UNICEF, 1998). Usually, these types of violence against women are systematically carried out. They were planned and well coordinated. In most instances women were sought for and exposed to social violence of various types.

Conclusion and Contribution to Knowledge

The major thrust of this study is that there are many causes of identity related tension and conflicts in Nigeria and quite a number of them are actually interrelated. What this means is that, several causes may be responsible for various violence and conflicts in the course of the history of Nigeria. The study concluded that, ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna State were as a result of historically established chauvinistic practices, organizational disequilibrium and preconceived feelings between different ethnic and religious groups which are inherently linked with the history of state formation in the present Kaduna State from the earliest period to the present one. This engendered conflicting interests or emotions that got them involved in ethno-religious tensions and subsequently into ethnic and religious conflicts.

As we have discovered earlier in this study, women and children are feeble and are therefore victims in most conflicts. Our discussion has provided graphic evidence that socio-economically, women and children always bear the disproportionate brunt of ethno-religious conflicts. Most were internally displaced, killed, and their properties destroyed. They were exposed to sexual violence of different intensity such as rape, forced prostitution, denial of access to formal education, instability at home due to abandonment and were most importantly exposed to physical and psychological trauma associated to their exposure to violence.

Furthermore, the study concluded that both the state government and other agencies were not effective enough in curtailing the re-occurrence of conflicts in the state and their attempt to forestall conflicts has been a failure due to inefficient framework of purpose and, most importantly, the absence of a comprehensible policy decision to protect women and children during and after these conflicts. The government and its agencies were seen to be actors in perpetuating these crises in the state. The study also concludes that extrajudicial killings of civilians by the security agents took place in various locations in the state during the spate of ethno-religious conflicts in the state.

Finally, the paper concluded that government needs to do more and support conflict resolution mechanisms foisted at preventing identity related violence, by ensuring that the state government adopt the reports of the different commissions of inquiries established in the past, arresting and bringing to justice those responsible for supporting the conflicts and those who perpetuated the killings. Furthermore, government should ensure that, women and youths are involved in conflict resolution and peace building process because they always bear the brunt during and after conflicts due to their extreme vulnerability.

Recommendations

Based on our conclusions above that ethnic and religious conflict in Kaduna State is as a result of the contradictions inherent in our system. Responding to the conflict in the state will attract critical overhaul on social and policy issues such as:

1. Find a lasting solution to the violence and tensions in Kaduna State not only on the level of the recent conflicts of 2000 and 2002, but taking into

consideration the persistent reoccurring conflicts in years past and the findings of investigations and studies into the 2000 violence. Concerted efforts should be made to listen to the concerns, grievances and suggestions of the various communities affected by the conflicts.

2. Women should be involved in conflict management and peace building processes. Intensify and encourage conflict resolution initiatives and other measures aimed at preventing further inter-communal violence, including by supporting grassroots initiatives to foster dialogue and cooperation between Muslims and Christians and raise awareness among the local communities of the need to respect fundamental rights, including the right to life, and religious and ethnic differences.
3. Provide compensation to individuals whose houses or livelihoods were destroyed during the violence. It is enough providing compensations, what is important are how it is distributed. Compensation to religious bodies and house-holds don't necessarily benefit women. Specific interest and rights of women should be protected during and after conflict. Ensure that those women and children still displaced by the conflict have the necessary practical support and security to return to their ancestral or chosen homes if insecurity persists.
4. Identify and bring to justice those responsible for organizing or encouraging the violence in Kaduna State, as well as those who carried out the killings. The Government should not allow political consideration to cloud their decisions about prosecutions and should recognize that prolonged delays in passing judgement for those involved in fermenting violence in Kaduna State is a clear case of impunity which is resulting from government non-commitment to punishing known previous perpetrators.
5. Issue clear orders to the police and other agencies that, operations to restore law and order in a situation of violence should never be a justification for unlawful attacks on persons, to settle scores.
6. The government should ensure that Nigerians enjoy equal protection of law and are not subjected to discriminations of any kind; on the basis of

their origin, ethnic group, sex, religion and political orientations as enshrined by the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

7. It is important to take the issue of women and children empowerment seriously. Deliberate attempts should be made to include women in all the decision making structure of the state. It is recognized that economic frustration is one issue that continued to force women and children to carry arms during crises, the state should develop women and children social and economic empowerment program to reduce their social and economic backwardness.

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Ethics and Service Delivery in Local Government Administration: A Theoretical Analysis of the Nigerian Situation

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Abstract

Issue of ethics and ethical conducts are vital towards the attainment of accountability in every governmental setting as their relationships look semantic but are not strictly being adhered to in Local Government Administration. This paper examined the theoretical underpinning of the concepts of ethics, transparency, and accountability in the Local Government administration in Nigeria. The practice of ethical conduct, transparency and accountability has eluded the reformed local government system in Nigeria, and by extension has constituted the poor service delivery and corruption at this tier of government. A situation where local government functionaries fail to separate their private ownership from the public office they hold on trust, and where most of them administer local Governments as their private estates is repugnant to the precept of ethical conduct, transparency and accountability. Apart from a strong advocacy for the institutionalization of Local Government Integrity System, based on the available theoretical submissions and analysis, the paper observed that we faced some challenges in the application of model code of ethics in our local government system. The paper suggested the introduction of a model code of conduct in the local government system, akin to the Columbia Integrity pact which stipulates that public servants should always have integrity in their dealings with the general public, as a sure step to fostering the principles of transparency, accountability, good governance and good working relationship among councils functionaries.

Key Words: Ethics, Accountability, Transparency, Local Government

Introduction

Ethical conducts seem to be a great yardstick for achieving accountability and transparency in the public sector or government at all levels as each governmental setting seems to have ethics guiding the behaviour employees available in the organization. As such good ethical conduct is assumed to be the function of accountability, transparency and efficiency especially at the local government level. All local governments have laid down ethics and laws that guide their operational conducts but the question remains; are the local governments in Nigeria really abiding by the ethics and laws that shall guarantee accountability and transparency? Ethics means moral codes of conduct, (Vittal, 2002). The concept of ethics occupied a centre piece in the art of governance. In 172Bc, the Babylonian code of Hammurabi stipulated ethical rule of conduct for their judges and military officers. The Aristotle of the Greek had prevailed on the citizens as well as the public office holders to separate private activities and ownership from public activities and ownership.

Both China and Britain as early as 622 Bc had propagated the prominence of merit and non partisan service, as essential conditions for employment into the public services of these countries. Every society must observe certain codes of conduct, else such society cannot grow or progress. The same also applies to an organization, such as the local Government System in Nigeria. Ethics implies the idea of Trust. If our society is to function well, we need to be able to trust one another, and expect others to do their work well, obey the law, and try to make the world a better place. Such vices as cheating, stealing, promise-breaking and selfishness should be discouraged as they are actions capable of destroying trust among individuals in a society, (Ikotun, 2004). The main objective of this paper is to point out how violation of code of ethics affects service delivery at the local government level in Nigeria. The assumption of this paper is that violation of code of ethics affects the performance of local government in Nigeria

The essential premise of accountability lies in the fact that those who exercise public power in society should be answerable for the exercise of that power (Steward, 1992). Public accountability, therefore, is linked to the notion of stewardship in the public domain. Public officers, notably, local government

chairmen, supervisors, councilors, and indeed the entire retinue of councils' officials exercise substantial powers which do not belong to them. They belong to the citizens on whose behalf those powers are exercised. The public servants are, therefore, stewards. The powers exercised by the stewards are only justified if those who exercise them are answerable to them. Accountability involves giving an account of action taken, and being held to account for those actions. Public accountability is the complete and satisfactory account of the stewardship of a public officer in respect of the acquisition and application of the resources entrusted to him in the process of executing public policy and accomplishing the objectives in accordance with extant rules and regulations. Put differently, public accountability has to do with holding a public officer accountable for resources entrusted to him and ensuring that he gives up-to-date account of what he has done with public resources.

According to the United Nations Manual for Local Government Accounting and Budget Execution (1952:5), accountability is a legal liability involving the establishment of a pattern of control over receipts and expenditure that permit a determination either by the executive or by legislative, funds that are spent for public purposes.

In spite of the importance of ethical conduct in the local government administration, accountability and transparency are yet to be achieved which affect the attainment of the goals of establishing local government as a third tier of government. The outline of ethics and ethical guiding the activities of local government employees.

Ethics, Transparency and Accountability Conceptualized

Generally, ethics is often regarded as an abstract subject because of the use of certain terms like, obligation, conflict of interest, right, wrongs, responsibility, fairness, integrity, trusts, among others. which cannot be measured or quantified (Ikotun, 2004). Ethic deals with moral obligation, act, attitude or behavior that is in tune with practices commonly applauded, within a given society, organization or environment. Put differently, what constitutes ethics or code of conduct varies from one society or environment to another.

In a nutshell, Dwivedi, 1978 cited in (Ikotun, 2004) conceptualized unethical practices in the public service to exist whenever public servants, individually or collectively use position (or give appearances of doing so) in a way which compromises public confidence and trust because of conflict of loyalties or values, or as a result or attempts to achieve some form of private gain at the expense of public welfare or common good. This assertion presupposes the use of public office to covertly and overtly act contrary to expected public good. Furthermore, unethical conduct does not only relate with selfish interest of the office holder or his pecuniary interest, but also certain actions using his position to satisfy his god father (s) cronies, kins and kith, race, religious affiliations etc. against public good, (Chapel, 1972) puts it that unethical conduct “can only be determined in relation to an act, attitude or good behavior adjudged contrary to the practices commonly advocated by a certain state at a given time in the field of political and administrative morality”.

However, ethics to a great extent comprises the norms, values, standards, criteria, what is adjudged good or bad by a community, organization, political, economic and social spheres. For Abubakar (2010), the twin concepts of transparency and accountability have in recent years become household terms and the veritable ringtones of good governance. According to Carson (2005:1), these two paradigms are important pillars of democratic governance in modern societies and in governance in the local government system.

Accountability on the other hand, revolves round policies put in place to regulate political management, ethical standards, finance, performance, local democracy, community leadership and partnership. It implies taking into account, giving an account and holding to account of one’s stewardship. In his own words, (Olowu, 2002:4) explained that accountability refers to being answerable for one’s action or behaviours, involves the development of objective standards of evaluation to assist the owners of an organization to evaluate the performance of duties by individuals and units within the organization. Consequently, Olowu (2002) opined that accountability has crucial elements of responsibility, reporting mechanism, system of evaluation, rewards and sanctions. Given the entrenchment of democratic ideals at the local level, where people are represented in the council by their councilors, the art of constituency or ward briefing now commonly referred to as town hall briefing and meetings signified the need to give account of

governments' decision and discuss issues affecting those they are representing. This is another aspect of accountability. The Local governments' functionaries, are indeed, expected to use this wide array of interactions among the local service users and residents to give account of their stewardship to the governed. This is as a results poor attitudes of local government employees towards the ethics of their work places which affect efficiency and effectiveness in service delivery.

Code of Ethics in Government

From the Colonial times up to the period prior to the oil boom, the Civil Service enjoyed high recognition and respect. It also attracted the best talents. However, from the period of oil boom up to the present time, the image has fallen very greatly. There is therefore a need for enhancing the image and the future of the service and in doing this the following points should be borne in mind. These code of ethics according Civil Service Handbook (1977) are follows.

(i) Discipline

2. The Civil Service must be well disciplined. Rules and regulations should be adhered to and the interests of the service must be paramount.
3. Senior Officers should prescribe codes of conduct which they themselves can and should comply with. Those who wish to lead other people should always remember that effective leadership involves exemplary character, hard work and transparent integrity. Good conduct is one of the criteria for promotion.
4. Junior Officers should be familiar with Government Regulations and

Rules regarding good conduct. They must learn to obey lawful orders and established authority.

(ii) (a) Loyalty

4. Civil Servants should be loyal to the Government which has given them the opportunity to serve it. No Officer or employee should assume that he has the right to a salary or wage without giving adequate service in return. Government has no obligation to retain inefficient or disloyal elements in the Service.

(b) Honesty

6. Civil Servants should be honest in doing their duties and in their dealings with the public. They should realize that they are paid salaries for the

duties which they perform. This means that they should be conscientious on duty, and demand or receive nothing in money or kind from anyone in the performance of their duties.

(c) Courage

7. Courage is one of the greatest assets to the best Civil Servants. The exhibition of this quality takes many forms. It may be shown in working hard in a very busy post for there is really no reason to fear hard work. Civil Servants should acquire the courage of working hard. They should not hesitate to take over an extensive schedule of duties.

8. Another type of courage involves doing what is normally right even though one does not stand to gain personally, from such action. In your schedule of duties, you should do the right thing, especially if it will enhance the reputation of the service and the Country. You should, at all times, resist temptations from whatever quarters. Where the prior consent of a superior authority is necessary, be courteous in getting it.

(d) Courtesy

9 . It costs nothing to be polite to your colleagues and the general public served by you. Polite instructions are usually more easily obeyed. Members of public always cherish courtesy and consideration from Civil Servants. Courtesy in the Office and to the general public makes it easier to get on with other people. A heavy schedule of duties or any other circumstance can not justify bad temper by civil servants.

(e) Co-operation

10. The eleven members of a good football team co-operate whenever they are on the field for a match. One or two members who believe they are as good as the rest of the team may cause the defeat of the whole team. Similarly, all the staff in the section of a Ministry should co-operate as a team in order to realize the overall purpose of the section. The Officers and staff of a Ministry should work together to attain the goals of the Ministry.

(f) Tact

11. “Tact” means skillfulness in handling a difficult situation without giving offence to the people involved. That is very necessary in the service. Skill in dealing with people by creating an impression of willingness to be of assistance enhances the efficiency of the Office and gives the public satisfaction.

(g) Industry

12. In this sense, industry means useful hard work. This definition is necessary because some workers work furiously to get little or nothing done. They only waste their energy and often give false impression to their supervisors.
13. You have been engaged to serve your Ministry or Department in some way. In turn, your Ministry or Department serves the Government and members of the public. Try to ensure that you work to earn your pay and promotions. To work hard with good results, the following principles are useful:
 1. Know the scope of your work;
 2. Know the various parts of your schedule of duties;
 3. Decide the order or sequence you should deal with the various states of your work;
 4. Before you start, have rough idea of when you should finish it;
 5. If your work involves writing, ensure that your style is clear and direct;

(h) Avoidance of Delay

14. If you are hard-working, you are unlikely to delay action on files or projects. However, some schedule of duties are extremely busy. There are either so many people to interview and/or so many files to deal with.
15. Your time should be devoted to official work. If you are ill, you may be unable to concentrate on your work, in such a case, you should consult a Doctor and then return to work later unless, where you are put on sick list.
16. If you are going to be away for a day or two, you should let your boss know as soon as possible. Any urgent work in your schedule may then be taken over by some other officers. You could avoid delay in the following ways:
 - i. Know precisely when you have to submit any piece of work to your supervisor or higher authority.
 - ii. Do not hoard files in the hope that you can dispose of them at the eleventh hour.
 - iii. Avoid being bogged down by a difficult matter at the expense of many simpler ones. In this connection, there is a psychological advantage in disposing of several simple cases before taking on tougher ones.

- iv. Come early to your work-place and devote your time to work until the closing time
- v. Do not malingering in your work-place
- vi. It pays to do some overtime occasionally in order to bring your work up-to-date

(i) Tidiness

- 17. Civil Servants should keep their offices tidy not only because visiting members of the public served by them are thereby more favourably impressed but also because an orderly office often gives an idea of the state of minds of its staff.
- 18. It usually enhances efficiency if files and equipment are placed so that they are easily located when necessary. In this connection, you may perhaps recall your own impression when you went to an officer who could not help you in getting some reference because his office was untidy and disorderly.
- 19. Workers should also ensure that they are properly dressed to do their duty in the office or work place. It is a good idea to dress in a business-like manner, not as if one were going to a formal party or a beauty-queen parade. It does not cost much to dress simply with carefully chosen material. It is useful to remember that how people dress tells keen observers a great deal of the general character and taste of such people.

(j) Helpfulness

- 20. You may have heard many people allege that it is now difficult for people to get help from those they do not know. That there is something in this allegation is borne out by the fact that many young people now seem to believe that they can only get jobs from public offices if they channel their applications through their personal friends, relatives or townsmen. This unfortunate tendency should be discouraged by all Civil Servants.
- 21. There are many opportunities of helping your colleagues and your juniors in the office at no personal cost at all. You could advise a young messenger to do further studies instead of allowing him to waste his official time and his money on football pools. Similarly, Supervisors should find time to listen to their subordinates who have personal or domestic problems. Those who complain that some of their requests have been turned down should be told why it is impossible to meet their wishes.

22. Should papers or documents come to you by mistake from members of staff or the general public, find out the correct destination and take necessary directive as to re-routing it from your superior officer.

(k) Kindness

23. Being kind does not imply that you should give to people what they are unentitled to. Kindness involves respecting the privileges and rights of officers, employees and members of the public irrespective of the fact that those concerned are unknown to you. A Civil Servant is a public servant. He should, therefore, serve impartially.
24. Kindness also involves having a humane approach in dealing with people in difficulty. This applies to staff as well as members of the public. A staff in difficulty needs help and, if you are in a position to do so, you should assist him to the best of your ability, without of course, the breach of the regulations or disturbing the course of justice. The same consideration should be shown to the public.

(iii) Attitude to Public Funds

25. In Chapter 2, of this Handbook, you read about how Government gets and spends public funds. There was reference to cost-consciousness in the same chapter. The principles already touched upon should always influence the conduct of Civil Servants. The following points are strongly emphasized:
- a. Do not waste funds. If you are frugal in spending your money, you should be equally frugal in spending public funds.
 - b. Collectors of Government Revenue should be conscientious in doing their duty. They should not make any rebates as a favour to anyone. In this regard, it is not kindness to reduce the Revenue due to Government on your own account or at your own level.
 - c. Justify every expenditure and ensure that economy is insisted upon, e.g. discourage wasting public funds on ill-advised purchases near the end of the financial year.
 - d. As a good citizen and a good civil servant, discourage financial abuses by making suitable reports through the correct channel.
 - e. Made-in-Nigeria goods should be preferred to their imported counterparts. Patronage of local goods encourages the growth of local industries.

(iv) National Consciousness

26. The ideals held by people influence their actions. Therefore, Civil Servants should aim at inspiring, broad-minded ideals without being unrealistic. One Nigeria is by far and always superior to any town or clan or ethnic group in the Federation. Therefore, the interest of any group should not be pursued at the expense of what is best for Nigeria. Attempts by some people or ethnic group to turn over public officers and resources to themselves or members of their group always tend to weaken and change the bonds of national unity. Sometimes, Civil unrest may arise from indifference to or disguised encouragement of nepotism, favouritism and their associated vices.

(v) A Good Image of the Service

27. The Governments of the Federation are the largest employers of labour. The Civil Services therefore have a leading role to play in the social and economic affairs of the country.

28. Nigerian Civil Servants have proved their mettle in successfully grappling with the problems arising from the rapid, social and economic development of the country. A deterioration of standards should not be tolerated. In achieving this goal on which a good image of the Civil Service depends, Nigerians, particularly those at the top, should continue to provide honest and courageous leadership.

(vi) Efficiency

29. The level of efficiency can be improved upon. Training-consciousness will help in this regard. No grade or group of officers should consider itself so good as to dispense with further training. As a matter of policy, advantage should be taken of induction, refresher and training courses.

30. In the national interest, training institutions in the Federal Service should be open to Civil Servants in the States. As a matter of policy, staff may attend training courses in the states. It would be extremely rewarding if the training of some Federal and State personnel could be held jointly to promote a community of experience for such trainees.

31. The younger elements in the services are very important. Their most promising members will later be among the top Civil Servants, it is

therefore suggested that the minds of the future leaders in our services should be exposed to good education and discipline.

32. The services should not only be disciplined; they should also be efficient.

(vii) Social Problems and Social Justice

33. As was stated in chapter 3, Civil Servants have responsibility for helping to formulate and for implementing Government Policies. These policies concern the maintenance of law and order, promoting a healthy and well-educated nationhood, efficient systems of transport, reliable means of communication, opportunities for trade and industry, efficient development of national resources, etc.
34. The amenities provided by Governments should be equitably distributed among the people without reference to political parties, ethnic and religious groups.
35. As Civil Servants are paid from various taxes collected from the people, Government servants should help to ensure that:
1. Equal opportunity for employment is provided for all job seekers.
 2. Under no circumstances should bribes and gifts be taken from applicants for jobs. Interviews for employment should always be conducted by a duly constituted panel. It should never be left in the hands of a single person. Proper record should be kept of the interview for future reference.
 3. Nepotism or any other form of preferential treatment should be avoided.
 4. In the services themselves, privileges should be granted only to those who are qualified for them.
 5. Civil Servants should never dispense private or personal favours with public funds and property.
 6. Justice and fair play should be extended to all concerned
 7. Ensure that public business is always discharged in accordance with existing laws, rules and regulations of Government and with expedition.
 8. Discourage discriminatory practices to individuals and groups
 9. All irregularities reported should be investigated and corrective action promptly taken.

(viii) The Use of Authority

36. Authority may be defined as the power given to a body or person or office holder by a superior to ensure that some definite objective is achieved. As the extent of the power given is usually stated, "Authority" as a rule, is never limited. Furthermore, its duration is often defined.
37. Authority may be derived from the following sources:
- a) The Constitution of a Country or a State
 - b) National Assembly or the Legislature
 - c) Government Pronouncements and Publications
 - d) The Civil Service Rules
 - e) Financial Regulations
 - f) Civil Service Rules and Regulations published from time to time
 - g) Government Notices in Gazette
 - h) Circulars and circular letters from Ministries and Departments
 - i) Official Notices and Instructions in Ministries or Divisions within Ministries/Departments.

Theoretical framework

The paper adopted the Agency theory which explains how to best organize relationships in which one party determines the work while another party does the work. In this relationship, the principal hires an agent to do the work, or to perform a task the principal is unable or unwilling to do. For example, in corporations, the principals are the shareholders of a company, delegating to the agent i.e. the management of the company, to perform tasks on their behalf.

Agency theory assumes both the principal and the agent are motivated by self-interest. This assumption of self-interest dooms agency theory to inevitable inherent conflicts. Thus, if both parties are motivated by self-interest, agents are likely to pursue self-interested objectives that deviate and even conflict with the goals of the principal. Yet, agents are supposed to act in the sole interest of their principals.

To determine when an agent does (and does not) act in their principal's interest, the standard of "Agency Loss" has become commonly used. Agency loss is the difference between the best possible outcome for the principal and the consequences of the acts of the agent. For instance, when an agent acts

consistently with the principal's interests, agency loss is zero. The more an agent's acts deviate from the principal's interests, the more agency loss increases. When an agent acts entirely in her own self interest, against the interest of the principal, then agency loss becomes high.

Research on agency theory shows that agency loss is minimized when two particular statements are true. The first is that the principal and the agent share common interests. Essentially, this means that both the principal and the agent desire the same outcome. The second is that the principal is knowledgeable about the consequences of the agent's activities. In other words, the principal knows whether their agent's actions serve in the principal's best interest. If either of these statements is false, it follows that agency loss is therefore, likely to arise.

One objection to agency theory is that it "relies on an assumption of self-interested agents who seek to maximize personal economic wealth" (Bruce et al., 2005). The challenge is therefore, to get agents to either set aside their self-interest, or work in a way in which they may maximize their personal wealth while still maximizing the wealth of the principal. Thus, a standard of agency duty and action is necessary, not because agents are universally selfish, but because the potential for differences between the principal's and the agent's interests exists.

In agency relationships the agent has a moral responsibility for her actions, which she cannot dismiss simply because she acts as an agent for another.

Ethical Problem of Nigerian Local Government System

Policy makers in Nigeria have over the years, dissipated energies on how to reform, reorganize and reposition local government system in Nigeria to achieve the much needed rural transformation. But all have failed to yield positive results as unethical practices culminating in large scale corruption. World Bank defines corruption as the use of public office for private profit, and mismanagement of resources continues to be a constraint in the wheel of progress. Abubakar (2010) rightly noted that workers in Local Governments in Nigeria exhibit painful negative work ethics that manifest in lateness to work, abandonment of duty, insubordination, truancy, disloyalty, indiscipline, absenteeism and non-commitment towards the achievements of the objectives of local governments.

There is flagrant abuse of time and property. Workers indulge in long periods of unproductive conversations, loitering, rumour peddling and malingering.

Local governments in Nigeria are accorded third tier status by the constitution and play the role of decongesting government at the centre, thereby freeing national leaders from the onerous details and unnecessary involvement in local issues. According to (Egonwan, 1999), local governments are far from accomplishing the basic requirements they have been saddled to handle constitutionally due to outright mismanagement of the meager resources available to them. Of course, it is a well known fact that inadequate funds constitute the bane of local government development efforts. The issue here is not just how much is available, but how the local government political office holders' attitudes influence the effective management of the meager resources of funds and materials.

Basically, this boils down to the synthesis that the problem of mismanagement is a function of intensified attitude of local government office holders, who relegate positive management practices to the background with a view of perpetuating systemic illegalities that guarantee personal enrichment, self aggrandizement and blatant misappropriation of public funds. This situation is becoming worrisome and this attracts suspicion, distrust, youth restiveness and lack of confidence from the local populace, who are engaged in unabated demands for integrity, transparency, accountability in the management of their resources. Local people have become restive in view of the *status quo* and so desire to see more developmental strides, high standard of personal ethics and system integrity (Transparency International, 2001).

Corruption and mismanagement in practical terms have been the manifestations of various forms of unethical practices which call for concerted and participatory efforts of all stakeholders, if the trend must be checked. Put clearly, all hands must be on deck to reverse the trend. Williams (2002) supportive of the call asserted that: where fear and doubt have replaced both corporate and individuals' resistance to diminishing resources and stagnant ideals, what is needed most is the injection of a fresh stream of ideals into the mental system. We need great thoughts and reflection that will, in the end, restore our lost confidence in human capacity by local government administration. Therefore, ethics is sine quo-non to accountability to the extent of impacting positively on the mental disposition of

both political office holders and career officials in the local government system in Nigeria.

Ethical Issues and Challenges

A number of factors such as materials and resources difficulties, need for a growing and multifaceted society, change of administration and constant demand that decision processes be more participatory etc. justify the need for ethics in contemporary times. One of the major issues is the question of framing a consummate ethical procedure for local government officers which will be far reaching, comprehensive and capable of yielding positive result. The problem remains whether or not such ethical code will incorporate innovative approaches and combine measures such as accountability tools, codes of conduct, monitoring mechanism and supportive structure. For ethics to be entrenched in Local Government administration, it requires leadership that will provide the integration and articulation of the values mentioned above. Again, strategies like implementation of audit queries, whistle-blowing system, definition of leadership responsibilities and appeal or mobilization of citizens to denounce unethical practices are often meaningless unless dependent on strong political will. It means that without the political will to articulate harmonious ideas, the quest for ethical code will be defeated, but if the political will is realized, it becomes useful in enhancing the development of the mechanism of ethical problem detection, anticipation and disharmony.

Another challenging ethical issue is how to link ethics with law. (Ikotun, 2004) admits that ethics and law go in paripasu because it helps to raise some ethical question relating to how laws can be harmonized with ethics. The perception of law galvanizing ethics creates reliance on the part of the citizens on the state or local government. On the contrary, it implies that any form of law not backed up by ethic is meaningless; if concrete sanctions are not imposed on wrong doing or act of misdemeanor, it is exercise in futility. Unfortunately, law is only a regulator and legal frontier, but obviously not moral frontier, since law must be obeyed even when it is immoral. This contrasts the essence of ethics. (Blanchard, 2002)

Enhancing High Ethical Conduct among Council's Functionaries

Local government administration should endeavour to conduct their activities with high standards, integrity, openness and accountability to enable councils'

officials emulate. This rests on the popular notion that councils, which are likely to put people first (Bartho Pele) stand to propagate high moral standards in the conduct of their activities. Ethical framework showing code of conduct for local government should be encouraged by the state government. Similarly, state government should enact legislation to oblige local government members to observe. Such code of conduct must be conditioned by the following:- Council Leadership must promote and support principles of ethic by setting examples for other council officers to emulate.- Council Chairmen and councilors must always uphold the law and order at all times, act within the trust placed on them.- Council officials must ensure that whenever there is conflict between public and private interests, only public interest should prevail.- Always put your conducts in a way that integrity is not at any point questioned.- Try as much as possible to document all gifts, hospitality and a favour received as member of the council, but be close with discernment not to accept gifts meant to reasonably influence your sense of judgment.- Ensure that in the course of carrying out public business, like awarding contracts/making public appointments or recommending individuals or group for rewards and benefit, always strive to make decisions on ground of merit not on selfish and parochial considerations. The principle of due process should be scrupulously adhered to (Transparency International Initiatives, (1999).

The 1996 Indian Conference of Chief Minister initiated drastic policy measures and, stressed the charter of citizenry rights, accountability of public servants, and transparency in the state administration. This move led to the enthronement and the propagation of charter of ethics and a civil service code that must be based on secularism, equality, impartiality, social justice and rule of law. Also in the United Kingdom, there is a symbiotic relationship between the cabinet secretary and the Minister to the extent that both do not see themselves as working at cross purposes, but they see themselves as guarantors of government properties and programmes. The cabinet secretary ensures that Ministers do not use the civil service for party political ends.

However, the Swedish model of the local government system with a long tradition is different and unique. The local government audit has increasingly been in the saddle of inspecting and assessing how the committees, assembly drafting committees, and individual elected representatives follow the laid down goals and political intensions of the assembly or local government. The audit unit of the local government has a central role in searching into and control of all the activities that local governments are responsible for. These examples are models which Local Government operators in Nigeria should emulate.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the paper advocates a strict code of conduct to be introduced in Nigeria Local Government System, akin to Columbia integrity pact to reflect the views of the stakeholders and should be accorded legal status by the State House of Assembly through legislation as the 1999 constitution of the gave the state the power to oversee the activities of the local governments in Nigeria. It is hoped that if this model code of conduct is put in place with regulatory and enforcement mechanism to bite, it will go a long way to promote accountability, transparency, stewardship, effective participation, and good relationship among councils' functionaries, and by extension reduce the dangers of conflicts and mistrust in the Local Government System in Nigeria.

Recommendations

Exposure of Corrupt Officers and Practices

The public needs to be aware that it has a civil duty to blow the whistle on corruption and corrupt officers at Local Government level. To be able to perform this duty, it should have unhindered to access to information on local government activities.

Reintroduction of Ethics and Civics into the School Curriculum

Civics and ethics should be reintroduced into the primary and secondary school curriculum at the appropriate levels as part of the awareness drive to reduce vulnerability to corruption. Such avenues as churches, mosques, town meetings, clubs etc. to generate public awareness and build an ethics of transparency and accountability should be put in place.

The Need to Fight Corruption from Below

Majority of Nigerians see government at all levels as veritable industry from which money can be made. A reasonable impact can be made if corruption can be tackled at the grassroots than the change at regional. It is important to address corruption and to promote transparency and accountability, not just at the national, but also at the village and ward levels.

Establishment of Local Government Integrity System and Forum.

For economic success and stability to be achieved, people must have confidence in the policies, capacity and validity of the local government. Basic elements which can harness and build this confidence must be formulated and

institutionalized. In the same vein, local government integrity system is advocated to be a coalition of pillars that will comprise of local government chairmen, councilors, the tender board/Finance and General Purposes Committee (FGPC)/financial managers, watchdog agencies, religious leaders, community associations, local board and the local media. This forum could also lead to the development of an action plan aimed at improving the local government integrity system.

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Legislative Oversight and Public Accountability in Nigeria: Challenges and Prospects

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Abstract

since the return of democratic governance in May 1999, the power of the Nigerian legislatures to conduct oversights on any matter within its legislative competence has been an issue of discourse from many quarters. There has been increased concern on legislative activism in ensuring public accountability, curbing corruption and fiscal discipline, most especially in recent years. However, in spite of the importance of legislative oversight in contemporary democratic governance, it has been controversial in all ramifications especially in the political scene, and has remained one of the majors source of executive versus legislative brinkmanship, fueds and squabbles in Nigeria. This paper examines some of the issues and challenges affecting legislative oversight functions enshrined in section 88 (1) & (2) and section 89 (1) of 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria in ensuring public accountability in the Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) of government. The study adopted analytical and exploratory research design using secondary information and discourse analysis of the existing literatures. The study discovered that although the legislative oversight committees perform the oversight functions, but have not been very effective in enhancing public accountability, transparency and curbing corruption in Nigeria. It was revealed that the legislators are themselves placing higher premium of personal and pecuniary interests at the expense of the public interest in the exercise of oversights function coupled with uncooperative relationship between executive and legislative branches

which makes it very difficult for the legislatures to summon some public officials to account. The paper therefore recommended that in so far as public accountability and transparency are to be achieved through legislative oversights in Nigeria, the interest and unity development of the country should override personal and collective interests of the members, the legislatures should see their membership in the National Assembly as a call to national duty which demands sacrifice and commitment to duty in all aspects of governance and a demonstration of the true representatives of the electorates.

Key Words: Legislative oversight, Public Accountability, Good Governance, public interest, MDAs.

Introduction

The principle of separation of power is one of the major ingredients of modern democratic governance which helps to ensure that powers that existed in a country are divided into different branches and not concentrated in one hand. The intent is to prevent one branch from becoming supreme, thereby abusing its power, and to induce the branches to cooperate and work harmoniously towards ensuring political stability and good governance. In an ideal democracy, legislatures served three major functions; law making, representatives of the people as well as oversights. Over the years, legislative oversights has become an issue of considerable discussion by many scholars in Nigeria. One of the key reasons for such concern was the fact that the legislature is generally regarded as an important icon that symbolize the existence of democracy and sovereign organ of the state power. The organ is vested with power to make, alter and repeal laws, served as representatives of the people as well as an institutionalized check against the excesses of other branches, especially the executive in order to make sure that policies and actions reflect the interest of the people they are serving and representing. Perhaps, that is why Mills (1861) wrote in his representative democracy that the legislature act as the eyes, ears and voice of the people. Consequently, the foremost characteristics of a legislature is its intrinsic link to the citizens of the nation therefore its functions are tremendous and its roles are versatile.

In the political realm, the return to democratic governance in Nigeria since 1999 had automatically spurred citizens' quest for transparency and accountability from those that are representing them after many years of military interregnum,

characterized by accountability deficits. Consequently, the citizens demand explanation and justification of actions and decisions taken by those serving as their agents. The presidential system of government practiced in Nigeria makes provision for separation of powers and duties to the three arms of government namely; the executive, legislature and judiciary. Constitutionally, the legislature makes laws for peace, order and good governance of the country, while the executive is charged with the responsibility of execution of laws. The judiciary is called upon in the determination of civil rights and obligations to interpret the laws as encapsulated in sections 4, 5 and 6 of 1999 constitution (as amended). This system of government understands that powers may be misused and abused and therefore introduced a system of checks and balances among the three arms of government. The legislature has the power of oversight over the execution and administration of laws by the executive. The executive holds the powers of execution and implementation of laws and can as well use these powers to call the legislature and judiciary to account. Thus, it is a system created for the overall benefit of the citizens, (Ehigiamusoe and Umar, 2013, Onyekpere 2012).

However, one of the major challenges facing the governance of many nations today is the ability of emerging institutional arrangements to adequately account and justify their actions to those they are representing and serving most especially in the areas of public accountability and fiscal prudence, (Wehner 2003; Santiso and Belgrano 2004). Thus, enhancing the contribution of the legislative oversight on public accountability is increasingly considered as a means of strengthening good governance, ensuring transparency and curbing corruption especially in the areas of public finance management (Orluwene, 2014).

By virtue of Section 88 subsection 1 & 2 and section and 89 1&2 of 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (CFRN), the National Assembly is empowered to conduct investigations into any matter or thing with respect to which it has power to make laws. Section 88 clearly provides that;

Subject to the provisions of this Constitution, each House of the National Assembly shall have power by resolution published in its journal or in the Official Gazette of the Government of the Federation to direct or cause to be directed investigation into any matter or thing with respect to which it has power to make laws, and the conduct of affairs of any person, authority, ministry or government department charged, or intended to be charged, with the duty of or responsibility for executing or administering

laws enacted by National Assembly, and disbursing or administering moneys appropriated or to be appropriated by the National Assembly.

The powers conferred on the National Assembly under the provisions of this section are exercisable only for the purpose of enabling it to make laws with respect to any matter within its legislative competence and correct any defects in existing laws; and expose corruption, inefficiency or waste in the execution or administration of laws within its legislative competence and in the disbursement or administration of funds appropriated by it.

Section 89 on the other hand empowered the Senate or the House of Representative to compel the attendance of any person or authority to appear before it in relation to any matter within its legislative competence. The section provides the Senate or the House of Representatives or a committee appointed in accordance with section 62 of the Constitution shall have power to;

summon any person in Nigeria to give evidence at any place or produce any document or other thing in his possession or under his control, and examine him as a witness and require him to produce any document or other thing in his possession or under his control, subject to all just exceptions; and issue a warrant to compel the attendance of any person who, after having been summoned to attend, fails, refuses or neglects to do so and does not excuse such failure, refusal or neglect to the satisfaction of the House or the committee in question, and order him to pay all costs which may have been occasioned in compelling his attendance or by reason of his failure, refusal or neglect to obey the summons, and also to impose such fine as may be prescribed for any such failure, refused or neglect; and any fine so imposed shall be recoverable in the same manner as a fine imposed by a court of law.

The legislature exercises this power largely through its legislative committee system enshrined in the Constitution and House & Senate rules.

It is argued that one of the most important wisdom behind legislative oversights in Nigeria is to ensure public accountability, transparency, prevent corruption as well as stimulating the Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) to the

attainment of budget outcomes. Public accountability specifically requires that those entrusted with power must be answerable and accountable for their acts, omissions and decisions to those who gave them that power. That was why Pelizzo, (2013) opined that the principle of accountability specifically requires that the government have the obligation to be “answerable” and “justifiable” in its decisions and have the assurance that the public funds are spent for the purpose specified and without personal gain to any private individual beyond fair compensation for his service.

However, in Nigeria, the legislative oversight, a critical aspect of the functions of the legislature other than law making, have been severally compromised and often misused to serve personal interest. Since 1999, various Nigerian MDAs were characterized by budget scandals, financial profligacy and fiscal indiscipline which could have been averted by legislative oversights. The National Assembly’s perception of legislative oversight function as a short-cut to richness is generally worrisome because it negates the principle of good governance. Any legislative investigation means a sure way of enriching the honourable members involved in the exercise, and it earns them political relevance in the system as they seem to assume quasi-judicial demigods to those public officers being investigated, (Nwagwu, 2014). Most often, the oversight committees abandon the substance at issue to chase the shadow with a view to humiliating and intimidating their prey to bow to pressure and accept to negotiate for unholy settlement. It was alleged that in course of executing their statutory legislative oversight function to MDAs, the oversight committees reduced this all important constitutional responsibility to mere alarm mechanism being used to blackmail or witch-hunt political opponents, extortion of money from the parastatals, departments and ministries under its supervision for selfish or personal aggrandizement. This was the case in 2012 when the House of Representatives *Ad-hoc* Committee on the Monitoring of Fuel Subsidy to the tune of N1.3 trillion was enmeshed in a US\$620,000 bribery scandal received from the Zenon Oil and Gas Chairman, Mr. Femi Otedola to facilitate the removal of Zenon Oil and Gas company’s name from the list of oil marketers who bought foreign exchange from the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) without importing petroleum products. In the same year, the House of Representatives committee on Capital Market and Institutions conducted an oversight into the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) during which specific charges of corruption were preferred on Ms Aruma Oteh, the Director General of the Commission. The report revealed that as part of

its statutory oversight functions, the House Committee Chairman allegedly accused Ms Oteh of financial profligacy, asserting that she had stayed in a hotel for eight months and spent over N30 million. In one day, the DG spent N85,000 on food at the hotel. The other day she spent N850,000 on food. (The Nation Newspaper, March 21, 2012). The Director-General was completely taken aback as she could not put up a defense immediately. Rather, she questioned the credibility of the Chairman to preside over the probe, alleging that the Committee Chairman collected a cheque to travel to the Dominican Republic to attend a conference which he did not attend, nor did he return the money. She accused him of undermining his capacity to carry out his duties as Chairman of House Committee by asking the Securities and Exchange Commission to contribute N39 million for the public hearing, and demanded N5 million for himself to avert justice. The chairman probably bursted out due to his apparent failure in the illicit bid for gratifications, (Punch Newspaper, 2012).

Also in the Senate chamber, many incidences of gross abuse of legislative oversight functions abound since 1999. For example, in April 2008, the chairperson Senate Committee on Health, came under investigation by Nigeria's Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) involving N300 million unspent funds of the 2007 budget of ministry of health which she was allegedly distributed among the Minister, her minister of state and top civil servants on the Senate and House Health Committee she chairs.

In spite of the several concerted efforts been put in place with a view to ensuring accountability, transparency and fighting corruption, Nigeria continued to be ranked among the most corrupt nations in the world. For example, in 2011, a survey conducted by Transparency International (TI) ranked Nigeria 143rd out of 182 countries surveyed. Although the number dropped to 139th in 2012, but it also moved to 144th in 2013 and later dropped to 136th in 2014. This clearly signifies high level of corruption. These lapses have given rise to query why the legislative oversight, a robust mechanism institutionalized to checkmate these excesses from the MDAs for the purpose of ensuring public accountability, transparency and curbing corruption has been compromised? What are the major challenges and issues bedeviling legislative oversight functions in Nigeria? How can legislative oversight enhance public accountability in Nigeria?

The objective of this paper therefore is to examine some of the issues and challenges bedeviling the legislative oversights functions in enhancing public accountability in Nigeria. The scope of the study is from 1999 to 2015. The choice of this period was informed by the fact that it was the period that Nigeria experienced an uninterrupted period of democratic dispensation after many decades of military dictatorship that has been epitomized by lack of public accountability and transparency. The study assumes that legislative oversights does not enhance public accountability in Nigeria since 1999.

The significance of this study stems from the fact that legislative oversight and public accountability are very central and crucial on the democratization process and critical in ensuring good governance and it is coming at the time when there has been increased concern on legislative activism in ensuring public accountability and fiscal discipline, most especially in recent years characterized by legislative versus executive brinkmanships, feuds and squabbles. In fact, the study adds to the existing literatures by writers like Orluwene (2013) who undertook study on an overview of Nigerian legislature and public accountability in presidential democracy with special reference to section 52 (1) and section 94 (1 &2) of 1999 CFRN which requires each and every member to declare his assets and liabilities before taking his seat in that house. The study also adds to the value of work carried out by Nwagwu (2014) who wrote on legislative oversight in and the effectiveness of the organ in ensuring good governance in Nigeria polity. But Ehigiamusoe and Umar (2013) on their part sought to examine the significance of legislative oversight on budget performance of some Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) in Nigeria with special reference to federal ministry of education. Similarly, Pelizzo (2013) gives an exploration of Government Accountability and Legislative Oversight. His main focus is on how the system and type of government affected public accountability through legislative oversight functions. However, none of these studies have specifically examined legislative oversight and public accountability *vis-avis* the major challenges and issues inherent in this important constitutional responsibility. Therefore this study seeks to fill this knowledge gap.

Methodology

This paper adopted documentary research. Data was obtained from the secondary sources using already existing literatures on the powers, functions, duties and

responsibilities of legislatures as enshrined in 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (CFRN), Senate and House Standing Rules and procedures. The data was analysed using discourse analysis and discussion in order to establish the relationship between legislative oversight and public accountability in Nigeria for the period under review. This is based on the premise that documentary research involves analysing, conceptualizing and assessing available information to support a viewpoint or argument of an academic work as rightly pointed out by Scott (2006) and Balihar (2007). In addition, the use of this method was justified on premise that information needed for the study was sufficiently available to provide a reasonable ground and arrive at valid conclusion.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Legislative Oversight

Legislative oversight refers to the review, monitoring, and supervision of the executive arm of government, including the numerous Federal Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs)'s programmes, activities, and policy implementation by the National Assembly. The legislature exercises this power largely through its legislative committee system. Legislative oversight authority derives from its "implied" powers in the Constitution, and House & Senate rules. It is an integral part of the Nigerian system of checks and balances. Oversight as an outgrowth of this principle serves a number of overlapping objectives and purposes such as improvement in the efficiency, economy, and effectiveness of governmental operations, evaluation of programmes and performance; detection and prevention of poor administration, waste, abuse, arbitrary and capricious behaviour, or illegal and unconstitutional conduct.

Oversight as one of the most important functions of the legislature, is a concept that is used to refer to crucial role of the legislatures in monitoring and reviewing the actions of the executive organs of government. This is represented by an exercise of power in constitutional democracy where administration or executive organ is being checkmate and being held accountable by an organ that is separate from it.

The United Nations Office of Internal Oversight (OIOS 2011) conceives oversight as the process of ensuring "responsible administration of resources, a culture of

accountability and transparency and improved programme performance. Here, oversight is viewed from the prism of effective resource management, accountability, transparency and good governance.

According to Ndoma-Egba (2012), legislative oversight refers to the power of the legislature to review, monitor and supervise government agencies, programmes, activities and policy implementation strategies of the executive arm of government. This is to ensure that the arm sustains the principles of good governance, remains responsive, transparent and accountable to the electorates. The committee structure of the National Assembly (House of Representatives and Senate) is being used to execute oversight functions through supervision, watchfulness, or curtail excesses, review of executive actions and activities. Thus, oversight functions ensure that activities of the executive arm of government and its agencies are kept under constant surveillance and scrutiny by the legislature. A leading role for the legislature has always been adjudged an essential defense against executive tyranny.

The famous British utilitarian, John Stuart Mills, perhaps the first to use the term oversight in his book titled *Representative Government 1861* in the context of a proper office of a representative assembly to watch and control the government, to throw the light of publicity on its acts, to compel a full exposition and justification of all of them which any one considers questionable behaviour.

Wilson in his book *Congressional Government 1885* used the term 'oversight' to refer to the review and investigation of the executive branch. It is the proper duty of a representative body to look diligently into every affair of government and to talk much about what it sees. It is meant to be the eyes and the voice, and to embody the wisdom and will of its constituents.

Corroborating the above view, Dogara (2015) posited that oversight functions carried out by the legislative branch with aim of reviewing monitoring and supervision of government and public agencies, including the implementation of policy and legislation. Obviously, Legislative oversight involves keeping an eye on the activities of governmental agencies especially the executive branch on behalf of the Nigerian people. This process brings to the knowledge of the public what the executive branch is doing, and affords the electorate the opportunity to determine whether public servants are really serving their collective interest or

not. Thus, legislative oversight function is often referred to as the watchdog role. One of the cardinal merits of investigative hearings or oversight is that it puts public officers on their toes, literally. Persons who deal directly with public funds and government policy are made aware that their conduct could be examined or called into question by an alert legislature desirous of public good. This acts as a restraining influence on governmental action.

From the above definition, it can be distilled out that after participating in law making, the legislature's main role is to see whether laws are effectively implemented and whether in fact, they address and correct the problems intended by the drafters.

The above definitions are in tandem with Stair-Hall (2011) who defines Legislative oversight functions as the legislatures' review and evaluation of selected activities of the executive branch of government. The legislative branch conducts oversight activities because it has not only the power to enact new programs for the state, but also has a duty to ensure that existing programs are implemented and administered efficiently, effectively, and in a manner consistent with legislative intent. One of the cardinal merits of investigative hearings or oversight is that it puts public officers on their toes, literally. Persons who deal directly with public funds and government policy are made aware that their conduct could be examined or called into question by an alert legislature desirous of public good. This acts as a restraining influence on governmental action.

In common parlance, the concept of oversight is a paradox of sorts. It has two opposing meanings; one is negative and the other is positive incidentally, both are intrinsically the two sides of the same coin as exist ace of one warrant negates exit ace of the other. On the negative note, Kirkpatrick (1980) describes it as a failure to carry out an act. However, from the positive point of view, oversight is regarded as skillful supervision aimed at ensuring that the act is executed to yield the desired result.

In many respects, these conceptions capture the role of the legislature in overseeing government programmes and policies after they have been enacted. However, Lees (1977) strongly argued that legislatures may after all be engaged in oversight activities well before policy is enacted. Parliaments, he stressed,

oversee the executive not only with regards to execution and implementation, but also with regards to preparation of the policies. Thus he defines legislative oversight as ‘the behaviour by legislators and their staff, individually or collectively, which result in an im-pact, intended or not, on bureaucratic behaviour.

Accordingly, it can safely be said that oversight is an extensive concept which includes a wide range of activities undertaken by the legislature to monitor, review and encourage compliance with constitutional obligation by the executive. Oyewo (2007) sees oversight as overlapping, as well as involving the discharge of the legislative functions of law making, watch-dog of public finance, investigative functions and even constituency outreach programmes necessary for the survival of democracy.

Purpose/ Objectives of Legislative oversight functions

Commenting on the extreme importance of legislative oversights, Wilson made the following convincing arguments in his Congressional government

It is the proper duty of a representative body to look diligently into every affair of government and to talk about what it sees. It is meant to be the eyes and voices of the people and to embody the wisdom and will of its constituents. Unless congress have and use every means of acquiring itself with the acts and the disposition of the helpless to learn how it is being served, and unless the congress both scrutinize these things and sift them by every form of discussion, the country must remain in embarrassing, crippling ignorance of the very affairs which it most important that it should understand and direct.

It is obvious from the above expression of Wilson that oversight functions serves a number of overlapping objectives and purposes. These purposes are in tandem with the provision of section 88 and 89 of 1999 constitution of Nigeria. These include *inter-alia*:

- Improvement in the efficiency, economy, and effectiveness of governmental operations;
- Evaluation of programs and performance;

- Detection and prevention of poor administration, waste, abuse, arbitrary and capricious behaviour, or illegal and unconstitutional conduct;
- Protection of civil liberties and constitutional rights;
- Informing the general public and ensuring that executive policies reflect public interest;
- Gathering information to develop new legislative proposals or to amend existing statutes;
- Ensuring administrative compliance with legislative intent; and
- Prevention of executive encroachment on legislative authority and prerogatives.

Writing on the role of parliamentary committees, Stapenhurst (2012) submitted that legislative committees are the engine rooms of the Legislature, and where the committee system is underdeveloped, the budgetary role of the legislature tends to be weak.

In carrying out oversight duties, the Legislatures are generally equipped with numerous mechanisms to exercise control or oversight of public affairs by MDAs. The exact nature of these mechanisms will however depend on the parliamentary and legal and administrative systems put in place, but most commonly these exercises were carried out in two dimensions:

First Dimension consists of oversight *Ex-Ante* and *oversight Ex-post*. With regards to oversight-ante, the legislature performed these functions right before the government enacts a specific policy or becomes engaged in specific activity, the oversight tools according to Nzekwu (2006) in this dimension include public hearing in committees, hearing in plenary sessions or request of public documents. But with regards to oversight ex-post, these tools are performed after the government has enacted a policy, therefore it is premised on checking if the policy is properly implemented. In this respect, oversight includes questions and interpellations, probe committees and inquiries.

The second Dimension consists of External or internal tools. This includes checking whether the oversight tools are established within or outside the

legislature. For example the internal tools include questions, ombudsmen, Auditor General probe panels etc.

Pelizzo and Stapenhurst, (2008) asserted that specialized committees have emerged as fundamental tools for oversight in general and for the budget process and spending of public monies in particular. In many parliaments, the Public Accounts Committee (PAC) serves as the audit committee of parliament, making it a core institution of public financial accountability. Anderson (2008) noted that effective oversight committees are most often those with supportive staff, useful partners, and allies from the bureaucracy and civil society. Legislatures and their committees are often assisted in their oversight function by extra parliamentary accountability institutions, such as supreme audit institutions and ombudsmen. Parliamentary budget office may also provide independent expertise and support to parliament.

Writing on the challenges facing legislative oversight, Santiso & Belgrano, (2004) submitted that one of the greatest challenges remains to strengthen democratic accountability while ensuring fiscal discipline. They further revealed that there has been increased legislative activism in public budgeting in recent years after decades of rocked executive-legislative relations since the restoration of democracy. They nevertheless argued that the contribution of the legislature to budget oversight remains inhibited by structural factors, both internal and external to legislative organisation. Effective legislative budgeting requires the capacity to discharge budgetary functions effectively and responsibly, as well as the existence of an enabling environment. Ultimately, the governance of the budget reflects a delicate balance between executive power and legislative oversight whose effectiveness is largely determined by the broader governance context of budget policy-making (Santiso & Belgrano 2004). Langdon, (2012) noted that one crucial challenge which parliaments face is how their increased influence can contribute to governance improvements and overwhelming policy priority of countering poverty. The basis of its thrust is the experience emerging in various parliaments that suggests that effective oversight can greatly increase social accountability of governments, and thereby contribute to a significant result from poverty reduction policy goals. In his submission on the challenges of parliaments to accelerate poverty reduction through financial oversight, Langdon, (2012) noted that there are those who would seriously question such a possibility and it is common to hear major objections to a significant parliamentary role in economic policy

making. Firstly, parliamentarians lack the technical expertise to be able to participate in economic planning and analysis, and therefore cannot be expected to be real players in the financial policy process. Secondly, parliamentarians are pushed by the pressures of local constituency interests and will seek to increase spending in their areas -- thus accelerating spending in general and distorting overall budgets. Thirdly, parliaments are too subject to political party dominance that prevents the exercise of significant oversight responsibilities on the executive, and can make members of parliaments subservient to partisan priorities in analysing resource allocation and service delivery issues (Langdon 2012).

Nevertheless, it is argued that parliament usually does not have sufficient information or technical capacity to play an effective role in the ensuring public accountability and transparency. The executive will always have a greater information base than the legislature, and the parliament will enter the process at a later stage. Moreover, most parliamentary committees in developing and transitional countries do not have sufficient technical research, or even administrative capacity to conduct oversight functions (Warren & Joachim 2004).

Public Accountability

Public accountability is the hallmark of modern democratic governance. Democracy remains a paper procedure if those in power cannot be held accountable in public for their acts and omissions, for their decisions, their policies, and their expenditures. Public accountability, as an institution, therefore, is the complement of public management (Bovens, 2004). As a concept, however, 'public accountability' is rather elusive. It is a hurrah-word, like 'learning', 'responsibility', or 'solidarity' - nobody can be against it. It is one of those evocative political words that can be used to patch up a rambling argument, to evoke an image of trustworthiness, fidelity, and justice, or to keep critics at a distance.

Public Accountability refers to the institutionalized practices of account giving, (Ndoma Egba, 2012). Simply put, public accountability is the openness in the conduct of government business, explanation, justification and accessibility of valid regular and adequate information on how people are governed in the society.

Accountability requires prudent expenditure of money and the existence of appropriate fiscal records.

Commenting on accountability, Bovens (2006) describes it as the obligation to explain and justify conduct. This is usually in a social contract between an actor, the accountant and the forum; the account holder or accountee. This involves not only provision of information about performances by accountant, but also the need for debate, questions by the accountee and answer by actor and judgement of the actor by the forum (accountee) it also implies sanction in the case of mal-performance or reward in the case of good performance.

It is interesting to point out that this definition suggest that both the government administrators and agencies are required to answer for their actions before a person or a group of persons. Public accountability is based on the premise that all public servants own and hold their positions and everything associated with these positions, as trust for the people, who are their principals and masters. Those who are expected to render service must account to the people for their successes and failures, and those who are entrusted with the custody and disbursement of public funds must appropriately account to the people for their use.

According to Dubnick (2002: 7-9), the roots of the contemporary concept can be traced to the reign of William I, in the decades after the 1066 Norman conquest of England. In 1085 William required all the property holders in his realm to render a count of what they possessed. These possessions were valued and listed by royal agents in the so called Domesday Books. This census was not held just for taxing purposes, it established the foundation of the royal governance. The Domesday Books listed what was in the king's realm; moreover, the king had all the landowners swear oaths of allegiance. In the early twelfth century this evolved into a highly centralized administrative kingship that was ruled through centralized auditing and semi-annual account-giving. Nowadays, accountability comes in many shapes and sizes. It has moved beyond its bookkeeping origins and has become a symbol for good governance, both in the public and in the private sector.

The 'publicness' of public accountability as rightly observed by Bovens (2006) relates to at least two different features. First of all, 'public' relates to openness. The account giving is done in public, that is, it is open or at least accessible to

citizens. Secondly, 'public' refers to the public sector which focuses on public managers, on officials spending public money, exercising public authority, or managing a corporate body under public law.

On his part, Adegbite (2009) conceptualized accountability as the obligation to demonstrate that work has been carried out in accordance with agreed rules, regulations and standards and the officer tenders accurate and fair report of the performance results. It can be deciphered from this definitions that following due process in carrying out responsibilities and transparency in feedback are very crucial in attaining highest level of accountability. Perhaps that is why some scholars like Olowu (2002), Idemudia (2008) and Ujah (2010) insisted that transparency is a corollary of accountability and both are *sine quo non* in achieving good governance and development of any nation.

In the words of Olowu (2002), accountability refers to answerability for one's actions or behaviours. He added that accountability has three important elements which are clear definition of responsibility, reporting mechanism and a system of review, rewards and sanctions where necessary. This implies that the issue of responsibility, feedback and transparency are very essential in public accountability.

Bovens (2006), Coy, Fischer & Gordon (2001), Olowu (2002) and Stephenhurst & O'Brien (2010) stress on the importance of public accountability. They maintained that public accountability provides a democratic means of monitoring and controlling government conduct, prevents the development of concentration of power and enhances the learning capacity and effectiveness of public administration. Similarly, Olowu (2002) added that public accountability serves as a quality control device, enhances the growing role of international donor agencies and also one of the indicators of good governance. This means that through accountability, norms are (re)produced, internalized, and, where necessary, adjusted. The manager who is held to account is told about the standards he must hold to and about the fact that in the future he may again (and, in that case, more strictly) be called to account in connection with his conduct. In such cases, outsiders are often addressed as well, particularly those outsiders likely to find themselves in a similar position to that of the person or persons being called to account.

It is important to point out that in every public accountability, the interest of the generality of the people should invariably be at the core. That is why Ujah (2010) opined that public accountability suggest an arrangement in which public officers are made to give account of their stewardship to members of the public, and he explained that “public” means the generality of the populace, the people or the sections of the society particularly touched by the subject matter on which an account is to be given.

Stephenhurst& O’Brien also maintained that public accountability serves as a means for evaluating the effectiveness of public officials and institutions, ensures value for money, institutes confidence and also makes government more responsive to the community it is meant to serve. Public accountability also functions to enhance the integrity of public governance. The public character of the account giving is a safeguard against corruption, nepotism, abuse of power, and other forms of inappropriate behaviour (Rose-Ackerman 1999). The assumption is that public account giving will deter public managers from secretly misusing their delegated powers and will provide overseers, be they journalists, interest groups, members of Parliament or official controllers, with essential information to trace administrative abuses.

Together, these functions helps to maintain or enhance the legitimacy of public governance. Governments in western societies face an increasingly critical public. The exercise of public authority is not taken for granted. Public accountability, in the sense of transparency, responsiveness, and answerability, functions to enhance the public confidence in government and to bridge the gap between citizens and representatives and between governed and government.

Moreover, in the incidental case of tragedies, fiascos, and failures, processes of public account giving have an important ritual, purifying function, they can help to provide public catharsis., (Dubnick 2002). Public account giving can help to bring a tragic period to an end and can allow people to get things off their chests, to voice their grievances, to give account of themselves and to justify or excuse their conduct. The fact that, in the end, a balance is drawn up makes a new beginning possible. Processes of calling to account create the opportunity for penitence, reparation, and forgiveness and can thus prevent the past remaining a burden on the shoulders of all those involved and on their mutual relations.

Judging from the above exploration, one may be right to say that the central notion behind public accountability is premised on the fact that public servants including both elected and non elected representatives are holding their positions and everything in that connection as the trustees of the people, who are expected to be their masters and must render proper, accurate and reliable accounts of all their actions and decisions to them (the general public).

Theoretical framework

For the purpose of this study, a theory called Agency Theory was found worthy and relevant to serve as a suitable framework for analyzing our literature in order to shape and guide our understanding on the relationship between legislative oversight and public accountability in Nigeria.

The agency theory was propounded by Stephen Ross and Barry Mitnick in 1970s from the combined disciplines of economics and institutional theories. However, the most cited reference to the usage of the theory comes from Michael C. Jensen and William Meckling. Basically, the theory is based on the premise of a contractual agreement between one person or an institution (generally termed as an Agent) and another person or an institution (generally termed as Principal) in which the agent acts on behalf and in the interest of the principal (Monzetti & Morgenstern 2000). In this case, the agent is under obligation to give account and explanation of his acts, omissions and decisions to the principal on whose behalf he is serving and the principal agrees to reward the agent on mutually agreeable terms. As Bovens (2004) asserts, the principal in the chain of the relationship wants to control the exercise of transferred power by holding the agent to account. The assumption is that agent should always provide sufficient, valid and reliable account of his actions to the principal in anticipation of reward. However, if the agent failed in the discharge of his duties as agreed, he is liable to be sanctioned by the principal.

The theory can be described using the following picture

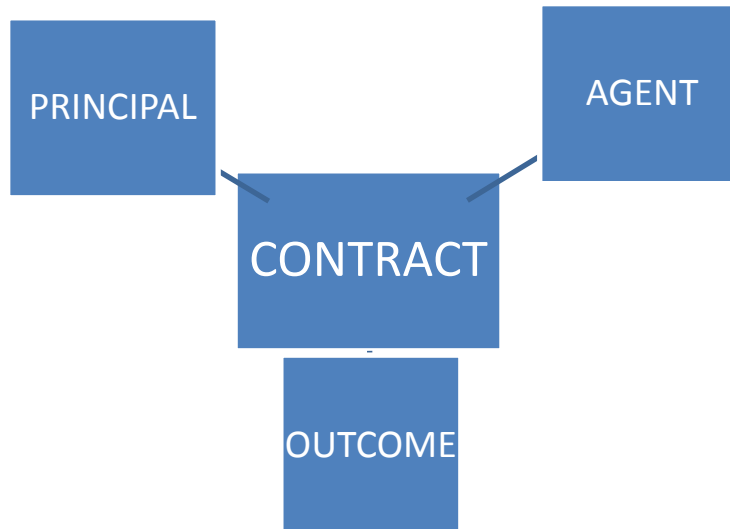


Figure 1

Therefore, by virtue of the above theory, the legislative oversight functions can be described within the Nigerian context as thus; the Nigerian citizens are the primary principals who delegate their power through election to the elected representatives including all the members of the National Assembly, and the chief executives including the president and all members of his cabinet who exercise power through thousands of civil servants working in various Ministries, Departments and Agencies of (MDAs) of government. These agencies at the end of every year spend billions of tax payers' money to execute public policies and programmes of government aimed at ensuring the betterment of the Nigerian people. The Nigerian citizens whose power belongs to as enshrined in section 13 of 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, will invariably demand explanation from the elected representatives as well as public servants.

Legislative oversight in this context encompasses the ability of the legislatures as agents and representative of the people to investigate, supervise and monitor the activities of these MDAs with a view to correcting defects in the existing laws, expose corruption, inefficiency in execution or administration of funds appropriated by it and ensure public accountability. The main focus here is to ensure that existing programmes and policies are implemented and executed effectively and efficiently in a manner consistent with yearnings and aspirations of the Nigerian citizens who are the major principals in this respect. The

relationship in this nexus is not between a superior and a sub-ordinate or master-servant relationship, it is rather a relationship that is anchored on the quality of the institutional arrangement of the democratic governance.

At the end of the relationship, the Nigerian citizens will judge the performance of the government and express their satisfaction by voting the government again or in the case of dissatisfaction, by voting out the government.

Presentation of Results and Discussion

Since the return of democracy in 1999, the National Assembly consisting of Senate and House of Representatives have conducted series of oversight visits to various MDAs and established a lot of investigative and probe panels. According to Nairaland (2012), the two chambers of the National Assembly had 176 probe panels, conducted over 477 oversight visits to MDAs of government. Similarly, in the Nigeria's 7th National Assembly, there are 56 Senate Standing Committees and 190 Standing committees of the House of Representatives that performs oversight functions with view to ensuring fiscal prudence, financial discipline and ensuring administrative compliance with the legislative intent. However, due to the large number of oversights, this paper selected only some of the investigative oversights and probe panels by the two chambers of the National Assembly which include the following:

Table 1: Some selected Legislative Oversights and probe panels established in the Senate Chamber

1.	Senate committee on Public account in 2001 investigated the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC), the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) and National Electric Power Authority (NEPA)	Senate	2001	Syndicate of corruption has been revealed and connivance between NNPC and CBN to divert public resources
2.	Senate probe of NNPC under GMD Gious Obaseki	Senate	2003	Lost of N302 billion through inappropriate accounting system and sharp practices by NNPC

				under GMD Obaseki
3.	Senate probe of Ajaokuta Steel Compant Ltd concession	Senate	2006	The company was valued at \$6 billion but was concessioned by the federal government to Global Infrastructures ltd at a value of \$25 million just two years later.
4.	Senate probe of former FCT minister Nasir El-Rufa'I over illegal allocation of lands in FCT	Senate	2008	Gross abuse of officie, primitive and undue acquisition of wealth without caution, fraudulent allocation of plots in Abuja to families and friends.
5.	Senate probe of Obasanjo and Yar'adua over illegal deduction from the solid minerals special account	Senate	2009	Over N230 million was deducted from the said account by the two erstwhile presidents without following due process
6.	Senate probe on the sale of Federal Government house in Abuja and Lagos	Senate	2010	Questionable sale of government assets at a give away price.
7.	Police Pension probe	Senate	2012	Defrauding contributors to the tune of N196 billion

Source: Researchers' Survey.

Similarly, in the House of representatives, such investigative committees and probe panels were established since 1999. Prominent among them are shown in the table below:

Table 2: Some selected Legislative Oversights and probe panels established in the House of Representatives

S/N	Oversight/Probe Panel	Chamber	Year	Findings
1.	House of Representative probe panel on the collapse of <i>Societie Generale Bank</i> that went under without any return	House of Representatives	1999	Over ₦9.97 billion loan were written off under questionable circumstances

	to depositors and shareholders			
2.	House of Representatives committee on Aviations probe on the circumstances surrounding the inflation of contract figures in the ministry of aviation	House of Representatives	2001	The chairman of Nigerian Airspace Management Agency (NAMA) has inflated the contract figure for the construction of 22 radars in some designated airports in Nigeria from \$14 to \$15 million
3.	House of representatives probe of Railway project	House of Representatives	2006	Spending of \$3.8 billion meant for the revival of nations railway lines
4.	House of Representatives probe of finance ministry over non implementation of 2007 budget	House of Representatives	2008	Refusal to implement budget as provided in appropriation Act.
5.	House of Representatives probe of Energy sector concerning the allegation of corruption in spending of \$16 billion on electricity by erstwhile president Olusegun Obasanjo	House of Representatives	2009	Gross abuse of office power, heavy corruption, misappropriation of public resources, and spending of over \$13 billion without electricity
6.	House of representatives probe on fuel subsidy	House of Representatives	2012	Over N1.5 trillion fuel subsidy scandal was

				discovered in which oil marketers bought foreign exchange from CBN without importing petroleum products
7.	House of representatives probe on the circumstances surrounding the collapse of Nigerian Stock Exchange (NSE)	House of Representatives	2012	Defrauding investors, large scale corruption and inefficiency in the management of NSE.

Source: Researchers' Survey.

However, there are so many instances in which both two chambers established a committees to undertook oversights, and conduct investigation on some issues of national interest. Some of these include the following.

Table 3: Some selected Legislative Oversights and probe panels established in the Senate and House of Representatives

1.	Hulliburton scam probe panel separately by the two chambers	Senate and House of Representatives	2000	Albert Stanley bribed senior Nigerian government official to the tune of \$180 million to win Nigerian Natural Liquified Gas (NLNG) contract in the late 1999s
2.	The National Assembly probe on privatization and commercialization of Nigerian Airways Limited (NAL) Dr. Mrs Kema Chikwe and the	Senate and House of Representatives	2004	The secret deals of the ministry and the BPE were exposed and the plans to purchase the assets of NAL under

	Director General of the Bureau of Public Enterprises (BPE) was summoned to appear before the National Assembly committee on the privatization.			shrouded circumstances were scuttled
3.	NASS probe of Obasanjo and Yar'adua over illegal deduction from the solid minerals special account	Senate and House of Representatives	2009	Over N230 million was deducted from the said account by the two erstwhile presidents without following due process
4.	NASS probe of world bank aviation loans	Senate and House of Representatives	2009	\$61.6 billion fraud

Source: Researchers' Survey.

Undoubtedly, the above table is clear evidence to show that legislatures perform oversight functions. However, in an ideal situation, such oversights are expected to ensure public accountability, transparency and curb corruption, however, that has not always been the case in Nigeria. In spite of the importance of legislative oversight in contemporary democratic governance, it has been controversial in all ramifications in the political scene, and has remained the major source of executive and legislative conflict in Nigeria. A former Attorney-General of the Federation and Minister of Justice, Honourable Justice Oluwadare Aguda had once argued that oversight functions as was carried out by the legislature was often unconstitutional and violates the principle of separation of powers which is basic to democratic government.

In addition, in the present dispensation, the oversight power of the legislature was not judiciously exercised to guarantee Nigerians the dividends for electing their representatives. There were clear cover-ups and lack of political will to bring a lot of the cases to closure. Even when it issues reports on certain important national issues, such as the fuel subsidy scam and the police pension scams, the National Assembly do not have power to compel the executive to implement its recommendations or sanction those found wanting. As nothing almost always get

done after individuals, agencies and corporations are indicted by either the House of Representatives or the Senate, the billions spent yearly on either public hearings and oversight functions have turned out to be mere drains on national resources.

Just to serve as an example, below are some of the top-ten investigations and probe panels established by the 7th National Assembly which up to now they owe explanation to the Nigerian citizens:

The Maina Pension Scam: There was a probe into pension funds that affected about 141,790 pensioners. Abdulrasheed Maina, the Chairman of Pension Reform Task Team, was accused of looting N195billion. The Senate set up a committee to investigate the matter. During investigation, Mr. Maina alleged that Aloysius Etuk, representing Akwa Ibom State, demanded \$100,000 dollars from him as bribe. A former director of pension in the office of the Head of Service of the Federation, Sani Shuaibu Teidi, who was prosecuted along with 31 others, also alleged that Mr. Etuk and other members of the committee collected a bribe of N3 billion from him. Although the Senate seemed furious about the allegation, it did not take decisive steps to investigate. The National Assembly also did not push the executive hard enough to implement its report on the pension scam and punish offenders.

Kerosene subsidy scam: The kerosene scam is considered monumental fraud by the average Nigerian. Kerosene, which is supposed to be sold for N50 to consumer, sells for between N130 and N150 per litre. Many years after a presidential directive ended subsidy for kerosine, the NNPC claimed it had continued to subsidise the product. Yet, Nigerians are not benefiting from the subsidy as the product sells for far above the official price at the pumps. Separate investigations were conducted by Senate and House of Representatives in which they discovered that “unknown officials and marketers” have raked over \$8.64 billion on kerosine subsidy. Several billion naira are believed to have been stolen under the guise of kerosine subsidy. The National Assembly made a feeble attempt to get to the root of the matter. But it issued no indictment and did not take concrete steps to resolve the matter. No official of the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation, and the petroleum ministry have been sanctioned over the matter. Nigerians are still waiting for the result of the investigation.

Police Pension Fund Fraud: Five people, including former Director of Police Pension Fund, Esai Dangabar, were accused of misusing N32.8 billion from the Police Pension Fund. Mr. Dangabar accused some committee members of the Senate of benefiting from the loot. The senate denied the allegation without ordering an investigation. The world may never know whether indeed the Senate joint Committee on Establishment and Public Service Matter, and State and Local Government Affairs indeed took bribes from the pension thieves.

Stella Oduah: Before her removal as Aviation Minister, Stella Oduah was embroiled in a N255 million armoured car scandal. She was accused of abusing her office by compelling an agency under her ministry to buy her expensive cars. The House of Representatives has so far failed to release a detailed report of its investigation into the matter. Although Ms. Oduah was later dropped as minister, other officials involved in the matter remained untouched till date. Recently, a Federal High Court in Abuja granted Media Rights Agenda (MRA) leave to apply for an order to compel the House to furnish it with transcripts of the proceedings of the House Committee on Aviation at the hearing of the Committee on the procurement of the two bullet proof BMW cars by the Nigerian Civil Aviation Authority (NCAA) through Messrs Coscharis Motors Limited.

Missing N20 billion Naira oil money: In 2013, a former Governor of the Central Bank of Nigeria, Lamido Sanusi, alleged that the NNPC failed to remit billions of naira in oil proceeds to the state. This caused a huge rift between the CBN governor and President Goodluck Jonathan, leading to the president suspending Mr. Sanusi from office. Although the National Assembly investigated the matter but still was unable to bring it to the knowledge of Nigerians whom they are representing and serving.

\$15 million private jet/arms scandal: A private jet conveyed \$15 million in cash to Johannesburg for a purported arms deal between Nigeria and a South African firm. That deal seriously embarrassed Nigeria, but the National Assembly failed to investigate. Attempts by lawmakers of the All Progressives Congress to table the matter at the House of Representatives were frustrated by their Peoples Democratic Party's counterparts.

Abba Morro Immigration Scandal: Despite the death of over 15 individuals who went to write entrance examinations into the Nigerian Immigration Service on March 13, 2015, the Minister of Interior, Abba Morro, has remained in office. Before the entrance test, candidates were made to pay N1,000 for application forms. A private company, Drexel Nig Ltd, was also implicated in the recruitment scam. Although federal lawmakers commenced investigation into the incident, nothing has been heard of the matter ever since. Nigerians suspect cover-up, especially because the minister involved, Mr. Morro, is a core loyalist of the then senate president, David Mark, who doubles as the Chairman of the National Assembly.

Malabu Oil Scandal: This was one of the biggest oil scandals that did not receive the kind of attention it deserves. It involves a former Petroleum minister, Dan Etete, who was convicted in France for money laundering. His illegal company, Malabu Oil, received an illegal \$1.1million from the Nigerian government as proceeds for the sale of an oil block. Upon receipt, the money was immediately disbursed to certain individuals. The National Assembly is yet to bring this matter, which involves officials of the presidency, ministers and business people, to closure. There appears to be attempts to cover up the matter.

Ekiti Gate: A leaked tape of the alleged electoral malpractices during the gubernatorial election in Ekiti State caused a major stir in the country. Four principal characters were heard discussing how to manipulate the election. The voices were those of former Minister of State for Defence, Musiliu Obanikoro; the Minister of Police Affairs, Jelili Adesiyun; former Deputy governor of Osun state, Iyiola Omisore, and the eventual winner of the election and current governor of Ekiti state, Ayo Fayose. Despite the huge evidence in the public domain, the Presidency said it would not investigate the matter. The National Assembly has failed to investigate the matter, which is clearly a major assault on our democracy.

Fuel Subsidy Scandal: In the case of oil subsidy scandal, some members of the house of representatives were alleged to have collected bribe from oil companies to facilitate removal of their names from those that have collected the money from the CBN but failed to import petroleum products. The chairman of one of the oil companies have alleged that the House Ad Hoc Committee Chairman demanded US\$3 million but collected \$500,000 bribe as first installment for the purpose

disclosed above. Subsequently, the honourable member was suspended from the House of Representatives while legislative probe into the matter is still on course. The Clerk of the *Ad -hoc* Committee on the Monitoring of Fuel Subsidy, Mr Boniface Emenalo who was also implicated in the bribery scandal had as well been suspended from the House. Honourable Emenalo allegedly collected a bribe sum of US\$120,000 from Otedola, making the total bribery sum to \$620,000, (Punch Newspaper, 16th June, 2012). Meanwhile, President Goodluck Jonathan was reported to have directed that the police investigation report on the matter be forwarded to the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) for further action in demonstration of the commitment of his administration to get to the root of the pervasive fraud that has blighted the management of the fuel subsidy scheme. Such a bribery allegation was in its entirety a negation of the legislative oversight function, particularly on its resolve to ensure probity, accountability and transparency in the conduct of its business. The House of Representative referred the bribery allegation to its committee on ethics. But up to now Nigerians are waiting for the outcome of the report.

In a recent probe by the Senate committee on Public Accounts, chaired by Senator Ahmed Lawan to investigate the reported abuse of the special funds account, served as an eye-opener with very disturbing results. From the natural resources account, which is owned by the federal government and is meant to provide financial aid for the development of alternative mineral resources apart from oil and gas, over N329 billion was granted as loan, out of which over 200 billion is yet to be recovered. This sum was taken and not used for what the special account is meant for, which is to develop alternative natural resources. And from the derivation and ecology account, about N61 billion was granted as loan, out of which N30 billion is yet to be returned, showing that only N31 billion had been returned to the account or government coffers. In case of the natural resources account, the total amount of funds released from loans payments accruing to over N700 billion has been abused on issue which has nothing to do with natural issues. A total of over N255 billion was released from the stabilisation account, out of which over N191 billion was misused. All together, a total of N1, 518,357, 426.64 accrued into the three special funds accounts between 2002 and 2012. Out of the amount, over N1 trillion was misused for issues not related to their original causes, (www.premiumtimes.com). Of course the senators were astonished, but the question now is that where were those in charge of overseeing these funds

when all the looting was going on? Can they honestly say they did not know about the misappropriations being transacted? Nigerians are still agog to see the outcome of these investigations.

Such incidences are incredibly terrible and unfortunate especially in the developing country like Nigeria characterized by so many developmental problems and challenges ranging from poverty, unemployment, insecurity, illiteracy, decayed and dilapidated infrastructures. The precarious situation in Nigeria polity has made most Nigerians to lose faith in the supposedly good intentions of the government.

Meanwhile, as Nigerians are seeking an end to the scourge of corruption in public sector, the expectations are that the legislators would be more proactive rather than reactionary in the discharge of their oversight functions. They are expected to do this by detecting and preventing waste, inefficiency and corruption before they take place. Unfortunately, this has not been the case as series of public hearings and probes of agencies have been conducted without official reports on some of these investigations at all levels of government since the inception of the new political dispensation. The legislature is a principal arm of government through which governments are held accountable for their actions and inactions. The public is hapless when legislators compromise the very ingredient that protects democracy and good governance.

Conclusion

The paper examined the challenges and issues regarding the effectiveness of legislative oversight functions in enhancing public accountability and transparency which are essential ingredients for enhancing good governance in Nigeria. The paper contends that Legislative oversight function has been the eyes of the people in government that watch and monitor the activities of the executive arm and its Ministries, Department and Agencies (MDAs) in the implementation of laws, programmes and policies meant to serve the collective interest of the electorates. It aimed to expose waste, inefficiency, ineffectiveness, corruption, mismanagement of public resources and ensuring public accountability. Its relevance in democratic governance need not be overemphasized. However, the paper discovered that although legislatures performs oversight functions, but it has not been very effective in enhancing public accountability, transparency and

curbing corruption. The implication of this finding is that most of the funds appropriated for projects that would have transform the lives of the people would end up in private hands because most public officers would continue to convert public funds to their private use with impunity since there are no effective checks and balances from the legislative arm of government through oversight. The study maintained that in so far as public accountability refers to the openness in the conduct of government business, answerability of public officials to those they are serving and representing, explanation, justification and accessibility of valid regular and adequate information on how people are governed in the society, it is regrettable to point out that majority of members of parliament have lost their senses of decency and dignity in carrying out this important constitutional responsibility. Members of the National Assembly lobby for juicy committees either in the Senate or in the House of Representatives. Consequently, oversight function has been considered as a short-cut to richness by some members. This in tandem with the submission of Ehigiamusoe and Umar, (2013), Orluwene, (2014) and Nwagwu (2014) who pointed out that attainment of public accountability through legislative oversight powers may be illusive, superficial and pejorative in sense that the legislators were not able to effectively use oversight mechanisms in ensuring accountability, transparency, budget performance and good governance in Nigeria. Hence, the legislature largely become mere mechanism for articulating and enforcing the interest of the few, over and above the interest of the majority, thus negates public interest, public accountability, and undermine popular representation, participation and quality of legislation.

Recommendations

This paper recommended that in order to achieve public accountability through legislative oversight functions, the interest and unity of the country should override personal and collective interests of the legislative members. Legislative duties should not be considered as sources of enriching oneself.

Moreover, dignity, integrity, fair play and sincerity of purpose in the act of governance must always be the watch word of the legislature. The legislature should see their membership in the National Assembly as a call to national duty which demands sacrifice and commitment to duty in all aspects of governance and a demonstration of the true representatives of the electorates.

Furthermore, in so far as public accountability and transparency are to be achieved, the functions of the legislative oversight should advance beyond mere investigation and recommendation. The legislature should have legal power to compel the executive arm of government to take appropriate action. The era where cases are buried for fear of exposing powerful elements in government ought to be a thing of the past. For as long as the above incidents persists, it will invariably continue to undermine public accountability and transparency, and exacerbate the level of corruption in the country.

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Corruption and National Development in Nigeria's Fourth Republic

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Abstracts

Developmental failure in Nigeria's Fourth Republic is attributed to corruption degeneration among Nigerians. In spite of different developmental strategies put in place by successive government, Nigeria is still in search for development in her fifty – seven years of independence. Thus, the study analyses the concept of corruption and development; examines governmental efforts at tackling corruption and why it has not yielded positive result. The study relied on secondary source of data and established the effects of corruption on Nigeria development which include; high rate of unemployment, insecurity of lives and properties, inadequate infrastructural facilities, privatization of public enterprises, relocation of industries i.e Dunlop Nigeria Plc and Michelin, among others. Therefore, the study concluded that for national development to be realized, good governance must be institutionalized, culture of discontinuing a policy once there is a change of government should be discouraged and the leaders to build trust among the people in their governance.

Keywords: Corruption, National Development, EFCC, ICPC

Introduction and Problem in Context

Corruption constitutes a major challenge in the Nigeria's Fourth Republic. It can be seen as a cancerous disease that has eaten up the society, and consequently hindered stages of national development. The menace of corruption is experienced at every sector of the society such as; political, judicial, educational and religious cycle among others. This has tremendously affected the developmental goals of the country as well as affecting the nation's image internationally. To Lawal (2011), national development is a vital necessity for the growth and sustenance of any vibrant nation. For development to be ensured,

social – political and economic stability must be guaranteed at all levels of government. This will go a long way, to promote citizen's natural attachment to the governing process, especially that the pride of any responsible and responsive government lies in the attainment of higher value of development, viz political and economic stability.

Successive administrations in Nigeria, be it civilian or military regime had in the time past, put in place institutions to curtail corrupt practices in the country, some of the institutions are; Corrupt Practices Investigation Bureau, Code of Conduct Bureau, Code of Conduct Tribunal, Public Complaints Commission, Public Accounts Committee and Quasi – Judicial bodies. In the Fourth Republic, which is the focus of this study, two major institutions have been established with the sole aim of combating corruption in the country. These institutions are Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) and the Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Crimes (ICPC). With the establishment of this anti – corruption institutions, corruption has not reduced, but has continued to thrive. It was due to the foregoing that the study analyses issues of corruption and development, governmental efforts and the effects on national development.

Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

National Development Strategy in Nigeria

National development planning is the main strategy used by governments and organizations to set their visions, missions, goals and effective means of realizing development. Over the years, national development planning has been a consistent phenomenon in Nigeria. The Nigerian government has aspired to achieve development through the use of various types of plans, beginning with the colonial development plan (1945 -1956). Immediately after attainment of independence in 1960, the First National Development Plan (1962-1968) was launched. Followed by the Second Development Plan (1970 – 74), Third (1975 – 80), Fourth (1981 – 1985). Due to poor implementation of the Fourth National Development Plan, machinery was put in place for preparation of the Fifth National Development Plan. It was in the Fifth National Development plan that Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) was incorporated. With the returned to democratic governance in Nigeria, the new administration started development planning in 1999 with the initiation of four years medium term plan document, the

National Economic Direction (1999 – 2003). Other strategic initiative plans are, National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (2003 – 2007), strategy for attaining Millennium Development Goals, Seven Point Agenda and Transformation Agenda (Andrew, 2013).

The objective of National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS), was to facilitate the achievement of national goals like: creation of wealth for the country, reduction of poverty and re – orientation of values. Thereby, state and local government also initiated their development strategy to compliment the federal government plans i.e. State Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (SEEDS) and the Local Government Empowerment and Development Strategy (LEEDS) respectively. The “Seven Point Agenda” include; power and energy, food security, wealth creation and empowerment, mass transportation, land reforms, security and functional education. And the “Transformation Agenda”, it’s aimed at transforming the life of an individual’s, organizations and the nation at large (Marcellus 2009).

In spite of all these national development plans, at all levels by successive government, Nigeria is still in search for development after its fifty – seven years of independence. Comparably, Nigeria seems to be one of the countries where virtually all models of development have not worked. There has been discontinuity in development plans by successive government from the era of fixed – term planning (1962 – 1985), the era of rolling plan (1990 – 1998), and the democratic dispensation from 1999 till date (Aremu 2003). Majorly, objectives of all these plans are geared towards development opportunities in health, poverty reduction, education and employment. But each of these developmental plans in Nigeria has failed to achieve the peculiarity of its objectives. The failure of these plans is traceable to high rate of corruption between the rulers, lack of focus for the economy situation and indiscipline among the governance.

Trends in Corruption Activities in Nigeria

Corruption is an evil, which when perpetrated by men, tend to affect future generations if cognizance measures are not taken. The Economic and Financial Crimes Commission has over 43 high-profile corruption cases filed between 2007 and 2017 that are still pending in various courts. 16 of these cases involved ex-governors of State, while others relate to the oil subsidy scandal, money

laundering and violation of the Public Procurement Act. President Muhammadu Buhari, while campaigning in the year 2015 promised among other things, to free the country of corruption and exposes financial atrocities in government. The sum of money discovered or reportedly stolen has left most Nigerians in daze how political leaders and bureaucratic officials has acquired public fund for private gains. The misuse of the entrusted public treasury for their own personal gain has frustrated national development of the nation (www.thescoopng.com/2016/10/02/efcc-corruption-cases/) (Feb., 10th, 2016).

Among the corruption cases that made headlines in 2016 till date are; (Diezani Alison Madueke, Patrick Akpobolo kemi, Sambo Dasuki, Olisa Metuh, Musiliu Obanikoro, Alhaji Abdullahi Inde Dikko, Alex Badeh, Femi Fani – Kayode, Alhaji Murtala Nyako, Maikanti Baruand others).The former Minister of Petroleum Resources Diezani Alison Madueke, who served from 6th April 2010 – 28th May 2015, was alleged to have looted over \$20b, which was part of the proceeds from Nigeria's main income source (crude oil). Moreover, Patrick Akpobolo kemi, the former Director – General of Nigerian Maritime Administration and Safety Agency (NIMASA) also made his mark as one of the most reported former government officials for fraud cases in Nigeria. Patrick Akpobolo kemi reportedly looted over ₦12billion from NIMASA, using various companies to perfect his trade (www.pulse.ng). Similarly, Sambo Dasuki; the former National Security Adviser (NSA) was said to have diverted and supervised the disbursement of over \$2.1b to various individuals accounts (www.pulse.ng December 13, 2016).

The release of funds meant for the purchase of ammunitions for the Nigerian Army, to prosecute the war against Boko Haram in the North East of the country was allegedly misappropriated, with poorarms available for the infantry to combat the insurgency. Abdullahi Inde Dikko, the former Comptroller – General of Nigerian Customs Service who served from August 2009 to August 2015 was alleged to have embezzledover ₦40b from the coffers of the Nigeria Customs Service (NCS). Report has it that ₦1b of the money has been returned to the Federal Government and he wasaccordingly grantedbailed. The former Chief of Defence Staff (CDS) Alex Badeh, allegedly bought a ₦320m house for his 28 years old son and another ₦260m for his first son in the highbrow area of Wuse in Abuja. The houses are just part of the many properties Badeh used the over

₦800m which he acquired for personal gains from the military coffers www.pulse.ng (December 13, 2016).

The former governor of Adamawa state, Alhaji Murtala Nyako and his son, Abdulraziz Nyako, now a senator representing Adamawa Central on the platform of APC were re – arraigned of ₦29 billion money laundering trial. The charges against the defendants include criminal conspiracy, abuse of office, opening of multiple bank accounts and stealing to the tune ₦29 billion. The defendants, who were arraigned by the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), allegedly opened over 30 different accounts with Zenith Bank Plc with money between 2011 and 2013 www.dailytrust.com (January 1, 2017).

If all these looted money were injected into the economy and properly monitored, the story of Nigeria would have been different in terms of national development today. The question is who appoint who and who approves what? An assertion to this is the case of the acting Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) chairman Ibrahim Magu. The Department of State Services (DSS), sparking a verbal backlash from supporters of Ibrahim Magu as the Chairman of the EFCC. The 14 – paragraph confidential report said that Magu has failed the integrity test and that if confirmed, he could eventually constitute a liability to the anti – corruption drive of the administration. Moreover, the DSS security report, among others alleged that Magu is occupying a ₦20 million per year accommodation, allegedly rented for him by someone under EFCC investigation; lives a flamboyant lifestyle and flouted the President’s order against public officers flying first class when he went to pilgrimage for lesser hajj” www.Vanguardngr.com (March 15, 2017).

In the light of preceded chairmen of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), Nuhu Ribadu being the pioneer executive from 2003 – 2007. Succeeded by Ribadu, is Farida Mzamber Waziri from May, 2008 – November 2011 was dismissed from office. Her dismissal have been related to accusations that the EFCC had been selective in its investigation, or to her falling out with the Attorney – General and Minister of Justice, Mohammed Bello Adoke over the prosecution of cases that were brought before the court. Furthermore, the investigation of the former governor of Bayelsa State Timipreya Sylva was compromised for financial misappropriation. In some cases, like that of the former Edo State governor Lucky Igbinedion, the court imposed negligible

penalties. However, the EFCC may have opened the door by accepting a plea bargained to Farida dismissal (<https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Farida>).

After the dismissal of Farida Waziri, Ibrahim Lamorde was appointed on 23rd November, 2011 but confirmed as chairman by the senate on 15th of February, 2012. On 9th of November, 2015 President Buhari sacked Ibrahim Lamorde, with immediate effect was replaced by the current acting EFCC Ibrahim Magu. There have been different allegations of corruption against him, “one George Uboh had petitioned the senate, alleging that Lamorde failed to remit more than ₦2.05 trillion, being funds recovered from corrupt leaders”. He was also accused of diverting over ₦1 trillion recovered from the sale of confiscated properties belonging to convicted officials including the late Diepreye Alamieyesiegha, former governor of Bayelsa state, and Tafa Balogun, former inspector – general of police www.thecable.ng (Nov.09 2015).

More so, considering the ongoing controversy in the NNPC, the Socio-Economic Rights and Accountability Project, SERAP, has called on anti-corruption agencies to investigate the alleged of \$25 billion oil contract scam in the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation. The Minister of State for Petroleum, Ibe Kachikwu, had petitioned President Muhammadu Buhari, accusing the Group Managing Director of the NNPC, Maikanti Baru, of \$25 billion contract scam. The minister also alleged that Baru makes unilateral decisions, side-lining him and other key members of the NNPC board. Reacting to the allegations, Baru had said he is not legally mandated to discuss contracts with Kachikwu being the Minister of State for Petroleum. Executive Director of SERAP, Adetokunbo Mumuni, said the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission, EFCC, and Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission, ICPC, should uncover what really transpired in contracts process in the NNPC. According to the Executive Director of SERAP, said the EFCC and the ICPC would be able to determine if such contracts existed or if the contracts followed due process. Was the process of awarding the contracts free of corruption? It is only when this has been determined that this government can prove that its anti-graft war is real. www.vanguard.com (October 12, 2017).

Conceptual Framework: Corruption and Development

The word ‘corruption’ has no universally accepted definition. But learned authors have posited that the term includes “all forms of improper or selfish exercise of power and influence attached to public, as well as private offices” (Nnamdi, 2013). Obuah (2010), is of the view that corruption is the misuse of entrusted power or dishonest use of one’s office or position for personal gain. It is a cancerous global phenomenon which has continued to cripple the developmental efforts of many countries. Therefore, corruption in Nigeria manifests in form of misappropriation, over invoicing, and giving or receiving things of value to influence an official act. It also include; willful giving and receipt of gratification, making false returns, fraudulent acquisition of properties, embezzlement, tribalism, nepotism, money laundering, advance fee fraud and outright looting of the treasury etc.

World Bank Independent Evaluation Group (2006) sees corruption, as “the abuse of office for private gains.” Public office is abused for private gain when an official accepts, solicits, or extorts bribe. Agbu (2003) cited in Ogbewere (2015), observes that public office can be abused without bribery taking place. This implies that corruption may include any form of patronage, election rigging, and voters register manipulation, favoritism, procurement scam, tribalism and nepotism and unfair punishment/sanctions for public officials.

Flowing from the above, corruption implies any unethical action such as: acceptance of gratification, embezzlement, conflict of interests, succumbing to inducement and undue influence. For instance, award of contracts to friends, associates, family members, and personal companies; are examples of corrupt practices by public officeholders.

Development

The term development is very broad, it includes all aspects of life of individuals and the nation. It is also a process of reconstruction and development in various dimensions of a nation, which includes full growth of individuals, industries, agriculture, educational, social, religious and cultural institutions. Thus, development can be best defined as all – round and balanced improvement of different aspects and facets of the nation viz political, economic, social, cultural, scientific and material of the nation. To Uji (2015), development is the overall

betterment of socio – economic, political as well as religious advancement of a country or nation. This is best achieved through development planning, which can be seen as the country's collection of strategies mapped out by the government.

Accordingly, development is the ability of a country or countries to improve on social welfare of its people vis – a – vis provision of quality education, potable water, transportation, good roads, medical care etc with the aim of achieving increase in real per capital income (Toluet *al* 2011). Rodney (1972) sees development from different dimensions. At the level of individual, it implies increased skill and capacity, greater freedom, self discipline, responsibility and material wellbeing. Seers (1979) define development by asking certain questions; what has been happening to poverty, unemployment and inequality? To him, if these three indices (poverty, unemployment and inequality) are at relatively high rate, there is absence of development, and vice versa. However, he opined that for a country to be classified as developed, there are parameters to look out for, these are; the state of poverty in the country, rate of unemployment among the youth and inequality between the have and have – not.

Adamolekun (2007), also stressed that development has to do with improving the living condition of people. He highlighted some indicators of development, which includes; a high quality of life, high income, better education, higher standards of health and nutrition, less poverty in society, equal opportunities for all, greater individual freedom and richer cultural life amongst citizens of a given state. From the various meanings of development outlined, (Rodney, 1972; Seers, 1979; Adamolekun 2007; Toluet *al*, 2011; and Uji 2015) it can be deduced that development is not limited to economic growth or per capital income alone, but is a concept that is all encompassing that analyses the economic, administrative, political, social, cultural, religious, and living standard of the people in a given society. Moreover, taking a cue from each scholar submission, development can be defined as the capacity of nation state to pull all its resources both human and material together to achieve set objectives for the good of the state and citizenry. This requires total commitment on the part of the rulers and the ruled. Rulers are to create enabling environment for the citizens to actualize their dreams without any hindrance.

Methodology

The Paper used secondary (documentary) data of such publications as journals, books, newspapers reporting, anti-graft agencies reports, World Bank Reports, etc for analyses, discussion and conclusion.

Data Presentation and Discussions

Corruption and Nigeria Development

No doubt, government has made remarkable efforts and still making efforts to address the issue of corruption in Nigeria. Despite of all the anti – graft agencies put in place, corruption has not reduced from the society. The reasons for these are:

Bad Governance: The issue of bad governance is a key factor to why government efforts at tackling corruption have not yielded positive result. In the 38th Kaduna International Trade Fairs seminar held in February, 2017. The former President of Nigeria, Olusegun Obasanjo said that bad governance is responsible for the nation's woes. Hence, present generation leaders had failed the country because they lacked focus, commitment, continuity and proper knowledge about the economic and developmental issues of the country and from 1999 till date there is no meaningful development to show up. Obasanjo states further that;

God in His mercy has given us all the needed resources, both human and natural, but we have not been able to put them together and manage them effectively. The countries that have developed and performing better are not better than Nigeria in terms of resources. The present generation has nothing to offer rather than looting the public funds (Obasanjo, 2017).

Lack of Leadership Trust: During political campaign activities, the leaders make fantastic promise to get peoples' mandate into offices. After getting into power, there is always a disconnection between the leaders and the followers. According to Dino Melaye, while speaking at the Osasu show symposium in Abuja on 26th of August 2017, "politics being played by the Nigerian's elite is responsible for poverty, unemployment, kidnapping and underdevelopment of the country" Melaye further assert thus:

There is no trust between the governed and those governing. Once there is no trust, between the followers and the leaders, it will definitely have a negative concomitant effect on the economy, developmental process, and every other facet of our national life. There is no true democracy since the inception of the democratic dispensation rather, what we have is greedocracy; government of the greedy by the greedy and for the greedy. The bone of contention is, the leaders want to win elections at all cost, by spending money to win, the followers is also greedy, they accept money to vote [https://www.thecable.ng/failed-nation-says-melaye\(August26th, 2017\)](https://www.thecable.ng/failed-nation-says-melaye(August26th, 2017).).

- Lack of Political Will: Political will is a precondition for success in the fight against corruption. In the case of Nigeria, it is recognized that there has been progress in establishing the legal and institutional framework to tackle corruption, but there has been a continuous absence of a clear demonstration of political will to fight corruption. In some respects, there has been resistance to and obstructions of the anti – corruption process, in order to nail corruption perpetrators or prosecute the case further.
- Excessive Desire for Wealth: In Nigeria, struggle for political power has been one of the ways to access quick wealth, while being in politics perpetually is always to acquire more. That accounts for do – or – die type of politics being played in Nigeria, whereby all means are used to gain political power.

Analysis of Findings

Effect of corruption on national development in Nigeria is outrageous. The effects are seriously felt on social service delivery such as; education, health, power supply and road networks. More so, corruption has crippled other segments of the economy. The huge annual budgetary allocations given to all sectors of the economy are being mismanaged or diverted for personal uses. The consequence of corruption in the Nigeria's Fourth Republic has led to the following; high rate of unemployment especially among the youth, falling standard of education, dilapidated buildings in primary, secondary and tertiary institutions, incessant strike of worker, relocation of industries case of Dunlop and Michelin,

privatization of key public enterprise e.g NEPA, downsizing of able workforce, deficient in leaders outputs, political apathy, poor health facilities, lost of innocent lives through violence, great inequality in distribution of wealth between the rich and the poor, and high cost of running government administrations without yielding any positive objectives. Similarly, the major impingements of corruption on national development in Nigeria's Fourth Republic are discussed further.

- **Relocation of Industries:** The chain effects of corruption in the country have forced industries like Dunlop Nigeria plc and Michelin to relocate to Ghana. Dunlop had to close its ₦8 billion tyre plant due to the persistent power break that has tripled the cost of production and reduced the company's ability to make profit. This was duly informed as a result of corruption in Power Holding Authority grossly affected its services. Thus, relocation of these industries had made Nigeria to lost billions of naira that should have being realized inform of taxes, it has caused the laying off of staff, thereby increase the rate of unemployment and poverty among the people.
- **Unequipped Hospitals:** Corruption has also hindered quality health services. For instance, allocations meant for drugs, health equipments and other services are either mismanaged, diverted or embezzled without caring about peoples' health. Thus, unequipped hospitals and delay of payment of health workers salaries and allowances always inform incessant strike, thereby leaving emergency patients in pains, while some even lost their lives. It is not surprising, therefore, that most of Nigeria's leaders regularly travel overseas for treatment. From January 19th to March 2017, President Buhari went on medical treatment abroad. On May 8 2017, he embarked on another medical vacation and returned on August 19, 2017 after spending 103 days in London. If Nigeria had good health care facilities, why would the President and Commander in – Chief of the Federal Republic of Nigeria go that far to seek medical attention? Some years ago, the former President Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida had to travel to Germany to treat “radiculopathy”, a disease, which could be treated in Nigeria if there were necessary facilities available to the doctors (Makinde, 2017).
- **Insecurity:** The accumulation of corrupt practices over the years brings forth insecurity of lives and properties. The leaders make use of the masses to acquire wealth and ignoring them at the end of the day.

Therefore, insecurity can be seen as a reaction against inequality and unequal distribution of nation's wealth in order to survive. In order to bridge unequal distribution of wealth, some of the masses engaged in kidnapping to demand ransom from victims, militant action to earn a living in the Niger Delta, insurgency in the North East, robbery on high ways/banks and other forms of insecurity in the societies.

- **Mismanagement of Public Enterprises:** The gross mismanagement of public operations and enterprises are the reason for the poor performance of the following corporations; NITEL, NEPA, RAILWAY and Water Board etc. Nigerian telecommunication (NITEL) and Mobile telecommunication (MTEL). The National Electrical Power Authority (NEPA) changed its nomenclature to Power Holding Company of Nigeria (PHCN) under the notion of privatization. Meanwhile, Nigerian Railway Corporation (NRC) has been incapacitated prior to the advent of democratic dispensation, and Water Board is operating at a chameleon style due to corrupt practices by those who are entrusted to handle them for effective service delivery.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The Paper concluded that for national development to be realized in Nigeria, proactive measures should be taken to curb the menace of corruption. On this premise, the following recommendations are made;

- If Nigeria must get it right, the problem of poor leadership/ governance must be addressed. With leaders that have focus on developmental issues and commitment to move the nation forward rather than selfish leaders.
- Another way to fight corruption and reduce poverty rate in the country is for the leaders to build trust among the people. Policies made should cut across all Nigerian citizens in respect of their status.
- The culture of discontinuing a policy once there is a change of government should be discouraged because, government comes and goes but administration continues.
- Any official found guilty of embezzlement, should be made to forfeit all his/her ill-gotten wealth to the government, and such persons being put behind bars for at least 25 – 30 years if not life imprisonment.
- In addition, attitudinal change of the ruled and the rulers' towards corruption is vital. Eradication of corruption in Nigeria should involve everybody and not only the government, as corruption is experienced in every societies (political, judicial, commercial businesses,

education and religion institutions etc). For Nigeriato move forward and for the citizens to benefit in returns bribe giving or receiving should be curtailed for any services rendered or to be rendered.

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Corruption: An Analytical Approach

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Abstract

Corruption has been the bane and the major challenge facing Nigeria over the years. Other incidences such as bribery, graft, fraud, nepotism have all facilitated the facets of corruption in Nigeria. Although corruption is a global menace, it is highly entrenched in the Nigerian scene, which has affected socio-economic and political development. One of the cardinal goals of the 1999 Constitution is that the state shall abolish all corrupt practices and abuse of powers and measures are put in place to curtail corruption in the bud, like the establishment of Independent Corrupt practices and Related Offences Commission (ICPC) and Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), however, corruption refused to be tamed in the country. The paper used content analysis method and explores the incidence of corruption in Nigeria, more especially it causes, dimensions and consequences were discussed and recommendations offered on how to address the menace of corruption.

Keywords: *Corruption, graft, fraud, embezzlement, bribery, nepotism.*

Introduction

Corruption occurs in most developing and the developed countries of the world. However, in the developed world it hardly tampers with the smooth functioning of the state, because they have conventional techniques of dealing with it so that it doesn't cripple the functions of the state. Corruption is of special concern in developing countries where poverty is widespread, and those who give and receive bribes further corner the nation's resources leaving little for the Human and Infrastructural Development, This phenomenon affects even those countries with enormous natural resources which may fail to develop in a way that affects positively every ordinary citizen.

Corruption varies with time, place, state, nation and culture. It is therefore seen as a social ill that is currently bedeviling the Nigerian society, it also probably it is the biggest challenge to Nigeria's democratization process as well as engenders the mismanagement of resources. Corruption is a pervasive phenomenon in Nigeria where corrupt practices are related with governance and have become the bane of the Nigerian society. Ake (1976) believes that the widespread corrupt practices of public officials could be related to the colonial experience and to the dependence of the Nigerian society on international capitalism.

Corruption is seen by the UN and the World Bank as the "the misuse of public office for private use"(World Bank Group 2012). Transparency International further broadened the scope of the definition to include mismanagement of entrusted power for private gain which includes bribes, kickbacks, embezzlement, illicit gifts, favours, nepotism and informal promises. Lennerfors

2008 The corruption menace according to Aluko (2009) has led to situations like slow movements of files in offices, police extortion of toll fees, port congestion, queues at passport offices and petrol stations, ghost workers syndrome, election irregularities among others (Dike 2005).

Government officials still further corruptly enrich themselves by converting government money in their custody to their own personal use, forcing citizens to pay bribe money and citizens also induce the officials with bribes to get whatever they want from government or company offices. Though corruption is found in every society. It is so common in Nigeria and no one seems to be free from it either as a doer or as a victim.

Statement of the Problem

The Nigerian society is today highly materialistic which has assisted corruption to ascend in geometric order and has made it to seem like a virtue rather than a vice. Corruption in Nigeria is a multi-faceted concept which assumes the role of a proverbial hydra-headed monster. There are crimes such as advanced fee fraud, outright embezzlement, money laundering among others.

The prevalence of endemic corruption has virtually turned Nigeria to an unpatriotic nation. Nigerians were treated with disdain and suspicion in other parts of the world while investors were wary of coming to Nigeria to invest. Corruption has become an endemic phenomenon in Nigeria in spite of the various anti-corruption laws. The implementation is poor due probably to weak institutions and poor system (Utomi 2006).

There is palpable evidence that a high rate of corruption continues to plague the Nigerian society which has greatly impeded progress and development of the country in spite of the establishment of several agencies and commissions to curb corrupt practices in Nigeria, the menace persists at an alarming rate. Incidences of bribery, corruption and embezzlement continue to occur in government departments, ministries, agencies and even private organizations. Various anti-corruption policies have not been very effective, people find ways of evading or

circumventing and thwarting these policies. Corruption breeds poverty, unemployment, insecurity, crimes and other negative vices. Corruption is a disadvantage that is gradually destroying the country.

In view of the persistence of corruption in spite of the anti-corruption agencies, this paper intends to have an analytic discussion.

Literature Review discussion in an attempt to make some recommendations to some corruption listing on a content analysis

Andrić and Fjelstad (2001) view corruption as a complex multifaceted phenomenon with multiple causes and effects as it takes various forms and contexts. Sometimes corruption is defined from the Nigerian perspective as government officials looting the treasury. In other words, corruption is defined as the involvement in illegal, dishonesty or wicked behaviour which is destructive of the moral fabric of the society. Some view corruption as the conscious act by a person or group of persons to appropriate by unlawful means the wealth of another person or group of persons. (Olugbenga 2007).

Lawal and Tobi (2006) define corruption as, “*the perversion of integrity or state affairs through bribery, favour or moral depravity*.” They further state that,

“corruption takes place when at least two parties have interest to change the structure or process of society or the behaviours of functionaries in order to produce, dishonest unfaithful or defiled situation”. Corruption transcends bribery but also includes treasury looting as well as the deliberate bending of rules of the system to favour friends or hurt foes”. It is clearly an evidence of absence of accountability, law and order.

The World Bank (1997) defines corruption as:

The abuse of public office for private gains. Public office is abused for private gain when an official accepts, solicits or extorts bribes to circumvent public policies and processes for competitive advantage and profit. Public office can also be abused for personal benefit even if no bribery occurs through patronage and nepotism, the diversion of state resources or state assets.

The Asian Development Bank (1999) sees corruption as involving the behaviour on the part of officials in public and private sectors in which they improperly and unlawfully enrich themselves and on those closely related to them or induced others to do so by misusing the position in which they are placed.

Salisu (2000) defines corruption as the misapplication of public resources to private ends. For example public officials may collect bribes for issuing passports or visa, for providing goods at sea or airports, or for awarding contracts or to create artificial scarcity of some goods. Konie (2003) identified two types of corruption, these are vertical corruption which involves managers and decision makers. This type is more common in less developed countries, while the Horizontal corruption involves the entire officials, informed and laymen groups in these countries.

It is evident that corruption also reduces economic growth, enhances inequalities and reduces the government’s capacity to respond to people’s needs. All these boil down to create poverty in the society, corruption distorts economic and social development by providing wrong choices as well as encouraging competition in bribery rather than the quality and price of goods and services which means that the world’s poorest must pay for the corrupt attitudes of their own officials and of multi-national agents (Langseth et al 1997).

Corruption leads to widen the gap between the rich and the poor and deepens poverty by enriching a few at the expense of other citizens. Under a corrupt system, national wealth is concentrated in the hands of tiny minority of the population. Income distribution here becomes highly skewed. There is also a distorted consumption pattern aimed at meeting the luxurious lifestyle of the urban elite (zero tolerance campaign 2008).

Transparency International TI (2008) defines corruption as the misuse of entrusted power for private gains. IT further provides a distinction between “according to the rules” corruption and “against the rules” corruption. Facilitating of payment where a bribe is paid to receive preferential treatment for something that the bribe receiver is required to deliver by law. The latter on the other hand is a bribe paid to obtain services the bribe receiver is prohibited from providing. Gunner (1999), Ojaide (2000) sees corruption as “any systematic vice in an individual society or a nation which reflects favouritism, nepotism, tribalism, sectionalism, undue enrichment and amassing of wealth, abuse of office, power, position and derivation of undue gains and benefits. Corruption includes bribery, smuggling fraud, illegal payments, money laundering, drug trafficking, falsification of documents and records, window dressing, false declaration, tax evasion of any kind to the detriment of another person community or society.

Types of Corruption

There are Several Types of Corruption According

a) Political Corruption

This type occurs when the politicians and political decision-makers who are entitled to formulate and implement the laws for the people exhibit corrupt tendencies themselves. It also takes place when policies are tailored to benefit politicians themselves. It is also the illegal, unethical authorization, exploitation of one’s political or official position for personal gain. It has to do with public affairs (Encyclopedia Americana (1999).

b) Bureaucratic Corruption

It is the kind of corruption that occurs in places like hospitals, schools, ministries, parastatals, police stations and checkpoints. Bureaucratic corruption occurs when

one obtains a business from public sector through inappropriate procedure (NORAD) 2000 in Victor (2008).

c) Moral Corruption

This includes sexual perversion, greed, loose tongue, leaking secrets, slanders, busy body, indecent dressing or appearance etc.

d) Economic Corruption

This includes the manufacturing of fake drugs, adulteration of drinks, piracy, plagiarism, fraud, forgery etc.

e) Judicial Corruption

This is committed by judges, lawyers and judicial officers in the course of handling legal matters and cases in the courts. This type also involves bribery, undue assistance to litigants, illegal sale of court papers or forms, use of plea bargaining and inflicting lesser punishments, missing case file and so on.

f) Military or Emergency Corruption

This type takes place under emergency or war situation. In emergency setting, much resources including money are put in place to solve the situation. These funds expended may not be subjected to audit or voucher processes, all resources are pooled together to bring about normalcy. In this situation, some people at the helm of affairs or stakeholders are busy manipulating the situation to their advantage. (Boufart 1997).

g) Bribery

This involves the payment of money in cash or in kind that is given in a corrupt relationship. This includes “kickbacks”, “gratitudes”, “payoffs”, “sweeteners”, “greasing palms”, “scratching back” etc. Bayart et al (1997).

h) Fraud

This involves some kind of trickery, swindle and deceit, counterfeiting, racketeering, smuggling and forgery (Ibid).

i) Embezzlement

This is viewed as the theft of public resources by public officials. It is when an official of the state steals from the Public institution in which he or she is

employed. In Nigeria, the embezzlement of public funds is one of the most common ways of accumulating wealth, perhaps due to weak regulatory systems.

j) Extortion

This is extracting money or other resources by the use of force, coercion, violence or threat to use force. Bayart et al (1997).

k) Nepotism

This is a special form of favouritism in which a public office holder prefers his or her kinsfolk and family members. Nepotism is exempted from the application of certain laws or regulations or given undue preference in the allocation of scarce resources (Amundsen and Girlin (1997).

Patterns of Corruption

Definitions of corruption apart, a study of the concept will not be complete without identifying and specifying other types of corruption. The United Nations Global Programme against Corruption (GPAC) has classified the various dimensions and corruption as:

- (a) “Grand” and “Petty” corruption
- (b) “Active and Passive” corruption.
- (c) Bribery
- (d) Influence peddling
- (e) Offering or receiving improper gifts
- (f) Bribery to avoid liability for taxes and other costs.
- (g) Bribery in support of fraud
- (h) Bribery to avoid criminal liability.
- (i) Bribery in support of unfair competition for benefit of resources.
- (j) Private sector bribery.
- (k) Bribery to obtain confidential or inside information.
- (l) Embezzlement, theft and fraud.
- (m) Extortion
- (n) Favouritism, nepotism and clientelism.

Causes of Corruption in Nigeria

Dike (1997) believes that the fundamental factors that cause corruption in Nigeria are

- a. Inequality in the distribution of wealth.
- b. Political position is regarded as a source of acquiring wealth.
- c. The changing moral code
- d. The weakness of social and governmental enforcement mechanism.
- e. The absence of a strong sense of nationalism.
- f. Capitalism: The capitalistic economy that Nigeria adopts: Under this system each person scrambles by all means to make money in a quest for dignity i.e. if a person embezzles public funds and he is not caught he becomes the most honoured and respected in the society because he is rich, that is capitalism: the survival of the fittest.
- g. Maintaining large families: An average Nigerian has a wife or wives, many children, in laws, relations and extended families to cater for in feeding, education, health and other financial burden. His income may not be sufficient enough to accommodate his enormous responsibilities, so he has to find an extra means of income sometimes through corrupt practices.
- h. Show of affluence in the society: Some Nigerians are fond of showing their affluence in the public when other less privileged people are entrusted with public funds, they engage in corrupt practices in order to maintain a high standard of lifestyle and show that they have also arrived.

Ribado (2006) attributes the incidence of corruption in Nigeria as a result of prolonged military rule that dominated the political scenario, rule of law was subdued, looting of public property was the order of the day. Transparency International (TI) (2008) believes that corruption is a product of environmental variables., it thrives where temptation coexist with permissiveness, whose international checks on power are missing, where decision making remains and where there are great inequalities in the distribution of wealth, where a lot of people are condemned to live in poverty.

Bello Imam (2005) dissects the causes of corruption as Trade Restrictions, Government subsidies, price control, low wages in the public service, weak democratic structures and sociological factors. Ekumankama and Adebayo (2002) identified diminished societal value system, poor leadership and political instability, lack of effective internal control, the problem of persecution and inadequate sanctions against offenders have been responsible for the high rate of corruption in Nigeria.

From the above view of various scholars, the causes of corruption are multi-dimensional. They are institutional, political, societal, judicial and economic, under resourced and weak institutions which include the courts and anti-corruption organs which cannot effectively fight corruption. A corrupt society produces a corrupt public service, corrupt political process produces corrupt legislators and executives. A poorly paid public service will be more prone to corruption than a well paid one. Excessive secrecy in the public service will make the detection and investigation of corruption cases difficult.

Theoretical Framework

Corruption is an ethical and moral problem not subjected to a consistent theoretical construct, because it varies from place to place, time to time, culture to culture and with the level of economic development. Nevertheless, scholars have used models to explain corruption and its consequences. Two of these research models that are recent would be employed to underpin this paper. Corruption has been found to have direct consequences on economic and governance factors. Therefore, the “economic model” and “governance model” are briefly discussed below;

a) Economic Model:

There is an inverse correlation between aggregate economic growth and corruption: in general, countries with higher corruption experience less economic growth. According to Aluko (2008), there seems to be a correlation between the level of economic development and the incidence of corruption; more developed economies being less corrupt than less developed economies and the differential in income and welfare being a determinant factor in corruption. Where incomes are less unequally distributed, the incidence of corruption is lower than where there is a high degree of inequality in income distribution. Therefore, more socialist and more welfarist economies tend to be less corrupt than capitalist or market oriented, individualistic economies, institutions. This reduces the public funds available to support effective economic growth programmes and reduces the capability of government to help its citizens and the poor in particular.

b) Governance Model

Johnston (2000) suggests that serious corruption threatens democracy and governance by weakening political institutions and mass participation, and by delaying and distorting the economic development needed to sustain democracy.

In short, the net effect of corruption is that it weakens governmental structures and consequently makes the poor to become helpless and pauperized.

Organs Created To Fight Corruption

Pressures from within and outside Nigeria coupled with national threats posed by the evil of corruption, made anti-corruption campaign a cardinal of Olusegun Obasanjo's government between 1999 and 2007 which led to the creation of Independent Corrupt Practices (and the related Offences) Commission (ICPC) Act of 2000 and Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) Act 2004 which the regime of Olusegun Obasanjo enacted. These anti-corruption laws broadened the definitions of corruption. The EFCC act empowers the commission to investigate, prevent and prosecute offenders who engage in:

Money laundering, embezzlement, bribery, looting and any form of corrupt practices, illegal arms deal, smuggling, human trafficking, child labour, illegal oil bunkering, illegal mining, tax evasion, foreign exchange practices, including counterfeiting of currency, theft of intellectual property and piracy, open-market abuse, dumping of toxic wastes and prohibited goods. (EFCC Act 2004, Section 46)

To give bite to ICPC and EFCC acts public officials who have clean record were appointed to head each of them, and as a result many high ranking public officials have been prosecuted and convicted.

The adverse effects of corruption are legion and difficult to quantify. It is possible to quantify the economic cost of corruption, but the social, political and environmental costs cannot be quantified; corrupt practices take place in secrecy and others like that of service delivery, favours and present are difficult to quantify. As TI (2008) observes, the social costs of corruption is difficult to quantify. Moreover, any estimated social costs in monetary costs in monetary terms would be inadequate to the task of measuring the human tragedy behind resignation, illiteracy or inadequate medical care.

Corruption contributes immensely to inhibition of economic performance. It negatively affects investment and economic growth, which is antithetical to

national development. If corruption encourages investments, limits economic growth and alters the composition of governmental spending, it unconsciously hinders future economic growth and sustainable development (Bello Imam 2004). Corruption contributes to the problem of mass poverty and render millions of Nigerian citizens unemployed and uneducated. This adquent relates to the economic model raised in the theoretical framework

Diagram of some high profile cases prosecuted by EFCC and ICPC over the years

EFCC Organization

Years	EFCC Organization
2002	- N421 Received From The Case Of Julius Mankanjuola A Former Permanent Secretary In The Federal Ministry Of Defence. Others Prosecuted With Him Include Iro Matazu, Rowland Okeke And Rasaq Ayodele Ope.
2003	- 214 million US Dollars – Sagem/National I>D. Card affairs involving former internal affairs minister Sundeay Afolabi, former internal affairs minister Mohammed Shata and former labour minister Hussaini wanga etc.
2003 -	\$180 million US dollars bribe by the for consortium of Haliburton to win a lucrative contract to build a large liquefied natural gas plant in Bonny-Nigeria.
2003/ 2004	Assets worth \$7000 million dollars and 3 million pounds was recovered (Bello Imam 2003).
2004	Inspector General of Police, Tafa Balogun’s financial corrupt embezzlement of over \$13 billion.
2005	500 hundred suspects of Advance Fee Fraud were arrested.
2008/ 2009	EFCC convicted sixty five persons for economic and financial crimes and recovered 55 billion naira (Zero tolerance 2009).
2009	EFCC has two cases in court, some are high profile cases (Zero tolerance 2009).
2014	EFCC has recorded 126 convictions in 2014 (Zero tolerance 2014).
2015	2.1 billion dollars Dasuki arms deal scam.
2016/ 2017	31 former Governors are currently under probe or prosecuted by the anti-graft agencies.

Source: Newsletter of EFCC (2017).

Some Criminal Cases Handled By ICPC Which Are In Various Courts

Years	ICPC
2017	-ICPC arraigns the National Cereals Research institute Bedeggi Niger State to court for wrongful employment of 34 persons into the institute as staff. He did not comply with the relevant provision
2017-	N664 million Kebbi state Ex-SSG and former commissioners of finance were arraigned in Kebbi state high court by the ICPC for the alleged misapplication of the said sum of Kebbi government funds. The funds was said to have been diverted in 2015.
2017	An official of the Federal Land Safety Corps has docked at federal high court on 27 th September 2017 for alleged diversion of a staff salary for February and March 2016, amounting to the sum of N323, 000. The case was fixed for November 1017 for commencement of hearing.
2017	ICPC shuts down to illegal universities and NSYC camps.
	Source: ICPC News Bulletin (2017)

Findings

From the discussion above, it can be seen that high level of corruption have very harmful effects on good governance and economic and political development in Nigeria. Corruption has been in deeply ingrained in Nigeria over the years.

Discussed in our economic and governance model this is in consonance with governance model raised in the theoretical framework.

It should be clearly stated that good governance, free of corruption is absolutely difficult to achieve in reality, very few countries have come close to eradicating corruption in totality. However for ensuring sustainable human development actions must be taken to work towards this ideal of making it a reality.

The menace of corruption, which has eaten deep into the fabric of Nigeria, would require all the necessary medicines to effectively control it. In other words, no single and simple remedies will do it; and the problem cannot be solved overnight, because we have noted, that corruption has been ingrained into the fabric of the society. Nigeria has, in theory, the solutions in the book to tackle corruption; but like other issues (poverty, etc.) bedevilling the nation, implementations of the laws are the problems of the society (The Guardian, July 10, 2002).

- (b). One of the reasons why the measures against corruption have not been fruitful in Nigeria is that they have operated at a level (of mere) symbolism (Onalaja & Onalaja 1997). Corruption has defied all measures adopted to combat it in Nigeria, apparently, because those waging the corruption-war are themselves corrupt. In the name of turning Nigeria into a corruption-free society, the nation has experimented with many policies. It has tried the judicial commissions of enquiry, the Code of Conduct Bureau. It has experimented with Public Complaints Commission to no avail. Also it fiddled with the Mass Mobilization for Social Justice and Economic Recovery (MAMSER), and the National Orientation Agency (NOA), but corruption instead blossomed. Then, General Buhari clobbered Nigerians with his horsewhip branded War Against Indiscipline and corruption (WAIC), with little success. The civilian administration of President Olusegun Obasanjo instituted an Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC), which had power only over the corrupt poor.
- (c). Any society faced with the challenges of corruption will continue to find ways to break the circle. To Dike (1999, 2002), Nigeria cannot effectively control the menace of corruption in the nation by merely instituting probe panels. Dike further suggested that to tame the surge of corruption in Nigeria, the

general population should be re-orientated to a better value system. This is because Nigerians have for long been living on the survival of the fittest and grab-whatever-comes-your-way mentality (Dike, October 6, 1999; Dike, February 5, 2002). The re-orientation of the youth in Nigeria to a good value system could help in the war against corruption. The World Values Surveys of 1990-1993 has a lot of attitudes and values information, which notes a relationship between values and corruption (World Values Study Group, 1994). Preaching the gospel and practice of virtue is the ultimate solution to behavioural change and reduction in corruption. Their productivity could increase, which would mean enough goods and services, prosperity and economic growth, and which would in turn allow the citizens the freedom to live a meaningful life.

- (d). To win the war on corruption, adherence to ethical standards in decision-making must be the foundation of the nation's policies. Without ethics (set of moral principles or values or principles of conduct governing an individual or a group), in the conduct of the affairs of the nation (public and business), the apparent wars on corruption in Nigeria will not be successful. In other words, without ethics, any money budgeted toward fighting corruption in Nigeria is a thing cast to the wild cat. Nigeria has to make laws and implement them to the letter. As Aristotle insists, the aim of ethical philosophy is practical – to make us better men – (The Philosophy of Aristotle, Bambrough (ed.), p. 280; This Day, May 26, 2002). And to win the war on corruption Nigeria has to fortify the institutional checks and balances among the country's major social forces and the separation of powers within the government (Dahl 1998). The nation has to make sure that those entrusted to execute the war on corruption are men and women of virtue – those who recognize and always do what is right. For MacIntyre, virtue is an acquired human quality, the possession and exercise of which enables us to achieve those goods which are internal to practices, and the lack of which effectively prevents us from achieving any of such goods. Virtuous leaders (in government and business) are persons of honesty, integrity and trust (MacIntyre 1981; Liebig 1990; Frankena 1963; Dike 2001, pp. 103-104).
- (e). Armed with ethics and virtue, the nation should then set out to reduce personal gains of corrupt behaviour with tough penalties on the culprits.

Making tough rules with vigorous enforcement can deter corrupt behaviour. The nation should not grant too much discretionary powers to officers who are in position to grant favour to others (businessmen in particular), such as officer who issue out licenses and passports (These officers often create artificial scarcity to attract bribes from the desperate public). There is the temptation to be corrupt when the officials who have a lot of power are themselves poor (Sen 2000, pp. 275-276).

- (f). One of the reasons for the upsurge of corrupt activities in Nigeria is that many Nigerians have not had the chance to live under the rule of law, as the society has since independence from Britain in 1960, been under the claws of the military. As Edward De Bono (1990) notes in his book, "Future Positive", law and order are a basic part of the fabric of society. Society needs to give a high priority to this aspect of life, because poor quality here downgrades everything else". The Nigerian police should be upgraded in status, and be well trained, well equipped and well paid (and on time too). The police should become an elite profession, which would be open only to those with good moral character. If the police and other security agents (for instance, customs and the military), will learn and understand their limits (not to harass and kill innocent citizens) and follow the rules, things might improve in Nigeria.

Recommendations

- (a). The mass media has a crucial role to play in the campaign to educate the people of their rights as citizens, and in exposing the rogues. Nothing chills the cucprits more than exposure to thin air. The nation should erect more permanent structures (such as EFCC and ICPC) in the society to constantly tackle corruption, instead of setting up ad-hoc corruption-panels here and there. The citizens have a role to play in the war against corruption: they should always try to resist the temptation of offer bribes to corrupt government officials, as it takes two to tango.
- (b). It is appropriate to emphasize the importance of good and enforceable policies toward controlling corrupt behaviour. And, policies should be reviewed periodically to close any loophole and to catch-up with events in the society. Toward this, Robert S. McNamara, former President of the

World Bank and Ford Motor Corporation, has argued that for any campaign against corruption to be successful in Sub-Saharan Africa, certain characteristics should be common in the plans against corruption. His suggestions on how to control corruption in the region include to:

1. Introduce transparency and accountability in government functions, particularly in all financial transactions;
2. Encourage a free press and electronic media to forcefully report to the public on corrupt practices in the society;
3. Organize civil society to address the problems of corruption brought to light by the process of transparency and the activity of the media;
4. Introduce into government watch-dog agencies – anti-corruption bureaus; inspectors general; auditors general and ombudsmen (government official appointed to receive and investigate complaints made by individuals against abuses of capricious acts of public officials, etc.) – which will identify corruption practices and brings them to public attention;
5. Minimize and simplify government regulations, particularly those involving the issuance of licenses, permits and preferential positions, thereby restricting opportunities for rent seeking by corrupt means;
6. Insert anti-bribery clauses into all major procurement contracts and with the assistance of both international financial institutions and bilateral aid agencies insist that international corporations, bidding on African procurement contracts, accept such clauses and the penalties associated with the violation;
7. Introduce similar anti-bribery clauses into contracts relating to privatization of government enterprises, and the development of natural resources;
8. Declaration of Assets: The state should require that all high-level Nigerian officials (Presidents, Ministers, Legislative officers, Central bank governors, police and customs Chiefs, military Generals), sign a statement granting permission to banks (both local and foreign), real estate or investment house to disclose any personal assets they may hold. Breaking this veil of secrecy, it has been argued, is crucial if assets declarations are to be verified and accountability enforced (Adefarasin, 2004).
9. Withholding of Aid: International donors (the IMF and World Bank) can be helpful by cutting off completely distribution of assistance to any country marked for high-level corruption.

10. Scrutiny for sources of income: As was pointed out above, scrutinizing individual depositors of huge sum of money, by financial institutions for sources, would go a long way to curbing looting of national treasury by civil servants.

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Treasury Single Account Policy in Nigeria: Performance, Challenges and Prospects

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Abstract

The Treasury Single Account (TSA) policy was introduced by the Federal Government to block financial leakages, promote transparency and prevent mismanagement of government's revenue, unifies all government accounts, enabling it prevent revenue loss and mismanagement by revenue-generating agencies. This study examined the performance, challenges and prospects of Treasury Single Account policy on the Public Financial Management in Nigeria. The paper is qualitative in nature as it relied on secondary data. Systems theory was used to guide the study. The result of this study indicated that, adoption of TSA has blocked financial leakages, promoted transparency and accountability largely in the Public Financial System. As a result, the paper recommended for a synergy between the National Assembly and the Executive to enforce compliance to the provisions of TSA by Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) at all levels of government for national development.

Keywords: Treasury Single Account; Policy; Transparency; Accountability.

Introduction

A major problem confronting most countries worldwide and particularly, developing countries like Nigeria, is how best to achieve efficient allocation of resources as well stabilisation of the business cycles. As an emerging market with

low income, Ocheni (2016) argued that, Nigeria has fragmented systems for handling government receipts and payments due to lack of centralised control over government's cash resources. As a result, this cash lies idle for extended period in numerous bank accounts held by spending agencies while the government continues to borrow to execute her budget. It is on the basis of these reasons that, the current global revolution in government accounting becomes paramount following which Nigeria initiated and implemented Treasury Single Account (TSA) and other related economic policies to assist in the better management of her economy.

The Treasury Simple Account (TSA) is a unified structure of government bank accounts enabling consolidation and optimal utilization of government cash resources. Through this bank account or set of linked bank accounts, the government transacts all its revenues and expenditures and gets a consolidated view of its cash position at any given time. The TSA was recommended by the World Bank for facilitating fiscal integrity for countries with fragmented financial systems, like those that feature a multiplicity of bank accounts operated haphazardly Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs).

TSA as a principle of public accounting system and revenue management has been both a constitutional provision and an extant fiscal practice. Section 80(1) of the 1999 Constitution, which gives legal backing to TSA, reads: "All revenues or other moneys raised or received by the Federation shall be paid into and form one Consolidated Revenue Fund of the federation" (Federal Republic of Nigeria, LL56). Other sub-sections of that provision explain restrictions regarding the withdrawal of money from the consolidated revenue fund (CBN, 2005). Successive governments operated multiple accounts for collection and spending government revenues in flagrant disregard to the provision of the constitution which requires all government revenues to be remitted into a single account. This practice according to Fatile and Adejuwon (2017), has been a veritable avenue for misappropriation, mismanagement and embezzlement of public funds.

Former President Olusegun Obasanjo's efforts toward consolidating Federation Account led to the establishment of Government Integrated Financial Management Information System (GIFMIS). However, it was former President Goodluck Jonathan who charted the course of TSA in its present form, when he

commenced implementation with about 42 public institutions in 2012, until 17th September, 2015 when President Muhammadu Buhari began its full implementation.

The idea of Treasury Single Account came into being when some agencies declined to declare and remit the twenty-five percent (25%) of their annual revenue they generated to the Treasury as demanded by the Law. In 2012, about N120 billion was forcefully collected by government from Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) being 25% of their gross revenue to the Treasury with another N34 billion collected in 2013. Before then, Bashir (2016) submitted that, most of the MDAs were reluctant to remit the requested amounts by law to the Treasury.

According to Adeolu (2015), the purpose of TSA is primarily to ensure accountability of government revenue, enhance transparency and avoid misapplication of public funds. It ensures proper cash management by eliminating idle funds usually left with different commercial banks and in a way, enhance reconciliation of revenue collection and payment.

As laudable as the directive on TSA suggests, it is bedeviled with challenges which Buhari's administration may want to tackle for it to serve its purpose. Nigeria's economy is known for late passage of budgets, a TSA regime no doubt, may hinder timely disbursement for capital projects and operational projections of MDAs, unless a certain percentage of government receipts are retained for smooth operations by these MDAs (Bashir, 2016).

It is against this background that this paper seeks to examine the performance, challenges and prospects of Treasury Single Account on public finance management in Nigeria. The main objective of this paper is to evaluate the performance of Treasury Single Account in the management of public finance in Nigeria. Other specific objectives are: to examine the challenges confronting implementation of TSA in Nigeria; to preview the prospects of TSA in Nigeria; and to recommend the possible measures towards the realization of TSA's objectives in Nigeria.

Methodology

This study adopts qualitative research design to gain an insight into the performance, challenges and prospects of Treasury Simple Account policy in Nigeria. The paper is theoretical in nature and draws its presumption from secondary data including existing legal frameworks and other related policies, journal articles, textbooks and newspapers. Existing studies were also explored to enable informed analysis and inferences.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Nigeria is one of the most blessed countries in the world endowed with vast human and natural resources. These resources, if properly harnessed, would have made Nigeria to be ranked among the top twenty (20) most developed countries on Earth. Despite these abundant resources, Nigeria is still classified among the comity of countries as underdeveloped (Okey & Eduno, 2014). This is because of corruption and mismanagement of resources by the public officials that have been saddled with the responsibility of managing the resources.

A great challenge facing a developing country like Nigeria according to Ocheni (2016) is how to achieve efficient allocation of resources as well as stabilisation of policies' objectives. An important factor for efficient management and control of government's cash resources to him is a unified structure of government banking. Such unified banking arrangement, he argued, should be designed to minimise cost of government borrowing and maximise the opportunity cost of cash resources.

Many low-income countries have fragmented systems for handling government receipts and payments. In these countries, the ministry of finance/treasury lacks a unified view and centralised control over government's cash resources. As a result, Ocheni (2016) argued that, this cash lies idle for extended periods of numerous bank accounts held by spending agencies while government continues to borrow to execute its projects.

It is based on these reasons that the current global revolution in government accounting became necessary following which Nigeria initiated and implemented

the Treasury Single Account and other series of economic policies to assist in the better management of her economy. It is expected that the implementation of TSA will assist in curbing the tide of corruption in both private and public sectors.

The International Monetary Fund (IMF, 2010), defined TSA as a “unified structure of government bank accounts that gives a consolidated view of government cash resources” (p.16). Based on this principle and the unity of treasury, a TSA is therefore, a bank account or a set of linked accounts through which the government transacts all its receipts and payments.

In the same light, Yusuf and Chiejina (2015) submitted that, a TSA is a unified structure of government bank account enabling consolidation and optimal utilisation of government cash resources. However, Chukwu (2015) see it as a network of subsidiary accounts all linked to a main account such that, transactions are effected in the subsidiary accounts but closing balances on these subsidiary accounts are transferred to the main account. Irrespective of how it is seen by different scholars and practitioners, TSA shares 3 essential characteristics:

- i. First, the government banking arrangement should be unified. This is to enable the ministry of finance to have an oversight responsibility for, over government cash flows in and out of these bank accounts;
- ii. Second, no other government agency operates bank accounts outside the treasury single account arrangement; and
- iii. Third, the consolidation of resources should be comprehensive, and encompass all funds both budgetary and extra-budgetary.

It should be noted that, full implementation of TSA will not hurt banks. It will only hurt establishments that pretend to be banks but have failed, refused and neglected to understand banking and do what bankers do elsewhere. According to Garbade cited in Ocheni (2016), TSA provides the banks with opportunity to refocus on the original purposes for which they set up, to collect deposits’ funds, keep them safe, engage in intermediation to create wealth and jobs for the economy and in the process, earn profit for themselves.

Larson as cited in Ocheni (2016), explains that TSA is bound to improve transparency and accountability in public financial management in two ways. First, it will remove organisational secrecy around the management of public finances. Second, revenue generating agencies that have been depriving the Treasury of due revenue through a plethora of bank accounts under their purview

unknown to authorities will no longer be able to defraud government. Thus, beyond transparency and accountability, the TSA will introduce economy and efficiency into overall management of public finances and this will in the long run lead to effectiveness of government spending since it places the government in a better position to legalise overall policy goals.

To maximise TSA policy in Nigeria, according to Schmitz cited in Ocheni (2016), TSA needs to be accompanied with the Fiscal Sunshine Bill, which if enacted will open up the financial activities of government in a way that there will be no more hiding place for those who divert or loot government money. For instance, with Fiscal Sunshine Act in place, budgeting process and implementation, including contract awards, should be in the open for Nigerians to see both how revenues are generated and how public money is being spent by those in the government, and why.

Theoretical Framework:

A study of this nature requires a holistic approach. An approach that considers policy and its application. That is, policy implementation. Any attempt, according to Hussaini (2010), to study either past and present policies and the emerging challenges of their implementations in any sector needs a broader perspective to address all issues at stake. Understanding the system theory and its basic assumptions enable us to see the policy implemented overtime in public financial management sector as well as a new policy outcome through the various exchanges and interactions that take place between the political, economic, social and other sub-systems in the environment.

This position is consistent with the nature of our society and the way our policy process is carried out. According to Easton (1965), the political system consists of five units. They are: the environment; input; conversion process; output; and feedback loop. Therefore, based on past policies implemented the public financial management sector overtime and the problems arising from efforts in implementing them, which gave birth to the new policy (TSA).

From the Systems perspective, according to Dlakwa (2010), the success or failure of a public policy (in this context, TSA) could be determined by the quality of information and resources that come into the policy-making body, the quality of

the decision-makers, the institutional framework for making and implementing the policy, as well as the environmental forces surrounding the decision-making institution.

The system approach here is regarded as consistent with the input-output analysis of the political system. This will enable us to detect the emerging implementation challenges of Treasury Single Account policy. The challenges will form the basis of renewed efforts in removing constraints to ensure that the policy achieve its objectives, perhaps, within a record time.

Findings and Discussion

Performance of Treasury Single Account:

For two years and six months after the full implementation of Treasury Single Account Policy, as at 22nd March, 2018, the total inflow of funds through the mop-up and direct debits by Central Bank of Nigeria amounted to more than N8.9 trillion (Shittu, 2018). So far 1,674 MDAs have enrolled for TSA (Okwe, 2018). The implementation of TSA has brought about the following considerable benefits to the federal government and to the Nigerian economy:

- i. Eliminates the burden of multiple accounts:
 - a) Prior to the implementation of the TSA, MDAs operated multiple accounts in various banks for various purposes. According to Ogundipe (2017), records have shown that at some point, government MDAs had at least 20,000 accounts scattered across banks which attracted exorbitant charges. According to Uwaleke (2018), Nigeria has been saving N24.7 billion monthly with full implementation of the Bank Verification Number (BVN), thus, tackling corruption by plugging loopholes for siphoning of public funds and tracking of illicit funds through multiple accounts.
 - b) The Accountant-General of the Federation, Mr Ahmed Idris recently disclosed that because of TSA, in one university, over 100 banks accounts were discovered, and the University did not even know about most of those accounts. Ahmed as cited in Agabi (2017) stated that: “If you lose track of what you have, it means it has gone. TSA has stopped all that” (p.3).
 - c) With the TSA, government has successfully eliminated multiple banking arrangements, resulting into the consolidation of over 20,000 bank

accounts; which were spread over Deposit Money Banks across the country. This has further brought about transparency and effective tracking of government revenues. It has also led to blocking of leakages and abuse which characterised the Public Finance Management before the implementation of TSA.

ii. It makes available funds for development:

The federal government has saved over N108 billion on bank charges between September 2015 and July 2017. In the past, government used to pay an average of N4.7 billion monthly on these charges, according to Accountant-General of the Federation. TSA has taken Nigerians out of the era of indiscriminate borrowing by Ministries, Departments and Agencies and saved government charges associated with those borrowings.

In the past, government agencies would deposit sums of money in Deposit Money Banks, only for other government agencies to borrow what had been deposited by their sister agency. Government was paying interest to commercial banks on its own funds.

With the implementation of TSA, funds that would have gone to such wasteful activities are now saved and can be channelled to developmental projects.

iii. Promotes effective cash management:

Hitherto, tracking cash assets and finances was burdensome for government. It was difficult to undertake effective cash management as required by the Fiscal Responsibility Act of 2007. The government could not easily determine its cash position at any point in time nor avoid the excessive use of ways and means in financing budget expenditure.

There were often idle unspent balances in MDAs' accounts. These earned interest for unscrupulous public officials within the MDAs. Worse still, when those commercial banks got distressed or failed in the past, they took government funds, amounting to about N70 billion down with them (Ogundipe, 2017). This was a complete loss to government. TSA has put a stop to this phenomenon of arrested development.

iv. Helps in reducing fraud and other related offences:

The implementation of TSA has revealed a large scale of corrupt activities going on in some government agencies, including the Nigerian Maritime Administration and Safety Agency (NIMASA) and the Joint Admission and Matriculation Board (JAMB).

In the past, government funds were often collected by persons acting in the capacity of government. Most of these funds were not remitted to the government without consequences. With TSA, this has been minimised.

- v. It makes Federal Government Audit process easier:
The centralisation of funds collection and disbursement makes audit easier and quicker. Full electronic payment integration has made it easy to make payment into government account and to verify that funds have been received by the government. Since funds flow into one destination (CBN), it is easier to query the system and audit it.

Again, public funds can be tracked real time. It is possible at every point in time to know the liquid asset of federal government and to also know what MDAs are contributing the most.

Challenges of Treasury Single Account:

Even though, TSA enhances the overall effectiveness of financial management system, there are some challenges facing the implementation of TSA in Nigeria. As observed by Odia and Odia (2016), some of these challenges include the following:

- i. No Audit of TSA:
The TSA has not been audited since its inception two years ago (Daily Trust Editorial, 2017). This revelation was made at the National Assembly in December, 2017 when an Ad-hoc Committee of the House of Representatives investigating the performance of the policy in the last two years. The Auditor-General of the Federation (AuGF), Mr. Anthony Ayine, could not provide the figure of the exact amount in the account, since his Office was yet to conduct performance audit on the TSA. This puts the policy on a shaky foundation. In the context of extant statutory audit procedures of the Office of AuGF, two years of non-audit of the TSA remains a crime.
- ii. Delay in the passage of Audit Bill:
The Audit Bill for a long time has been pending before the National Assembly. The bill is seeking autonomy of the Office of AuGF to provide it with a measure of administrative and financial independence needed in carrying out its activities. If the bill is kept pending, the Office of AuGF will not have the necessary powers to carry out such audit as TSA.

- iii. **Scepticism and opposition:**
The TSA coverage is still limited and has and has not yet been extended to most states and local governments. This serves as a constrain to the effectiveness of TSA. Again, the National Assembly, Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU), National Judicial Council and others have also exempted themselves from TSA compliance.
- iv. **Weak Economy:**
The ailing economy and hard times owing to the dwindling revenues available for public spending by the various tiers of governments, according to Fatile and Adejuwon (2017), presents a tough challenge to the success of TSA. Most of the state governments are beginning to realise the need to cut down on waste and restless spending.
- v. **Attitudinal Problem:**
The negative attitude and inadequate support by the MDAs for the TSA policy through instilling fiscal discipline, clearing and prudent spending have a long-term effect on the success of TSA.
- vi. **Unfounded Fears:**
There are fears by some MDAs that resisted to key-in, adducing improbable reasons to justify their apprehensions. The Nigeria's Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU), criticized TSA policy, that, it constitutes bottleneck in the smooth running of Nigeria's university system, if hurriedly implemented. ASUU believes that, financial autonomy that the TSA takes away is very crucial for effective functioning of university system.
- vii. **Weakens Commercial Banks:**
It has been observed that, commercial banks stand to lose immensely from the implementation of TSA. Public funds constitute a large chunk of deposit in these banks. It is estimated that commercial banks hold about N2.2 trillion public sector funds at the first quarter of 2015 (Utsu, Muhammed & Obukeni, 2016). Consequently, most banks will have to downsize to cut their recurrent expenditures.

Prospects of Treasury Single Account:

The idea of TSA and its full implementation by a struggling economy like Nigeria, cannot be over stated. This is since, TSA is primarily to ensure

accountability of government revenue, enhance transparency and guard against misappropriation of public funds.

According to Yusuf, Abdullahi, Emmanuel and Emmanuel (2016), with the adoption of TSA, government will borrow less and therefore, the debt servicing cost should reduce considerably. It is also very likely that, a lot of funds previously unaccounted for will be uncovered.

If TSA is properly implemented, agencies of government will spend in line with duly approved budgetary provisions. The maintenance of a single account for government will enable the federal ministry of finance to monitor funds flow as no agency of government can maintain any operational bank account outside the oversight of the ministry.

It is expected that the implementation of TSA will assist in taming the tide of fraud and corrupt practices in government agencies. The implementation of TSA is expected to block revenue leakages within the MDAs as the ministry of finance will be able to monitor the inflows and outflows, thereby, complements the reduction in oil revenue due to falling oil prices.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The paper concludes that, TSA is a veritable catalyst which is been used to checkmate fraud, corrupt practices, financial indiscipline as well as ensuring adequate fund flow that will be channelled to critical areas of the economy to advance the desired socio-economic development in the country.

In view of the challenges discussed above, this paper therefore, recommends a strict compliance with the directives on TSA by relevant government agencies. The implementation of the Order, however, requires the co-operation of the National Assembly with the Executive arm to make enforcement possible.

It is evident that technology is critical to operation of TSA. Therefore, it is recommended that, the AuGF should cause for intensive training of its staff on the current Information Technology skills needed to audit a huge account like TSA. If the need arises, the Office AuGF should head-hunt for Nigerians with requisite skills to assist in carrying out the kind of audit needed on the TSA. To make ease this task, the National Assembly should hasten the passage of the pending audit bill before it, to grant autonomy to the Office of AuGF in order to provide it with

a measure of administrative and financial independence needed in carrying out its activities.

Finally, the MDAs in collaboration with the Executive need to be diligent in drawing up their budgets and presenting them for consideration and passage on time by the Legislature. The financial regulators including the CBN, according to Eme and Emmanuel (2015), should be proactive and institute measures to correct any lapse or negative impact of the policy. Altogether, what is needed to push this reform (TSA) measure through is political will at the national leadership. There should be attitudinal reorientation by the MDA's towards the policy. In other words, efforts should be made to make TSA a Nigerian Project.

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Federal Character Principle in Nigeria: An Overview

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Abstract

Nigeria since independence in 1960 has witness various socio political turbulence arising from problems of ethnicity, minority problem, discrimination, malady of resources allocations among others. Therefore, the study attempts to examine how federal character principle has helped in achieving national integration in Nigeria. It critically unveils the problems and prospects of the application of federal character principle for the enhancement of national integration. Using Elite Theory method, the study adopts the uses of secondary sources of data collection to interrogate the discourse. The findings of the study show that, in a deeply segmented society such as Nigeria, equity is one of the strongest ways of establishing confidence among the people. As a pointer to the unmitigated expression of reality, the study concludes that there is the need for all the groups , views and interests concerned to be consulted and taking into consideration in the course of the implementation of the principle. It recommends that federal character principle should not only concerned itself with inter ethnic distribution of natural resources, privileges and benefits, but should also ensure that modalities are worked out by which its beneficiaries can make reciprocal contributions to the over all common good, progress, stability and national integration of Nigeria.

Key words: Federal character, National Integration, Resource allocations.

Introduction

Nigeria in the past few years has seen many changes in its federal system. There has been a dramatic increase in the number of states, which comprise the federation; there have been structural changes in the economy, which in turn have changed the nature of its control and the pattern of resource distribution (Olagunju 1987:33). Ayoade (1998:106) saw the dynamic of Nigerian federalism from the perspective of representation when he asserted that:

The problem of representational equity in Nigeria started with the problem of an unequal north south duality.....the attempt to redress [the duality] resulted in the creation of states”.

The “federal character” principle has come to epitomize many of the controversies, anxieties and complexity associated with the Nigerian system of federalism. The principle’s basic rationale is to promote national loyalty, integration and a sense of belonging among Nigerian citizenry, and it is supposed to accomplish this through provision for the accommodation of the country’s federal or plural character in the composition and conduct of public institution through the federation [Suberu 2001;111]. Comparatively, the distinctive character of each federation, and by extension its stability, would appear to depend on the degree of harmony or congruence which exists between the structure and usages of the constitution (AfIgbo,1987; 37).

According to Ojo (2002; 37), ‘In Nigeria, the basic tenets of federalism as regards power sharing is not only abused but in most cases fall in abeyance. This has becomes a very serious problem because of the ethnic composition of the federation’. Of all contemporary states in the international system, Nigeria’s nature and character is unique. Onwuejeogwu (1995: 60-75) noted that:

The uniqueness creates unique problems unknown to the experience of other people in the world.....no Western or Eastern civilization has ever evolved a political system that can cope with this gigantic problem of hyper/ethnic instability syndrome.

It was in view of the fore/going that the principle of federal character was formulated and put in to use to address and hopefully mitigate the enduring problem of imbalance so as to ensure a peaceful, stable and integrated Nigeria. As an integrative mechanism, federal character as a principle touches on array of problems in the political process which includes ethnicity, the national question, minority problem, discrimination based on indigeneity, resources allocation, power sharing, employment and placement in institution of higher learning. (Government views and comments on the Report of the Political Bureau, 1987;9). Furthermore, the doctrine aimed at closing the gap between the North and the

South in terms of unequal access to “national cake”, unequal representation, under-representation and mis-representation of the polyglot ethnic configuration of the polity. It was also an attempt to redress the complaints of marginalization, inadequate amenities among others.

In the pursuance of the federal character principle in Nigeria, the Federal Character Commission [FCC] was set up as an independent government agency constitutionally charged with ensuring fairness and equity to all geo-political units of the country on matters of employment provision of infrastructural facilities and socio-economic amenities (Federal Character Commission 1996:iii).

Nigeria since independence in 1960 has witness various socio-political turbulence arising from problems of ethnicity, minority problem, discrimination, malady of resources allocation among others.

The Relevance of Federal Character Commission

Over the years, the application of the principle of federal character in the conduct of the nation’s affairs has been the major concern of successive Nigeria governments. The need to balance the ethnic groups in order to create a virile and united nation informed the entrenchment of federal character principle in Nigerian constitutions. Ayode (1998:177) noted that “the principle of federal character is the archilles heel of Nigerian politics” and” it is the most recent epiphany in Nigeria troubled federal theology”. Unfortunately, the principle became a mere substitute for substance. Instead of redressing historical imbalance and integrate the country, it turned out to be an instrument of marginalisation and deprivation due to discriminate application of the principle. it was against this background that the Constitutional Conference in 1994 recommended the establishment of a federal character Commission to superintend the proper implementation of the federal character provision of the Constitution. the commission was (thus) created in 1995 to bring about an atmosphere that will promote the sense of belonging among all Nigerians (Ojo 2002:48).

The gap between aspiration and reality showed clearly when protests greeted the membership of the commission which itself did not reflect the federal character at inception. The chairman was Alhaji Adamu Fika while the Secretary was Dr Sabo Bako both from the North. The protest resulted in the replacement of Dr Bako by Asuquo Okon Effanga, a Southerner. But the damage had been done. However,

the functions and powers of the commission are spelt out in paragraph 8, section C, part 1 of the third schedule to the 1999 Constitution and amplified in section 4 and 5 of Decree 34 of 1996. The commission is mandated, among other things to;

- a. Work out an equitable formula for the distribution of all cadres of posts in the civil and public services of the federation and the states, the armed forces, the religious police and other security agencies, corporate bodies owned by the federal or state government and extra-ministerial departments and parastatals of the federation and states;
- b. Promote, monitor and enforce compliance with the principles of proportional sharing of bureaucratic, economic, media and political parties at all levels of government;
- c. Take such loyal measures including the prosecution of the heads or staff of any ministry, extra-ministerial department or agency which fails to comply with the federal character principle or formulae prescribe or adopted by the commission;
- d. Work out : (i) an equitable formula, subject to the approval of the Head of States, for distribution of socio-economic devices, amenities and infrastructural facilities; (ii) modalities and scheme, subject tot the approval of the Head of States, for redressing the problems of imbalances and reducing the fear of relative deprivation and marginalization in the Nigerian system of federalism;
- e. Ensure that all ministries and extra-ministerial departments, agencies and other bodies affected by the decree have a clear criteria indicating to be fulfilled and comprehensive guidelines on the procedure for:
- f. Determining eligibility and the procedure for employment in the public and private section of the economy; and
- g. The provision of social services, goods and socio-economic amenities in Nigeria.

The scope of operation of the commission covers all the three levels of government, that is, federal, state and local. At the federal level, Federal Character Commission (FCC) is to ensure that very Local Government Area is represented at the state level and finally at the Local Government Level, FCC is to ensure that every ward is well and fairly represented at local government level. Its

operation also entails the equitable distribution of services, economic-amenities and infrastructural facilities among the geo-political units of the federation.

As laudable as the functions and powers of the commission are the commission cannot practically extend its power to the police and the armed forces. In the words of the chairman of the commission Alhaji Adamu Fika:

We have no power to say the armed forces cannot retire anybody or dismiss anybody. In most cases, in the police and the armed forces, the rate of attrition defers from Place to place. (The News 16 October 2000:41).

The chairman further stressed that despite the fact that the commission has power to take people to court for contravening its provisions, it will be an absurdity for the commission to take fellow public officers to court.

Furthermore, some provisions of FCC are in contradiction to the provision of the constitution. For instance, the provision of FCC stipulates that a married woman should continue to lay claim to her own state of origin for the purposes of implementation of Federal Character formulae at the national level (FCC 1996:32) while the constitution says that the state of origin of a woman's husband becomes that of the wife. The chairman however said that whenever there is that kind of conflict, the law (constitution) will take its course (The News 16 October 2000:42). The commission needs to be restructured in order to be more relevant in Nigerian Federal theology.

Conceptualizing Federal Character Principle

Conceptualization of "Federal Character" calls for the dexterity and erudite of a chemist, rather than the randomness and crudity of an alchemist. Federal Character Principle has been construed by many people to mean different things. Some take it to mean equal opportunity, quota system or zoning system, while some see it as legal and constitutional structure of the Nigerian federation. These assertions may be right as federal character applies to various contending issues in Nigeria.

As a legal constitutional provision, the Constitutional Drafting Committee (CDC) in 1977 coined the concept 'federal Character'. The principle was accepted as a

convenient conceptual construct for reconciling the sharply divergent perspectives that had developed in the committee (CDC) regarding the appropriate constitutional modalities for prompting equitable inter-ethnic integration and representation in Nigeria (Suberu 2001: 120). This was subsequently entrenched in the 1979 Constitution, Section 14(3) which stipulates thus:

The Composition of the government of the federation or any of its agencies and conduct of its affairs shall be carried out in such a manner as to reflect the character of Nigeria and the need to promote national loyalty thereby shall be no preponderance of person from a new ethnic or other in any of its agencies”.

Section 14 (14) of the constitution further stipulated that:

The composition of the government of a local government council or any of the agencies of such government or council, and the conduct of the affairs of the government or council or such agencies shall be carried out in such manner as to recognize the diversity of the people to promote a sense of belonging and loyalty among all the peoples of the federation

Succinctly put, the constitution shows that federal character principle should apply to all the three tier of government of the federation; federal, state and local. The 1979 constitution clearly identified the rationale for the federal character principle in section 273 as follows:

- a) To promote national unity;
- b) To foster national unity;
- c) To give every citizen a sense of belonging to the nation as expressed in section 14(3) and (4) of the constitution.

The 1989 constitution also contained the same provisions specifically expressed under fundamental objectives and directive principle of state policy in section 15(3) and (4) of the constitution. Section 14 (3) and (4) of 1979 constitution was brought down verbatim in the 1999 constitution under section 14 (3) and (4). Conscious of the major contribution to our national political vocabulary which it

was making through the introduction of this term, the Constitution Drafting thought it necessary to give a precise definition of federal character thus:

Federal Character” of Nigeria refers to the distinctive desire of the peoples of Nigeria to promote national unity, foster national loyalty and give every citizen of Nigeria a sense of belonging to the nation notwithstanding the diversities of ethnic origin, culture, language or religion which may exist and which it is their desire to nourish, harness to the enrichment of the federal Republic of Nigeria (Report of the CDC) 1977:ix

Therefore, federal character principle purports to deal with the distribution of privileges and benefits among the primordial component of any state organization. Ojo (2002:38) noted that federal character “touches on the array of problems in the political process which includes ethnicity, the national question, minority problem, discrimination based on indignity, resource allocation, power-sharing, employment and placement in institutions of higher learning”. The doctrine is also to tackle the problem of inequality of employment opportunities, lopsidedness in the provision and distribution of public investments, social services, economic amenities and infrastructural facilities (see The News 16 October 2000:39).

Ekeh (1989:21) asked this scholarly question that “is the epithet ‘federal’ in federal character fortuitous and even mistaken?” He plainly discerned the question by giving an emphatically No. That in inventing it (federal character), the Nigerian constitution makers were trying to rescue Nigeria federalism and political process from the problems which in their view have wrecked Nigerian public life. The cries of marginalization had become so pronounced by 1975, such that federal character became imperative to cure the malady of representation in public offices.

In order to understand and be able to define federal character in its rightful position, Afigbo (1989:6) noted that the following factors must be considered:

- i. The innate or primordial characteristics of Nigeria’s “federal society” going back to the days of yore;
- ii. The quality and performance of the statesmanship which has sought to harness the inborn characteristic of Nigeria’s “federal society to a federal constitution;
- iii. The degree of harmony existing between the primordial feature and usages of the constitution;

- iv. The fact that the character of the Nigerian federation has been rather dynamic in responses to the changing perceptions of statesmanship and other relevant forces.

In unsophisticated every day usage, the “federal character of Nigeria’ refers to Nigeria’s multi-ethnic character. Reflecting ‘federal character’ therefore means simple ensuring that Nigerian affairs are not dominated by persons from a few states or from a few ethnic or other sectional groups. A more sophisticated usage would require balancing North and South dichotomy.

Federal Character Principle in Nigeria: an Overview

Nigeria, a politically arranged country, is the product of British experiment in political cloning. It emerged a piecemeal under different conditions. The British only came to understand the nature and character of the territory after the acquisition (Ayoade 19998:101). Nigerians were not involved in the formation of the entity called Nigeria. They were not consulted on the deliberation, formation and terms of marriage’ of the various ethnic groups that constitute the polity.

The late sage, Awolowo (1947:47) described the product of the British experiment (Nigeria) as a “ mere geographical expression” while his northern counterpart, Ahmadu Bello (162:133) also described the making of Nigeria as the “mistake of 1914”. These were pointers to the fact that, it was in 1914 that the southern protectorate was merged with the northern protectorate without the subjects’ knowledge. They were not given the opportunity of having a say in the formation of their country.

Considering the diversity of the country, Sir Arthur Richards made the following comment in 1948:

It is only the accident of British suzerainty which has made Nigeria one country or one nation socially or even economically,... Socially and politically, their are deep differences between the major tribal groups. They do not speak the same language and have highly divergent customs and ways of life and they represent different stages of culture (Quaoted in Osuntokun 1979:97).

In 1946, the colonial government granted Nigeria a formal federal system of government as a way of integrating the diverse ethnic, tribal, religious and linguistic components of the country. Federalism for a country like Nigeria is costly and complex to operate. The main difficulty of Nigerian Federation is that, it has to operate at two levels at once, as a nation and as a collection of related self-standing units. It has to create and maintain a nation while preserving the integrity of the unit, their identity, culture and tradition.

The problem of acrimonious existence among the diverse groups and interests in the federation of Nigeria leading to mutual distrust and inter-communal conflicts have become perennial and endemic in the nation's body-politic and have militated against the political stability of the country since independence. The fear of domination of the one ethnic group or section of the country by another and the national question of who gets what and how the national cake should be share constitute major threat to the federation of Nigeria. This seriously hampers efforts at national integration. It was in view of that the Constitution Drafting Committee (CDC) was constituted on 8th October, 1975 by the then Head of state, Brigadier Murtala Mohammed. The committee was charge among other things, with how to promote national loyalty in a multi-ethnic society like Nigeria. The CDC consisted of fifty members drawn from various fields.

In the course of serious debate on the assignment given to it, the CDC split into two broad group which Afigbo (1989:4) called the Ostrich-postures and the brutal realists or pessimists. The realists or pessimists insisted that:

There had in the past been inter-ethnic rivalry to secure the domination of government by one ethnic group or combination of ethnic groups to the exclusion of others. It is there fore essential to have some provision to ensure that the predominance of persons from a few state or from a few ethnic or other sectional groups is avoided in the state. (Report of CDC 1977:ix)

The Ostrich-posturers accepted that inter-ethnic and sectional rivalry was one of the fatal affiliations that saw to the demise of the first Republic but felt it would be indecorous and inadvisable, and they disagreed vehemently with the enterchment of the principle of "ethnic balancing" in the constitution. According to the Ostrich-postures:

The creation of states as well as other provisions of the constitution is sufficient to ensure protection of the rights of the various communities (including minorities). It is therefore unnecessary to insist on the participation of all communities in the government and in any case such participation may be impracticable or unwieldy (Report of CDC 1977:viii).

After much heated debate and dialogue between these two groups, the term 'federal character' ensued as a term of compromise accepted by overwhelming number of members. The report of the committee stated below clearly shows how the term emerged:

The phrase "federal character of Nigeria" became widely acceptable among various speakers and it seems to embody the ideas which had motivated the arguments of those who have expressed view on the subject. Thus, it was widely acceptable to most members that important bodies like the Federal Electoral Commission should reflect 'the character of Nigeria' Report of CDC 1977:ix-x).

It is evident that the principle of federal character was the product of the contradiction between the ethnic moral debate and a politico-moral balance. The condition was reflect in the imprecision of its meaning Afigbo (1989:4) was more trenchant in his assessment of the situation. He argued that the acceptance of the principle by most members of the CDC "lay partly in its cosmetic character, partly in its rhetorical appeal, but above all in vagueness". The vagueness of the term was more inherent in its definition given by the CDC as:

..... the distinctive desire of the peoples of Nigeria to promote national unity, foster national loyalty and give every citizen of Nigeria a sense of belonging to the nation notwithstanding the diversities of ethnic origin, culture, language or religion which may exist and which it is their desire to nourish, harness to the enrichment of the Federal republic of Nigeria (Report of the CDC 1977:ix).

The recommendation made by the CDC as regards federal character had penetrated Nigerian constitution right from the 1979 constitution. The draft so approved is as follows:

The composition of the government or any of its agencies and the control of their affairs shall be carried out in such manner as to recognize the federal character of Nigeria.....

This provision was enshrined in sections 14(3) and 14 (4) of 1979. It was respectively repeated in sections 15(3) and 15 (4) of the 1989 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The provision was not also omitted in the 1999 constitution as it was brought down verbatim in section 14 (3) and 14 (4).

The North-South dichotomy that precipitated “Federal Character” principle is traceable to the style of rule by the British colonial masters. Initially, the south, particularly Lagos which was the crown colony of the British Lords was developed sporadically but discriminately. It was developed economically, socially and even religiously (inculcation of Christianity into people’s mind). As soon as the South was merged with the North administratively, Afigbo (1989:7) commented that:

The rapid expansion of trade and commerce, transport and communication, education and Western Legal Systems for which the Southern administration could have been famous was widely depredated” in favour of the Northern administration. This was due to the fact that Northern protectorate favoured the indirect rule system of the colonial masters and seemed not to give them problem.

Okonjo (1974:335) wrote that the Nigerian administrative history “provided a strong argument for keeping the course of development in the Northern and Southern provinces rigorously apart, for reducing all contacts between the peoples of the two groups of provinces from the sphere of the Legislative Council” In recognition of the duality, Nicolson (1969: 35-36) also noted that “the administrations of North and South developed strikingly different patterns – so different that they seemed more like the products of the influence of different ruling powers than the off-spring of the same secretary of state (of) the colonial office predictably, the colonial administration”passed on to Nigeria after

independence was a marriage of (in) convenience between incompatibles. The North looked down on the south as uncivilized, pagan, undisciplined and nakedly materialistic. The South returned this contempt with regarding the North as feudalistic, conservative, uneducated and as the pliant tools of the imperial master. To this end, Awolowo (1968:72) sees the duality as “so thoroughly and effectively that the two were divergently and almost irreconcilably oriented: one looking intently to the Middle East and its illustrious past and the other to the west and a glorious future.

It is therefore apparent that the North-South problem has been dogging Nigerian public life from colonial era to the present time. This constitutes what is now known as “federal character of Nigeria”. It was an important factor in determining the constitutional structure of the first Republic and its electoral system as well as determining the politics of this present time. One question remains to be posed and is hereby posed is the present structure of the Nigerian federation equipped to meet and solve the problems subsumed under the phrase “federation character” The answer to this question shall be provided in the subsequent chapters of this work.

Problems and Prospects of Federal Character for National Integration

The basic reason for the entrenchment of federal character principle in the national life of Nigeria is to ensure social harmony among all Nigerians and to promote the stability and national integration of the nation. The principle emphasizes the need for ethnic balancing as a necessity in the evolution of Nigerian citizenships and for ensuring less acrimonious relationships among the various peoples of Nigeria. But unfortunately, the federal character principle, while stressing the imperative of ethnic-balancing, invariably enthrones ethnicity and deemphasizes the nation (Agbodike 1999:183). This tendency forms the basis of disaffection among various groups in the nation. Ayoade (1982:20) noted that as long as the application of the principle discriminates against one group and favour another, no unity can result from such an exercise. The formula has not adequately addresses the problems of the minorities especially in states made up of different and unequal ethnic groups.

As a formula for the allocation of values, federal character, in practice, serve almost exclusively the interest of the dominant class. Agbodike (1998:184) remarked that the federal character principle has been manipulated by, and

channeled to serve the overall interest of the petty bourgeois ruling class. As the members of the ruling class pillage and loot the nation on behalf of the groups they represent, they widen the gap between the rich and the poor in the society. The capitalist structure of the nation's economy which according to Awa (1972:62), compels the people "to use essentially their own devices to get what they can from the proceeds of the economy". Under this circumstance, there is bound to be acrimony between the haves and the have-nots. Federal character principle is "an elite ploy which would not materially improve the lot of the down trodden in whose name it is raised" (Gbeyega 1998:183). In the opinion of Ogunojemite (1987:224) national integration can only occur "through the progressive bridging of the elite-mass gap in a vertical plane.....and developing a participant political community".

In the application of the principle, choices are often made on the basis of criterion other than merit and when this is applied in the civil and public services of the federation, standards and professionalism are endangered and compromised. Quota system as applied in education leads to lowering of standards against national interest. Suberu (2001:130) believes that a major impact of the quota system has been to deprive many qualified southern candidates of places in federal educational institutions in order to accommodate less qualified candidates from the educationally disadvantaged Northern. By eschewing meritocracy without recourse to standards, the quota system becomes normally reprehensively and an act of injustice.

One of the major and most problematic features of federal character principle is its wrongful assumption of equality of states. But Ojo (2002:46) has rightly observed that states are not equal in population and they are far from (being) equal too in the size of the pool of eligible candidates for appointment. There is no greater inequality than the equal treatment of unequal. Competent people who are disqualified on the ground of states of origin can never be willing to be a party to national unity of the country. They must feel wanted in order to volunteer themselves for national sacrifice (Ayoade 1998:116).

However, it has been argued that the quota system of the federal character principles is neither immoral nor unjust. Rather, it should be seen as a variant of distributive justice. At least, the formula has been giving a sense of belonging to the deprived section of the country. Lawson (1985:61) conjectured that "the standards that enable this sense of belonging to be achieved are not necessarily the highest obtainable or available". If for instance, the merit criterion is the only one used in appointment, most jobs would naturally go to the most-enterprising or educationally advanced states of the federation. Certainly, the closing of the educational gaps will reduce the controversies and acrimony over the operation of the federal character principle which arise over appointing the most qualified and less qualified individuals. Osaghae (1989:452) however noted that the closing of educational gaps cannot be expected to eliminate the rancours over federal character if the inequalities between states, particularly in size and population,

which produce rife fears of domination, remain. If belonging to a state is made flexible, then the present injustices associated with *statism* could be reduced. Once it is possible to achieve this, the operation of federal character will greatly engender the process of national integration in Nigeria.

Summary of findings

Diversity is both normal and necessary in a federation but federal character became an issue because Nigeria has failed to operate a true federalism. Nigeria's worrisome dimension stems from her unmitigated multi-ethnic composition. The study therefore delves into how federal character principle had been pursued by Nigerian government towards enhancing national integration and unity with minimum complications. This study posits that federal character was not new in the annals of Nigerian federalism. Though, the principle was the coinage of the constitutional Drafting Committee constituted in 1975, it has been hitherto known as quota or zoning system. It has practically moved from the legislative spheres to all segments of the judicial and executive spheres. To ensure that the principle becomes internalized, federal character commission was established to superintend the implementation of the federal character provision of the constitution.

Much as the principle aimed at redressing historical imbalance and integrating the country, it unfortunately turned out to be a mere substitute for substance. It created the problem of complex dialectical bases of representation in Nigeria. North-South duality which the principle was to abate had been made more widened and noticeable. Operationalization of the federal character principle had also been identified by this research work as one which poses the very serious problem of steady consolidation of statism, there is every evidence that the federal character principle against all odds, has come to stay in Nigeria. This is because as long as there is need for interest balancing, federal character will continue to be relevant in the body of politics.

Conclusion

It is an acknowledged fact that the federal character principle has gone a long way to reduce the various factors of mutual distrust and rivalries among the diverse groups and interests in Nigeria. The research findings show that in a deeply segmented society such as Nigeria, equity is one of the strongest ways of establishing confidence among the groups. For it is by it that they can feel the sense of belonging and so commit themselves to the continued existence of the union. Thus federal character as an equity principle is an integrative mechanism if arrangements are made to respect it in a political set up. As a pointer to the unmitigated expression of reality, the study submits that there is the need for all

the groups, views and interests concerned to be consulted and taking into consideration in the course of the implementation of the principle. Bodunrin (1989:321) has rightly cautioned, that it should not be used “as an instrument of stifling the progress and initiative of any groups nor as a punitive measure against any group”. This becomes imperative as experiences in the past have shown that Nigerians lack federal spirit and enthusiasm to a as means to addressing the situation.

All in all, it is the submission of this research that federal character principle should not only concern itself with inter-ethnic distribution of natural resources, privileges and benefits, but should also ensure that modalities are worked out by which its beneficiaries can make reciprocal contributions to the over-all common good, progressive, stability and national integration of the country.

Recommendations

Despite the obvious shortcomings and the controversies surrounding the notion and application of federal character, there seems to be a general acceptance of the principle as a normative expression of the equal right of all Nigerians to participate in the political, administrative and economic affairs of the country. By all indications as earlier noted, the formula has become to stay. What is therefore necessary is to seek ways and means to make it less rancorous and problematic and to channel it in such a way as to ensure the overall unity and progress of the country.

The research therefore makes it as one of its strong recommendations the need to assuage the mutual suspicious and ill-feelings generated by North-South imbalance. It is an established fact that state creation has been successively done to combat the imbalances but it has turned out to be a veritable tool for conflict. If belonging to a state can be flexible, the present injustice associated with statism could be reduced.

In the same vein, efforts should be made through appropriate legislation to remove the ‘indigene syndrome’ engendered by the federal character principle and the discriminatory policies, laws and regulations which legalise its operation. To this Osaghae (1989:453) remarked that once it is possible to do so, the operation of federal character will greatly engender the process of national integration. The accident of an individual’s birth will not be a hindrance to his ‘nationality’ and/or his opportunity in the federation.

Moreover, recruitment to posts which require specialist training such as those of medical practitioner, pilots, architects and engineers, should be essentially based on merit (Adamolekun 1986:185). To achieve this, it is imperative that the education gaps be closed. This will go along way in reducing the controversies and rancor over the operation of the federal character principle which arise over appointing the most qualified persons. If the educationally backward states ‘catch

up' with the 'advanced ones', the injustice of appointing less qualified people where better qualified ones exist will be reduced.

The Federal Character Commission which serves as the body which sees to the implementations of the federal character provisions needs to be manned by appropriate hands. Beyond political will, the honesty and impartiality of those charged with implementing and supervising its implementation are highly needed. Only such people of proven integrity are capable of standing firm and preventing a slide into an impasse with the arguments whether or not it has been respected. Perhaps, if imaginatively and astutely interpreted and fairly and sensibly implemented, federal character may become not only less invidious and obnoxious but also more effective in promoting national integration.

Finally and ultimately, the only solution to the problem of integration is adherence to true federalism and a reduction in the power of the central government. A deconcentration of critical political power will result in a relaxed federal set-up and less heated inter-ethnic relations.

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Effect of National Health Insurance Scheme on Public and Private Healthcare in Nigeria: A Comparative Perspective

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Abstract

Adequate service provision by government and private sector in healthcare provision is far-fetched. Various efforts made by government at different levels have not been able to suffice leading to promulgation of a National Health Insurance Scheme to help proffer a solution to the challenge. However, due to financial constraints by the government the private sector joined in this pursuit to finding a lasting answer to the difficulty in assessing healthcare services in the country. Studies have focused on assessment of public and private healthcare service providers, but adequate attention has not been given to the comparative perspective. This paper attempts to examine the effect of National Health Insurance Scheme on Public and Private Healthcare delivery in Ile-Ife, Osun State. An empirical study of workers in Obafemi Awolowo University Teaching Hospital and Seventh Day Teaching Hospital were undertaken. The paper notes that lack of funds and poor implementation are part of the challenges faced in provision of assessable healthcare. The paper proposes that stakeholders should make more funds available and there should be creation of an enabling environment for more private investors.

Keywords: Health, National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS), Healthcare, Public Healthcare, Private Healthcare

Introduction

A healthy society is a drive towards speedy development in all spheres of life Kumar & Preetha, (2012). This has prompted the government to promulgate policy programmes for enhancement of the health sector. Despite the efforts of governments in Africa and other developing countries, health sector has continued to be less attractive in terms of providing affordable, accessible and quality

healthcare to the masses (Kaseje, 2006). Several health programmes are considered intricate and vagarious. However, since the introduction of National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS) in Nigeria by decree No. 35 of 1999 through the government, healthcare services have received a boost in areas of its deficiencies. Several efforts towards provision of affordable and accessible healthcare in Nigeria leaves more to be desired (Omoruan, Bamidele & Philips, 2009). Although there are both public and private healthcare providers, still a reasonable number of people cannot access quality and affordable healthcare while others many cannot afford the cost of medical care in the form of consulting fees, medication costs and other service charges of private hospitals because of the widespread prevalence of poverty. Nevertheless, sometimes it is argued that Private sector healthcare delivery is more efficient than Public sector healthcare delivery. It is against this backdrop that this study attempts a comparative study of the effectiveness of NHIS on public and private health care delivery in Ile-Ife, Osun State, Nigeria.

Literature

Health is a safety need of life that is essential to both economic and social development of man and his society (Maslow, 1945). The Nigerian governments is not left out of this perception, consequent upon her recognition for the need of good and affordable healthcare services for the society and have pursued the goals of provision of up to date medical care since inception. The former Military President Babangida (1989:12) affirmed that “*Government is, in particular, deeply concerned about the state of the nation's health system, especially, the rising cost of healthcare services. The problem, accordingly called for speedy action in order to improve the deteriorating health services in the country*”. The contribution of World Health Organisation's (1948), emphasizes the importance of focusing on healthcare on a wider scope covering physical, social, mental well being of people in order to achieve a healthy society.

Nevertheless, countries have found it costly and difficult to meet up with the demands posed by the health sector today. World Health Organization (2001) observed that the low income earners find it difficult to meet up with the cost of quality healthcare, as well as lacking the knowledge about healthiness and ways of actualizing good health. Also, in situations where enlightenment programmes

are held for this cause, most of the assigned centres are far distant from them. According to Ohalete (2008) the National Health Policy is designed to quell these negative trends through its goal and objectives such as provision of more health institutions, and primary health centers; provision of adequate health facilities at affordable costs to the citizens as well as provision of enlightenment programme. However, efforts to improve the nation's health are based on the need to establish a modern and affordable healthcare system. Sine qua non is the introduction of health insurance to provide a minimal socio-economic security for affected individual especially low-income earners. This is a necessary scheme to ameliorate the poor health conditions of citizens especially the low income earners.

In an attempt to proffer a healthy nation, the government of Nigeria established Health Insurance Scheme through National Health Insurance Scheme Act 35 of 1999. According Act 35 of 1995 NHIS is aimed at ensuring that every Nigerian has access to good health care services; protecting families from the financial hardship of huge medical bills; limiting the rise in the cost of health care services; ensuring equitable distribution of health care costs among different income groups; maintaining high standards of health care delivery services within the Scheme; ensuring efficiency in health care services; improving and harness private sector participation in the provision of health care services; ensuring equitable distribution of health facilities within the Federation; ensuring appropriate patronage of all levels of health care; and ensuring the availability of funds to the health sector for improved services. However, Teriba (2005) cited in Ohalete (2008) states that most of the objectives of NHIS have not been achieved. For instance affordable health care for Nigerian citizens, provision of modern health facilities and constant supply of drugs is still a mirage.

Nigeria's public health care system is overseen and managed at three distinct levels; the Federal, State and Local Governments. The Federal Government is responsible for tertiary care, which is mainly provided by University Teaching Hospitals and Federal Medical Centres. The States and the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja are each responsible for their own secondary care facilities, mainly General Hospitals, while the 774 Local Governments focus on Primary Health Care that is administered primarily through healthcare centres. In spite of governments' efforts in restructuring the health system critics still find lapses in implementation of government's policy. Consequent upon the inadequacies of

government in achieving durable health provision, Onwujekwe, Uzochukwu, Obikeze, Okoronkwo, Ochonma, Onoka, Madubuko, & Okoli (2010) affirmed that private sector accounts for over 50% of input to the health sector, implying that more money is spent by the private sector when it comes to health delivery. It therefore underscores the need for private sector involvement in establishing a workable healthcare system in Nigeria.

Healthcare can be provided through public and private sector. Government of Nigeria has been a key provider of healthcare, though the population of the people has been about 180million which is affecting the financial strength of the sector, thus, making the funds insufficient to keep up with the trends of modern healthcare. The impact of private providers into the health system has been a plus in terms of having a larger number of private providers but it did not make healthcare affordable to all as provided for in the health policy. Scholars have argued that private providers are the main stakeholders in the sector because they have more healthcare units (Berendes, Heyhood, Oliver & Garner 2011). In addition, it is presumed that the involvement of private providers will stem the issue of corruption in the health sector and in turn result in more efficiency of the health sector (Rosenthal & Newbrander, 1996). Unfortunately, this is not the case. Attention of the general public is drawn to the challenges confronting the operation of the National Health Insurance Scheme, challenges as to delay in claims reimbursement, misappropriation of funds by schemes, fraud and irregularities, over utilization of health care facilities without its corresponding increase in staff and health facilities. Therefore, this current study will attempt to fill this gap by comparing the effect of the scheme on public and private organizations in the study area.

Objectives

This paper compared the effectiveness of NHIS on public health care to that of the private health care and analysed the challenges confronting public and private organization in the implementation of the scheme in the Ile-Ife, Osun State, Nigeria.

Methodology

The primary sources of data were collected through field survey, and the administration of questionnaire in the study area. Secondary data were collected from articles, textbooks, journals, newspapers and policy documents. The study comprises both public and private workers in the study area who are users of the NHIS. A two-stage sampling technique was used for this study. Purposive sampling technique was used in selecting the actual beneficiaries of NHIS from Obafemi Awolowo University Teaching Hospital Complex, Ile-Ife and Seventh Day Adventist Hospital, Ile-Ife. While one hundred and eight (108) respondents were randomly selected from Obafemi Awolowo University Teaching Hospital Complex, Ile-Ife and seventy two (72) from Seventh Day Adventist Hospital, Ile-Ife being the sample size for this study. Both descriptive and inferential statistics were used to analyse the data collected. The descriptive statistics involved the use of simple frequency tables, mean and averages while the inferential statistics involved the use of Chi-Square to show the effect of NHIS in both the public and private organizations in the study area.

Results and Discussion of Findings

Effectiveness of NHIS on Public and Private Health Care in Ile-Ife

Presented in Table 1 is the assessment of the effectiveness of NHIS on public and private healthcare providers in Ile-Ife. A very significant proportion of the respondents (50.9%) claimed that health services are poor in the public organizations, as 10.2% were undecided, and the remaining 38.9% disagreed. Similarly, a little above half the respondents (56.9%) agreed that health services are poor in the private organizations, as 18.1% were undecided, while 25% disagreed. It is evident also that NHIS has not been well effective, as 48.1% of the respondents agreed that there are poor prescriptions and attention in the public organizations, 12% were indifferent, as 39.8% disagreed. On the other hand, most of the respondents (52.8%) also agreed that there are poor prescriptions and attention in the private organizations. Here adequate measures need to be taken to balance the poor effectiveness and efficiency of NHIS. However, 26.4% were indifferent, as the remaining 20.8% disagreed.

According to the respondents, NHIS providers' attitude are substandard, as 50% agreed that the providers attitude is substandard in public organizations, while 18.5% were indifferent, 5.6% disagreed. Similarly, more than half the respondents (55.3%) agreed that NHIS providers' attitude is substandard in the private organizations, 16.7% were undecided, and the remaining 9.7% disagreed. However, it is evident from the study that NHIS gives good attention to patients as affirmed by 53.7% of the respondents in the public organizations. Although, 26.8% disagreed, 19.4% neither agreed nor disagreed. Similarly, 61.1% of the respondents agreed that NHIS gives good attention to patients, as 18.1% disagreed, and the remaining 20.8% were indifferent.

When the respondents were asked if there is high availability of drugs, a larger proportion of the respondents (46.3%) in the public organizations disagreed, as they felt that drugs are not highly available, 17.6% were undecided as only 34.2% agreed that there is high availability of drugs. On the contrary, more than half of the respondents (55.6%) agreed that there is high availability of drugs, as 13.9% were undecided and 29.2% disagreed. It is evident from the study there has been a reduction in sickness and diseases in the society as a result of the implementation of NHIS. 48.2% of the respondents in the public organizations disagreed, as they believed that the implementation of NHIS has reduced the sickness and diseases in the society, 14.8% were neutral, as only 37% believed that there has been an increase in sickness and diseases in the society. Similarly, 37.5% of the respondents in the private organizations agreed that there has been an increase in sickness and diseases in the society. However, 11.1% were indifferent, while 51.4% disagreed, as they believed NHIS has reduced sickness and diseases in the society.

Table 1 Effectiveness of NHIS on Public and Private Health Care

Healthcare Services	Category	Public Organizations		Private Organizations	
		Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Health service provided is poor	Strongly Agree	16	14.8	16	22.2
	Agree	39	36.1	25	34.7
	Undecided	11	10.2	13	18.1
	Disagree	36	33.3	17	23.6
	Strongly Disagree	6	5.6	1	1.4
	Total	108	100.0	72	100.0
Poor prescriptions and attention	Strongly Agree	8	7.4	10	13.9
	Agree	44	40.7	28	38.9
	Undecided	13	12.0	19	26.4
	Disagree	39	36.1	14	19.4
	Strongly Disagree	4	3.7	1	1.4
	Total	108	100.0	72	100.0
Providers attitude is substandard	Strongly Agree	15	13.9	9	12.5
	Agree	39	36.1	31	43.1
	Undecided	20	18.5	12	16.7
	Disagree	28	25.9	13	18.1
	Strongly Disagree	4	3.7	5	6.9
	Disagree	2	1.9	2	2.8
	Total	108	100.0	72	100.0
They give good attention to patients	Strongly Agree	14	13.0	14	19.4
	Agree	44	40.7	30	41.7
	Undecided	21	19.4	15	20.8
	Disagree	24	22.2	12	16.7
	Strongly Disagree	5	4.6	1	1.4
	Total	108	100.0	72	100.0
There is high availability of drugs	Strongly Agree	13	12.0	13	18.1
	Agree	24	22.2	27	37.5
	Undecided	19	17.6	10	13.9
	Disagree	47	43.5	20	27.8
	Strongly Disagree	3	2.8	1	1.4
	Disagree	2	1.9	1	1.4
	Total	108	100.0	72	100.0

Increase in sickness and diseases in the society	Strongly Agree	13	12.0	15	20.8
	Agree	27	25.0	12	16.7
	Undecided	16	14.8	8	11.1
	Disagree	41	38.0	19	26.4
	Strongly Disagree	11	10.2	18	25.0
	Total	108	100.0	72	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2017.

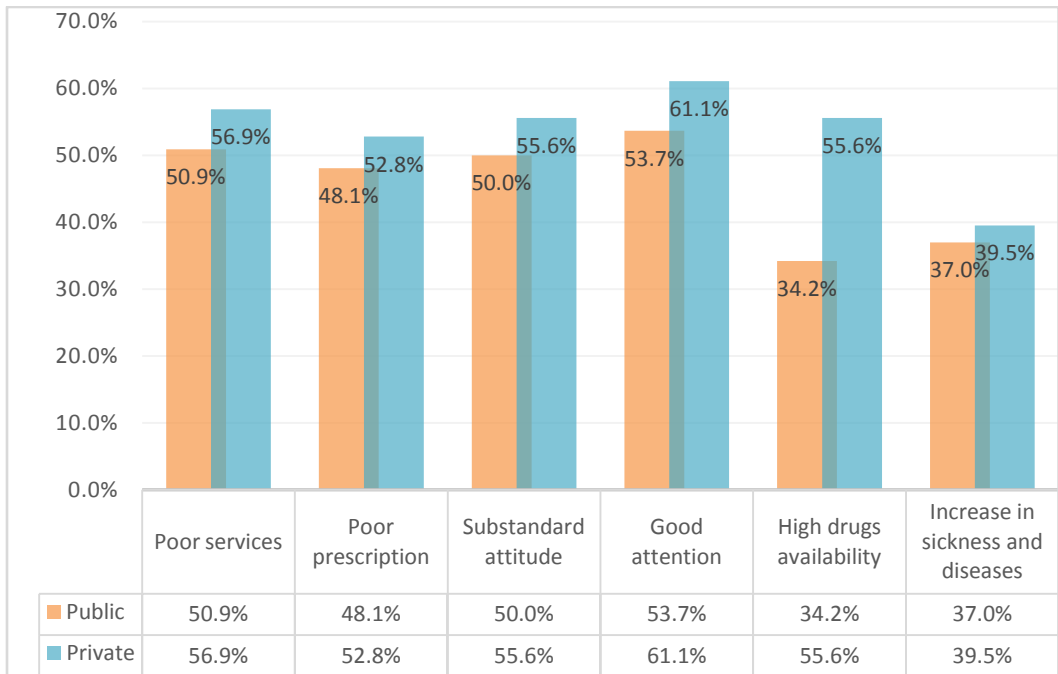


Fig. 1 NHIS Effectiveness on Healthcare Delivery in Public and Private Organizations

Figure 1 reveals only the respondents that agreed on the effectiveness of NHIS on healthcare delivery in public and private organizations in Ile-Ife.

The Challenges Confronting Public and Private Organizations in the Implementation of NHIS in Ile-Ife

Information depicted on Table 2a and 2b the challenges of accessing healthcare services in public and private organizations in Ile-Ife. Most of the respondents (71.3%) in the public organizations agreed that the lack of funds is a major challenge of accessing healthcare services; however, 9.3% were undecided, as 11.1% disagreed. Similarly, majority of the respondents (72.2%) in the private organizations also agreed that the lack of funds is a barrier to accessing healthcare services. Also, the healthcare services are too expensive for ordinary health seekers to access, as they cannot raise the funds; this was affirmed by 56.5% of the respondents in the public organizations. 15.7% were undecided, while 22.2% disagreed. On the other side, 66.7% of the respondents in the private organizations also agreed that the healthcare services are too expensive for ordinary health seekers to afford, as 22.2% were indifferent, and 7% disagreed.

It is evident from the study that NHIS only covers cheap drugs as agreed by 56.5% of the respondents in the public organizations, as only 14.8% were neutral, and 25.9% disagreed. On the other hand, 77.8% also agreed that NHIS covers only cheap drugs as expensive drugs are being left out, as 6.9% disagreed, while 12.5% were undecided. It is pertinent to note that NHIS covers only simple surgical problems (operations). 68.5% of the respondents in the public organizations agreed that NHIS covers simple surgical problems only, 14.8% were indifferent, and 13% disagreed. Similarly, in the private organizations, a massive 80.5% of the respondents also agreed that the scheme covers only simple surgical problems, as 15.3% were undecided, and 2.8% disagreed.

Health facilities prefer cash and carry to NHIS as affirmed by 51.9% of the respondents in the public organizations, 24.1% were neutral, while 21.3% disagreed. Similarly, in the private organizations, 62.5% of the respondents further agreed that health facilities preferred cash and carry to NHIS. 12.5% were neutral, as 23.6% disagreed. It is sad to discover that prompt attention is not given to NHIS beneficiaries. In the public organizations, 50% of the respondents agreed that NHIS card holders are usually left unattended to for longer hours, 21.3% were undecided, and 24.1% disagreed. In private organizations, 73.6% of the respondents also agreed that NHIS cardholders are usually left unattended to for longer hours, as 13.9% were neutral, and 12.5% disagreed.

It is however, surprising to discover that even in this present age, people still prefer to use traditional systems rather than orthodox method of care, as they have strong belief in the traditional methods. 55.5% of the respondents in the public organizations agreed that people prefer the traditional method to the orthodox, as 17.6% were undecided, and 21.3% disagreed. Similarly, in the private

organizations, 57% of the respondents also agreed that people prefer traditional method of treatment to the orthodox, 36.1% were indifferent, and 7% disagreed. Again, it is evident from the study that there are no adequate health facilities provided by NHIS, as 57.4% of the respondents in the public organizations agreed to this, 13.9% were neutral, while 26% disagreed. On the other hand, 73.6% of the respondents in the private organizations also agreed that there is no adequate health facilities provided by NHIS, as 8.4% disagreed, while 18.1% neither agreed nor disagreed.

Most people do not have easy access to the healthcare facilities, as they even see it as a time waste to travel kilometers just to seek medical attention, this is the more reason why they prefer the traditional method of treatment to orthodox. 51% of the respondents in the public organizations agreed that the health facilities are too far from people, and they do not see it wise enough to travel such distance to seek medical attention. However, 27.8% disagreed, as they felt that irrespective of the distance, once still needs to seek medical attention when needed, 18.5% were undecided. On the other hand, 61.2% of the respondents also agreed that the health facilities are too far from people and a waste of time to travel down to the healthcare centres, 26.4% disagreed, and 12.5% were undecided. Finally, NHIS implementation can be termed as poor, as 68.5% of the respondents in the public organizations affirmed that the scheme is not available to the majority, as only a few set of people have access to NHIS services. However, 9.3% were neutral, and 15.7% disagreed. Similarly, 45.8% of the respondents in the private organizations also agreed that NHIS is not available to the majority, as 18.1% were undecided, and 31.9% disagreed.

Table 2a Challenges Confronting Public and Private Organizations in the Implementation of NHIS

Challenges of accessing healthcare Services	Category	Public Organizations		Private Organizations	
		Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Lack of funds	Strongly Agree	31	28.7	6	8.3
	Agree	46	42.6	46	63.9
	Undecided	10	9.3	4	5.6
	Disagree	9	8.3	14	19.4
	Strongly Disagree	3	2.8	2	2.8
	No Response	9	8.3	-	-
	Total	108	100.0	72	100.0

Expensive for the ordinary health seeker	Strongly Agree	20	18.5	20	27.8
	Agree	41	38.0	28	38.9
	Undecided	17	15.7	16	22.2
	Disagree	20	18.5	4	5.6
	Strongly Disagree	4	3.7	1	1.4
	No Response	6	5.6	3	4.2
	Total	108	100.0	72	100.0
The scheme covers only cheap drugs	Strongly Agree	20	18.5	19	26.4
	Agree	41	38.0	37	51.4
	Undecided	16	14.8	9	12.5
	Disagree	24	22.2	5	6.9
	Strongly Disagree	4	3.7	-	-
	No Response	3	2.8	2	2.8
	Total	108	100.0	72	100.0
The scheme covers only simple surgical problems (operations)	Strongly Agree	24	22.2	25	34.7
	Agree	50	46.3	33	45.8
	Undecided	16	14.8	11	15.3
	Disagree	10	9.3	2	2.8
	Strongly Disagree	4	3.7	-	-
	No Response	4	3.7	1	1.4
	Total	108	100.0	72	100.0
Health facilities prefer cash and carry to NHIS	Strongly Agree	19	17.6	24	33.3
	Agree	37	34.3	21	29.2
	Undecided	26	24.1	9	12.5
	Disagree	20	18.5	17	23.6
	Strongly Disagree	3	2.8	-	-
	No Response	3	2.8	1	1.4
	Total	108	100.0	72	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2017

Table 2b Challenges Confronting Public and Private Organizations in the Implementation of NHIS

Challenges of accessing healthcare Services	Category	Public Organizations		Private Organizations	
		Frequency	%	Frequency	%
NHIS card holders usually left attended to for longer hours	Strongly Agree	11	10.2	23	31.9
	Agree	43	39.8	30	41.7
	Undecided	23	21.3	10	13.9
	Disagree	24	22.2	9	12.5
	Strongly Disagree	2	1.9	-	-
	No Response	5	4.6	-	-
	Total	108	100.0	72	100.0

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People prefer to use traditional systems rather than orthodox method for care	Strongly Agree	12	11.1	13	18.1
	Agree	48	44.4	28	38.9
	Undecided	19	17.6	26	36.1
	Disagree	19	17.6	4	5.6
	Strongly Disagree	4	3.7	1	1.4
	No Response	6	5.6	-	-
	Total	108	100.0	72	100.0
There are no adequate health facilities	Strongly Agree	22	20.4	17	23.6
	Agree	40	37.0	36	50.0
	Undecided	15	13.9	13	18.1
	Disagree	26	24.1	4	5.6
	Strongly Disagree	2	1.9	2	2.8
	No Response	3	2.8	-	-
	Total	108	100.0	72	100.0
Health facilities are too far from people (time wasting to travel to one)	Strongly Agree	22	20.4	13	18.1
	Agree	33	30.6	31	43.1
	Undecided	20	18.5	9	12.5
	Disagree	36	24.1	16	22.2
	Strongly Disagree	4	3.7	3	4.2
	No Response	3	2.8	-	-
	Total	108	100.0	72	100.0
The scheme is not available to the majority	Strongly Agree	28	25.9	10	13.9
	Agree	46	42.6	23	31.9
	Undecided	10	9.3	13	18.1
	Disagree	13	12.0	9	12.5
	Strongly Disagree	4	3.7	14	19.4
	No Response	7	6.5	3	4.2
	Total	108	100.0	72	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2017

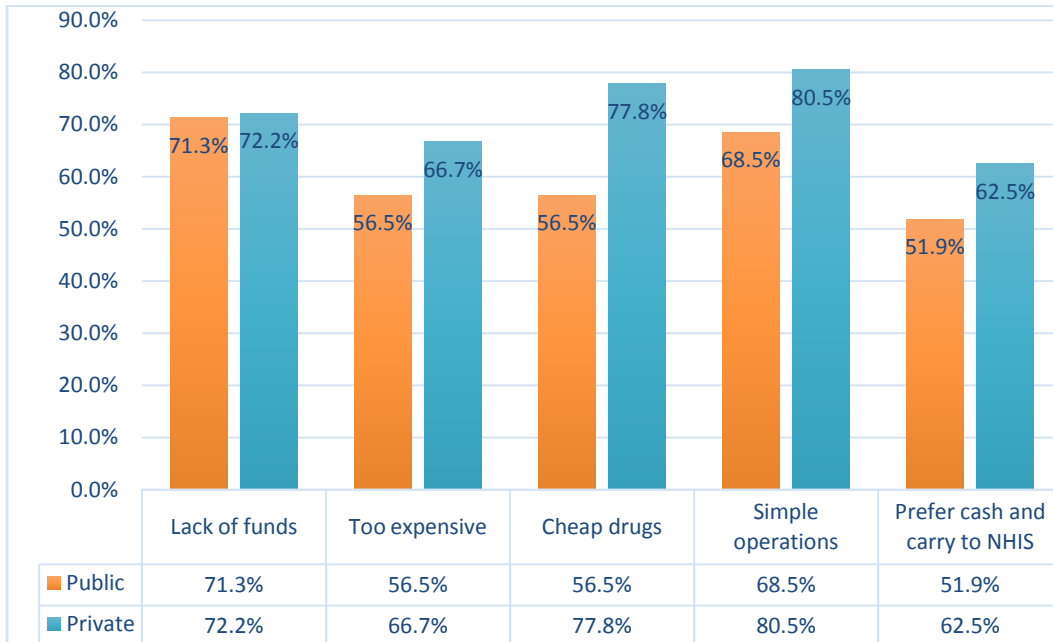


Fig 2a Challenges of Accessing Healthcare Services in Public & Private Organizations

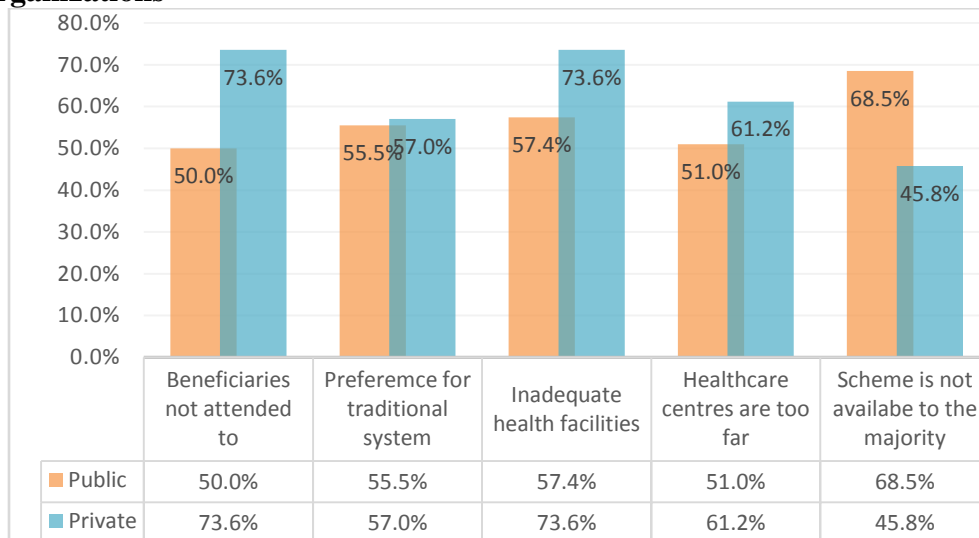


Fig 2b Challenges of Accessing Healthcare Services in Public & Private Organizations

Figure 2b above reveals only the respondents that agreed on the challenges facing the respondents in accessing healthcare delivery in public and private organizations in Ile-Ife.

Research Hypothesis

In line with the hypothesis formulated in this study, the Chi-square test was conducted and explained below:

H₀: There is no significant relationship between NHIS and effective healthcare service delivery in both public and private organizations in Ile-Ife.

H₁: There is a significant relationship between NHIS and effective healthcare service delivery in both public and private organizations in Ile-Ife.

There is a significant relationship between NHIS and effective healthcare service delivery of public organizations in Ile-Ife. Given that the P-Value (0.00) is less than the significant level (0.05), $P\text{-Value} < \alpha$ (given a confidence level of 95% { $100-95=5$; $5/100=0.05$ therefore $\alpha=0.05$ }). As a result of this, the researcher hereby rejects the null hypothesis H_0 and accepts the alternative hypothesis H_1 that there is a significant relationship between NHIS and effective healthcare service delivery in public organizations in Ile-Ife. Therefore, it infers that the poor management of NHIS will lead to poor health service delivery by the government and vice-versa.

Public Organizations

Variables	Yes (SA&A) N (%)	No D &SD N (%)	Total (Valid)	X^2	Df	P-Value
It has ensured every citizens access to good healthcare services	67.6	21.3	88.9	46.113	16	0.000
Health service provided is poor	50.9	38.9	89.8			

Similarly, based on the findings of the research, there is a significant relationship between NHIS and effective healthcare service delivery in private organizations in Ile-Ife. Given that the P-Value (0.001) is less than the significant level (0.05),

P-Value < α (given a confidence level of 95% {100-95=5; 5/100=0.05 therefore $\alpha=0.05$ }). As a result of this, researcher hereby rejects the null hypothesis H_0 and accepts the alternative hypothesis H_1 that there is a significant relationship between NHIS and effective healthcare service delivery in private organizations in Ile-Ife. Therefore, it infers that the poor management of NHIS will lead to poor health service delivery by the private care delivery and vice-versa. In summary, the administration of NHIS by both public and private organizations will affect health service delivery either positively or negatively.

Private Organizations

Variables	Yes (SA&A) N (%)	No D &SD N (%)	Total (Valid)	X^2	Df	P-Value
It has ensured every citizens access to good healthcare services	74.1	14.9	89	28.890	8	0.001
Health service provided is poor	56.9	25	81.9			

Recommendations

The following recommendations if utilized will make the scheme viable in achieving targeted policy goals:

- There should be proper mode of accountability and openness in the management of the scheme. This will help reduce corruption in both private and public organizations and it will act as a check to anyone that has intentions of sabotaging the scheme.
- Stakeholders in the health sector should ensure that adequate resources are provided for essential needs in the sector to be met. Money for health practitioners and funds to put in place modern health facilities should be within reach of the managers of NHIS.

- The Scheme should be reviewed every three years due to the relevance of health to wealth of nations. It will open it to evaluation and re-evaluation; hence, there will be room to cover for the lacuna in the policy implementation.
- Conferences should be held to enlighten stakeholders on the need, goals, quality and coverage of NHIS. This will also aid the stakeholders to function rightly with little or no friction in the system.
- Government should create an enabling environment for the private sector in order to help promote easy accessibility of citizens to quality healthcare. This will also engender the forces of demand and supply to interact in health service delivery, thereby resulting in relative affordability of healthcare provision.

Conclusion

The introduction of NHIS has not really achieved the set goals and objectives of meeting the accessible and affordable healthcare. Nevertheless, the scheme can be seen as laudable, although public and private sectors have not been able to suffice in healthcare delivery. This is a call into question on the effectiveness of both sectors in making healthcare accessible and affordable. This comparative study has shown that the effectiveness of NHIS on healthcare service delivery in the two sectors is less than encouraging. The challenges faced in the Public and Private healthcare service delivery are enormous ranging from long distance of health facilities from people (time wasting to travel), inadequate funding, and people now prefer to use alternative methods of healthcare consequent upon the inadequacies in the implementation of the scheme in the study area.

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Educational Reform as an Instrument for Improving Access to Education

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Abstract

Educational reform as one of the policies and priorities of the government evolved in response to the belief that education is an instrument of national development. This paper examined educational reform as an instrument of improving access to tertiary education with specific focus on selected tertiary institutions in Kaduna state. The problem investigated in this paper revolves around wither or not funding component of educational reform improve access to tertiary education as well as challenges of increase access to a tertiary education. The pertinent questions raised in the study include to what extent does funding component of educational reform improve access to education? And what constitute the challenges of increase access to education? The specific objectives of the study include: determining the extent to which funding improves access to tertiary education as well as examining challenges of increase access. The survey research design was employed in the study. Data were collected from both primary and secondary sources using questionnaires books and other publications as tools. The target population of the study is 46,930 while the sample size is 397. Data were analyzed using both descriptive and inferential statistical tools. The SPSS package was used in the operation of chi-square X2 statistics to test the formulated hypothesis on the relationship between funding and improve access to education. The study revealed that education reform has not impacted on access due to numerous challenges that includes problem of carrying capacity inadequate infrastructure and funding. It was therefore recommended that for improving level of funding government should increase budgetary allocation and ensure prompt disbursement. To reduce challenges, it was recommended that financial waste should be avoided, downsizing of support staff to optimal levels (NUC benchmarks/ratios) should be encouraged.

Key words: Education, educational reforms, access to education.

Introduction

Reform is necessity for growth and development of any human organization. its imperatives is borne out of the reality that as human organization continues to exist; there will always be new hopes and aspirations which the generality of people living in the organization would want to attain.

Education is an instrument of survival and continuity. In Nigeria, Education is an instrument par excellence (NPE, 2004) that was why Bloom as cited in Uzoka (2006) noted that the failure of many societies to develop is a consequence of their inability to emphasize with the relevant models of change at both the cognitive and effective levels. In fact, the words of Nyerere (1997), education, whether formal or informal has a purpose. This is to transmit from one generation to another the accumulated wisdom, and knowledge of the society, prepare the young ones for future membership, and active participation in the maintenance and development of the nation (Lawal, 2017:1).

In a similar line of reasoning; Uzodinma (2008: 138) asserts that in any dynamic society all areas of human activity seem to undergo diversification, education is no exception to this rule. Supporting this claim; Oraifo (2002:61) noted that educational reform is not a new thing and has been in practice among developing nations and that reforming in its nature provides the unique opportunity to stop and re-appraise existing conditions with an aim of correcting ills and improving prevailing situations for better results. So, reform is totally described as a major system transformation.

Access to education is the opportunity for environment as well as the facilitation of entry and the encouragement of sustained enrolment by learners in appropriate education programme Ofoegbu (2010). Thus, access includes features of openness to heterogeneous population; supportiveness; to a diverse clientele and relevance of diverse offerings (Roberst, 2003).

Access to education in Nigeria seems constrained at all levels of the system and significant disparities in access are sometimes evident. The level of access to tertiary institution in Nigeria compares poorly with economic competition like

South Africa (17%) Indonesia (11%); and Brazil (12%) task force, 2000 cited in (Ofoeagbu, 2010).

In the same vein; the Federal Ministry of Education report affirmed that in 2005, 200,000 candidates passed at 23% rate UME examination. In the same year; universities in Nigeria had a capacity to admit 148,323 candidate. This implies that the universities could only accommodate 17% (FRA, 2006). Consequently, the gap that existed between the numbers of candidates that sits for UTME yearly and the number offered admission continued. Also disparity existed between male and female candidates. The question is that how has education reform improved access to education? This study attempted to provide answer to this with focus on selected tertiary institutions in Kaduna state.

Arising from the above statement of the research problem, are research questions such as; what constitutes the challenges to increased access to education? To what extent does funding component of educational reform improves access to education in Kaduna State. The objectives of the study includes to find out the extent to which funding component of education reform improves access, and to identify the challenges for increased access to tertiary education. The hypothesis formulated state that there is no significant relationship between funding components of educational reform and improves access to tertiary education in Kaduna State.

The study is significant in view of the fact that it fills the gap that existed with reference to discussion of impact of educational reform on tertiary education including Polytechnic, Colleges of Education and Universities. Previous studies dwells on university education. The findings of the study will be of immense importance to policy makers; education managers, administrators, researchers and the general public. The study spans between 2010-2015 and limited also to Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, Kaduna Polytechnic and Federal College of Education Zaria. The choice of this institution is justified on the ground that it represents different level of training institutions where access can be explored.

Literature Review

Concept of Education

Education as a concept is a worthwhile ventures as it is recognized worldwide as the most important engine that propels technology and national development in

modern societies (Shagari; Bello & Umar , 2013:17) Mandela and Michael (2002) are of the view that education can be the difference between a life of grinding poverty and the potentials for a full and secure one; between a child dying from a presentable disease and family raised in a healthy environment , between orphans growing in isolation and the community that could protect them.

The basic reasons for the establishment of school for children in all countries of the world are to provide educational opportunities to the children and integrate them into their societies, it is also to prepare them to be functional citizen who will be able to contribute their quotas to the development of their societies and families help them live a normal life. These objectives are in line with the universal declaration of human rights in 1946, the United Nations general assembly charter of 1959, and United Nations conventions on the right of the child of 1989 which saw education as a human right issue (UNICEF, 2004). Based on this convention, all children regardless of socio-cultural and economic background should be given access to education, in support of the view above, the national policy on education, apart from declaring that education is a birth right of every Nigeria child went further to reaffirm that it should be brought close to the environment of the children of those special groups different from the sedentary people in the country. This is perhaps in recognition of different special need of the individual children and peculiarities of the social set up of their society. This is contained in the nation's policy on education. Also Magaji in White (2002) explains that education in Nigeria. Is the positive development in the study of individual group and society which is a function of value outcomes? Education is required for societal formation, societal change and transformation, it is a deliberate action that has power to add value to the life of its seekers and those who possess it. Education that is of value is education that has worth, power, and usefulness. Indeed, education that combines both knowledge and skills is required for national development. Functional education is that which equips the learner with useful knowledge and skills. That the learner, after leaving school, can put the knowledge and skills into use when employed or for self-employment or creating jobs for others. Functional education makes the graduate productive and productivities of these graduates count towards economic development of the nation. Functional education in its true meaning is a worthy activity that prepares the individual, community, and the general society for greater challenges related to national development and progress.

Concept of education reform

Imoke (2011) said that, “education reforms are representation of conscious evolution of policy regimes which are capable of bringing significant revolutionary changes in the sector. The intent of such reform is to make it more responsive to the needs of the people. It is also important to know that education is a public good that benefits non-proprietors as well as the educated and non-educated. According to Cohen (2003), “education reform in any setting is an arrangement by a group of persons or a country to change the ‘status quo, it is the change policy in education to make better by converting structure and ending with the evaluation and terminating of the programme. It as well involves the development of an alternative policy, experimentation, implementation and feedback. The basic requirement is to meet the needs and aspiration of the people.

Reform has to do with injecting new processes and facilities into an organization, and integrating them to improve the performance of that organization. The provision of excellent service is the major concern of every reform.

Omolewa (2007), stated that education reforms emanate from the basic conviction that considerable progress can be made in a nation by its people through careful engineering of the educational process. Imoke (2011), emphasized the need for reform when he stated that, “modern societal conditions are reshaping education the world over in a rapid and profound manner. Modern technologies couple with global economic forces have contributed to an intense and pervasive level of individual, organizational, and international interdependence. These new societal dynamics are altering education every bit as much as they are challenging the home life, workplace lifestyle, and political economy of virtually every person in every works of life. In this study, an educational reform entails increase funding for wider access to tertiary education.

Concept of Access to Education

The conceptualization of access to education reflects the universal declaration of human rights, which assert that everyone has a right to education provide a guarantee for everyone entitled to education to receive it; it implies the education, opportunity or means of making education available within the reach of every citizen of a nation (Enaohwo 2009).

Access to education in its full and broad sense means free and unlimited, unhindered, unfettered opportunities at each level of education to obtain knowledge, skills, and abilities available at that level needed to optimally participate and contribute to development in the society Okeke, (2009) further maintains that this definition of access to education covers the threshold of access/enrolling, attending and completing and possibly transiting to the appropriate level of education. Thus, lack of access to education means any of the following: failing to enroll in an education instruction; lack of opportunities to attend school regularly; does not complete the prescribed program of study; does not have to transit to the next level of education.

Review of Empirical Studies

There are quite a number of studies Okebukola (2002); Okeke (2008) & Awopala (2012) on educational reforms in Nigeria. In this section, critical reviews of some of these studies were carried out in the subsection:

Florence and Lasiete (2011) carried out a study on “educational reforms in Nigeria” and analysis of girl child education, based on discussions, conclusion was drawn and suggestions made on ways of bringing education to the doorsteps of the girl child in Nigeria.

Suggestion include among others, that relevant laws should be promulgated to prevent all forms of discrimination against the girl child, counseling programs should be organized on the importance of the science and mathematics disciplines. Also that visitation to schools should encourage female students and STM teachers to be gender friendly. This study is similar to the present study but however the study lack methodological excellence in the sense that the research design did not specified the target population and the sample drawn

Oyaziwo (2012)’ also carried out a research on “increasing access to university education in Nigeria, present challenges”. The study recognized the fact that low access to university education in Nigeria could be as a result of the following; problem of carrying capacity; infrastructural/facilities challenges; inadequate public financing; economic constraints; labour market failure (low absorptive capacitive of economy; and problem of curriculum and curriculum delivery.

Towards achieving greater access to university education in Nigeria, this study recommended the following; reducing financial waste in the Nigerian university system; downsizing the number of support staff in Nigerian university system; retraining of Nigeria universities, academic staff to embrace ICT e-learning; and revision of the education trust fund to cover more research disciplines.

Theoretical framework

The theoretical foundation for this study is based on the **theory of agency in social change** (Adamu, 2010, p.3). Indeed changing economic, social and political situations in particularly developing countries as advanced by Durkheim (1938) in relation to schools in France:

Educational transformations are always the result and the symptom of social transformations in terms of which they are to be explained. In order of people to feel at any particular moment in time the need to change its educational system, it is necessary that new ideas and needs have emerged in which the former system is no longer adequate. (Durkheim, 1938, p.167)

Research into the advancement of educational initiatives in countries like Nigeria reflect the value of economic, social and political situations, innovations and reform have to be based on the integration of educational initiatives (Adamu, 2010). Subsequently, the development of Nigerian's educational system including integration of multiple tiers of support and collaborative funding mechanisms were shaped by a rationale linked to call for investment towards social change (Adamu, 2010).

The underlying reason for pursuing research into the views of varied stakeholder groups (students, educators, and administrators) related to reform in tertiary education in Nigeria is linked to the belief that social change initiatives, including educational reforms, can only be successful if stakeholder groups demonstrate commitment to the initiative (Adamu, 2010): In the presence of considerable social and economic challenges, not the least of which is exorbitant population growth (Onyukwu, 2011), commitment to methods to achieve access and equity in tertiary education will be necessary in promoting change.

The broad theoretical foundation for the study is derived from the public management reform model advanced by Christopher Pollitt and Geert Bouchert (2011:33).

The model identified socio-economic (global economic issues, socio-demographic change, socio-economic policies) the political system (new management ideas, political ideas and pressure from citizens) as factors aggregated by **Elites** in **Decision making** in their efforts to determine what is (a) desirable or (b) feasible within an Administrative chain of action such actions will involve 3 stages viz (F.M.E. Road Map, 2009).

- i. Content of reform package
- ii. Implementation process
- iii. Result Achieved

Further, the application of the principal/agent theory to the public service organizations identifies, the **principals** (owners, shareholders and indeed the **entire public**) and the Agents (public messengers, administrators/educator) that are expected to achieve collective and agreed ways and means of progress, development more to the benefit of the principals (the entire public inclusive of parents and students) than the agents. (Hughes O.E. 2003, page 12).

The Agency theory uses the metaphor of ‘principal’ and ‘Agent’ (Jensen and Meckling 1976). Essentially, Agency theory is concerned with resolving two problems that occur in agency relationships:

When the desire or goals of the principal and agent conflict;

When it is difficult or expensive for the principal to verify what the agent is actually doing.

The preference of the **theory of agency in social change** supports our premises that:

Education is a tool for development of **social change**, citizens and society (see FME Mission Statement Annual Report 2014).

Research into the advancement of educational initiatives in Nigeria reflects the value of education as a powerful Agent of social transformation (Adamu, 2010).

Pursuing research into **views** of varied stakeholders – (i.e. students, educators,

administrators) related to **reform** in tertiary education in Nigerian would assist in policy formulation and implementation.

Methodology

For the purpose of this study; the survey research design was adopted, empirical data were generated from both primary and secondary sources. The instrument of primary data utilized includes observation and questionnaire while published and unpublished text materials' including the internet constitutes the secondary sources.

The target population of this study consists of staff and students of the selected Federal Tertiary Institution of Kaduna state as well as selected staff of other stakeholders like Joint Admission and Matriculation Board (JAMB), National Board for Technical Education (NBTE), National Commission for Colleges Education (NCCE) and Federal Ministry of Education (FME). The population of the study stood at 46,930. This figure is made up of 21,274 from Ahmadu Bello University Zaria comprising 12,329 staff and 9,414 students. Similarly, 17,481 were derived from Kaduna polytechnic comprising of 2,846 staff and 4,635 students. Also the population of 7, 656 was derived from Federal College of Education Zaria comprising of 2,303 staff and 5,228 students. Again staff of collaborating agencies also constitutes part of the population. The figure is 1,23 comprising 43 from JAMB, 32 from NBTE, 25 NCCE and 20 from FME.

The student utilized consists of final year students in 400 level, ND II, HND II, NCE III and PG students. The use of these categories of students was justified on the understanding that they are very abreast with the issue of educational reforms and access. Table 3.1 shows the population distribution of this study.

Table 3.1 population distribution of the study

S/N	INSTITUTIONS /COLLABORATING AGENCIES	STAFF	STUDENTS	TOTAL
1.	Ahmadu Bello University Zaria	12,329	9,414	21,274
2.	Kaduna Polytechnic Kaduna	2,846	14,635	17,481
3.	Federal College of Education Zaria	2,303	5,228	7,656

4.	Stakeholders (JAMB), (NBTE), (NCCE) & (FME)	123	-	123
Total				46,930

Source: researcher's computations from available information 2017.

Since, it is difficult to study the enter population; sample has to be taken. Sample refers to a portion of element taking from the population, subsist of the population. The process of drawing an element from the large population is called sample (Udoh, 2003).

For the purpose of this study Yamani's formula as expressed by Israel 1992; 1-10 was used to determine the sample size of this study. The formula is as follows

$$n = \frac{N}{1+N(e)^2}$$

Where n = Sample Size

N = Total Population

E = Level of Significance (95%)

$$= \frac{46,930}{1+46,900.05}$$

$$= \frac{46,930}{1+46903(0.0025)}$$

$$= \frac{46,930}{1+117.325}$$

$$= \frac{46,930}{118.325}$$

$$= 396.6$$

$$= 397$$

From the above calculation the sample size for the study is 397 respondents. The table below shows the distribution of the respondents.

Table 3.2 Sample Size Distribution for the Study

S/N	INSTITUTIONS AN COLLABORATING AGENCIES	STAFFS	STUDENTS	TOTAL SAMPLE
1.	Ahmadu Bello University Zaria	86	50	135
2.	Kaduna Polytechnic Kaduna	67	40	107
3.	Federal College of Education Zaria	60	43	103
4.	Stakeholders (JAMB), (NBTE), (NCCE) & (FME)	52	-	52

Source: survey research 2017 total sample 397

For the purpose of this research probability sampling technique was adopted.

First stratified sampling was used to divide the respondent into staff, student and officials of collaborating agencies. Secondly simple random sampling was used to select the respondents from each institution agencies as well as from each strata. Three hundred and ninety seven 397 questionnaires were administered to the sample size follows

Table 3.3 questionnaire distribution to sample size

Institutions	Students	No	Staffs	No	Total
Ahmadu Bello university Zaria	13 faculties 8 each	104	NASU	15	
			ASUU	15	
			SSA	15	
			TECH	15	
	Total	104			164
Kaduna Polytechnic Kaduna	ND II HND II	34 46	NASUP	10	
			ASUP	10	
			SSAP	10	
	Total	80			110
Federal College of Education Zaria	NCE B.E.D	40 14	NASU	9	
			ASCE	9	
			SSA	9	

	Total	54			81
Stakeholders			FME	7	
			ZONAL	7	
			OFFICES	7	
			NCCE	7	
			NBTE	7	
			NUC	7	
			JAMB		
	Total				47

Source: survey research 2016.

GRAND TOTAL 397

From the 397 questionnaires administered to the respondents; 367 were returned given 92.4% rate of returns. Also, from the 367 questionnaires returned; 350 questionnaires were duly completed given 88.2% rate of response. Data analysis is based on this figure.

In this study, both the qualitative and the quantitative methods of data analysis were employed. Two types of analyses are carried out with the data collected. These include: descriptive statistical analysis using frequency tables, simple percentages, in analyzing and interpreting the data collected. Inferential statistical tools of analysis are employed in this study is the chi-Square test.

Chi-Square (X²) Distribution and Its Operations

The Chi-Square (X²) belongs to the non-parametric test and it is used to measure discrepancies between the observed and the expected frequencies. The following formula is to be adopted for the calculation.

$$(X^2) \sum \frac{(O-E)^2}{E}$$

Where O = The observed frequency of any value.

E = The expected frequency of any value

Source: (Oashohan, 2004:153).

The X^2 value obtained from the formula is compared with the value of X^2 table (see Appendix iii) for a given significance level (α) and number of degree of freedom (ν).

To get the value of (ν) i.e. degree of freedom

$$V=(rows-1)(columns-1)$$

Where rows and columns are from the original table of actual or observed frequency.

Source: (Obasohan, 2004:155).

To calculate the expected frequencies the following formula is used:

$$E=\frac{\sum R \times \sum C}{\sum G}$$

Where E = Expected frequencies

$$\sum R = \text{Rows total}$$

$$\sum C = \text{Columns total}$$

$$\sum G = \text{Grand total}$$

Source: (Obasohan et al, 2004:156).

Decision Rule in Using the X^2 Distribution

The decision rule in using the X^2 distribution for testing hypothesis is as follows:

Accept the null hypothesis (H_0) if X^2 calculated value is less than X^2 tabulated value and reject the alternative hypothesis (H_1). However, if X^2 calculated value is greater than X^2 tabulated value than reject the null hypothesis (H_0) and accepts the alternative hypothesis (H_1).

In this study, the operation of the Chi-Square X^2 statistics was carried out through computer package. Here the statistical package for social science (SPSS) was adopted to cross tabulate the most matching tables containing the responses of the respondents as captured from the questionnaire administered.

Discussion of Results and Findings

Central to this study are the issues of funding and challenges for the increase access to tertiary education. One of the most pressing problems for Nigeria's Higher Education System remains the severe underfunding of its universities. The

federal government, which is responsible for sustaining public universities, has over the past decade not significantly increased the share of the government budget dedicated to education, despite exploding student numbers. Between 2003 and 2013 education spending fluctuated from 8.21 percent of the total budget in 2003 to 6.42 percent in 2009 and to 8.7 percent in 2013. In 2014, the government significantly increased education spending to 10.7 percent of the total budget, but it remains to be seen if this share can be maintained following the oil price-induced fiscal crisis. Recent reports suggest that current spending levels have already decreased well below 10 percent.

Noteworthy, the 2018 Nigeria's National Budget of ₦8,612,236,953,214 allocated only ₦605,795,857,908 representing 7.03% to Education with an estimated population of ₦186m compared to Ghana National Budget of ₦5,382,396,406,800 an Education Budget of ₦740,707,186,160 (Equivalent) or 13.76% with an estimated population of ₦28m.

Table 4.1: Intervention Allocation Trend – 2010-2014 (₦m) Ahmadu Bello University Zaria

Programme	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Projects	552	350	347	175	193.4
Research	20	20	10	10	10
Library Development	100	60	53	25	20
Staff Training & Development	150	140	130	80	60
Publication of Journals	10	10	10	10	5
Manuscripts Development	10	5	5	5	
Conference Attendance	50	40	40	20	15
Entrepreneurship Centers	20			75	
Total	912	646	595	400	303.4

Kaduna Polytechnic

Programme	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Projects	371	238	208	169.90	126.06
Research	20	10.00	9.00	10.00	5.00
Library Development	70	50.00	30.00	10.00	10.00
Staff Training & Development	100	80.00	64.00	40.00	30.00
Publication of Journals	20	10.00	5.00	5.00	2.00
Manuscripts Development	10	10.00	1.00	1.00	
Conference Attendance	50	30.00	20.00	10.00	7.50
Entrepreneurship Centers / Equipment & Fabrication	20	10.00		10.00	
TOTAL	661	443	337	255.90	180.56

Federal Colleges of Education Zaria

Programme	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Projects	325	210.00	208.00	125.00	112.67
Research	20	10.00	5.00	10.00	5.00
Library Development	70	30.00	20.00	10.00	10.00
Staff Training & Development	80	80.00	55.00	30.00	20.00
Publication of Journals	20	10.00	5.00	5.00	2.00
Manuscripts Development	6	5.00	1.00	1.00	
Conference Attendance	50	30.00	15.00	10.00	7.50
Teaching Practice	20	10.00	10.00	10.00	
	581	390	319	201.00	157.17

Source: Federal Ministry of Education Annual Report 2014.

Table 4.1 clearly shows the phenomenal decrease in funding to public tertiary institutions in Kaduna State. For instance between 2010 to 2014, allocation to Ahmadu Bello University decreased from ₦912 million, to ₦646 million, then to ₦595 million; ₦400 million and ₦303.4 million. The rate for Kaduna Polytechnic shows ₦661 million, ₦443 million, ₦337 million, ₦255.90 million and ₦180.56 while Federal college of education Zaria has its intervention decreasing from ₦581 million, ₦390 million, ₦319 million, ₦201.00 million and ₦157.17 million respectively.

However, information gathered from interview shows that funding is still inadequate for the tertiary institutions for effective performance.

Due to funding constraints, most of Nigeria's public universities are in deteriorating condition. Nigeria's institutions and lecture halls are severely overcrowded, students to teacher ratios have skyrocketed, and faculty shortages are chronic. Lab facilities, libraries, dorms, and other university facilities are often described as being in a state of decay. A large proportion of lecturers at the universities are assistant lecturers without doctorate degrees: reports from 2012 suggested that only 43 percent of Nigeria's teaching staff held Ph.D. degree, and that Nigeria had one of the worst lecturers to student ratio in the world. (International Organization for Migration 2014, Promoting better management, p.21). The university of Abuja and Lagos state university, for example, reportedly had lecturer to student ratio as high as 1:122 and 1:114 respectively. Ibid. despite the overcrowding, the rate of admission in terms of access is still low as shown on table 4.2.

Table 4.2 Data on Access to Tertiary Institutions in Kaduna State

Year	ABU ZARIA		KADUNA POLYTECHNIC		FEDERAL COLLEGE OF EDUCATION ZARIA	
	No. of Applicant	No. Admitted	No. of Applicant	No. Admitted	No. of Applicant	No. Admitted
2010	21,328	8,777	17,994	5,322	9,926	4,112
2011	30,426	9,633	16,288	4,226	10,113	4,228
2012	29,329	8,429	15,143	4,113	8,224	3,626
2013	28,646	10,142	17,226	5,301	12,118	5,104
2014	31,679	9,628	16,132	5,622	11,321	5,113

SOURCE: Adapted from Admission Record Available in Academic Unit of the Institutions

The above table clearly indicates that the number admitted in the three institutions is far below the expected in view of the number of candidates that applied. This clearly revealed that there is low access.

In order to access the influence of funding component of educational reform on access to tertiary education staff respondents were asked to express their opinion on certain funding variables. Their responses were presented on table 4.3.

Table 4.3 Response of Respondents on the Influence of Funding Component of Educational Reform on Access to Tertiary Institutions in Kaduna State

Variable No	Variables of Funding and Access	SA	A	U	D	SD	TOTAL
1	Tertiary Institutions are faced with the challenge of inadequate funding to meet actual demand	120 (72.2%)	30 (18.1%)	10 (6.0%)	8 (4.8%)	6 (3.6%)	166 (100%)
2	There is adequate funding to regulatory agencies in the Annual national budget for activities involving tertiary education	10 (6.0%)	11 (6.6%)	6 (3.6%)	120 (72.2%)	19 (11.4%)	166 (100%)
3	Inadequate funding affects infrastructural provisions needed for improved tertiary education	130 (78.3%)	10 (6.0%)	6 (3.6%)	15 (9.0%)	5 (3.0%)	166 (100%)
4	Tertiary Institution are often faced with inefficient resource mobilization, utilization and lack of transparency	120 (72.2%)	10 (6.0%)	10 (6.0%)	16 (20%)	10 (6.0%)	166 (100%)
5	Lack of adequate funding mechanisms through educational reform, Negatively affect access to Tertiary Institutions in Kaduna State	140 (84.3%)	10 (6.0%)	6 (3.6%)	5 (3.0%)	5 (3.0%)	166 (100%)

Source: survey research 2017

Analysis from table 4.3 indicated that educational reform has not improved access to tertiary institutions in Kaduna State. This is because 150 respondents representing 90.3% claimed that the institutions are faced with the challenge on inadequate funding, also 21 respondents representing 12.6% believed that adequate funding is not provided to regulatory agencies in the annual budget, 140 respondents representing 84.3% believed that inadequate funding affect infrastructure. Also 130 respondents representing 78.2% claimed that the institutions are often faced with inefficient resource mobilization and utilization. On the final analysis 150 respondents representing 90.3% are of the believed that lack of adequate funding through educational reform does not improve access to tertiary education in Kaduna State.

Challenges to Increased Access to tertiary Education

The challenges of access to tertiary education are explained below as provided by Oyaziwo (2012:9).

The problem of carrying capacity

The challenge of access to tertiary education is compounded by the National University Commission policy on carrying capacity. By this policy, the NUC has pegged the number of students that can be admitted by each university in Nigeria every year. This has obviously reduced considerably in recent years the admission into Nigerian universities. This is made clearer by the Federal Ministry of Education (2009), which noted that the carrying capacity of Nigerian university system stands at 150,000 while the actual demand is about 1 million.

In 2011/2012 academic session, a total of 1493,604 candidates sat for the Unified Tertiary Matriculation Examination (UTME) conducted by the Joint Admission and Matriculation Board (JAMB). In the results announced showed that 842,851 candidates scored below 200 marks over 400, indicating less than 45 per cent passed the examination. JAMB later fixed 180 marks as minimum for university students and 160 for colleges of education and polytechnic (Edukugho, 2011). Edukugho (2011) went further to posit that when the Executive secretary

of NUC was asked about the admission quota, he said one cannot be too sure, but thought that about 400,000 students may be admitted into all the universities in Nigeria.

Infrastructure/Facilities Challenge

Inadequate and obsolete Infrastructure and obsolete infrastructure and equipment as well as poor library facilities remain the major challenge in Nigerian tertiary institutions. Thus, about 15-30% of the Infrastructure, equipment and books are non-functional, obsolete or dilapidated (federal ministry of education, 2009). Furthermore, the classrooms, laboratories and the general environment of most universities in Nigeria are still far from a state that will promote optimal learning. Teaching and research (Okebukola, 2008).

Problem of funding

Funding is central to unhindered access to tertiary education. As it has been found that virtually all the problems of higher institutions in Nigeria are attributable to inadequate funding (Ajayi and Adeniji 2009). As Okebokola (2005) rightly observed, the depressed quality of education in Nigeria has been explained in part by the inadequate funding of the system. As all stakeholders in the education sector have listed funding inadequacy as a problem.

The implication of this poor public financing of education is the fact that it inhibits access to education, thus, giving only an insignificant number of candidates seeking admission the opportunity to pursue degrees in the Nigerian university system. This may be the reason why research often indicates that school enrolment, competition, drop outs from school are products of lack of finance.

Economic Constraints

According to Ajayi & Adeniji (2009), while it can be argued that unemployment among the better educated graduates is the consequence of institutional failures, the poor state of the economic growth in the face of the growing population accounts for the worsening scenario of unemployment over the years. Ajayi & Adeniji (2009) further opined from the reports of the Central Bank of Nigeria for

a period of 10 years (1991-2000) that the GDP average growth rate was 2.8 percent, while population growth rate was 2.6 percent. This development, that is, with 2.8 percent increase in GDP can guarantee economic growth while the average percentage population growth stood at 2.6 percent during the same period.

Generally, only about 10% of the 130,000 students that graduate from Nigerian Universities annually are able to secure paid employment (Federal Ministry of Education, 2009).

Academic Staff Inadequacies

A major factor to achieving the mission and vision of any tertiary institution are the teaching and key support staff. According to UNESCO (2007, cited in Okebukola, 2008) there is a plethora of evidence suggesting that teacher quantity, quality and motivation exert noteworthy effects on a host of school variables. He went further to outline the school variables to include enrolment, participation and achievements of student of tertiary institution.

Problem of Curriculum and Curriculum Delivery

One major factor affecting access to education has to do with the problem of curriculum. The curriculum of Nigerian universities is presently defective (Ajayi & Adeniji 2009), This may have arisen because of lack of relevance of academic programmes, loss of programme focus by some specialized universities to match graduate out to national manpower requirements. (Federal Ministry of Education, 2009).

Hypothesis testing

The null hypotheses formulated for this study is that there is no significant relationship between funding aspect of educational reform and improve access to tertiary education in Kaduna State. The independent variable here is funding while the dependent variable is improve access.

The chi-square statistics was used to carry out the test using SPSS package which produces the output in table 4.4

Table 4.4 Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	19.028 ^a	12	.000
Likelihood Ratio	18.111	1	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	13.45	12	.000
N of Valid Cases	166		

Source: Computer Printout

From the Chi-Square output on Table 4.4, hypothesis testing procedures are as follows:-

Chi-square calculated value is the Pearson Chi-Square value which is = 19.028.

Degree of Freedom (df) =12

Level of significance (α) = 0.05

Critical or table value at 12df and α value of 0.05 = 21.026.

Decision Rule

Accept null hypothesis (H_0) against the alternate

Hypothesis (H_1) if X^2 calculated value is less than X^2 critical (tabulate) value.

Reject null hypothesis (H_0) in favour of alternate

Hypothesis (H_1) if X^2 calculated value is greater than X^2 critical (tabulated) value.

Comparison

Comparing the chi-square calculated value of 19.028 with chi-square critical (tabulated) value of 21.026 it could be deduced clearly that the X^2 calculated value is less than the X^2 tabulated value as such the null hypothesis (H_0) will be accepted.

Conclusion

Because the null hypothesis (H_0) is accepted, it could be concluded therefore that funding component of educational reform has not improved access to tertiary education in Kaduna State. This further proved that there is no significant

relationship between funding as the independent variable and access as the dependent variable, meaning that low access is as a result of inadequate funding.

From the above; the findings of the study include the following:-

- (1) On the issue of challenges of increased access to tertiary education in Kaduna State the study revealed that there is problem of carrying capacity, inadequate and obsolete infrastructure, problem of funding, economic constraints, academic staff inadequacies as well as problem of curriculum and curriculum delivery.
- (2) On the measurement of funding and the access to tertiary institutions in Kaduna State, the study revealed that there is decrease in funding; the institutions are still faced with inadequate funding. This inadequacy affects infrastructure provisions, there is inefficient resource mobilization and utilization; there is inadequate funding to regulatory agencies involved in activities that support education and also funding component of educational reform negatively affect access to tertiary education in Kaduna State.

Conclusion and Recommendations

- This paper attempts to evaluate educational reform and improving access to tertiary education in the selected tertiary institutions in Kaduna State. Variables of funding and challenges that increased access to tertiary education were examined.
- The issue of access as a component of educational reforms has been manipulated by various governments as a source of political power and serving political purposes. Many students who should have been denied access presently gained access to tertiary institutions thus contributing to the decline in quality. There are also disparities between number of candidates that applied for admission and the number admitted in terms of enrollment and ultimate completion rates with merit and quality usually the victims.

- Absence of adequate and sufficient instructional materials for effective teaching and learning. It is also clearly evident in the study that inadequate funding has being a major challenge as well as one of the most significant causes of low access. The study also indicated that inadequate funding affects the provision of infrastructure which in turns affect access.
- Finally, based on the above we can justifiable conclude that educational reforms has not significantly impacted on the improvement of access to tertiary education in the selected tertiary institutions in Kaduna State and the wish by our tertiary institutions to have world class ratings will remain a myth until the identified challenges to access and funding are well improved and or addressed.
 1. For the purpose of improving the level of funding for tertiary institutions; the government should increase budgetary allocation and ensure prompt disbursement; ensure tertiary institutions develop the strategy of self-reliance; curb financial waste in the institutions; encourage the adoption of out sourcing as well as accelerate the implementation of exclusive intervention in tertiary institutions by the TETFUND and Donor Agencies at home and abroad.
 2. To reduce the challenges of increasing access to tertiary education, there should be transparent financial management in the tertiary institutions, and downsizing the number of support staff in the tertiary institutions in accordance with NUC guidelines on staffing so as to expand learning facilities.

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Assessment of Good Governance and Rural Development in Nigeria

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Abstract

The paper is an assessment of good governance and its implications on rural development. It explains the theory and principles of good governance and uses the principles to analyze good governance situation from Nigeria. The objective of the paper is to analyze good governance, theory and principles and adopts them as indices to assess governance within the rural setting in Nigeria. The paper evaluates good governance and rural development and concludes that there is no evidence of good governance in Nigeria and bad governance is the order of the day. The paper recommends that good governance should be adopted in the Nigerian polity through reforms such as public participation, accountability, control, transparency, economy, efficiency, equity, rule of law and strategic vision.

Key Words: Good Governance, rural development, poverty, rule of law.

Introduction

Governance is defined as general adherence to the rule of law, transparency, productivity, and accountability in government decision making that constantly achieve effective and efficient outcomes for the society (Levy, 2007). Good governance creates a transparent system. According to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Policy Paper (2007) governance refers to the exercise of power through a country's economic, social and political institutions. Good governance is participatory, transparent, accountable, effective and equitable and it promotes the rule of law.

Khan (1998) refers to Bilney (1994:17) sees good governance as, “the effective management of a country’s social and economic resources in a manner that is open, transparent, accountable and equitable”. Good governance is also seen as “democratic forms of governance, these forms rely on public participation, accountability and transparency. Good governance is the foundation for political, social and economic progress in Africa. It is also fundamental to the goal of human development. Within this context, it could be asked what is the correlation between democracy, and socio-economic development? How can good governance be entrenched to give push to sustainable development? What are the missing links between good governance and sustainable human development?”

Statement of the Problem

Nigeria is a nation endowed with abundant human and material resources. The country is blessed with vast fertile land that stretches between the tropical rain forest of the south to the savannah regions of the North. Nigeria has been richly endowed which include a rich deposit of high quality petroleum, a reservoir of natural gas and appreciable deposit of solid minerals such as gold, iron ore, limestone, tin, coal and columbine Ngu, S.M. (2013).

Nigeria is also endowed with human resource in various endeavors, such as theology, medicine, law, engineering, architecture, natural sciences etc. Ogedengbe (2007) believes that God endows the country with enormous potentialities and opportunities that could make this nation really great and offer the citizens with a source of comfortable living. However, Omoregbe (2004) discloses that as the country acquires more money through the sale of oil, the money goes into private accounts and the country gets poorer, while some few of the citizens get richer by the day from their corrupt practices.

Some scholars have lamented the high rate of corruption and decadence in the society. According to Abogunrin (1999) our major ethical problems include tribalism, armed robbery, kidnapping, pen robbery, corruption, greed, dishonesty, indolence, murder, insecurity, cheating, obscene display of ill-gotten wealth by emergency contractors and politicians. etc.

This view coincided with that of Lasebikan (2012) he said, “people holding government positions are building for themselves both summer and winter houses, bullet proof cars and private jets. The rich extort the poor, there is cheating in business, injustice in law courts, hypocrisy of all sorts, falsehood and lying. The socio-economic environment of rural area in Nigeria is characterized by backwardness, unemployment, low productivity, low, income, poor standard of living, illiteracy, poor production, slow growth rate and general poverty as a result of poor governance. The study seeks to find out how good governance can facilitate rural development.

The Scope of the Paper

The paper covers the period of 2011 – 2015, the period was selected because it was a democratic era. It explored the essence of good governance rural development within the context of Nigeria the context of rural communities.

The thrust of the paper is to assess the variables of good governance and rural development. It is obvious that good governance leads to rural development nationwide. The theory of governance is assessed and a correction is linked to the issue of rural development.

Literature Review

Nigeria, Good Governance and Rural Development

Good governance is not so prevalent in the developing world. It is closely related to underdevelopment and poverty in most developing states. That of Nigeria is the most alarming (Anyanwu, 2012). Among African countries Nigeria is the most endowed with all the necessary ingredients of development. Natural resources, skilled labour, abundant financial resources, vast agricultural land mass, and favourable geographical and weather conditions are all scarce resources that are found in abundance in Nigeria (Leone, 2010). In other parts of Africa these resources are scanty except in Kenya and South Africa. Nigeria becomes a paradox a nation. As Nigeria became independent in 1960, most citizens seemed to be optimistic about the potentials of the country. Most African countries saw Nigeria as the epitome of hope for the black race. (Toyin and Mathew, 2008). Nigeria’s first election paved way for democratic government in 1960. Nigeria

due to ethnic diversity and spatial landmass was compelled to divide the country into three geographical zones for easier governance and administrative expediency by which each region remitted certain amount of its financial resources to the federal government in Lagos, the best government system Nigeria had operated. Each region was developing at its own pace until the military hijacked power in 1966. The coup led to mutual suspicion from the principal ethnic groups like the Hausa/Fulani, Igbo and Yoruba (Nyewusira et al, 2008).

The next coup was staged in the same year headed by Major-General Yakubu Gowon. He abolished the regional system which led to the creation of twelve states under the Nigerian federal system. This was the last straw that broke the process of good governance in Nigeria (Ogundiya, 2010). The military ruled by force and not by reason. The basic elements of democracy that makes society more governable do not exist in the military regimes. Whenever a civilian administration was disrupted, the political structure of administration became seriously disturbed, Nigeria has been battling with the issue of governance (Ojo, 2010). The structure, defined in terms of justice, equality, ethnic diversity, accessibility, minority right, freedom and representation collapsed completely. Even when civilian administration returned in 1979, the decade of bastardisation of the system by the military administration could not be restored. The administration structure upon which the pillar of good governance rests became a scarce commodity in Nigeria. Successive Nigerian governments have been intransigent to the yearning of the people and the system could not guarantee any essential means of livelihood (Aboluwodi, 2012). Once the governmental structure had been tampered with since 1966, it became very difficult for any Nigerian government, civilian and military alike, to initiate a policy that will benefit the entire citizens. The economic edifice of the country relies solely on oil which is dictated by the forces of global demand and supply. The ineptitude of government led to poverty and underdevelopment (Agbibo, 2011).

The Nigeria situation depicts no difference between civilian and military administration in terms of governance issue. What makes bad governance a recurrent feature in Nigerian socio-political landscape is the way in which the mechanism for governance is arranged. The contemporary problems of internal security and political turmoil and the result of decades of structural injustice in Nigeria (Anyanwu, 2012) which resulted in growing poverty and underdevelopment in the country since independence. Bad governance breeds

poverty and underdevelopment in this case rural underdevelopment is not immune from the pangs of bad governance in Nigeria. Rural development cannot be separated from the idea of good governance. Rural community can be seen as a geographical entity where local hegemony is very strong and it has small population (Ikeji, 1999). Good governance encompasses holistic development of certain society. It assumes that those who live in a small community are not deprived of the essential means of livelihood. The concept of rural development has been as an integral part of the development institutions programmes in order to ensure that those who live in rural areas are motivated to remain in order to curb rural-urban drift (Oladapo, 2014). Rural community is defined from one geographical setting to another. In America rural community is defined as a spatial area whose inhabitants are less than 2,500 while in Nigeria it is defined in terms of a community in which the population of the inhabitants is less than 20,000 (Ocheni and Nwanko, 2012).

But what some scholars on the other hand unanimously agreed upon is the economic dimension of the community, level of infrastructural development, population density, remoteness from the city centres, relative isolation, homogeneity, poverty level and culturally embedded (Kule 2008, Rlein 2011, Ighodalo et al 2012, Oladapo 2014). For some scholars like Rlein the most important factor is social cohesion and natural setting. It may thus be said that the level of poverty among rural dwellers may determine the rurality of a community (Ibid).

Good Governance

The theory of good governance and the principles or criteria by which they can be assessed, have been elucidated upon. There is, therefore, the need to further analyze, juxtapose and evaluate governance in Nigeria based on these principles. The constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (1999), section 14(1), stipulates that Nigeria is a state based on the principle of democracy and social justice. It further stipulates that the primary purpose of government should be the security and welfare of Nigerians in order to guarantee the majority of Nigerians decent living standards which any political leadership that derives its mandate from the people ought to subscribe and preserve.

Good governance is also well-entrenched in Nigeria's Vision 2010 document to mean transparency, equity, honesty, rule of law, accountability, independent judiciary, justice, public participation and good standard of living. However, the question to raise and answer is to what extent do the governments in Nigeria comply with these principles? To answer this question and to do any meaningful analysis, it is necessary to turn to the literature for a review on governance in Nigeria. Barely five years after independence in October, 1960, the first republic in Nigeria, was abruptly put to an end by the military in January in 1966. This was probably due to bad political leadership and bad governance. Nigeria is one of the colonial legacies in the African continent. Therefore, as an offshoot of the colonial rule, the Nigerian state no doubt retained parts of the colonial administration. Rather than being at the service of the people, the Nigerian state was at the service of the ruling oligarchy (Fagbadebo, 2009). Thus, as reported, bad leadership and bad governance were the major reasons why the first republic collapsed, the take-over of government by the military and the civil war of 1976 to 1970.

Bad leadership and bad governance in Nigeria were further aggravated by the autocratic military rule of over thirty years. The military, by its nature and rule, was a misadventure into politics and an aberration to democracy. The military was also reported to have used every means and device to remain in power and dominate the Nigerian political landscape for not less than three decades out of the close to six decades of its existence after independence. The period of over thirty years' military rule was observed to be a period of sheer political misfits, bad leadership, bad governance and aberration to good governance. According to Okene (2011), military rule was a period of coups, counter-coups, corruption and instability in Nigeria. Thus, during the military era, as observed, there were lack of justice, transparency, accountability, responsible leaders, public participation in government, efficiency and effectiveness, freedom and civil liberties. The above challenges posed by military rule reportedly made the military era a period of bad leadership and poor governance in totality. It is an interesting as it is curious to note that the first and second republics in Nigeria were not so different from each other apart from some of the dramatis personae. The same political scenario played out in both republics, meaning that there was no clean and clear break in the political process between the two republics, despite the thirteen years of military rule in between them. The conduct of affairs in both republics was

observed to have engendered non representativeness, political authoritarianism, intolerance, endemic corruption, electoral malpractice and economic exclusivity (Jinadu, 2011). As part of the aberration of the military referred to earlier, the third republic was aborted in 1993 by General Ibrahim Babangida with the cancellation of the presidential election observed to have been the most transparent and credible ever. Currently, the fourth republic has been observed to be a semblance of the previous republics in terms of leadership and governance. It has also been observed that it is very difficult for one to distinguish military leadership from civilian leadership in Nigeria, on the basis of performance. According to Lawal, Imokhuede and Johnson (2012), there is no evidence of leadership performance to differentiate civilian leaders from military rulers in Nigeria.

Theoretical Framework

Good governance theory, therefore is a governance theory that sets some basic principles according to which a good government must be run. Such principles include accountability, control, responsiveness, transparency, public participation, economy, efficiency. (Minogue, Polidano, and Hulme 1998) which is in line with the world basic principles and policy interventions in third world countries. Good governance also involves efficient public service and independence judicial system and legal framework to enforce contracts and responsible administration of public funds. Other aspects of good governance also include an independent public auditor responsible to a representative legislature, respect for law and human rights at all levels of government.

Theory of Governance

The theory of good governance and the principles or criteria by which government can be assessed have been elucidated upon. Therefore, there is the need to further analyze and evaluate governance in Nigeria based on these principles. The constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (1999) as amended section 14 (1) stipulates that Nigeria is a state based on the principle of democracy and social justice. It further stipulates that the primary purpose of government should be security and welfare of the people in order to guarantee the majority of Nigerians decent living standards.

The variables below explain the principles of good governance;

Participation

This is an essential element of good governance theory. It entails the involvement of every adult in the politics of his or her society. It could be either direct participation by individual citizens or indirect participation by their accredited representatives. Kaufman, Kraay and Mastruzzi (2006) echoes the World Bank's view on the principle of participation as a principle of good governance theory. According to them, participation is the degree of involvement of the citizens of a country in the election of their political leaders and ultimately their representatives in government. Participation, as a core characteristic of good governance, stipulates every adult must have a say in the process of making decisions either by him or her directly or by his or her accredited representatives (Osmani, 2010; Rotberg, 2012; Weiss, 2015).

Rule of Law

This is an important principle of good governance theory, which guarantees equity, fairness and justice in the society. Good governance theory stipulates complete entrenchment of individual and group rights and unbiased observance of the law which in turn require an independent judiciary as well as an impartial and incorruptible police force (Harrison, 2005; Moloney, 2009; Oestreich, 2004; Sheng, 2012). The rule of law also emphasizes that it is the law that rules not man. Therefore, the laws of the land should be fair, impartial and no respecter of anybody. There must be emphasis on fairness to all as well as impartial enforcement of laws and rights. According to Kaufmann, Kraay and Mastruzzi (2016), rule of law is one of the World Bank's six principles of good governance theory. It is the degree of confidence that citizens have in the rules of the society and extent by which they abide in them. Rule of law emphasizes that it is the law that rules and nothing else. It is also the impartial enforcement of transparent laws, regulations and codes in the society.

Transparency

Another key element of good governance theory is transparency. It emphasizes that the process of decision-making, the ultimate decisions reached and the

observance of such decisions must be carried out in conformity with rules and regulations. It stipulates that sufficient information is freely disseminated in such a way and medium that can easily be understood and directly to the people that will be affected and who will ensure compliance (Sheng, 2012). The principle of transparency is predicated and built on free information flow and dissemination. Institutional processes and information are to be made easily available to the people affected and adequate information in particular should be accessible in understandable and monitorable form. To guarantee good governance practice, therefore, government policies are to be openly disseminated to the entire citizenry and the policies should be such that citizens can easily develop confidence in their intentions. In fact, the processes of decision-making, the ultimate decisions reached and government actions taken are expected to be made open and subject to check by other organs of government and other non-governmental organizations (Andrews, 2012; Apaza, 2015; Gisselquist, 2015).

Responsiveness

Another important index is responsiveness, which requires that all institutional processes should serve all concerned citizens in the society within an appropriate period of time. Responsiveness, as a key principle of good governance theory, stipulates that a good government requires the ability and elasticity to accommodate rapid changes in the society, with due consideration to the views of civil societies on what should be the overall interest of the general public and also with the will to constantly re-assess its activities in the society (Gisselquist, 2012). As a matter of fact, change is the only permanent feature of any society and it is inevitable. Therefore, good governance through the principle of responsiveness is required to accommodate this inevitable change. The capacity as well as the flexibility of the government to respond to and accommodate societal change is referred to as responsiveness (Nanda, 2006; Rotberg, 2004). This is an important principle of good governance theory

Broad Consensus

In any given society, there are several view points as there are several actors (individual or groups). Good governance practice requires consensus orientation, coalition building and mediation among the different interests and social forces in society in order to have a general agreement as far as a country's overall interest

can be defined and achieved. In addition, it emphasizes general agreement on socio-economic and political issues, such as human development as well as its attainment. However, the principle of consensus can only be achieved through a proper knowledge of the history, culture and sociology of a society.

Thus, good governance theory emphasizes broad consensus or mediation among the contending groups in the society in order to reach a general agreement that will completely and satisfactorily accommodate the differing interests and views of the various groups, and where possible, on policies and procedures (Harrison, 2005; Sheng, 2015).

Equity and Inclusiveness

This is an important principle of good governance theory. The principle guarantees the following: dignity of the human person, equal rights and freedom from any discrimination. It is all embracing and encompassing for all members of the society. It also emphasizes the well-being of the society which is generally nurtured by the sense of belonging to the society by all citizens as well as a feeling of belongingness as stakeholders in the society. This principle stipulates that the various groups especially the most susceptible to attack must not only be protected but also given opportunity to enhance their well-being. This therefore stipulates or ensures that every citizens is given equal access to better his or her lot and also to enhance his or her well-being in the society (Grindle, 2012; Harrison, 2015).

Effectiveness and Efficiency

Effectiveness is primarily the process of doing right things while efficiency is primarily the process of doing things right (Cole and Kelly, 2015). Therefore, the principle as it applies to good governance means doing right things and doing things right within the society by the government, using the resources available. It emphasizes that governance must come up with action plans which address the necessities of the society as the resources available are put into the best use. Whereas, efficiency as an element of good governance theory embraces the long-lasting use of God-given resources of the society and most especially environmental protection, the principle of effectiveness emphasizes the good use

of the natural resources of the society by the government (Doornbos, 2012; Grindle, 2014; Kurtz and Schrank, 2015; Nanda, 2015; Rotberg, 2016; Rothstein and Teorell, 2016).

Accountability

The principle is the cornerstone of good governance theory. It emphasizes that all actors, particularly those in government, business, voluntary agencies, civil societies, among others are to be made answerable to the society (Rotberg, 2004; Rothstein and Teorell, 2008). This principle differs from organization to organization and depends on the source of the decision which could be within or without. The principle stipulates that political actors and civil servants are to be made answerable for their actions. Hence, public officials including elected and appointed, are to be accountable for their political actions and answerable to the source or organ from which their power originates. It also emphasizes that public officials invested with political power are to be answerable for their actions to the source or organ from where their mandate is derived (Williams, 2009). The principle of accountability in the real sense, emphasizes answerability for the use of state resources and assets earmarked for specific purposes, subject to the laws and their requirements (Grindle, 2010; Harrison, 2012; Kurtz and Schrank, 2013; Nanda, 2015). This principle is the degree by which political actors have the ability and willingness to demonstrate consistency between their activities and the constitution (Gisselquist, 2015).

Strategic Vision

This is another important principle of good governance theory. The principle of strategic vision stipulates that the government should be liberal and futuristic in its thinking about governing issues. A government is said to be good, when it takes a liberal and futuristic direction on governing matters or issues, with urgency required and also with the knowledge of history, culture and sociology of the direction. The principle emphasizes the need for a good government to envisage future challenges based on the present and future implications (Gisselquist, 2012). According to Koffi Annan (2010), this principle guarantees all subjects a stake in the future of their society in all ramifications. This is because the principle of strategic vision is all about securing the future and planning for the multi-various uncertainties and unforeseen contingencies

attendant to it. A good government should be strategic and futuristic in its planning, direction and orientation (Doornbos, 2015; Grindle, 2016; Nanda, 2016; Williams, 2016).

Assessment of Governance Situation in Nigeria

To assess governance situation in Nigeria, the principles of good governance theory as earlier analyzed and otherwise known as international indices for assessing good governance globally (Ibrahim, 2010) will be adopted. Obviously, the same principles and indices will be used in assessing governance as far as Nigeria is concerned and as follows: rule of law is one of the principles or indices of good governance to be used. It requires that people must be governed according to the constitution and not according to the dictates of their rulers or the leaders. Good governance is said to require that the laws of the land are enforced impartially. It has been observed and reported that Nigerian leaders, military or civilian, do not respect the rule of law particularly the constitution and court decisions. This has seriously affected the rights of individual citizens and the independence of the judiciary (Lawal and Owolabi, 2012). Accountability or transparency is another important element of good governance. It emphasizes accountability in the public, private and voluntary sectors of the society.

In Nigeria, it has been observed that there is no accountability as well as its twin element of transparency by political leaders in particular. Observably, this is not limited to the current fourth republic and has been in existence since the first republic. When government leaders are accountable, it means that such a government is a listening government and is always prepared to meet the yearnings and aspirations of the citizens or accountable to them for its actions and inactions. Unfortunately, it has been observed that no government in Nigeria whether military or civilian, has been responsive, accountable or transparent (Lawal, Imokhuede and Johnson, 2012). Corruption-free is another important index. This is because corruption is said to be antithetical to good governance. It has been revealed that the two words are opposites, the presence of one means the absence of other.

Unfortunately, Nigeria's leadership since independence has often said to comprise individuals most of whom are stinkingly corrupt and completely enmeshed in corruption. It is also generally acknowledged that there can be no good

governance in Nigeria, if corruption is firmly rooted and well cultured in the country. It has been posited that corruption is everywhere in the world but the magnitude seems to be ridiculous in Nigeria and that it appears in the form of kickbacks, payoffs, bribery among others (Nwagboso and Duke, 2012). Free and fair election is a major index to be assessed. It has been observed that there is no free and fair election in Nigeria. It is also noted and that almost every Nigerian politician or leader believes that elections cannot be won except they are rigged. Reports have also revealed that the above is the extent to which the electoral system or process has degenerated in Nigeria. It has been variously reported that electoral malpractice has been in existence since independence continues to exist in the fourth republic, even with a new and modern dimension (Lawal and Owolabi, 2012). Good leadership is another key index. It is more or less a truism that the key factor to good governance is good leadership. Unfortunately, development of the society seems not well imbibed and acceptable by a greater number of Nigerian leaders as their major responsibility. Therefore, leadership and governance crisis in Nigeria since independence is said to be traceable to poor leadership. Absence of visionary leaders in Nigeria has been observed as the strongest factor militating against good governance in the country (Nwagboso and Duke, 2012).

Political or public participation is one of the international indices or principles of good governance. In a democracy or any political system that exudes good governance, power belongs to the people and it is exercisable by them directly and or by their representatives indirectly. These masses supposedly decide their rulers, those who rule them and also have a strong voice on governance in their fatherland, directly or indirectly, through their representatives (Ushe, 2012). Unfortunately, this may not be true of the Nigeria political system. It is observed that the people's votes do not count during elections, their views and opinions are not respected or considered in law or policy making by their elected leaders or representatives.

Constitutional rights or civil liberties constitute another principle or index to be considered. The constitution of a country stipulates the various forms of human rights exercisable by her citizens which are reportedly some of the hallmarks of democracy and good governance. Generally, where there is democracy, human rights and equality before the law, usually co-habit and co-exist with other forms of rights violation. At a time in Nigeria's political history, the country was ousted

from Commonwealth of Nations because of Nigeria's incessant violation of fundamental human rights (Idada and Uhumwuagho, 2012).

Sustainable economic opportunity for the entire citizenry has been pointed out as one of the indices for assessing good governance globally. This seems to be guaranteed through prudent economic management, well organized private sector and adequate provision of infrastructural facilities as well as sound agricultural and rural development. Good governance has its economic dimensions which cover decision-making processes on economic issues in a country as well as their interactions with world economies. It is reported to have serious effect as far as socio-economic issues are concerned like means of production, wealth creation, standard of living, equal economic opportunities, among others. It is, therefore, posited that a country's economic resources should be prudently administered in order to raise the standard of living of all citizens to a sustainable level. In economic and development parlance, all things being equal or *ceteris paribus*, the amount of resources that is applied for societal development should be equal and proportionate to the standard of development attained. Unfortunately, it has been observed that Nigeria has not fared well in the area of economic governance which is the bedrock of democracy and good governance (Ogundiya, 2010).

Human development is another important index and critical factor for good governance, which is reportedly measured by the level of poverty and disease eradication attained in any society. This has been observed to do with the percentage of people living with epidemic, endemic and pandemic diseases as well as other forms of eradicating poverty and diseases. Also important to human development, as pointed out are: access to educational opportunities, quality of educational facilities provided, pupils/teachers ratio as well as progression and attrition rates at higher levels of education (Yusuf, 2013). Unfortunately, Nigeria appears to be recalcitrant and have a low human development index. Majority of Nigerians are observed to be wallowing in poverty, disease and illiteracy. The governments of Nigeria since independence have also been observed to be paying lip service to human development which is *sine qua non* for real development. The people are the greatest and most important assets upon which all developmental activities hinge.

Findings

The concept of good governance has become a household name that calls into question the efficacy of governments in serving as lubricant for engine of growth (Benson et al., 2013). It is no doubt an opposite of maladministration. The failure of the market economy signified by capitalist ethos has placed additional responsibility on governments and non-governmental institutions to ensure that the global social-political problems are arrested (Ravenhill, 2013). The lesson learnt from countries like Sweden, Norway and Denmark shows that government of all categories have substantial role to play in making life better for their citizens (Cobbinah et al., 2015). Unfortunately, the governance situation in many countries is worrisome and therefore calls for the revalidation of the concept. It is assumed by many policy makers and some human right activists that if governmental structures are not properly furnished to cater for contemporary needs of people it is doubtful if the present global poverty and insecurity will be abated (Bradshaw, 2015).

Thus, the questions to be put forward at this stage are: what exactly is good governance? What are its philosophies and components? Is there any nexus between it, democracy and authoritarianism? Good governance is defined as the institutional arrangement and mechanism that are properly tailored to alleviate the sufferings of the people (Cobbinah et al., 2013b). it is a method by which government is made more responsive to the yearning and aspiration of its people. Its basic hallmark is the provision of essential and basic capacity building to enable an individual survives in a particular society (Ibid). as such, governments need to ensure that basic infrastructures for healthy and good living are available. How this is achieved remains a doubtful exercise for some policy makers and concerned stakeholders.

The wealth of a nation was the sole indicator for good governance during the period, and it was based on this premise that Marshal Plan was instituted to restore European economy after the Second World War. Thus, the only language of good governance during this period was economic growth, and the situation persisted until 1970s when some Scandinavian countries swiftly embraced the welfare aspect of good governance. It was at that point basic needs, welfare and economic growth, were particularly entrenched in the dictionary of good governance. The 1990s witnessed the need to develop human capacity for

sustainability (Cornwall and Brock, 2005), when various governments were motivated to accept that the only sustainable way to good governance is capacity building, which is based on the development of human capacity to function well, as well as contributing to the development of a society (Ibid). the contemporary global society has witnessed many changes culminating in extending the good governance to establishment of mechanism to ensure environmental sustainability cum human development (Grindle, 2007), the two concepts been well advertised globally in the parlance of good governance.

Good governance, and its components, encompasses various aspect of developing society by the government. It is a concept of putting most responsibility on the governmental structure. The basic assumption of good governance is to make government institutional structure and capacity relevant to the society and based on the equality of all strata of society. Gender and racial equalities, openness, accountability, transparency, democracy, equal representation, education, health, environmental sustainability, employment and justice are all important components of good governance as defined and enunciated by development agencies. According to Grindle (2007), corruption is “the single greatest obstacle to economic and social development; and issues like accountability and transparency have emerged as potent weapons in the battle against corruption”. The question here is whether these components can be generalized to all nations. This is because what becomes an issue of good governance in developed countries is different from that of developing countries, most especially the African’s (Anyanwu, 2012). In the developed countries the issue of good governance rests solely on environmental and economic sustainability (Dijkstra, 2013), while in the developing nations there are multitudes of developmental issues that called for governmental attentions, because of the years of negligence and translucent governance.

The last question is to examine whether there is fruitful connection between good governance, democracy and authoritarianism. The premise behind the linkage between democracy and good governance is that for a government to achieve substantial level of progress the societal mechanism for governance must be transparent enough and accountability sustained. The twin factors of accountability and transparency, which is inherent in democracy, is one of the most important reasons that make democracy a crucial ingredient of good

governance. It is assumed that for all components of good governance enumerated above to come to fruition a country must be democratic in nature. (Tedheke, 2015). But, it would be unscholarly to insistently assume that for a country to achieve good governance it needs to be democratic; the world has seen the “most notorious democratic” dispensation in Africa and Asia (Norman et al., 2014). Democratic exist in some countries in Africa and Asia as well as in some other parts of Latin America but most of these countries still perform below what is expected of good governance. Poorest people in the world desperately inhabit many countries, such as Nigeria as well as in some other parts of Latin America but most of these countries still perform below what is expected of good governance. Poorest people in the world desperately inhabit many countries, such as Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya, Indonesia, Uganda, Liberia, Pakistan, India, Bangladesh and many more (Bradshaw, 2015). The question now is, ‘where is good governance by way of democracy?’ The most notable progress recorded in Brazil and South Korea was under President Vargas Getulio and the South Korea’s military regimes respectively. Democracy, therefore, does not preclude good governance in its entirety. There is an exception. What is constant in the dictionary of good governance is development in all aspects of a certain society regardless of location, be it rural or urban. (Cornwall and Brock, 2010)

Conclusion and Recommendations

Having analyzed the important indices and critical factors for good governance, the position of Nigeria in terms of good or bad governance can be better understood as summarized below: While good governance, in its political and economic and social dimensions, underpins sustainable human development, mass participation, economic empowerment and poverty reduction; poor or bad governance can be observed within the Nigerian context as prevalence of poor service delivery, ineffective public-complaints mechanisms, ineffective anti-corruption mechanism, lack of faith in the integrity of public office holders (politico-bureaucracy) lack of effective popular participation in policy making, general corruption in all spheres of public life due to materialistic value or poverty, heightened insecurity, mass unemployment at all levels, high cost and poor standard of living general inflation and rising costs, lack of business capital and adequate business financing, endemic and rampant corrupt practices at all levels, pervasive and abject poverty in the land et cetera (Yusuf, 2016:10). In

conclusion, the foregoing analysis and assessment of governance in Nigeria since independence are mostly based on time-tested principles and international indices of good governance. Therefore, based on these principles and indices, as enunciated above, from the literature as provided above to show that there is poor governance in Nigeria that poor governance does not only exist but also thrive in Nigeria due to poor political leadership and observable flaws in the political leadership recruitment process in Nigeria. It will be concluded that no matter what, good governance does not exist in Nigeria. Rather, bad or poor governance is the order of the day as none of the governments that hitherto had come to power from independence ever conformed to the principles of good governance. Therefore, to have good governance in Nigeria, governance reforms in line with the principles of good governance theory are strongly recommended. All the principles of good governance theory must be embraced in all ramifications, ranging from justice, transparency, accountability, responsible leadership, public participation in government, efficiency and effectiveness, freedom and civil liberties, zero corruption tolerance to free, fair and credible elections among others. To have good governance practice in Nigeria, governance must reflect all the principles of good governance theory.

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Assessment of Internal Revenue Generation Capacity of Selected Local Government Areas of Niger State

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Abstract

The focus of this study is on revenue generation capacity of local governments. The problem investigated revolves around the internal revenue generation profile of local governments and fiscal dependence on national government. The objectives of the study includes to find out the extent to which internal revenue sources are adequate, how quality of personnel effect generation capacity and also examine the factors that militate against internal revenue generation capacity of local governments in Niger State. Data for the study were generated from both primary and secondary sources. The instrument of primary data utilized is the questionnaire, while secondary data were obtained from books, journals, magazines and the internet. Both descriptive and inferential statistical tools of analysis were used with the ANOVA test employed in testing the hypothesis. From the study, It was revealed that the tax base was inadequate: staff are not familiar with existing tax laws: there are few qualified tax assessors and values. There are problems associated with revenue generated such as inadequate working equipment's, Indiscipline, dishonesty and lack of quick enforcement apparatus. It was recommended that a review of intergovernmental fiscal relations should take place, there should be staff training, equipment should be provided and local governments should make use of view resources of revenue

Introduction

The need for the creation of local government anywhere in the world is necessitated to facilitated development at the grassroots level. The relevance of local government is function of its ability to generate sense of belonging, safety and satisfaction among populace. All forms of government regimes or political system have so far ensured the attainment of this goal. Batengi, (2013:1).

Today, most organizations, whether they are political, social or economic, exist to provide service of one kind or the other. In order to achieve their goals, they need to be financially buoyant. As Lange (2006:1) posits local governments need a substantial amount of revenue to carry out their mission. Interestingly, local governments as a decentralized unit of public institution are saddled with responsibilities of implementing government policies that have bearing on the life of the people. The responsibilities of the local governments are enshrined in the Constitution of the federal Republic of Nigeria (1999, Constitution).

The problem investigated in this study has to do with internal revenue generation capacity of selected local government areas in Niger State. Fundamentally, one of the situations which inhibits internal revenue generation capacity of local governments and correspondingly engenders fiscal pressure on local governments is a declining tax base. In this situation, the revenue which accrues from the tax base is insufficient for payment of certain fiscal cost and maintenance of current level of service provided by the local government areas. This provides the fertile ground of fiscal dependence of local governments on the federal government. According to Dore, as quoted by Oyinlola (2004:4) adequate provision must be made for each level of government so that each authority can afford to undertake its duties without appealing to the others for financial assistance.

Furthermore, Local governments in Niger State, like their counterparts in other states depended on statutory allocation from the federation account and other special grants from federal and state governments. The question that readily comes to mind is that: why is it that in spite of the enormous sources of revenue coupled with the existing legal and institutional mechanism the internal revenue base is very low? This question also leads to the following research questions:

- i. To what extent are the sources of local government internal revenue adequate to make them self-financing and self-sufficient in Niger State?
- ii. To what extent does the quality of personnel affect the internal revenue generation capacity of local government in Niger State?
- iii. What factors militate against effective internal revenue generation capacity of local governments in Niger State?

The central objective of this study is to assess the internal revenue generation capacity of selected local government areas of Niger State. However; the specific objectives of the study include the following:

- i. To find out the extent to which internal revenue sources are adequate to make local government self-financing and self-sufficient in Niger State.
- ii. To determine the extent to which quality of personnel affect internal revenue generation capacity of local governments in Niger State.
- iii. To examine the factors that militate against effective internal revenue generation capacity of on local government in Niger state

The hypothesis formulated and tested for this study is as follows:

H₀: There is no significant difference in the capacity of local governments to generate internal revenue in Niger State.

H₁: There is significant difference in the capacity of local governments to generate internal revenue in Niger State.

Different studies were carried out in the area of revenue generation and local government. For instance Abubakar (2011), studied revenue generation and local government autonomy in Niger State focussing on Chanchaga and Bida local government areas. Yusuf (2008), appraised revenue generation in Kwara State focussing on Kayama local government area of Kwara State. Again, Sani Mai-Mai (2010), studied revenue mobilization and utilization on the development of Zaria local government area of Kaduna State. Finally, Lami (2016), evaluated the impact of revenue generation on grassroot development focussing on Bosso Local Government area Niger State. However, this study is unique for it focuss on internal revenue generation capacity.

A study on the assessment of revenue generation capacity of local governments is of great significance considering the glaring depletion of internal source of local government's revenue. The study will sensitize the local governments not to depend largely on external sources of revenue, because it may be detrimental to their developmental effort. This study is also significant because it will expose new area of revenue generation that area yet untapped by local governments thereby enhancing their desire for autonomy from central control. Again, this study will be important to students, scholars, and researchers in the area of revenue generation thereby serving as a scholarly contribution to widening the horizon of knowledge.

This study will cover internal revenue generation capacity of local governments in Niger State. It was limited to three local government areas one selected from each of the senatorial zones. Thus, Bida Selected from (zone A), Chanchaga from (zone B) and Kontagora from (zone C). The study also covered the period 2011-2016. The justification for the choice of the senatorial zone and the timeframe is based on the fact that it is a democratic era and performance of each zone on internal revenue generation capacity need to be assess. The study also covered areas of adequacy of sources, quality of personnel as well as factors for effective generation.

This paper is divided into five sections, section one is introductory, section two contains literature review and theoretical framework, section three is the methodology, section four contains discussions of result and findings while section five conclude the paper.

Literature review and Theoretical Framework

The concept of local government involves a philosophical commitment to democratic participation in the governing process at the grassroots level. (Arowolo, 2008). This implies legal and administrative decentralization of authority, power and personnel by a higher level of government to a community with a will of its own, performing specific functions as within the wider national framework.

A local government is a government at the grassroots of administration “meeting peculiar grassroots needs of the people. Looking to the existence, performance and relevance of local government, Laski (1982) opines that “we cannot realize the full benefit of democratic government unless by the admission that all problems and constraints are not central in their incidence requires decisions at the place and by the person, where and who the incident is most deeply felt.

Local government is the unit of public administration below the *state*. Government that has the obligation to provide specified range of social services to a community or communities and has a legal instrument establishing it and authorizing it to provide those services among others functions. Batengi (2013:3).

According to Rasheed (2001:54) “Revenue is the aggregate of all the income accrued to a particular ministry, state or local government”. In other words, revenue is the income of an organization, state or local government.

Generally, revenue is receipt of a government or a business. Governments raise revenue, mainly through taxation, in order to pay salaries and wages, provide social goods and settle the cost of running government (Ndan (2013:43).

In the 1999 constitution of Nigeria in section 160 (6) defines “revenue” to mean any income or returns derived by the government of the federation from any source and includes:

- a) Any receipt, however described, arising from the operation of any law.
- b) Any return, however, described, arising from or in respect of any property held by the government of the federation.
- c) Any return, by way of interest on loans, and individual in respect of shares or interest held by the government of the federation any company or statutory body (1999, Constitution).

In terms of capacity for local government to generate internal revenue certain variable must be identified and explained. Jumare (2009:8) identified the following variables:

The first variable is the level of financial resources available to the local governments which enhance the capacity of local governments to exercise the initiative in providing public goods and services. There are two of such resources. One is the transfers from the federal government and 10% internal revenue from the state governments. This will not only enable a local government to be financially sound but will also increase its capital investment. Secondly is the taxable capacity of the local government to raise revenue from their internal sources. Taxable capacity depends on a number of factors which include the level of economic development, the sectorial distribution of the economy (whether rural or urban), the percentage of the population engaged in cash income employment (economic activities) and the structure and composition of prevailing taxes.

The third variable, which is very critical in determining the financial capacity of local government, is the efficiency of the collection machinery. The efficiency of the machinery will ultimately be determined by the quality and size of its

personnel and other supporting facilities available. Efficiency cannot exist in a vacuum.

The fourth variable is the level/extent of revenue effort exerted by the revenue division. Even where a well-designed and adequately staff machinery exist, the question of effort comes into play.

The fifth important variable factor is the particular mode of collection adopted by the local governments. The mode of collection can make the difference between what is collectable and what is eventually collected. This is in the area of revenue collection and control, supervision and internal/external checks.

Current Sources of Local Government Revenue

Basically, local governments in Nigeria derive their revenue from two sources. These are internal (from within the local governments areas) and external (from outside the local government areas). What constitute the internal and external sources area clearly specified in the 1976 guidelines for local government reform?

Internal Sources of Revenue

Under the internal sources of revenue are properly/tenement rates, levies by rates or licensing of underdeveloped plots used for commercial purposes, cattle tax (jangali) bicycle licenses, hawkers permits, forestry and fuel exploitation fees, tractor hiring and user charges on markets and motor parks. Of all the sources enumerated here, property/tenement rates hold the greatest promise of yielding substantial revenue for local governments. On this, the reforms guidelines observe that:

In respect of local resources, the only one, which can be made to yield really large sum, is property rating, the use of which should be extended to all local governments progressively, beginning with the urban areas. Niger Edict No. 12, (2009).

This promise has not been fully exploited by local governments. Though all state local government edicts have provided for property/tenement rates, some local governments have not enacted byelaws which would give their local governments

the authority to collect these rates Longe, (2008:6). Another limiting factor in the extended application of property rating is evaluation. The reform guidelines enjoin state governments to treat the increasing valuation capacity as of utmost importance, latent political opposition also undermines blanket application of property and tenement rates in some parts of the country. All in all, the internal revenue base of most local governments in Nigeria remains very weak. This to a great extent has been caused by political as well as administrative developments in Nigeria.

External Revenue Sources

The external revenue sources for local governments consist mainly of statutory allocations and in some specifics grants, which may be given by the federal government in respect of a project or undertaking. These were provided and have been entrenched in the 1979 constitution. The specific provision in the constitution states that:

Any amount standing to the credit of the federation shall be distributed among the federal and state government councils in each state, on such terms and in such manner as may be prescribed by the national assembly.

This provision of the constitutions brought local governments into the sphere of inter-governmental fiscal relations in the federation. From 1976 to 1989, local governments in the federation were entitled to 10% of the federal account. Therefore, the percentage was raised to fifteen and later 20%. Added to this, is the fact that the states governments are mandated to allocate 10% of their internally generated revenue to local governments within their jurisdictions. Recent directives from the federal government have ensured that the local government's share of statutory allocations from the federation account is paid directly to local governments with the warning that state governments should not temper with such allocations as before, Joint Account Unit Niger State (2015). The foregoing arrangement paint a deceptively rosy picture of financial buoyancy of local governments, which in reality is in a discomforting position.

Thus, in spite of being subjected to the feeble fortune of fate, local governments, as desirable institutions of governance at the grassroots level, must scan their environments (internal and external) so as to discover further opportunities of generating additional revenue that would keep them afloat. These new sources of revenue are what the next section of their presentation examines.

New sources of revenue to local governments

According to Abdulkari, (2009:10) new source of revenue to local government include the following:

- i. Investment in raw materials**
Production: local governments can individually or jointly produce large quantities of raw materials for some industries operating in Nigeria. Many multinationals in response to federal government's policy that industries in Nigeria should locally source of materials have opened up large farms for the production of sorghum, maize millet and rice. These are raw materials for behaviours industry.
- ii. Solid waste recoveries and use for agriculture:** The recovery and mobilization of solid organic waste matter for agricultural production as an investment is a potential source of revenue for local governments.
- iii. Financial Investments:** Local governments should not shy away from making financial investments. This is a potential source of generating more funds. Individually, or in collaboration with others, they should mobilize resources required to initiate ventures like building of bakeries petrol filling stations, Block making industries, car dry-cleaning facilities, special commercial clinics and transportation in the oil industry.

Review of Emperical Studies

Theoretical Framework

This study adopted the fiscal federation theory as the basis for this work. The basic foundations for the initial theory of fiscal federalism were laid by Kenneth Arrow, Richard Musgrave and Paul Sadweh Samuelson's two important papers (1954, 1955) on the theory of public goods, Arrow's discourse (1970) on the roles of the public and private sectors and Musgrave's book (1959) on public finance provided the framework for that became accepted as the proper role of the state in the economy.

Within is framework, three roles were identified for the government sector. These were the roles of government is correcting various forms of market failure,

ensuring an equitable distribution of income and seeking to maintain stability in the macro-economy at full employment and stable prices.

The theoretical framework in question was basically a Keynesian one which canvassed for an activist role of the state in economic affairs. Thus the government was expected to step in where the market mechanism failed due to various types of public goods characteristics. Economic teaches us that public goods will be under-provided if left to private market mechanism since the private provider would under invest in their provision because the benefits accruable to her or him would be far lower than the total benefit to society. Governments and their officials were seen as the custodians of public interests who would seek to maximize social welfare base on their benevolence or the need to ensure electoral success in democracies.

Once we allow for a multi-level government setting, this role of the state in maximizing social welfare then provides the basic ingredients for the theory of fiscal federalism. Each tier of government is then seen as seeking to maximize the social welfare of the citizens within its jurisdiction. This multi-layered quest becomes very important where public goods exist, the consumption of which is not national in character, but localized. In such circumstances, local outputs targeted at local demands by respective local jurisdictions clearly provide higher social welfare than central provision. This principle, which Oats (1972) has formalized into the “Decentralization Theorem” constitutes the basic foundation for what may be referred to as the first generation theory of fiscal decentralization (Oats, 2004). The theory focused on situations where different levels of government provided efficient levels of outputs of public goods “for those goods whose special patterns of benefits were encompassed by the geographical scope of their jurisdictions” (Oats, 2004:5). Such situation came to be known as “perfect mapping” or “fiscal equivalence” (Olson 1969).

Nevertheless, it was also recognized that, given the multiplicity of local goods varying geographical patterns of consumption, there was hardly any level of government that could produce a perfect mapping for all public goods. Thus, it was recognized that there would be local public goods with inter-jurisdictional spill-overs. For example, a road may confer public goods characteristics, the benefits of which are enjoyed beyond the local jurisdiction. The local authority may then under-provide for such a good. To avoid this, the theory then resorts to

traditional pigouvian subsidies, requiring the central government to provide matching grants to the lower level government so that it can internalize the full benefits.

Based on the following, the role of government in maximizing social welfare through public goods provision came to be assigned to the lower tiers of government. The other two roles of income distribution and stabilization were, however, regarded issuable for the central government. To understand the rationale for the assignment of the redistribution function to the central government, we need to examine what the implications of assigning this responsibility to the lower tier would imply. Given that citizens are freely mobile across local or regional jurisdictions, a lower level jurisdiction that embarks on a programme of redistribution from the rich to the poor would be faced with the out-migration of the rich to non-redistributing jurisdictions and in-migration of the poor from such jurisdictions to the redistributing one. If on the other hand, the powers to redistribute were vested in the central government, a redistribution policy would apply equally to citizens resident in all jurisdictions. There would therefore be no induced migration.

The central government is expected to ensure equitable distribution of income, maintain macroeconomic stability and provide public goods that are national in character. Decentralized levels of government on the other hand are expected to concentrate on the provision of local public goods with the central government providing targeted grants in cases where there are jurisdictional spill-overs associated with local public goods.

The next step in the theoretical framework was to examine the appropriate taxing framework. In addressing this tax assignment problem, attention was paid to the need to avoid distortions resulting from decentralized taxation of mobile tax bases. Gordon (1983) emphasized that the extensive application of non-benefit taxes on mobile factors at decentralized levels of government could result in distortions in the location of economic activity.

The final element of this basic theory to note is the fiscal equalization. This is in the form of lump sum transfers from the central government to decentralized governments. The arguments for equalization were mainly two. The first which is

on efficiency grounds saw equalization as a way of correcting for distorted migration patterns. The second is to provide assistance to poorer regions or jurisdictions. Equalization has been important in a number of federations.

Review of Empirical Studies

Theoretical Framework

In a study carried out by Jibrin (2009); on the assessment of internal revenue in Kano State; it was revealed that state government depends heavily on external services of revenue and neglected some of the major sources of internal revenue such as the capital gain tax. Jibrin's study is similar to the present study in the area of internal revenue generation assessment. However, the work lacks methodological strategy in the sense that the revenue sources bases were not analysed. This is a significant gap which this study will fill.

Yunusa (2010) conducted a study on the evaluation of internal revenue capacity of local government. In Benue State, Yunusa's work did not provide the sources of revenue available to the local governments capable of assessment, was not provided.

In another study conducted by Adesoji A. A and Chike F. O. (2013); entitled the effects of internal revenue generation on infrastructural development, a study of Lagos State internal revenue service. Two hypotheses were formulated and the Spearman's rank correlation analysis was used to test the relationship between internally generated revenue and infrastructural development. The result showed that there is a positive relationship between internally generated revenue and infrastructural development. The study also revealed the various methods of generating internal revenue, which are the enforcement of tax personnel, contribution and creating awareness to the public. The findings of the study however show the revenue administration agencies need to be reviewed to generate more revenue in the country.

Also Jamala G. Y. et al (2013); also carried out an appraisal of revenue generation in Numan South Western Adamawa State, Nigeria. The respondents indicate that sources of internally generated revenue in the study area ranges from market, Animal sales, land, Slaughter slaps, property and income taxes respectively.

Slaughter slaps taxes account for about 26.7% of the internally generated revenue in this area, while market sales tax and animal taxes account for about 16.7% respectively. To improve revenue generation in the study area, the respondents (56.7%) indicates that they normally employed the use of law enforcement agents to assist in revenue generation and this land yield some measures of improvement in the amount of revenue generated from 2005 to 2009. Although, there has been increased in the amount of targeted internally generated revenue from 2005 to 2009, the respondents indicated that majority of the taxpayers do not comply in prompt payment of taxes (40%). Some of the factors responsible for inefficiency of revenue generation in the study are as indicated by the respondents includes inadequate public enlightenment (33.3%), while others (23.3%) are in the opinion that inadequate incentives is also a contributory factor. Based on the findings of this study, the following recommendations were made: Regular training of the revenue officers should be introduce and maintain, regular public enlightenment on the benefits of tax payment should be introduce either through the media or workshop and also through the use of posters, and the incentives given to revenue officers should be enhance and the best revenue officers of the year should be rewarded.

The gaps in the studies by Adesoji have to do with the fact that the results of corrections did not agree with the context of the problem under investigation. Similarly, the theoretical framework adopted by Jamala and others was not applied in the study. The present study will definitely all in these gaps.

Methodology

This study adopted the survey research design in which samples were drawn from parent population and generalization made therein. In terms of sources of data both the primary and secondary sources of data were employed in this study. The questionnaire is the instrument of primary data utilized while financial memoranda, financial instructions, journals, local government bulletin, textbooks, articles as well as published financial record of local governments and other government publications constitute the instrument of secondary data utilized.

The target population for this study is the staff of Bida, Chanchaga and Kontagora local government areas of Niger State with a total of 5,800 comprising 2,250 from

Bida local government, 1,800 from Kontagora local government and 1,750 from Chanchaga local government. These figures were obtained from the registry of the personnel management department in each local government.

In determining the sample size of the population for the study, Yamane's (1967:886) formula as expressed by Israel (1992:1-10) will be used as thus:

$$N = \frac{n}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

Where n = sample size

n = total population

e = level of significance (95%)

$$\therefore n = \frac{5,800}{1 + 5,800 (0.05)^2} = 374$$

The sample size for the study will therefore be 374 staff.

Since the population of the study is known, probability sampling technique will be adopted. Specifically stratified random sampling is used to divide the sample into three, one stratum each to represent the staff of Bida, Chanchaga and Kontagora local governments.

In terms of administration of questionnaire, is administered on the staff of Bida, Chanchaga and Kontagora local governments are 19,110 and 125 copies respectively. The questionnaire was self-administered with the aid of research assistants.

Both the descriptive and inferential statistical tools of data analysis were employed in this study. The descriptive tools include the use of frequency tables, simple percentages and the highest means score. The inferential statistical tool used is the analysis of variance (ANOVA single factor) which is obtained as F ratio using the following formula used in Murray et al (1999:362).

$$F \text{ ratio} = \frac{\text{Mean sum of squares between group}}{\text{mean sum of squares within group}}$$

Although the actual computation, will be provided by computer output it should be noted that:

$$= \frac{\text{sum of square between group}}{\text{df between group}}$$

Also within group mean sum of square

$$= \frac{\text{sum of squares between group}}{\text{df between group}}$$

Where df = degree of freedom

Finally, five-point Likert Scale of Strongly Agree, Agree, Undecided, Disagree and Strongly Disagree were used.

Data Presentation, Discussions of Result and Findings

Rate of Returns/Response of Questionnaire

A total of 374 questionnaires were administered on the selected sample out of this; 324 were returned, only 300 were duly completed given about 80% rate of response. So, analysis of data is based on the figure 300. Table three below summarized the above explanation.

Table 4.1: Rate of Returns/Response of Questionnaire

LGA	No. of questionnaire administered	No. of questionnaire returned	% returns	No. of questionnaire completed	% returns
Bida	139	114	30.5%	110	29.1
Chanchaga	110	100	26.7%	90	24.1
Kontagora	125	110	29.4%	100	26.7
Total	374	324	86.6%	300	79.9

Source: Researcher's Survey, 2017

Statutory Allocation from Federation Account

Table 4.2 shows the amount of funds received by Bida, Chanchaga and Kontagora local government area of Niger State from 2011-2015 externally through federation account.

Table 4.2: Statutory Allocations from Federation Account to Selected Local Governments in Niger State

Senatorial zone	Local government area	Statutory Allocation in Million					
		2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Total
A	Bida	660	720	734.4	660	816	3590.4
B	Chanchaga	774	840	840	744	908	4076
C	kontagora	720	780	876	720	960	4056

Source: Transparency in Action Series No. 4 Publication of Federal Ministry of Finance

Internally Generated Revenue

Table 4.3 shows the amount of revenue locally generated internally by the local governments from 2011-2015.

Table 4.3: Internally Generated Revenue of some Selected Local Government in Niger State

Years	Bida LGA	Chanchaga LGA	Kontagora LGA
2011	903,000	700,240	995,562
2012	721,218	814,612	819,555
2013	664,221	812,222	712,419
2014	559,223	666,423	616,216
2015	504,200	640,220	620,900
Total	3,351,862	2,633,717	3,794,652

Source: Niger State Local Government Progress Report, 2016

The figure in table 4.3 clearly shows that the level of internally generated revenue in the three local government areas understudy is very low when compared with the amount of money realized by local government from federation account as shown in table 4.2. This shows a clear situation of fiscal dependence of local government on internal source of revenue. More importantly, comparing the internally generated revenue of the three local governments as presented on table 4.3, one will surely be convinced that the three local governments are weak in internal revenue generation. Although, by comparative generated the highest (N3,794,652); this followed by Bida local government and the least is Chanchaga local government with (N2,633,717).

Adequacy of Revenue

The table below shows respondents view on adequacy of revenue

Table 4.4: Respondents Opinion on Adequacy of Revenue

S/No	ITEMS	SA	A	U	D	SD	TOTAL
	There is existence of adequate tax revenues in the local government	30 (10%)	10 (363%)	30 (10%)	200 (567%)	30 (10%)	300 (100%)
	Incidence of tax default in terms of tax aversion and avoidance is low	10 (3%)	30 (10%)	10 (3%)	200 (67%)	50 (17%)	300 (100%)
	Use of private consultants enhances higher revenue collection	200 (67%)	50 (17%)	10 (3%)	25 (8%)	15 (5%)	300 (100%)
	Existence of Audit mechanism in the local government	270 (90%)	30 (10%)	- -	- -	- -	300 (100%)
	There is adequacy of equipment for revenue collection in local government	50 (17%)	20 (7%)	20 (7%)	180 (60%)	30 (10%)	300 (100%)

Source: Survey Research 2017

Analysis from table 4.4 indicated that 230 respondents representing 77% claimed adequacy tax has non-existing in the local government areas. Also 250 respondent of tax aviation and avoidance is high in the local government. About 84% of the respondents claimed that use of private companies Millen revenue collection. Then 100% of the respondent claimed that Audit mechanism existed while 200 respondents represent 67% claimed inadequacy of equipment.

Quality of Personnel and Internal Revenue Generation Capacity of Local Government

Respondent's opinion on quality of personnel and local government capacity for internal revenue generation were presented on table:

Table 4.5: Respondents Opinion on Quality of personnel

S/No	ITEMS	SA	A	U	D	SD	TOTAL
	There are few trained assessors and valuers in the local government	200 (67%)	50 (17%)	10 (3%)	30 (10%)	10 (3%)	300 (100%)
	Revenue collectors are well conversant with the financial memoranda	60 (20%)	40 (14%)	10 (3%)	150 (50%)	40 (14%)	300 (100%)
	The staff are familiar with the existing tax laws	80 (27%)	40 (13%)	5 (2%)	100 (33%)	75 (25%)	300 (100%)

Source: Survey Research 2017

From the table 4.5; it is evident that revenue personnel in the local governments are mostly incompetence; 250 respondents representing about 84% claimed that there are few local governments. Also 190 respondents representing 64% believed that revenue collectors are not well conversant with the financial memoranda while 175 respondents representing 58% claimed that the staffs is not familiar with the existent tax laws.

Factors Inhibiting Effective Revenue Generation Capacity of Local Government

Respondents identified the following factors inhibiting effective revenue generation capacity of local government.

Table 4.6: Respondents Opinion on Factors Inhibiting Effective Revenue

S/NO	Factors	Frequency	Percentage
	Inadequate of transport facilities	209	70%
	Indiscipline and dishonesty	280	93.3%
	Lack of quick enfoldment apparatus	160	53.3%
	Lack of encouragement	200	66.6%
	Lack of supervision	180	60%
	Inadequate skilled manpower	200	66.6%
	Employment of external companies	196	65.3%

Source: Survey research 2017

Transport facilities: Revenue driving and collection need movement from place to place. When revenue officers are not provided with the means of movement, their work is greatly impaired.

Indiscipline and dishonesty: Some local government's officials do not take their duties seriously enough. They prefer to line their pockets instead of rendering correct financial returns to their employers. In many places, the public regard some local government staff as living embodiments of bribery and corruption.

Lack of quick enforcement apparatus: To sustain the revenue efforts of local governments. It is necessary to give teeth to the council's bye-laws. This leads to the necessity for the establishment of revenue court. The magistrate courts are so congested that it takes so long a time to prosecute a defaulter.

Lack of Encouragement: Local governments could set revenue targets for their revenue officers. Hardworking and honest officers would be rewarded adequately as an incentive to others. The reward could be in the form of accelerated promotions and cash bonus gifts.

Lack of Supervision: There should be strict supervision of revenue officers. The sanctions in the financial memoranda and the implementation guidelines on the application of civil services reforms in the local government services should be applied strictly.

Inadequate skilled manpower: Some revenue collectors have a very low educational background. When literate or semi-literate persons or revenue drives meet equally illiterate persons, arguments and bad words are likely to be embarked upon thereby leading to disorder without actually achieving the real purpose of the revenue drive.

Employment of external companies: Some local governments have farmed out their revenue collection to companies to the exclusion of council staff. The council staffs, on the other hand, do everything possible to discredit the companies. The resultant effect is low revenue yield.

Test of Hypothesis

It could be recalled that the hypothesis formulated for this study is as thus:

H₀: There is no significant difference in the capacity of local government to generate internal revenue generation.

To test the above hypothesis, the inferential statistical tool of ANOVA (Analysis of Variance) will be utilized here. To do this, the calculated value or F ratio is compared with the value of F critical. The internally generated revenue of Bida, Chanchaga and Kontagora Local Governments shown on table 2 were fed into the computer and the letter was instructed to perform ANOVA test on the data. Table eleven below provides the computer output which is obtained through excel data analysis package.

Table 11: Computer Output of ANOVA Test on Internally Generated Revenue of local Governments in Niger State

Years	Bida	Chanchaga	Konragora			
2011	903,000	700,240	995,562			
2012	721,000	814,912	819,555			
2013	664,221	812,222	742,419			
2014	559,223	666,423	616,216			
2015	504,200	640,220	620,900			

**ANOVA: Single Factor
Summary**

Groups	Count	Sum	average	Varia nce		
Bida	5	3351862	670372.4	2.42E+ 10		
Chanchaga	5	3633717	72643.4	6.71E+ 09		
Kontagora	5	3794652	758930.4	2.48E+ 10		

ANOVA

Source of variation	SS	DF	MS	F	P- Value	F Crit
Between group	2.009E+ 10	2	1004684331 2	0.5408 24	0.5958 17	3.885 294
Within groups	2.229E+ 11	12	1857693384 1			
Total	2.43E+1 1	14				

Source: Computer Output Computed from 2-10 above

From the above table, it could be established that:

F calculated value = 0.595817

= 0.60

F critical value = 3.885294

= 3.89

Decision rule: Accept H_0 if F calculated value less than F critical value, if otherwise occur reject.

From the above computer output, the calculated value of F is approximated 0.60, while the critical value of F is approximately 3.89. This clearly indicated that the calculated value of F is less than the critical value of F as such we shall accept the Null Hypothesis (H_0) and conclude that there is no significant difference in the internally generated revenue of local governments in Niger State. This is further supported by the fact that the three local governments depend largely on federation account allocation and have weak internal revenue generation.

Major Findings

The major findings of this are as follows:

The study revealed that the level of internally generated revenue of local government council in Niger State as a percentage of total revenue between 2015 and 2017 is low, this means that most of the local government revenue is generated from the federation statutory allocation. The inadequacy is attributed to tax aversion and avoidance, corruption and manipulation from private tax collection company.

The study also revealed the quality of personnel in the local government indicate in competency. Only few qualified, assessors and valuers were available. The staff are not well conversant with financial memoranda and they are very unfamiliar with the existing tax laws.

Factors militating against the full realization of the revenue effort of the local governments as revealed by study include: inadequate transport facilities, inadequate working equipment, indiscipline and dishonesty, lack of encouragement and supervision as well as lack of quick enforcement apparatus.

Conclusions and Recommendations

In conclusion, there cannot be a virile and dynamic local governments system without strong financial capacity evolving through internal revenue generation. However the problem of local government has become a perennial one with revenue sources appearing to be very large in their numbers but very largely inelastic. Although local government do receive statutory allocation from the central government, more relief will come if more internal efforts is brought to bear on the internal sources. This paper presents recommendations for improving the revenue generation capacity of local governments in Nigeria with the saying that “where there is a will, there must be a way”. Such recommendations include inter alia:

1. There should be a review of inter-governmental fiscal relations in such a way that there will be drastic reduction in the income power of the federal government and there will be an establishment of a balanced, fair, and transparent and consensus based inter-governmental fiscal framework. This would result the problem of adequacy.
2. There is the dire need for training of staff of the Finance Department and other revenue staff in the various aspects of revenue generation and management. This would also include computer-literacy to enable them handle records and statistics more effectively. The revenue unit should be supported to become more research oriented in order to explore more sources, plan for them and manage both existing and new sources more effectively.
3. There is the need for the political class to support the revenue initiatives or efforts of local governments, by not giving protection to the evaders and by being physically seen in the mobilization of the local population to pay tax. Support should also be given to terms of logistics support and mobilization campaigns. The executive should invoke sanctions of local government staff caught misappropriating local government revenue. The audit alarm arrangement should be encountered and any officer who has information on an impending fraud or financial malpractice should come forward and report the matters. Proper protection should be given to such staff. To further enhance revenue control, adequate attention must be paid to the use of receipts effective accounting and auditing surveillance of revenue collectors and periodic reports. Adequate transport facilities as well as working equipment should be provided to the revenue unit.

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Effects of Leadership Style on the Performance of Small and Medium Scale Enterprises in Kaduna State

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Abstract

This study set out to analyse the effects of leadership styles on the performance of SMEs in Kaduna State. The study is a survey research in which data were gathered through structured questionnaire. The questionnaire was administered on owner-managers of SMEs operating in Kaduna State. The data were analysed using multiple regression model. The finding showed that democratic leadership style had a significant positive effect on the performance of SMEs in Kaduna State. The study also revealed that autocratic and laissez-fair leadership styles had insignificant positive effect on the performance of SMEs in Kaduna State. The study concluded that only democratic leadership had a significant effect on the performance of SMEs in the study area. The study, therefore, recommended that owner-managers should ensure that they give their subordinates some latitude for independent decisions. That is, the owner-managers should not give too many orders that discourage their subordinates from putting in their best.

Keywords: Leadership, Leadership style, SMEs, Kaduna State, performance.

Introduction

Leadership is one of the most essential factors that influence an organization's success. It helps to direct, guide and persuades their employees towards achieving their personal and organizational goals and objectives. Effective leadership is a pre-requisite for effective accomplishment of each business task (Amina, Sana, Samra, & Abeera 2015). Furthermore, effective leadership supports management development and training, and also provides the building block for organizational performance. Abdulazeez, Hakeem, and Bisayo (2014) opined that Leadership in business can affect both everyday activities and people; it can also determine participation, attention and acknowledgement of groups and individuals within organizations. Leadership style and its effects on the organizational performance have been a subject matter and core issue of many scholars. Leadership styles

cover all aspects of dealing within and outside an organization, handling or dealing with conflicts, helping and guiding the workforce to achieve or accomplish their tasks (Amina et al 2015). Thus, Leadership style assists organizations to be more creative and profitable.

Organizations exist in varying capacities in Nigeria and they are characterized as small, medium, or large scale businesses. In small and medium scale enterprises (SMEs), the owner-manager has different leadership roles to play; he is the chief risk bearer, chief administrator and strategy implementer, crises solver, policy maker etc. towards organizational goals. However, World Bank (2008) estimated that, out of twelve (12) million businesses of all sizes located in various parts of Nigeria, over seventy percent (70%) are small scale businesses. It is common knowledge that large scale enterprises alone cannot fast track the desired development and growth that will launch Nigeria into the group of the first 20 most viable economies in the world by the year 2020 without contribution of small scale businesses. Consequently, it is vital to develop the SMEs in order to take care of some local/rural developmental needs. According to a report by Small and Medium Enterprise Development Agency of Nigeria - SMEDAN (2008), only about five to ten percent of young companies survive and grow to maturity. Most SMEs businesses die within five years of existence. Thus, Omolomo, Odunayo and Tobora (2015) argued that irrespective of country, more than 50% of SMEs collapse within their first five years and about 25 % go bankrupt or fold up in Nigeria due to poor management.

Studies by (Obiwuru et al, 2011; Abdulazeez et al, 2014, Ahmad et al, 2013; Uchewangbe, 2013; & Akoma et al, 2014) put forward many factors as the possible causes of early failure of SMEs in Nigeria. These include internal factors of the organization such as lack of access to finance, poor infrastructural facilities, lack of market research, lack of expertise and lack of management abilities among the key players in the organizations. All these constitute factors that hinder many SMEs from achieving their objectives.

Primarily, the factors given by the aforementioned studies could greatly be tied to the decision making process in these businesses. In some businesses, mostly SMEs – where almost all decisions are influenced by the owner(s), there is likely to exist an overconcentration of decision making on one (key) person. As such,

various SMEs, like other organizations, need leadership styles that will determine the levels of owners' participation, as well as the inputs of others (managers and/or employees) in the decision making process and the way businesses are run. It is in this light that the study intends to find out how leadership style affects the performance of SMEs in Kaduna state.

The study is guided by the following objectives:

- i. To determine the effect of autocratic style of leadership on the performance of SMEs in Kaduna State.
- ii. To examine the effect of democratic leadership style on the performance of SMEs in Kaduna State.
- iii. To determine the effect of laissez-faire leadership style on the Performance of SMEs in Kaduna State.

Based on the objectives, the following hypotheses are formulated in the null form:

- H₀₁ Autocratic leadership style has no significant effect on the performance of SMEs in Kaduna State.
- H₀₂ Democratic leadership style has no significant effect on the performance of SMEs in Kaduna State.
- H₀₃ Laissez-fair leadership style has no significant effect on the performance of SMEs in Kaduna State.

The Scope of the study is mainly on the effects of leadership styles on the performance of SMEs in Kaduna State. The population of the study is SMEs registered with SMEDAN in Kaduna state Branch Office as at November 2015. The sample for the study was drawn from the owner/manager of registered SMEs in Kaduna State.

Literature Review

Concept of Leadership style

In the past several years, management experts have undergone a revolution in how they define leadership and what their attitudes are towards it. They have gone from a very classical autocratic style, to a very creative participative approach, somewhere along the line, it was determined that not everything old was bad and not everything new was good. Rather, different styles were needed for different

situations and each owner-manager needed to know when to apply a particular style (Swarup, 2013)

However, Leadership is lifeblood of any business and its importance cannot be underestimated. Many researchers have studied this phenomenon, but no uniform definition of leadership and no fundamental standard for studying it (Omolayole 2006, Bennis, 2007, Vroom & Jago, 2007). Ojokuku, Odetayo, and Sajuyigbe (2012) viewed leadership as a kind of direction which owner-manager can give to a group of people in such a way that it will influence their behavior towards organizational goals. Ngodo as cited in Ojokuku et al (2012), also viewed leadership as a form of give-and-take process of mutual effect, in which owner-managers and subordinates influence each other in order to achieve organizational performance. Basically, Cherry (2006) viewed **leadership styles** a leader's characteristic behavior when directing, motivating, guiding and managing groups of people towards an organizational goals. Therefore, great/effective leaders can inspire political appointments and social change in a society. They can also motivate others to perform, create and innovate. Therefore, owner-managers are required to grow and develop the future and to motivate the organizational members to achieve the dreams and to improve the performance (Iqbal, Anwar & Haider 2015). Consequently, leadership styles can be views as the combination of skills, qualities, characteristics, and behaviors that owner-managers used when relating with their subordinates in organizations (Jeremy, Melinde, & Ciller 2012).

Basically, According to Amina, et al (2015) considered Style of Leadership as the most effective driving force in any organization. In fact, leadership is essential for all organizations to achieve goals. Since leadership style is a key basis of the success or failure of any organization (Bizhan, 2013). Therefore, Failure of leadership can shows in terms of employee turnover, absenteeism, low performance, and customer dissatisfaction, which in the long run can be extremely costly to the success of the organization (Derya, Musaffer, Joseph, and Gyumin 2013). Perhaps, it can take an effective step to eradicate organizational barriers and in turn to improve organizational performance Hina (2015).

Therefore, without effective and efficient application of owner-managers and subordinates' ability and motivation, organizational goals shall not be possible.

Certainly, leadership styles are very effective in right driving of the employees for organizational performance (Yazar 2012, Bizhan, Saeid, & Vahid 2013).

Lewin et al as cited in cherry (2006) recognized the factors that determine owner-manager's choice of leadership style that is the need to make decisions. They identified three styles of leadership in decision making process. These leadership styles, which centre on the assumptions of McGregor's Theory 'X and Y', are autocratic, democratic, and laissez-faire leadership styles. In a nut shell, these three Leadership styles and their potential effects on a group as well as their experienced usefulness in organizations will be adopted in this study, owing to the fact that they will influence the leader-followers relationship, group success, group risk-taking, group problem-solving strategies, group determination, and group relations toward the organizational performance.

Autocratic Leadership Style

Autocratic leadership makes decisions independently with little or no input from the rest of the group. Autocratic leadership provided clear expectations for what needs to be done, when it should be done, and how it should be done (Dimitrios & Athanasios 2014). Thus, autocratic leadership is best applied to situations where there is little time for group decision-making. Kawooya (2010) calls for the owner-managers understanding of the business and his subordinates rather than relying on what should be done. Therefore, it is unfortunate that the authorities focused on the use of authoritative style in dilemmas, since this will create a mind-set of individuals that will automatically reject the style. Autocratic leadership retain the decision- making right, commitment, creativity and innovation. In fact, most employees under autocratic leadership style can be described as biding their time waiting for the expected failure (Michael, 2010). Therefore, Swarup (2013) argued that autocratic leadership is not all bad, he suggests that sometimes it is the most effective style to apply in situations when new and untrained employees who may not conversant with the tasks to perform or are confronted with problem of which procedure to follow, effective supervision can be provided through detailed orders and instructions. However, autocratic leadership style should not be used when employees are tensed, fearful and angry; employees are expecting to have their opinions heard, and not always depending on their owner-managers to make all their decisions. Lewin et al (1939) found out that, it is more difficult to move from an autocratic style of leadership to a democratic leadership style vice versa. In a nut shell, Owner-

managers under autocratic leadership are led by the ability to withhold or give rewards and punishment. Thus, autocratic leadership is extremely important when quick decisions are needed.

Democratic Leadership Style

The democratic leadership is also known as participative leadership style. It is a leadership style that encourages employees to participate in decision-making process in the organization.

A democratic leadership keeps his employees inform about everything that will affects their work, shares decision-making and problem solving responsibilities (Swarup, 2013). However, democratic leadership involves in leading better ideas and more creative solutions to problems and group members also feel more involved and committed to projects. The democratic leadership style is very open of operating a team (Wood, 2010). Goddy, (2014) opined that, democratic leadership allows for decision making to be shared by the owner-manager and the group of the organization. Thus, criticism and praises are objectively given and a feeling of responsibility is developed within the group. Using this style, the owner-manager would usually lay the problem before his or her subordinates and invite discussion. In this respect, the owner-manager's role is to be a conference leader rather than that of decision taker, (Veronica 2011, Kendra, 2012 & Goddy 2014).

Washington, Machera and Karodia (2014) also opined that, all members of a team of democratic leadership are involved in identifying essential goals. Members are given the task to develop procedures or strategies to achieve the established goals. From this view, democratic leadership can be seen as a leadership style that relies heavily on the owner-manager functioning as a facilitator rather than simply issuing orders or making assignments. These views are consistent with the positions of Beatty and Quinn as cited in Washington, *et al* (2014), who argued that leaders must ensure that people have clear and share priorities, they must work to develop an environment that generates common understanding.

In the same vein, McGregor as cited in Hackman & Johnson 2004 described this leadership style as caring, participative, and believing in people. He linked

democratic leader to the Theory Y manager which is associated with increased follower productivity, satisfaction, involvement, and commitment. The theoretical assumption underlying democratic leadership style is that, naturally all employees are self-motivated, like responsibility and challenging work and so encourages organizational conditions to encourage teamwork, high performance and satisfaction (Sebahattin, & Liknur (2014).

Laissez-fair Leadership Style

Laissez-fair leadership style is described as a “hands off” leadership style because the leader delegates the work to their followers while providing no direction or assist to the followers except their attentions are needed (Hackman & Johnson 2004, Kendra 2012 Swarup, 2013, & Washington et al 2014). In this style of leadership, all authority or power is given to the employees and they determine goals, make decisions, and resolve problems on their own (Swarup, 2013). Regan and Ghobhadian as cited in Washington et al (2014) found that the laissez-fair leadership style was positively correlated with both long and short term organizational performance. Therefore, Lewin et al (1939) found that laissez-faire leadership led to lower productivity and satisfaction among followers when compared with autocratic and democratic leadership styles, but it can be effective in situations where group members are highly skilled, motivated and capable of working on their own. Although, this style of leadership complete freedom is given to the group in such way that they allow employees within the team to take decisions.

Koeh, and Namusongo, (2012) viewed that; Laissez -Faire leadership uses his or her power very little, and allows people within the team to make decisions. Such leaders depend largely on subordinates to set their own goals and the means of achieving them. Meanwhile, subordinates desired the freedom that laissez-faire leadership provided (Bass & Avolio, 2005). Moreover, staff is independent during activities realization, leadership is free and the staff has too much of freedom (Vladimira et al 2015). Leaders in this kind of style offer little or no guidance to group members and leave decision-making up to group members (Dimitrios & Athanasios 2014).

Nwokocha and Iheriohanma (2015) argued that the basis for this leadership style is in two folds; the first is, there is a strong belief that employees know their jobs best, so leave them alone to do their jobs. The second is that, the leader may be in

a political, election-based position and may not want to apply power and control for fear of not being re-elected. Alan (2013) opined that a laissez-faire leadership style can be effective if the leader monitors performance and gives feedback to team members regularly.

Concept of Performance

Performance has been a central concern or issue of researchers and organizations. Thus, a number of organizations studied in the literature have focused on the reason why some firms perform better than the others? However, scholars in this field have proposed a number of definitions. This means that performance is not without meaning. Although, previous study according to Amos, Sana, & Abeera (2004) pointed out that organization performance cannot be left in anticipation that will develop naturally, despite the employee's natural desire to perform and be rewarded for it. Iskandar, Rafiki and Harahap (2014) viewed performance as one of the elements that is assessable through the level of their productivity. However, (Obiwuru, Okwu, Akpa&Nwankwere, 2011) argued that, Performance can also be view on how an organization is faring in terms of level of loyalty, investment, profit, revenue, growth, expansion of the organization and satisfaction on the employees etc. Anastasia (2008) viewed that organizational performance construct can be measured by effectiveness, efficiency, development, satisfaction, innovation and quality of their product. Apolot (2012) demanded organizational assessments of performance in sales growth, innovations, customer satisfaction and profitability will be measure in their businesses.

Concept of SMEs

Beside there is no universal agreed definition of what constitutes small and medium enterprises (SMEs), it varies from country to country and from agency to agency in today's world. However, SMEs play important roles in the economic growth and sustainable development of any economy. SMEs are the engine room for the growth of any developing economy because they form the bulk of business activities in developed and developing economies like Nigeria (Akwarasetal 2014). Moreover, many economies like Canada, USA, Croatia, etc have acknowledged that, SMEs are needed for industrial restructuring and have formulated national SMEs financing policies, targeted at developing the sub-sector Kpelai as cited in (Azende2012). In Nigeria for instance, SMEDAN (2012) define micro enterprises

as those employing less than 10 and having total assets of less than N5,000,000, small business employing between 10- 49 and total assets of 5- 50 million and Medium business employing between 50-199 and total assets of N50- 500million.

Theoretical Framework

This study adapts the contingency approach. Contingency theory is a behavioural theory developed by Fred Fiedler (1964). Contingency theory postulates that there is no single best way for manager to lead, direct or manage organizations. Situations will create different leadership style requirements for a manager when making decision. The solution to a managerial situation is depending on the styles that influence on the situation. Fiedler claims that if performance is to be improved, we must cope not only with the leader's style but also with the situational factors which influence him/her. Performance can be improved either by the leader's fit to the situation or the situation's fit to the leader. For example, the theory relates to the independent variables in the logic autocratic leadership style, democratic leadership style and laissez-fair leadership style which the management of any SMEs can adopt for the business while the dependent variable relate to performance which is the result of the styles adopted. However, if the right styles of leadership are adopted, SMEs performance will improve, if otherwise performance of the organization will decrease.

Methodology

This study adopts cross-sectional research design. It was adopted because it would enable the researchers to find out the styles of leadership appropriate for the organization at a period of time. A questionnaire was used as the instrument for collecting data for the study. The questionnaire has an ability to reduce bias normally associated with some methods. The data collected through questionnaire can easily be coded for statistical analysis.

The population of the study consists of 201 SMEs owner–managers that operated their business within Kaduna State and were registered with SMEDAN as at November, 2015. Owner and/or manager were selected because of their knowledge and familiarity with the running of their establishment. A sample size of one hundred and thirty four owners/managers was selected on the basis of the Yamane as cited in Israel (2013).

In order to take care of response bias and improper filling of some respondents to return the filled questionnaire, 30% of the minimum sample size obtained from the formula was added as suggested by Israel (2013). Forty respondents were added to the calculated sample size of 134 bringing a total to 174 copies of questionnaire distributed across Kaduna State. In order to draw a representative sample of the population, the researchers adopted a stratified random sampling technique to choose SMEs from Central, Northern and Southern senatorial zones of Kaduna State. Instrument was divided into three sections: Questions relating to respondent's bio data.

The survey A); leadership styles questionnaire was adapted from Clark, (2010) which were in partitioned into three units based on the independent variables (Authoritarian, democratic and laissez-fair) (B); and the questions on dependent variable (SMEs performance) which was adopted from Anastasia (2008) and Apolot(2012)) with 11 items (C). All the items were presented on a five point Likert Scale ranging from strongly agree (5) to strongly disagree (1). The researcher conducted a pilot study to ensure the reliability of the instrument. As a result, the reliability coefficients, Cronbach's Alpha, for the questions related to authoritarian, democratic, laissez-fair leadership styles and employee performance were 0.69, 0.75, 0.78, and 0.71 respectively.

Descriptive statistics, inferential statistics and Pearson correlation coefficient analysis were used for this study using Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) version 20.

Results and Discussion of Findings

Table 1: Correlations

		Correlations			
		Autocratic Leadership	Democratic Leadership	Laissez Leadership	Performance
Autocratic Leadership	Pearson Correlation	1	.288**	.232**	.123**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.000	.000
	N	158	158	158	158
Democratic Leadership	Pearson Correlation	.288**	1	.534**	.711**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.000	.000
	N	158	158	158	158
Laissez	Pearson Correlation	.232**	.534**	1	.436**

Leadership	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000		.000
	N	158	158	158	158
Performance	Pearson Correlation	.123**	.711**	.436**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	
	N	158	158	158	158

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Source: SPSS OUTPUT

The table depicts the Pearson correlation coefficient (r). The outcome indicates a significant positive relationship between autocratic leadership style and SMEs performance (r = 0.123, p<0.05). Another significant positive relationship occurs between democratic leadership style and SMEs performance (r =0.711, p<0.05). Also, a significant positive relationship exists between laissez-fair leadership style (r =0.436 p<0.05). As a result, both independent and dependent variables are correlated indicating absence of auto serial correlation and suitability of the model.

Table 2: Multiple Regression Result (Coefficients) between autocratic leadership style, democratic leadership style and laissez-fair leadership style on the performance of SMEs

Coefficients ^a						
Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
	(Constant)	2.111	.502		4.209	.000
	A LS	.029	.103	.033	.277	.782
	D LS	.447	.077	.697	5.780	.000
	L LS	.060	.050	.082	1.213	.227
	R square	.510				
	Adjusted R square	.501				
	F value	53.451				.000 ^b

a. Dependent Variable: SP

Source: SPSS 20.0 output, 2016

The result from the fit (F test) from the ANOVA table gives a value of significant of 0.000 which is less than 0.05 level of significance. This indicates that the model is fit.

The coefficient of determination ($r^2 = 0.510$) indicates that 51% variation in dependent variable (SMEs performance operating in Kaduna state) is accounted for the independent variables (autocratic leadership style, democratic leadership style and laissez-fair leadership style) while the remaining 49.0% variation can be attributed to other styles of leadership not mentioned in this study.

Based on the t-test in Table 2, it can be observed that the significance level against autocratic leadership is 0.782 which is greater than significance level of 0.05 therefore, it is on this basis that we fail to reject hypothesis one (H_{01}) which stated that autocratic leadership style has no significant effect on the performance of SMEs operating in Kaduna State. This finding supports Ojokuku et al (2012), and Akoma et al (2014) findings.

As for democratic leadership style, the p-value of 0.000 clearly indicates that democratic style of leadership has significant effect on the performance of SMEs operating in Kaduna State. Therefore, we reject hypothesis two (H_{02}) which states that democratic leadership style has no significant effect on the performance of SMEs in Kaduna State. This view is consistent with Ojokuku et al (2010), Akoma et al (2014), Awolusi et al (2015) and Mishra, Donald, and Neelufer (2014).

The p-value of 0.227 which is greater than 0.05 level of significance shows that Laissez-fair leadership style has no significant effect on the performance of SMEs operating in Kaduna State. As a result of this, we fail to reject hypothesis three (H_{03}) which states that Laissez-fair leadership style has no significant effect on the performance of SMEs in Kaduna State. This view is consistent with Akoma et al (2014) and Mishra, Donald, and Neelufer (2014).

Conclusion and Recommendations

This study has investigated the effect of leadership style on SMEs performance in Kaduna State. The results of this study revealed that there is significant relationship between leadership style and SMEs' performance. On the basis of the findings of this study, we conclude that democratic leadership style has positive significant effect on SMEs' performance in Kaduna State. Based on the findings and conclusion of the study, we recommend that SMEs owner-managers should ensure that employees are given some latitude to make some decisions. The level of directive and supervision should not be very

high so that the subordinates can have opportunity to develop their decision making capability. In other words, owner-managers should move towards decentralization in the areas of decision making, and communication.

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Impacts of Waste Management on the Socio-economic Development of Lagos State

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Abstract

Waste Management is one of the Challenges facing African Continent most especially Nigeria. Waste over the years are indiscriminately disposed such that Residential Areas, Highways, Streets, Market Places and Under developed Plots of Land have been converted to Waste Dumps, despite the mechanism like periodic environmental sanitation, huge sum of money spent to train the personnel, Franchise given to Private by Lagos State Waste Management Authority (LAWMA) to collect waste so as to ensure that Lagos State is tidy. The State is still far from being clean which is affecting her Socio-economic development. It is against this backdrop that this study seeks to examine the extent at which waste generation and storage, primary waste collection and transportation to a transfer station, street sweeping and cleaning of public places have contributed to socio-economic development of Lagos State. The study relies on both primary and secondary sources like questionnaires, interview, journals, publication, internet etc. to generate data. The data was analyzed using SPSS. The study reveals that waste has not been adequately managed, hence it has negative consequence on socio-economic development of Lagos State. The paper therefore recommends that the government and the stakeholder should enforce the sanitary law to the letter and ensure that the defaulters are severely dealt with through payment of huge fine.

Keywords: LAWMA, Socio-economics, Government, Lagos State, Waste Dumps

Introduction

The importance of development in any country cannot be over-emphasized. Development can be seen in terms of Socio-economic, Political, Cultural etc. but the subject of matter in this study is Socio-economic development. In the countries of the world, one of the primary objectives of any good government is to ensure the consolidation of Socio-economic goods such as education, provision of infrastructure, and maintenance of waste management strategies so as to have a good ecological system that is devoid of dirt which comes from indiscriminate throwing of dirt in the environment.

However, solid waste has become one of the major problems that the governments have to contend with in the world since the emergence of industrial revolution. Any materials that have outlived its usefulness after use become waste, therefore government and people contend with solid waste every day. According to Matejicek and Benesova (2002a) quoted in Burmamamu et al (2014) solid waste is something intended to discard because they have become useless and unwanted such as: paper, plastic containers, bottles, cans, food and even junked cars, tires, refrigerators, stoves and scrapes of broken electronic goods, broken furniture, hospitals waste and other packaging materials. Also if solid waste are not properly disposed it becomes hazardous to the environments that is the more reason why government and the people need to get rubbish disposed well.

In the advanced countries of the world like USA, UK, Canada, Germany, Australia etc. waste management strategies are given priority to, though that is not to say that in those countries pollution is not witnessed but it is minimal vis-à-vis third world countries like Nigeria, India, Kenya, Libya, Cameroon, South Africa etc. where solid waste poses great challenge as a result of growing cities, over population of a particular city like Lagos. Smith and Enger (2000), Thomas-Hope (1998) quoted in Burmanu et al (2014) noted that the solid waste problem facing the world today is the result of the economic boom that followed World War II. Countries such as the United Kingdom, France and the United States of America generate a lot of waste in the form of pollution. However, some of the greatest challenges to its management are felt most keenly in the developing countries. The irony is based on the gap between the pattern of growth and modernization in the developing world on one hand and the capacity to pay for effective

management of solid waste as part of the integrated national system on the other hand.

In Nigeria, the scenario is not different from various cities except for some few cities like Calabar, Uyo etc. but the waste disposal still constitute major challenges, most especially cosmopolitans like Lagos, Ibadan, Kano, Portharcout. In the word of Burmanu et al (2014) in Jimeta-Yola, the situation is not different in the various components of the city such as Shinko, Wuro, Kuturu etc. Disposal of waste constitute a serious problem in the city. Also in Lagos, the waste management is a serious challenge despite the establishment of Lagos State Waste Management Authority (LAWMA). However, places like Ojota, Ajegunle, Apapa etc. face serious environmental pollution despite waste generation and storage, primary waste collection and transportation, street sweeping and cleaning of public places provided by Lagos State Waste Management Authority (LAWMA). It is against this background that this study seeks to examine the extent at which waste generation and storage, primary waste collection and transportation to a transfer station, street sweeping and cleaning of public places have contributed to Socio-economic development of Lagos State.

Hypotheses

- H01:** Waste generation and storage do not have impact on the healthy living and beautification of Lagos State
- H02:** Primary waste collection and transportation do not contribute to the Commerce of Lagos State
- H03:** Street sweeping and cleaning of public places do not have effect on education in the study Areas

Literature Review both Conceptually and Empirically

In this study waste management includes the ways in which useless materials are properly disposed. Dhamuja (2006) opines that solid waste management includes all activities that seek to minimize the health, environment and aesthetic impacts of solid waste. Schubler et al (1996) assert that solid waste management system comprises planning and management (strategic planning, legal and regulatory framework, public participation, financial management: cost recovery, budgeting etc. institutional arrangements include private sector participation and disposal

facility. (II) Generation of waste which includes characterization, source, rate, composition etc. waste minimization and source separation.

Mba (2003), Okpala (1986) in Chukwuemeka et al (2012) asserts that “no towns in Nigeria especially the urban and semi-urban centers of high population density can boast of having found a lasting solution to the problem of filth and huge piles of solid waste, rather the problem continues to assume monstrous dimensions”.

Chukwuemeka et al (2012) carried out a study on the Management and Development Implications of Solid Waste Management in Nigeria. The study was carried out to evaluate the chains of problems militating against Solid Waste Management in Nigeria with particular stress on Enugu State. The study adopted survey research method. Data was collected through questionnaires which were analyzed and hypotheses tested using Z-test statistical measure. The study found out that resources normally voted by government year by year to manage solid waste is always very meager; there is no environmental education at all as was observed during the field investigation. The study recommended that solid waste management should be provided with a separate head in the budget for the purpose of adequate revenue allocation, implementation and monitoring. The study failed to carry out research in other regions like South-West, South-South, North-Central, North-East and North-West before making conclusions. Hence, this study is not a good representation of the opinions of respondents in Nigeria.

Barmamu et al (2014) conducted a study on Environmental impacts and Management Strategies of Solid Waste Disposal in Jimeta-Yola, Nigeria. They considered the severity of the problem waste disposal in Jimeta-Yola metropolis and strategies for proper wastes disposal management. According to the researchers both empirical and analytical data were collected from Abattoir Wuro-Kuturu, Jambutu, Shinko, Yelwa, Yolde Pate, Specialist Hospital and Adama Beverages. The sampling locations were selected to reflect different influences of waste generation and disposal in highly populated parts of the metropolis. The study found out that the impact of solid wastes was on the increase as a result of inadequate environmental and health education in the metropolis. The study found out that the impact of solid wastes was on the increase as a result of inadequate environmental and health education in the metropolis. The paper therefore recommended that proper disposal methods from the generating sources to the

collection points, design of large modern compacted impermeable linear landfills to be used for not less than 80 years and other alternative technologies like recycling pyrolysis, gasification, composting, and anaerobic digestion should be provided by the government.

Adewole (2009) carried out a research on Waste Management towards Sustainable Development in Nigeria: A study of Lagos State. The study found out that in the case of developed nations, the degree of isolation considered necessary to protect the environment and human health and safety usually is much more than would be technically and financially practical in many developing countries including Lagos State. The study therefore recommended that federal and state governments should properly fund the various agencies responsible for effective and safe waste management and make it the pivot of the agency in the various states to be responsible for collection and disposal of all types of waste.

Efe (2013) carried out a research on Waste Disposal Problems and Management in Ughelli, Nigeria. The researcher's study examined the problem of waste disposal and management in Ughelli. A field survey was undertaken to determine the types, volume, effects and methods of managing solid waste in Ughelli. The study revealed that an increase in the volume of solid waste generated over the years with 15,540kg mean annual volume of solid waste generated in Ughelli at dumpsites and 1104.7kg mean volume of solid waste generated per households never arrives at dumpsites. The study therefore recommended that government should adopt an appropriate waste collection and disposal agency and also more government approved dumpsites should be established in the area.

Ejaz et al (2010) carried out a research on the Environmental Impacts of Improper Solid Waste Management in Developing Countries: A case of Rawalpindi City. They observed that solid waste dumps are seriously spoiling the environmental conditions in developing countries. The study found out that due to rapid growth in population increments in solid waste generation rate, management deficiencies, lack of legislative implementation and funding, and the solid waste management systems of Rawalpindi are not working effectively. The study recommended that open burning and open dumping should be strongly discharged.

Abdullahi et al (2014) conducted a research on the Environmental Impact of Indiscriminate Waste Disposal: A case of Nigerian Air force Base, Kaduna. A reconnaissance survey was carried out, questionnaires were administered to get

information from resident in the study. Secondary source such as published books, journals, seminar papers, gazettes and non-published materials. The study found out that insufficient facilities, coordination, shortage of manpower, inadequate supervision, staffattitudes and relative ignorance on the adversity of a filthy environment are responsible for efficient management and disposal of domestic solid waste inthe Nigerian Air Force Base, Kaduna. The study therefore recommended that efforts are needed from both the personnel and their families and Air Force Base authorities to promote the quality of the environment and save the health of inhabitants.

Kafando et al (2013) conducted a research on the environmental Impacts of Waste Management Deficiencies and Health Issues: A Case of City of Kaya, Burkina Faso. A stratified survey sampling was used. The population study consists of the towns of Kaya. The sample size was determined using the sample size calculation formula. A random household's selection method was used and a number of 468 households and its impacts on the town's environment and population's health were shown. Data collected were presented through descriptive statistics in mean tables and graphs. The paper found out that frequently reported diseases in the four HSPCs have been correlated with waste management and disposal methods in the town. The paper therefore recommended that there should be improvement in waste management and reduction of its deficiencies impacts on the health of the population.

Alam & Ahmade (2013) conducted a study on the Impact of Solid Waste on Health and the Environment. The study found out that excreta and other liquid and solid waste from households and the community are serious health hazard and lead to the spread of infectious diseases. The study failed to clearly state its domain of studying.

Negative Impact of Indiscriminate Disposal of Waste on Animals and Aquatic Life

Improper handling of waste are not only hazardous to human being but to the aquatic creatures, thereby leading to death of aquatic animals which can serve as a source of income to the people as well as a source of revenue to the government. Also indiscriminate discharge of waste either on the land, water etc. can cause

increase in health complications, hence increase government expenditure on health and loss of lives.

The impact is so grave to the extent of causing flood which can result to destruction of lives and properties. For instance in 1960 and 1980, a flood disaster occurred in Ibadan that rendered 1000 people homeless as a result of indiscriminate dumping of refuse in the drainage system in Ogunpa Ibadan, Oyo State.

History of Lagos State Waste Management Authority

Lagos State Waste Management Agency is an agency of government that is saddled with the responsibility of managing waste in Lagos via collection. The Lagos State Waste Management Authority (LAWMA) formerly known as Lagos State Refuse Disposal Board (LSRDB) was established in 1977 under the edict number 9 of 1977 in preparation for the festival of Arts and Culture (FESTAC 77). At inception only two local government Areas were captured, namely Lagos Island and Lagos Mainland which found it difficult to cope with the volume of waste as a result of influence of oil boom and mass exodus of people to the capital of Nigeria. Also at the inception, a firm of expatriates such as Messrs Powell Dyffryn Pollution Control of Canada was contracted to oversee the collection and disposal of waste which was limited to Lagos Island and Lagos Mainland Local Government Areas respectively.

Birth of Lagos State Waste Disposal Board and their Responsibilities

Lagos State Waste Disposal Board (LSWDB) was instituted on March 13th, 1979 with the responsibilities of cleaning primary and secondary drains in the metropolis. The following responsibilities are carried out by the Board which inter-alia

- i. Commencement of the collection and disposal of industrial waste (1980)
- ii. Commencement of intermittent emergency flood relief operation during rainy season (1981)
- iii. Collection and disposal of scraps and derelict/abandoned vehicle (1981)
- iv. Removal of illegal structures erected on the required setback from roads as well as those impeding the cleaning of drains/drainage channels (1984)
- v. Commencement of litter control action within the Metropolis (1984)

Renaming of Board into Lagos State Waste Management Authority

Lagos Waste Management Authority (LAWMA) came into being through LAWMA number 5 cap.27, vol. 40 of 2007 with the responsibilities to collect, transport and dispose both Municipal and Industrial waste as well as the provision of commercial waste services to the State and Local Government. Sequel to the restructuring of the Agency into Regulatory Agency through the provision of Environmental Management and Protection Law of 1st March, 2012, the Agency was promoted to full Regulatory Body to oversee the waste management sector which is in line with Cleaner Lagos Initiative. Sequel to this restructuring that the authority entered into Public Private Partnership (PPP) arrangement to provide services which inter-alia public waste operations, domestic waste operations, waste management operations, land fill operations and transfer loading.

Indiscriminate Ways of Disposing Waste in Lagos State

Waste management is one of the problems being faced in Lagos and this has become a major concern despite concerted efforts made by the successive government and private organizations. In Lagos State wastes are not efficiently handled, hence it is a common thing to see heaps of rubbish dumped across the State. Residential areas, highways, streets, market places and underdeveloped plots of land have been converted to waste dumps for many reasons that cannot be explained. However that's the reason why some people believe that waste increases at geometric progression such as 2,4,8 etc. while waste collection and disposal increases at arithmetic progression 1,2,3,. The pictures below illustrate the indiscriminate method of disposing waste in Lagos State.





Methodology

The survey research was used to collect data on the basis of its reliability with the large samples of 384 based on Kreciej and Morgan sample table. The population of Lagos State is estimated to be 21 million, according to National Population Commission (2006). Data was collected through qualitative source such as publication, gazette, journals, internet etc. and quantitative source such as

questionnaires and interview. The study was conducted in Lagos State of Nigeria between February and March, 2018. Lagos State is one of the 36 States of Nigeria and former capital of Nigeria. The Area was chosen because of its urbanization and industrialization with its attendance indiscriminate discharge of effluent and waste. Three Hundred and Eighty Four respondents formed the sample size, sample has diversity in terms of age, sex, economic status, tribe to mention but a few. In this study three Senatorial Districts were considered for the administration of the questionnaires which were Lagos West, East and Central. SPSS 20 was employed to run the analysis Regression

Model Summary^b

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Change Statistics					Durbin-Watson
					R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change	
1	.190 ^a	.136	.134	.554	.136	14.845	1	397	.000	1.367

a. Predictors: (Constant), IV

b. Dependent Variable: DV

ANOVA^a

Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	4.559	1	4.559	14.845	.000 ^b
	Residual	121.932	397	.307		
	Total	126.491	398			

a. Dependent Variable: DV

b. Predictors: (Constant), IV

Coefficients^a

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients	Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.		
			B		Std. Error	Beta
1	(Constant)		.102		16.392	.000
	IV	.175	.045	.190	3.853	.000

Discussions and Findings

This study employed a survey research design, structured questionnaires designed were administered on the sample of 390. The Adjusted R squared is 0.136 which means that 13% of the variation in the dependent variable (Socio-Economic) is explained by the independent variables. The remaining 87% are variables that were not explained in the study. The assumption under the test procedure is that when P-Value is less than 0.05 the null proposition is invalidated else, the study fails to reject the null proposition if P-Value is greater than 0.05. The level of Alpha measures the degree of significance that will be assigned to committing type one or two error. Thus where 0.05 (95%) level of Alpha is used, it means there is 95% assurance of not committing any of the error. Hence the level of Alpha that will be used for this study is 0.05%. Since the level of Alpha (0.05) is greater than the P-Value (.000) therefore this study rejects the null hypothesis that states that “Waste generation and storage do not have impact on the healthy living and beautification of Lagos State Primary waste collection and transportation do not contribute to the commerce of Lagos State Street sweeping and cleaning of public places do not have effect on education in the study Areas” After the presentation and analysis of the data, the study arrived at the following findings

It was found out that despite the establishment of LAWMA, most strategic places in Lagos are still dirty.

Also the study reveals that members of public are not responsible in terms of management of waste as streets, markets places are littered with dirt which often comes in different form such as plastic bottles, sachets of pure water, remnant of foods etc. which are often dumped in the canal there by causing health complications which always leads to increase in government expenditure on health and also defacing the beauty of Lagos State.

The study also found out that learning will be difficult in a filthy environment and that's why the ministry of education is concerned about the environment in which schools are being cited in the State

Also government has not shown enough commitment towards environmental laws which will discourage people from dumping refuse indiscriminately.

Recommendations

Having realized the negative impact of indiscriminate dumping of refuse in the canal and waterways in Lagos State, it is therefore pertinent for the government to provide dumping sites so that dirt will not be disposed indiscriminately. Also more hands should be employed in the cleaning of Lagos State by the government to reduce the filth in the State.

The government should intensify efforts towards the compulsory observation of sanitary programme and laws that regulate environmental protection should be

strictly observed, special court should be created to prosecute anyone found guilty of the offence under the environmental protection and such defaulter should be thoroughly punished.

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Assessment of Community Based Organizations Activities and Community Development in Lagos State, Nigeria

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Abstract

The study investigated the contributions of Community Based Organizations to the development of Lagos State. Primary and secondary data were utilized for this study. Primary data were collected through the administration of questionnaire. Secondary data were obtained from books, academic journals, official documents and the Internet. The study population was 1,200. Multi-sampling technique was used for this study. At the first stage, one local government area was selected from each senatorial districts of Lagos state using stratified random sampling. At the second stage, one community was selected from each local government using purposive sampling. At third stage, one community based organization was selected from the community. And at the last stage, 150 respondents were randomly selected which correspond to 10% of the study population. The study revealed that provision of transformer and electric poles has positive and significant effect on electrification of community ($t=1.98$, $F<0.05$), construction of town hall was found to be negatively insignificant for providing avenue for congregation and deliberation by communities ($t=-0.46$, $F>0.05$), rehabilitation of feeder roads has no significant effect on the rural dwellers to transport goods and services to urban market ($t=-0.73$, $F>0.05$) Construction of drainage facility has not significantly reduced flooding in the rural areas ($t=-0.52$, $F>0.05$). Rehabilitation and construction healthcare facility has not significantly reduced epidemics in rural areas ($t=-0.56$, $F>0.05$), Provision of community well or portable water has not significantly improved sanitation in rural communities ($t=-0.59$, $F>0.05$). The study concluded that there is nexus between the existence of Community Based Organization and Community Development in Lagos State.

Keywords: Third-sector, Growth, Community Based Organization, Government

Introduction

There is increasing evidence that all three sectors of the society-government, private and civil society have important roles to play in nation building and particularly in development efforts to improve the quality of lives of citizens. When they are able to work well together they mutually reinforce each other's work and can together do what none of them can do on its own. Evidence has shown that that government alone may not be able to shoulder all the needs of the people. The state alone cannot solve society's many problems or provide the remedies for democracy's deficits—this also requires citizen action. A meaningful democracy must strengthen civic voices, demonstrate responsive governance systems, and promote the interest of all its citizens. Hence, attempts were made to encourage citizens' groups, communities, and Community Based Organizations to participate in the projects that could best be handled at the grassroots level.

The use of Community Based Organizations (CBOs) for development is a process of social action in which the people of a community organize them for planning and action. They execute their plans with maximum reliance upon community resources and supplement these resources, with services and material from outside. However, CBOs approach to self-help involves the fullest participation of all members in the decision making process. Participation of local people in Community Based Organizations (CBO's) activities is an act involving residents in a project which requires a democratic approach. With a general shift towards alternative development paradigm since the 1970s, the concept of community driven (self-help) development has crept into the vocabulary of development discourses. Community driven and self-help development recognizes that poor people are not passive subjects; rather they are capable and prime actors in the development process.

In Lagos State, the performance of community organizations cannot be dismissed with mere wave of hand. The coming together of the people to form organizations is the bases of popular participation in development. The continuous expansion in government size, complexities as well as increasing demands/needs for transforming the State to an enviable condition make the involvement of CBOs a necessity if not compulsory. The research questions with asking are:

What are the Community Development Projects Executed by Community Based Organization in Lagos State;

What is the degree of people's satisfaction with the projects of the community based organizations; and

What are effects of projects executed by the community based organizations on community development.

Objectives of the Study

This study seeks to assess the contributions of Community Based Organizations to the development of Lagos State, by identifying the projects executed by Community Based Organizations in Lagos State; evaluating the degree of satisfaction with the projects of the community Based Organizations; examining the effect of project executed by the CBOs on community development in the study area; and assessing the constraints to effective execution of projects by community Based Organizations in Lagos State.

Conceptual Review

Community-based Organizations

Community based organizations otherwise known as local organizations have been given different definitions. In line with this, Agboola (1998) described them as associations, neighborhood councils and united communities among others. Similar to the above description of CBO's, Olowu (1990) added that community based organizations could also be known as community development association, union, club, voluntary association etc., He went further to say that they are organizations with the characteristics of being private as opposed to being public in orientation, independent of the state or government control but firmly attached to the society. In similar contribution, Abegunde (2004) says community based organizations are set up by collective efforts of indigenous people of homo or heterogeneous attributes but living or working within the same environment. Their coming together creates conditions which broaden the base of self governance and diffusion of power through a wider circular of the population.

CBOs, according to Heather and Ann (in Opare, 2007), are membership organizations serving particular interest groups usually in rural communities, whose focus may be broad or quite narrow; these organizations may be formally structural or quite informal. Examples include farmers associations, credit groups, and joint marketing societies. Offei-Aboagye also established that CBOs often

demonstrate the capability to mobilize community resources for grassroots development and their members are usually resident in the communities and are well connected; hence, they have the advantage of being keenly aware of local needs and are in a position to respond effectively and a lot more rapidly than either government agencies or NGOs (Offei-Aboagye, 1998: 67). Thus, they are voluntary, not-for-profit, non-governmental organizations with aims and activities limited to a locality that has a unique identity.

Community Development

Community development is the projects initiated or with the active participation of the inhabitants of a locality, which are intended to benefit them collectively. The projects may concern education, social welfare, health, infrastructure such as roads, wells, irrigation farming, manufacture or commerce. While much of the benefit may accrue to individual families the projects are intended to enhance the community as a whole, in self-confidence and political skills, for more tangible (Sanderson and Palson, 1989). Anyanwu (1999) perceived community development as a process in the life of a community, by which the people plan and act together for the satisfaction of their felt needs. Its primary purpose is to bring about change for better living through the willingness and cooperation of people. Self-help as the main end product of community; as a movement it enables people to exploit to their advantage, the resource which would otherwise be dormant (unexploited).

For Community Development to occur, people in a community must believe working together can make a difference and organize to address their shared needs collectively. Community development is an attempt by a group of people in a community reaching a decision to initiate a social action process to change their economic, social, cultural and environmental situation. Is a process that increases choices. It creates an environment where people can exercise their full potential to lead productive and creative lives (Shaffer, 1989).

Anyanwu (1999) enumerated seven aims and objectives of any Community development efforts namely:- to educate and motivate people for self-help; to develop responsible local leadership; to implicate a sense of citizenship and spirit of consciousness; to introduce and strengthen democracy as a grassroots level; to initiate self-generative, self-sustaining and enduring process growth; to enable people to establish and maintain cooperative relationship and to bring about gradual and self-choosing changes in the life of the community.

Empirical Review of Empirical Study

Evidence from the literature reveals the activities of community based organizations in Nigeria Olomola (2001); Abegunde (2004). For instance, the study conducted by Olomola (2001) in Lagos state revealed that CBOs in the state solely relied on internally generated revenue with very little aid from the government. This was why the CBO that won best CBO award in 1988 emanated from Lagos state. The organization in 1998 built a primary school, bank, court hall, community hall, post office and opened up several roads for vehicular usage. A study conducted by Abegunde (2004:16) on the activities of the CBOs in Atiba local government area of Osun state revealed that there were about 160 CBOs in the area. About 40% of these CBOs provided social facilities worth 17.56 million naira to their immediate community.

Similarly, CBOs in Anambra state were said to be economically buoyant enough to have constructed access roads within neighbourhoods, built schools and health centres, provide water and see to the general welfare of their members without government assistance (Adejumobi, 1991:16). It was even recorded that the ultra modern maternity centre built by CBOs in Udi Local Government Area of the state aroused no governments' interest, in that the maternity could not takeoff for over 10 years after construction because of lack of personnel and equipments from the government of that area Olomola, (2001:16). The experiences of CBOs in Kano State differed. Their government assisted them in discharging their responsibilities to the communities through fund provision Adejumobi, (1991:33). Their problems were the conflicts of interest, level of education of community development workers among the two tiers of government (state and local), low and poor public acceptance. Unlike in Oyo state, the people were receptive to CBOs activities but inadequate government support and economic status of members limited their operation Adejumobi, continued.

Theoretical Framework

Theories abound on community development and particularly the "third-sector" contribution to the community development. Among these theories are Social Change Theory, proposed by Spencer and Comte'. Kezi (2011) which stated that, social changes are brought about mainly through invention, diffusion and recovery. Considering the above facts, community volunteers are the potential of nations' economy both in community engagement and involvement. This is

because, the concept of volunteerism is very critical in the work of CBOs as they own virtually nothing for the services they are providing.

Directly related to this study is community action models which originated from the theory of Paulo Freire (2004). He was a Brazilian educationist who through his concern for the oppressed argued that disparity between poor and prosperous residents, community based organisations or laborers in the society can be bridge through self determination from those in the low socio-economic class. According to him, awakening of peoples conscience to have self confidence assist them to attain desired goal collectively. In other words, enlightenment of mind through popular mobilization empowers the poor to collectively strive towards common goals and confront the oppressors. When this is achieved, the poor can easily develop their community to catch up with the rich class. These according to Paulo will give ability to involve in planning with the ruling class and over time, bridge the socio economic gap that separate residents or organizations at grassroots from those in prosperous regions or state (Raphael et al, 1999).

There are five (5) basic assumptions on which the community action model is based. According to Ryan and Racher (2004) first, it identifies inequality in the distribution of state resources. It also believes that inequality can be bridged through awakening of mind and self confidence of individuals in the community. That, it focuses on changing individual's lifestyles and behavior to mobilizing community members and agencies to eliminate underserved conditions (Lavery, 2005). Yet, it places the onus on the individual and does not challenges the social structures that shape residents choices and decisions (Caira 2003). This means that the theory is designed to increase the capacity of communities and organizations to address the social and economic determinants that will positively influence their community toward development. However, we shall be concerned with the capacity of community based organizations to bring the much desired socio economic development to the community.

Methodology

This research work is a survey research of both primary data and secondary data. The research study is marked by prior formulation of research questions. This is adopted to identify and establish variables and their relationship to one another. The study population (1,200) consists of senior officers of Community Based Organizations in selected Local Government areas of Lagos state, Landlord

Association and representative of religious bodies in the selected Local Government areas of Lagos state.

Multi-sampling technique was used for this study. At the first stage, one local government area was selected from each senatorial districts of Lagos state using stratified random sampling. At the second stage, one community was selected from each local government using purposive sampling. At third stage, one community based organization was selected from the community. And at the last stage, 120 respondents were randomly selected which correspond to 10% of the study population. The data collected through primary source were subjected to statistical techniques for analysis.

Results and Discussion

One hundred and twenty (120) questionnaires were administered out of which ninety nine (99) representing 83% of the total sample size were returned fully answered and hence, inference is made upon the returned questionnaires.

Projects Executed by Community Based Organization in Lagos State

As revealed in Table 1, almost all the respondents, 86(87%) respondents assert that the CBOs have procured electric poles for the community. In the same vein, it was equally found that almost all the respondents 82(83%) respondents agreed that procurement and installation of transformers has been part of the project executed by the CBOs in Lagos State of Nigeria. Also, 49(50%) respondents agreed that the CBOs have engaged in the construction of town hall in their respective communities while 35(36%) respondents disagreed to this assertion and 15(15%) respondents neither agree nor disagreed to this fact. It is equally revealed in the Table that 50(51%) respondents agreed that provision of feeder roads is among the projects executed by the CBOs in their respective communities while 37(37%) disagreed to this assertion and 12(12%) respondents neither agreed nor disagreed. Also, the Table revealed 47(48%) respondents agreed that the CBOs have constructed drainage facility as part of their projects in their various communities while 35(36%) respondents disagreed to this position. Additionally, 66(67%) respondents agreed to the assertion that the CBOs engaged in the provision of primary healthcare facility as part of their projects in their communities while only 16(16%) respondents disagreed to this assertion. In the same vein, the Table revealed that 61(61%) respondents agreed that provision of boreholes is among the projects executed by the CBOs in their various

communities while only 14(14%) respondents disagreed to this view. Also, 57(58%) respondents agreed that construction of block of classrooms for schools is among the projects executed by the CBOs in their various communities while 14(15%) respondents disagreed to this assertion.

Table 1: Projects Executed by Community Based Organization in Lagos State

Strategies	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly Agree	
Electric poles	0(0)	7(7.1)	6(6.1)	36(36.4)	50(50.5)	
Transformers	2(2.0)	8(8.1)	9(9.1)	55(55.6)	27(27.3)	
Town hall	14(14.1)	21(21.2)	15(15.2)	37(37.4)	12(12.1)	
Feeder roads	10(10.1)	27(27.3)	12(12.1)	40(40.4)	10(10.1)	
Drainage facility	11(11.1)	24(24.2)	17(17.2)	35(35.4)	12(12.1)	
Primary healthcare facility	1(1.0)	15(15.2)	17(17.2)	47(47.5)	19(19.2)	
Provision of boreholes	4(4.0)	10(10.1)	24(24.2)	46(46.5)	15(15.2)	
Block of classrooms for schools	1(1.0)	13(13.1)	28(28.3)	40(40.4)	17(17.2)	
Repair of market stores	7(7.1)	26(26.3)	30(30.3)	24(24.2)	12(12.1)	
Construction of luckup shops	10(10.1)	32(32.3)	24(24.2)	23(23.2)	10(10.1)	
Provision of equipment for Schools	2(2.0)	21(21.2)	22(22.2)	31(31.3)	23(23.2)	

Source: Field Survey, 2018

Degree of Satisfaction with the Projects of the Community Based Organizations

As revealed in the Table 4.3, 43(43%) respondents expressed high satisfaction with the provision of electric poles by the CBOs, while 38(38%) respondents moderately satisfy with this project and 16(16%) expressed fair satisfaction with the project. In the same vein, 33(33%) respondents expressed high satisfaction to the provision of transformers by the CBOs for their communities while 48(48%) considered the project as moderately satisfying. Only 1 respondent was not satisfied with the project while 3 respondents expressed poor satisfaction with the

project. This therefore implies that almost all the respondents, 81(82%) expressed satisfaction to the provision of transform by the CBOs in their various communities. Also, the CBOs have engaged in the construction of town hall and as indicated in the Table, 4(4%) respondents showed high level of satisfaction with the project, 36(36%) are moderately satisfied, while 23(23%) consider it to be fairly satisfactory. However, 29(29%) respondents expressed poor satisfaction with the project while 7(7%) respondents considered the project unsatisfactory. Since a total of 40(40%) respondents expressed either highly or moderately satisfaction to this project plus 23 respondents who considered it fairly satisfactorily, it can be established that the project is well satisfactory to the community members. Concerning the rehabilitation of feeder roads as part of the projects of CBOs, it is found that 10(10%) respondents expressed high satisfaction to this project, 34(34%) respondents considered the project to be moderately satisfactory and 25(25%) respondents expressed fair satisfaction to the project. However, 14(14%) respondents considered the project unsatisfactory while 16(16%) were of the view that the project is poorly satisfactory.

Also, as revealed in the Table, 14(14%) respondents expressed high satisfaction to the construction of borehole and drainage facility by the CBOs for the community while 25(25%) respondents considered it moderately satisfactory and 19(19%) respondents expressed fairly satisfactory to the project. However, 23(23%) respondents considered the project to be poor satisfactory while 18(18%) respondents considered the project to be unsatisfactory. The total of 33(33%) respondents that expressed either poor satisfactory or unsatisfactory to the project could be due to delay in the delivery of the project while the total of 58(59%) respondents in the category of highly, moderately of fairly satisfactory is significant enough to establish that the project is satisfactory to the community members.

Rehabilitation of primary healthcare facility by the CBOs as part of their projects was considered to be satisfactorily by 10(10%) respondents while 48(49%) respondents considered it moderately satisfactory and 24(24%) expressed fairly satisfactory to the project. In the same vein, 15(15%) respondents expressed high satisfaction to the provision of boreholes and market stores by the CBOs while 33(33%) respondents considered it moderately satisfactory and 23(23%) respondents considered it fairly satisfactory. However, 15(15%) respondents view the project as poorly satisfactory while 13(13%) respondents considered it unsatisfactory. On the provision of blocks of classrooms for schools, 17(17%)

respondents expressed high satisfaction for this project, 33(33%) respondents considered the project moderately satisfactory while 23(23%) respondents agreed that the project is fairly satisfactory. However, 16(16%) respondents and 10(10%) respondents considered the project poorly satisfactory and unsatisfactory respectively. This project was considered highly satisfactory and moderately satisfactory by 3(3%) respondents and 26(26%) respondents respectively while 28(28%) respectively considered the project fairly satisfactory. However, this position was opposed by 15(15%) respondents who considered it unsatisfactory and 27(27%) respondents who considered it poorly satisfactory.

The CBOs also undertook the repair/construction of lock-up shops and this was considered by 9(9%) to be highly satisfactory, 22(22%) considered it moderately satisfactory while 25(25%) respondents considered it fairly satisfactory. However, 21(21%) respondents considered the project to be poorly satisfactory while 22(22%) respondents considered it unsatisfactory. Provision of furniture for Schools by the CBOs was considered to be highly satisfactory by 15(15%) respondents while 34(34%) considered it moderately satisfactory and 20(20%) respondents considered it fairly satisfactory. Although, 13(13%) respondents considered the project poorly satisfactory and 17(17%) considered it unsatisfactory, the number of respondents who considered it satisfactory is high, then, it can be concluded that the project is satisfactory to the community members.

Table 2: Degree of Satisfaction with the Projects of the Community Based Organizations

Strategies	Highly Satisfactory	Moderately Satisfactory	Fairly Satisfactory	Poorly Satisfactory	Not Satisfactory
Provision of electric poles	43(43.4)	38(38.4)	16(16.2)	2(2.0)	
Provision of transformers	33(33.3)	48(48.5)	14(14.1)	3(3.0)	1(1.0)
Construction of town hall	4(4.0)	36(36.4)	23(23.2)	29(29.3)	7(7.1)
Rehabilitation of feeder roads	10(10.1)	34(34.3)	25(25.3)	16(16.2)	14(14.1)
Construction of borehole and drainage facility	14(14.1)	25(25.3)	19(19.2)	23(23.2)	18(18.2)
Rehabilitation of	10(10.1)	48(48.5)	24(24.2)	7(7.1)	10(10.1)

primary healthcare facility					
Provision of boreholes and market stores	15(15.2)	33(33.3)	23(23.2)	15(15.2)	13(13.1)
Provision of blocks of classrooms for schools	17(17.2)	33(33.3)	23(23.2)	16(16.2)	10(10.1)
Construction and repair of market stores	3(3.0)	26(26.3)	28(28.3)	27(27.3)	15(15.1)
Repair/construction of luekup shops	9(9.1)	22(22.2)	25(25.3)	21(21.2)	22(22.2)
Provision of furniture for Schools	15(15.2)	34(34.3)	20(20.2)	13(13.1)	17(17.2)

Source: Field Survey, 2018

Effect of Projects Executed by the Community Based Organizations on Community Development

It was found that 27(27%) respondents strongly agreed and 39(39%) agreed to the assertion that provision of transformer and electric poles has led to rural electrification of rural community while only 22(22%) respondents disagree to this assertion. In the same vein, 55(56%) respondents agreed to the assertion that construction of town hall has provided venue for congregation and deliberation by communities while 29(29%) disagreed to this assertion. Considering the effect of the rehabilitation of roads in the study area, it was found that the majority of the respondents, 60(61%) agreed that rehabilitation of feeder roads has provided means for rural dwellers to transport goods and services to urban market while just 15(15%) respondents disagreed to this assertion while 24(24%) respondents neither disagreed nor agreed to this assertion. It was equally discovered that 48(49%) respondents agreed to the assertion that construction of drainage facility has reduced flooding in the rural areas while 29(29%) respondents disagreed to this assertion. Concerning the rehabilitation and construction primary healthcare facility has reduced epidemics in the areas, it was found that 53(53%) respondents agreed to the assertion that rehabilitation and construction primary healthcare facility has reduced epidemics in rural areas while only 15(15%) respondents disagreed and 17(17%) neither agreed nor disagreed to the assertion. It was equally discovered that 44(44%) respondents agreed to the assertion that provision of community well or portable water has improved sanitation in the communities while 20(20%) respondents disagreed and 33(33%) respondents

were neither agreed nor disagreed to this assertion. Also, it was revealed in the Table that 52(52%) respondents agreed to the assertion that provision of blocks of classrooms for schools in the rural community has reduced out of school children while only 23(23%) respondents disagreed to this assertion with 24(24%) neither agreed nor disagreed to the assertion.

Table 3: Effect of Projects Executed by the Community Based Organizations on Community Development

Strategies	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly Agree
Provision of transformer and electric poles has led to rural electrification of rural community	4(4.0)	18(18.2)	11(11.1)	39(39.4)	27(27.3)
Construction of town hall has provided venue for congregation and deliberation by rural communities	7(7.0)	22(22.2)	15(15.2)	44(44.4)	11(11.1)
Rehabilitation of feeder roads has provided means for rural dwellers to transport goods and services to urban market	6(6.0)	9(9.1)	24(24.2)	43(40.4)	17(17.2)
Construction of drainage facility has reduced flooding in the rural areas	7(7.1)	22(22.2)	22(22.2)	35(35.4)	13(13.1)
Rehabilitation and construction primary healthcare facility has reduced epidemics in rural areas	3(3.0)	15(15.2)	17(17.2)	48(48.5)	15(15.2)
Provision of community well or portable water has improved sanitation in rural communities	4(4.0)	16(16.2)	33(33.3)	33(33.3)	11(11.1)
Provision of blocks of classrooms for schools in the rural community has reduced out of school children	5(5.0)	18(18.2)	24(24.2)	40(40.4)	12(12.1)
Construction/repair of market stores has improved economic activities in rural communities	2(2.0)	25(25.3)	25(25.3)	21(21.2)	12(16.2)

Source: Field Survey, 2018

Regression Analysis Showing Effect of Projects Executed by the Community Based Organizations on community Development in Lagos State

Regression analyzes of the effect of CBOs project on the community development in the study area, shows that Provision of transformer and electric poles has positive and significant effect on rural electrification of rural community (t=1.98, F<0.05), construction of town hall was found to be negatively insignificant for providing avenue for congregation and deliberation communities (t=-0.46, F>0.05). Rehabilitation of feeder roads has no significant effect on the rural dwellers to transport goods and services to urban market (t=-0.73, F>0.05). Construction of drainage facility has not significantly reduced flooding in the rural areas (t=-0.52, F>0.05). Rehabilitation and construction primary healthcare facility has not significantly reduced epidemics in rural areas (t=-0.56, F>0.05). Provision of community well or portable water has not significantly improved sanitation in the communities (t=-0.59, F>0.05). Provision of blocks of classrooms for schools in the rural community has not significantly reduced out of school children (t=-0.44,F>0.05) Construction/repair of market stores has significantly improved economic activities in rural communities (t=-0.43, F>0.05)

Table 4: Regression Analysis Showing Effect of Projects Executed by the Community Based Organizations on Rural Development in Lagos State

Model	Unstandardized	Standardized	t	Sig.	
	Coefficients			Coefficients	
	B	Std.	Beta	Error	
-0.074	-0.727	0.469			
(Constant)	250	.127	1.976	.048	
Provision of transformer	-0.398	0.858	-0.047	-0.464	0.644
Provision of town hall	-0.756	1.039			
Rehabilitation of feeder roads	-0.442	0.857	-0.052	-0.516	0.607
Construction of drainage	-0.478	0.854	-0.057	-0.559	0.577
Provision of community	-0.698	1.19	-0.059	-0.585	0.560
Provision of blocks of classrooms	0.376	0.855	-0.045	-0.439	0.661

Source: Author’s computation, 2018

Constraint to Effective Execution of Projects by Community Based Organizations

Accordingly, 62(63%) respondents agreed that mismanagement of funds by community project management committee is considered as one of the constraints

facing the CBOs while 24(24%) respondents disagreed to this assertion. In the same vein, 62(63%) respondents agreed to the statement that uncooperative attitude of project management committee members while 27(27%) respondents disagreed to this fact. It was equally found that 41(41%) respondents agreed to the assertion that uncooperative attitude of members of the community towards their contribution for community project while 23(23%) respondents disagreed to this assertion and 35(35%) neither agreed nor disagreed. And finally, it was found that 44(44%) respondents agreed to the assertion that external and internal undue interference in the activities of the community project management community while only 16(16%) disagreed to this assertion.

Table 5: Constraint to Effective Execution of Projects by Community Based Organizations

Strategies	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly Agree
Mismanagement of funds by community project management committee	3(3.0)	21(21.2)	13(13.1)	34(34.3)	28(28.3)
Uncooperative attitude of project management committee members	4(4.0)	23(23.2)	10(10.1)	43(43.4)	19(19.2)
Inadequate funds to execute projects	4(4.0)	1(1.0)	19(19.2)	54(53.5)	22(22.2)
Poor revenue base of the community based organization	4(4.0)	2(2.0)	25(25.3)	44(44.4)	24(24.2)
Inadequately skilled manpower in the community	6(6.0)	41(41.4)	20(20.2)	25(25.3)	7(7.1)
Uncooperative attitude of members of the community towards their contribution for community project	6(6.0)	17(17.2)	35(35.4)	31(31.3)	10(10.1)
Misplaced priority by community project management community	9(9.1)	22(22.2)	30(30.3)	24(24.2)	14(14.1)
External and internal undue interference in the activities of the community project management community	6(6.0)	10(10.1)	39(39.4)	22(22.2)	22(22.2)

Source: Field Survey, 2018

The correlation analyzes of the constraints to the project execution in Lagos by CBOs shows that Mismanagement of funds by community project management committee is positively and moderately correlated with the development in the area in the study area. In the same vein, uncooperative attitude of project management committee members is positively and moderately correlated with the development in the area in the study area ($r = 0.51$). Inadequate funds to execute projects is positively and correlated with the development in the area in the study area ($r = 0.047$).

Table 6: Correlation estimates on the Constraints to the Project Execution of the Community Based Organization in Lagos State

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Mismanagement of funds by community project management committee	1								
2. Uncooperative attitude of project management committee members	.508 ^{xx}	1							
3. Inadequate funds to execute projects	.047	.184	1						
4. Poor revenue base of the community based organization	.052	-.12	-.008	1					
5. Inadequately skilled manpower in the community	.225 ^{xx}	.337 ^{xx}	-.0120	.049 ^{xx}	1				
6. Uncooperative attitude of members of the community towards their contribution for community project	.322 ^{xx}	.437 ^{xx}	.092	.084	.490 ^{xx}	1			
7. Misplaced priority by community project management community	.234 ^{xx}	.498 ^{xx}	-.080	-.105	.541 ^{xx}	.539 ^{xx}	1		
8. External and internal undue interference in the activities of the community project management community	.365 ^{xx}	.421 ^{xx}	.003	.069	.447 ^{xx}	.767		1	

Source: Author's computation, 2018

Summary of findings

This research work attempted to investigate the projects executed by Community Based Organization in Lagos State; The study found that the projects executed

include electric poles, Transformers, Town hall, Feeder roads, Drainage facility, Primary healthcare facility, Provision of boreholes, Block of classrooms for schools, Provision of equipment for Schools.

Also, it was found that Provision of electric poles, Provision of transformers, Construction of town hall, Rehabilitation of feeder roads, Construction of borehole and drainage facility, Rehabilitation of primary healthcare facility, Provision of boreholes and market stores, Provision of blocks of classrooms for schools, Construction and repair of market stores, Repair/construction of luck-up shops and Provision of furniture for Schools have improves the lives of the community.

In the same vein, it was equally established that Provision of transformer and electric poles has led to electrification of rural community, construction of town hall has provided venue for congregation and deliberation by rural communities, Rehabilitation of feeder roads has provided means for rural dwellers to transport goods and services to urban market. Construction of drainage facility has reduced flooding in the areas. Rehabilitation and construction primary healthcare facility has reduced epidemics in rural areas. Provision of community well or portable water has improved sanitation in rural communities. Provision of blocks of classrooms for schools in the rural community has reduced out of school children.

And finally, Mismanagement of funds by community project management committee, Uncooperative attitude of project management committee members, Inadequate funds to execute projects, Poor revenue base of the community based organization, Uncooperative attitude of members of the community towards their contribution for community project, Misplaced priority by community project management community, External and internal undue interference in the activities of the community project management community are all constraints affecting the project execution of the CBOs in Lagos state.

Conclusion and recommendations

It is hereby concluded that there is nexus between the existence of Community Based Organization and Community Development in Lagos State. In the 21st century, CBOs hold a great promise to provide the much needed socio-economic infrastructure in the developing countries. They are increasingly making up for

the shortcomings of the state, particularly in developing countries where the state is weak and conspicuously absent in the development of communities. They are considered part of the civil area in society, which exist in form of clubs, unions, peoples associations, development or cooperative associations etc. The proliferation of CBOs in this area is as a result of the fact that people recognized the need to come together and produce common social facilities that would benefit them particularly in a situation where we have weak state. It is therefore recommended that Government at all levels should encourage the proliferation of and economically support the goals and objectives of CBOs in the study area, creating a common forum where both governmental and nongovernmental organizations could contribute their quota.

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The Impact of North-South Relationship on Development Strategies and Investment Policies in Nigeria

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Abstract

The quest for development has been the bane of successive administrations of the Nigerian state since her emergence on the global stage having been subjugated under the weight of Western capitalist imperialism through colonialism. In spite of the lofty ideas expressed in development plans, programmes and strategies, the realization of a better life for her people remains elusive. Several factors both internal and external have been said to be responsible for this age-long failure. Amongst the internal factors are: leadership failure, corruption, weak institutions, national question, etc; while colonial experience and the nature of the international political economic order are reoccurring terms on the external factors. This paper whilst employing these secondary sources of data, adopts a qualitative methodology which was mainly descriptive in analysis, sought to interrogate using the Dual-Development Thesis of the Dependency Theory the overbearing influence of the global economic order based on the dominance and control of the developed capitalist Global North on these development efforts. It finally, concluded that, the dominance-dependence relationship inherent in the North-South system into which the Nigerian state had been integrated through the processes of Western imperialism which continued to be reinforced and sustained through the global economic structure, has constituted a critical impeding factor to the overall effectiveness of development programmes and strategies in Nigeria as it has compromised and raised the capacity question of whether Nigeria can ever be able to develop a home-based solution for its developmental challenges. This paper is of the view therefore, that Nigeria's political leaders must come to the realization of their disadvantaged positions in the global economic order, which has great systemic impact on developmental programmes and as well as, been able to mobilize resources within its control to overcoming these problems. Finally, a redirection for a more focus and a relationship (South-South relationship) will be of a better advantage in the long run but this must be done with the utmost caution.

Keywords: Relationship, Development, Strategies, Investment and Policies

Introduction

The co-existence of extremities of underdevelopment and development in the Global South and the Global North respectively within their spheres demarcated by the equator, but with a strong historical and 'strategic' bond structurally designed in non-symbiotic fashion to reinforce these conditions, has come to serve as the common denominator for policy makers in the South, development specialists and the academics as they grapple with the problems of development and globalization. The widening gap and heightening disparities between these two geographical spheres with a great deal of unequal division of socio-economic and political powers within a system where the larger and most populous, but impoverished nations in the South find themselves marginalized and in a subordinate position in the global hierarchy directly controlled by the few wealthy and industrialized countries of the global North is the underlying concern of the disciplines of Political Economy and Development Economics. According to Kegley and Blanton (2013:102), whilst poverty and inequality have existed throughout recorded history, among and between human formations, today, the levels have reached extremes among the people and countries of the South. These Southern countries largely in Africa, Asia, and Latin America are wallowing in mass poverty and socio-economic underdevelopment (Jack, et al. 2016).

According to Abraham (2010), third world countries are economically poor and technologically backward and largely characterized by under-developed structures, high maternal mortality, high child mortality, lower mass literacy, large rural population and so on. On the other hand, the level of development and wealth among the few industrialized nations of the North has also reached an unprecedented point, so as to paint a glaring condition of the rich getting richer and the poor getting poorer; thereby negating the counsel of Plato in the 5th Century BC Greece that, "There should exist neither extreme poverty nor excessive wealth, for both are productive of great evil". Hence, the moral and security problems posed by the co-existence of these extremities. It is on the basis of these actual or potential problems that the North or the rich industrialized nations through their global institutions and other socio-political means have launched several programmes and road-maps that were supposedly meant to engender socio-economic transformation in the global South (Millikan and Rostow, 1957:34-38) while jealously guarding the existing hierarchical and dependent global structure (Spero and Hart 1997:119).

The dismal failure of these initiatives with the worsening fortunes of the conditions of the peoples and nations of the South, as the gap between the two spheres continues to widen coupled with several similarly failed strategies generated and pursued by the less-developed states, tend to serve as the basis for the theoretical divides between the Liberalists, Marxists (Neo-Maxists), and the Structuralists, as they continue to contend over the relevance or role of the structure of the North-South system, whether it is perpetuating under-development or promoting development in the South. It is on the basis of this concern for the North-South system and structure vis-a-vis the socio-economic growth and development in the Third World Countries, that this paper seeks to address itself to the critical issue of the role of this North-South structural relationship on the formulation of development strategies as well as investment policies in the latter with a particular reference to Nigeria.

Since the dawn of the direct link between the European nations of the North and the Sub-Saharan African peoples and kingdoms in the South, production patterns as well as the general economic activities in the latter has been tailored to meeting the needs of the former, and varied with the changes in these needs with time. A retrospective view of the changing patterns of production in Sub-Saharan Africa beginning with the shift from craft and resource-based trade to Slave Trade and then, to the so-called Legitimate Trade on agricultural goods and mineral exploration/exploitation which has led to the creation of the prevailing commodity-based economic structure in the South, would reveal that they were all necessitated by external exigencies of the industrialized capitalist countries of the North, in the forms of demand for labour in the New World and meeting the needs of the emerging industries following the Industrial Revolution in Europe (Ajayi, 2007). This externally motivated production patterns which became to be institutionalized in Colonialism, and continued through the instrumentality of a globalized international trade and finance system, regulated from the North in the post-Colonial times, is evident in the development strategies and programmes of most developing countries in the South including Nigeria, which continued to reflect the needs and expectations of the industrialized capitalist North, rather than those of the peoples of the South.

As a build up to this, the paper will briefly take a look at the North-South system, its emergence and critical issues in the system. However, it is worthy to note here that, the analysis here would be based on the Dependency Theory. Before then, it is important to clarify some of the operating concepts of this paper.

Conceptual Definition

The following key concepts are to be quickly clarified for precision and agreement since according to Nachmias and Nachmias (1996:28) if concepts are to serve (their basic) functions of communication, sensitivity to and organization of experience, and theory construction, they have to be clear, precise and agreed-upon. These include: the North, the South, relationship, a case study, development, strategy, investment and policy. It should however be noted here that in defining these concepts, the paper we only attempt a precise and more literally than technical meanings so as to justify their usage in this work.

The North and the South

The North (or Global North) is a term used to refer to the World's wealthy, industrialized countries located primarily in the Northern Hemisphere, and usually liberal democracies (Kegley and Blanton, 2013) and capitalist countries of Western Europe and North America. The Global South is a term now often used instead of "Third World" to designate the less developed countries located primarily in the Southern Hemisphere. According to the World Bank (2009:353), the Global South countries are home to 84 percent of the World's population, but the impoverished people living there only possess 25 percent of the World's Gross National Income. In other words, the terms, "Global North" and "Global South" are used to divide the world into two halves with the Global North meaning all countries North of the Equator in the Northern Hemisphere and the Global South being all of the countries south of the Equator in the Southern Hemisphere based on the underlying fact that most of developed countries are in the North and most of the developing, or underdeveloped countries are in the South (Karpilo, 2010). However, while risking the error of over-generalization as some countries in the Southern Hemisphere are substantially developed and liberalist, yet the terms seem to apply technically to the industrialist, democratic, capitalist and wealthy Western North Atlantic countries of North America and Europe; hence, the North has been seen to be a subsidiary of the Western system (Spero, 1977:122). On the other hand, the term "Global South" in the face of this contradiction tends to apply technically to the impoverished and underdeveloped countries of the South of the Equator, especially those in Africa, Asia and South America.

Relationship

Relationship according to Portier (2001) is defined as a quiproquo of mutual promises, independent of all flow or exchange, but rendering it potentially possible. In this case therefore, the concept relationship simply applies to the connection or involvement between the North and the South, and the way or the principles that guide their behaviour toward each other.

Case Study

A case study is a social science research methodology which involves an in-dept study about a person, small group, or situation (Wise GEEK, 2003). In other words, it is a process or record of research in which detailed consideration is given to the development of a particular matter over a period of time or a particular instance of something used or analyzed to illustrate a principle.

Development

The concept development means different things for different individuals, communities, and nations (Schuurman, 2009; Singhe, 2009), and much of the development literature is dedicated to defining and contesting what development means (Narman, 1997; White, 2006). However, in the context of this paper we seek to adopt Chris Sausman's three dimensional definition of development, which thus defined development: as a process in that it is a series of steps which leads or hope to lead to a particular outcome; as a strategy in that development is incorporated into plans and policies or road-maps which are to be operationalised; and as a phenomenon, being a consequence from the two (2) above (Sausman, 2011). Also, as Kegley and Blanton (2013:115) have put it, development is the process, economic and political (as well as social), through which a country develops its capacity to meet its citizens' basic human needs and raised their standard of living. Nevertheless, the usage of the concept in this paper typically applies more to the phenomenal dimension as a new stage in a changing situation (Oxford English Dictionary) or improvement either in the general situation or in some of the constituent elements of a society or a socio-economic system (Bellu, 2011).

Strategy

Another important concept in this paper which deserves some contextual clarification is strategy. Though it is more closely linked to hard-power or military discourse, the term 'strategy' is used in the context of this paper in its most general form as a method or plan to bring about a desired future, such as achievement of a goal or solution to a problem, or the very art or science of planning and marshalling resources for their most efficient and effective use (Business Dictionary). Development strategies therefore, involve such methods or plans designed to bring about a new stage of general improvement in the prevailing conditions in a society or socio-economic system.

Investment

Investment generally means the use of money in the hope of making more money or the purchase of a financial product or other items of value with an expectation of favourable future returns (InvestorWords, 2013). Also, in the word of Joan Robinson (cited in Okafor, 2010), by investment is meant an addition to capital, that is, making an addition to the stock of goods in existence, which leads to an increase in the level of income and production by increasing the production and purchase of capital goods. It is the production or acquisition of real capital assets during any period of time which include new plants and equipments, construction of public works, net foreign investment, inventories, and stock and shares of new companies (Okafor, 2010).

Policy

The last important concept that deserves this earlier clarification is policy. According to the National Council for Voluntary Organizations (2013) policy is a set of ideas and proposals for action, which culminates in a government decision. Closely related to this definition and very critical to the context of this paper is that policy is the basic principles by which a government is guided or the declared objectives that a government or policy seeks to achieve and preserve in the interest of national community (Business Dictionary). Therefore, investment policies are such principles and declared objectives of the government with regards to the purchase of financial production or capital in a country.

Theoretical Framework-Dependency Theory

This paper adopts the Dependency Theory as the guiding frame in its analysis of the impact of the unequal and dependent structural interaction between the wealthy and developed Global North and the impoverished, backward and underdeveloped Global South in the latter's formulation and designing of development road-maps as well as investment policies. This is because "knowledge must always be knowledge from a certain position", according to Karl Mannheim, based on his concept of "relationism" (cit. in, Berger and Luckemann, 1967)

Dependence is a situation in which the economy of certain countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy to which the former is bounded and subjected. In other words, the supposed relation of interdependence between two or more economics, assumes the form of dependency when some countries (the dominant ones) can expand and can be self-sustaining, while other countries (dependent ones) do this only as a reflection of that expansion, which can have either positive or negative effect on their immediate development (Dos Santos, 1971:226).

The Dependency Theory which has come to put in perspective this structural co-existence of dominance and dependence is fundamentally associated with the writings of critical scholars like Paul A. Bara (1952), Andre Gunder Frank (1966), Theotonio Don Santos (1971), Arghiri Emmanuel (1973), Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1977), Thomas Gold (1986), and a company of others which include both classical and neo-dependency scholars. However, just as the Modernization School views development from the angle of advanced capitalist states in Western Europe and North America, the Dependency School on the other hand, is said to examine or view development from the angle or perspective of the poor and underdeveloped countries of the South (So, 1990). Hence, Blomstrom and Hettne (1984) concluded that the dependency perspective represents "the voices from the periphery" to challenge the intellectual hegemony of the American Modernization School. Similarly, Todaro and Smith (2006:115) have argued on their part that the International-Dependence Models (Theory) gained increasing support among the developing-country intellectuals, as a result of the growing disenchantment with both the stages and structural-change models of development of the Modernization School.

The emergence of the dependency perspective (or theory) or the 'dependencia' as a Latin American development philosophy has been traced to two major concurrent events in the early 1960s, which include: the bankruptcy of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (UN-ECLA) which itself had laid the foundation stones, when it was designed in the late 1950s under the guidance of its Director, Raul Prebisch and his colleagues, who were troubled by the fact that economic growth in the advanced industrialized countries did not necessarily lead to growth in the poorer countries, and that in fact, economic activity in the richer countries often led to serious economic problem in the poorer countries against the proposition of the neo-classical modernization school, which had advocated the principle of international division of labour where the South produce food and raw materials for the great industrial centres in the North in exchange for finished industrial good from these centres (Ferraro, 2008; So, 1990). Also, it has been said that the growth of the Dependency School among the developing countries in the South, especially in Latin America, was a response to the crisis of orthodox Marxism in the Latin America which had postulated that the countries in this area would necessary had to go through the state of "bourgeois" industrial revolution before they would wage any "proletarian" socialist revolution, following the Chinese Revolution of 1949 and the Cuban Revolution in the late 1950s without any fore-running bourgeois revolution as expected (So, 1990).

However, ever since several variants of dependency theory had emerged. The three major of which according to Todaro and Smith (2006) are:

1. The Neocolonial Dependence Model,
2. The False-Paradigm Model, and
3. The Dualistic-Development Thesis.

Nevertheless, there are core propositions which seem to underlie the analysis of most dependency theorists. Fundamental among these is the view that developing countries are beset by institutional, political and economic rigidities, which are both domestic and international and also caught up in a dependence and dominance relationship with rich countries.

Therefore, dependency theory has been thus defined as an explanation of the economic development of a state in terms of the external influence – political, economic, and cultural-on national development policies (Sunkel, 1969:23). The

definition offered by Don Santos (1971) which has been alluded to earlier, that dependency is "...an historical condition which shapes a certain structure of the world economy such that it favours some countries to the detriment of others and limits the development possibilities of the subordinate economics... a situation in which the economy of a certain group of countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economic which their own is subjected", clearly set out the underlying principles or characteristics of the dependency theory, which Ferraro (2008) has summed up in three terms based on the: popular definitions thus given by scholars like Don Santos and Sunkel. These include:

1. Dependency Theory characterizes the international systems as comprised of two (2) sets of states, variously described as dominant/dependent, centre/periphery or metropolitan/satellite, that is, the Dualistic-Development Thesis of the co-existence of the rich and poor states in the international economic system as has been alluded to with reference to Todaro and Smith (2006).
2. Dependency theorists also have as an underlying idea in their assumption that external forces are of singular importance to the economic activities within the dependent states and these external forces include: Multinational corporations, international commodity markets, foreign assistance, communications, and every other possible means through which the advanced industrialized countries can represent their economic interest abroad, and which tend to facilitate and fulfill their domineering role in the global economic structure.
3. Another very critical feature of the dependency paradigm is that the relations between the dominant and dependent states are often dynamic because the interactions between the two sets of states tend not to only reinforce themselves, but also intensify the unequal patterns (Ferraro, 2008). However, this Neo-Maxist concept of "unequal exchange" as advanced by Arghiri Emmanuel, Samir Amin and Ernst Mande (Weaker and Berger, 1984:49)) is based on the assumption that, in as much the relationship between the developed and the underdeveloped parts of the world are concerned, structures of asymmetrical domination by the centre of the world system over the periphery (Amin, 1977:104) is an historical and an ongoing process. This was explicitly expressed by Sussarine Bodenheimer when she argued that "Latin America is today, and has been since the sixteenth century, part of an international system dominated by the now-developed nations... Latin underdevelopment is the outcome of a particular series of relationships to the international system" (Bodenheimer, 1971:157). This point could not had been better expressed than the way Andre Gunder Frank had rendered it when

he contended that contemporary underdevelopment is in large part the historical product of past and continuing economic and other relations between the satellite underdeveloped and now developed metropolitan countries (Frank, 1984:99-100). He further contended that underdevelopment was and still is generated by the very same historical process which also generated economic development: the development of capitalism itself (Frank, 1984:103).

Therefore, it is on the basis of this domination-dependence relationship which in actuality has characterized development programmes or strategies in the Global South which are usually interwoven with the Global North due to the adjustment or orientation of production in the periphery to the needs of the centre, that dependency theorists or “dependentistas” had seen and argued that the development in the centre of the world capitalist system (the industrialized countries or the core) and underdevelopment in the periphery (less developed, or backward countries, also called satellite), are two sides of the same coin (Weaver and Berger, 1984). Hence, this paper has undertaken to survey such programmes and policies from the point of view of the “dependentistas” adopting the Dualist Development Thesis based on the afore-stated Spero’s categorization

The Emergence of the North-South System and its Nature

The evolution of a system of domination by few wealthy and industrialized states in the Northern Hemisphere over many poor and backward states in the Southern Hemisphere which have been hamstrung into a more permanent position of dependency in relations with the former, has been traced by scholars to the very foundation of Capitalism (Frank, 1984), which came to replace Feudalism following the growth of long-distance trade and the breakup of feudal relations (Amin, 1976:36). The growth of capitalism in the North was necessitated by the need for change in the social structure so that the change-oriented middle class could become the leaders of society (Wilber and Jameson, 1984:15). Moreover, capitalism is both the cause and the consequence of capital accumulation. Hence, Dillard (1984) has strongly argued that the productive usage of the social or economic surplus or accumulation, which was in itself a product of long-distance trade, was the special virtue that enabled capitalism to outstrip all prior economic systems. However, though accumulation without external expansion of the system would have been theoretically possible if real wages had increased in the North,

but the failure of the wages to increase at the necessary rate led to a steady expansion of the capitalist system, while conferring certain complementary functions on the periphery (Amin, 1976:76).

Therefore, many analysts have traced the roots of today's inequalities between the states in the Global North and South to this integration of the one-sided complementary linking of the North and the South by the wealthy and developed states of the former in order to meet both the economic and social needs of the more developed countries of the North, with the South only performing the duty assigned to it in fulfillment of this strategic aim. Amin (1976) has also gone ahead to argue that, even when the wages eventually increased at the centre, at a faster rate in the 19th Century, capitalist expansionism has rather assumed new forms, colonial imperialism and export of capital, instead of disappearing, while the periphery has also been given new function to perform, especially in providing conducive environment for the incubation and proper management of surplus accumulation of the North, which tended to have penetrated every sphere of the periphery. Therefore, Frank (1984) has posited that the [weak] economic, political, social, and cultural institutions and relations which are observable in the underdeveloped countries are the products of historical development of the capitalist system.

Nevertheless, it is with regard to the aforesaid that Kegley and Blanton (2013) have held that the origins and persistence of the inequalities of states stems in part (though majorly) from the fact that today modern global system was initially and remains, a socially constructed reality by, if not for the most powerful and industrialized states of the North. Hence, a more genuine beginning for an inquiry into these inequalities of domination- dependency, rich - poor, centre - satellite/periphery, e.t.c., must necessarily take as its initial port of call, the making or the construction of the system and the evolution of the system through its several stages. So, the emergence of the Western system with established rules mainly designed in favour of the major powers and without any attempt to prevent victimization, and its evolution through several phases to integrate other parts of the world to the extent that it is safe and preserved, is critical to the understanding of the North-South relations and the former's developmental efforts, in the latter. Hence, many analysts see the history of colonialism, the European conquest of indigenous people and the seizure of their territory for exclusively European gain as the root of the problem of global inequalities and unequal exchange, since almost all of the independent sovereign states in the Southern Hemisphere were at

one time or another dominated or colonized. They have thus drawn the conclusion most often that today's global inequalities are a product of the colonial past which had began with the scientific innovation of the steam engine with the consequential exploration of the "unknown world", through the classical imperialism of mercantilism from the 16th Century and actual European imperialism from the 19th Century which continues to subsist now in neo-colonialism. However, as Frederick Cooper has observed with regard to African states, colonial states were mainly gate - keeper states with weak instruments for entering into the social and cultural realm over which they presided, but only stood astride the intersection of the colonial territory and the outside world (Cooper, 2002:5) dominated by few industrialized and wealthy states in the North.

Characteristics of the North – South Relationship

The North-South system is somewhat unique compare to other systems like the Western and East-West because of certain features, amongst which are:

- I. The system is naturally dependent as the South has been regularly excluded from the formal and informal processes of system management.
- II. The relations are controlled by the North as a subsidiary of the Western system.
- III. There is variation of views between the North and the South about the system; hence, whilst the North perceives it as legitimate, the South oftensees the structure as illegitimate and as an imperialistic imposition.
- IV. Similarly, the system also lacks perception of common interest (Spero, 1977:121).

The developed market economics of the North feels that though perhaps the system is not perfect, it is legitimate because it benefits them and they have significant decision-making authority. But for the underdeveloped and backward economies of the South, both the Western and the North-South systems are illegitimate because they have not enjoyed a large enough share of the economic rewards and that the system has not adequately promoted their development nor their interests properly represented in these international regimes (Spero and Hart, 1997:149).

Nevertheless, one of the major issues in the North-South system as already alluded to is the difference in ideologies of the two spheres in managing the

system as well as facilitating mutual benefits especially in promoting economic advancement or development in the South, in the bid to close the socio-economic gap between them. However, the prevalent of the Northern liberal philosophy in the development agenda of the South regardless of the growing gap between the two spheres, is the basis for the analysis of the Nigeria development strategies and all such efforts committed to promoting investments in the country. It is therefore, instructive to state here that the creation of what Chase-Dunn (1998) called “an *intersocietal stratification system*” or global intersocietal hierarchy which evolved out of the rise of European societies to lord it over the rest of the world which continues despite decolonization, has created a framework of complementary but dependent relationship with the Global South which have become manifest in the development programmes and strategies, whose structural designs and aims are usually the product and to the taste of the North. To this extent, it has been argued that this polarization of the global system in an hegemonic and hierarchical manner into the “haves and the have not” – the rich and poor, the developed and the underdeveloped- originated from the system of international division of labour by the industrialized and developed countries several centuries ago, and it is based on capitalist production, division of labour and market (Jun, 1998).

Nevertheless, Hurrell and Seugupta (2012) have argued that the concepts of “North” and “South” have lost their usages in the light of the emerging powers in the South which have tended to challenge the position of the industrialized states of the North in the global order, especially in the age of globalization. However, the internationalization of production, liberalization and progress of market economic system which serve as pillars of economic globalization (Jun, 1998), could be contended to be the advance form of capitalist ideals which had earlier brought about the polarization of the world order between the North and South, where the latter exist as the appendage of the former, especially in economic terms. Meanwhile, the undeniable fact is that, the geographical sense in which the concepts are applied, which though remains relevant, has tended to subordinate to the more subtle connotation of economic dominance which seems to be spreading from the North, even to some Southern states as in the BRICS states of Brazil, Russia, Indian, China and South Africa, in the recent past.

However, following their continuous marginalization in the global economic system by the reason of it’s hierarchical, hegemonic and dominance-dependence structure, the underdeveloped countries in the South have initiated and adopted several programmes and policies which were aimed at changing their dependent

role in the international economic relations and facilitate their development, thereby closing the socio-economic gap between the two spheres. According to Spero and Hart (1997:151), the Southern strategies have been of three main types.

These include:

- I. Attempts to delink themselves from some aspects of the international economic system which is a more nationalistic approach;
- II. Attempts to change the economic order itself which is reformatory as in the launching of the North-South Dialogue which sought to engender a New International Economic Order (NIEO) in the early 1970s (Jun, 1998); and
- III. The initiation policies designed to maximize the benefits from integration into the prevailing system.

It could be said therefore, that the development strategies and such economic growth policies in the South have been designed and conducted in response to this global order, as they sought to address themselves to the central question of whether it is possible to achieve growth and development within the prevailing international economic system and obtain financial capital for development (Spero and Hart, 1997).

Investment Policies and Development Strategies in Nigeria Vis-À-Vis the North-South System

Having critically examined the North-South system, its history, nature and condition, we can now take a look at the Nigeria environment and how her investment policies and overall development strategies tend to mirror these prevailing conditions of the dominance-dependent global economic order established and sustained by the industrialized capitalist countries of the North. Meanwhile, it is important to note that the paper adopts a general approach to investment policies and development strategies because the strategic objective of the former is the latter, that is, the former is inherent in the latter. Meanwhile, the underlying thesis of this paper is on the fact that

The pride of any government and the primary object of any state is the attainment of higher value level of development in such a way that its citizens would derive basic quality socio-economic and political satisfaction, and natural attachment to the state or the government. However, the widening gap between the developed

and the developing countries coupled with mounting problems of urban population, rural stagnation, unemployment and growing inequalities have become very precarious in the less developed countries in the world over, as hopes of accelerated development have become more and more very difficult to realize (Lawal and Oluwatoyin, 2011: 237). In Nigeria, this gloomy situation which is manifest in the prevalence of poverty, unemployment, starvation, illiteracy, poor infrastructures, and most importantly, corruption coupled with the failure or the nonexistence of a meaningful, purposeful and target oriented development agenda backed up with the desired political will and discipline in spite of huge human, material and resources, has tended to raise more questions than answers, and has placed the country at the spotlight of development discourse.

An Overview of the Nigerian Economy

A quick glance at the structures, directions, and performance of the Nigerian economy will reveal its precarious nature notwithstanding its position as the third largest economy on the continent after South Africa and Egypt (Luqman and Lawal, 2011). However, the Nigerian economy according to Ekpo and Umoh (2013) has had a truncated history in the structural configuration of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) which had witnessed shifting dominant position among the main sectors of agriculture, industry and services, as well as crude petroleum. According to the Central Bank of Nigeria (2000, 2002), the Nigerian economy has been a theatre of endless changes in its structural formation while maintaining a singular pattern of a mono-cultural economy in terms of its income.

Before the oil boom of 1970s Agriculture was the dominant sector of the economy, contributing about 70% of the GDP, employing about the same percentage of the working population, and accounting for about 90% of Foreign Exchange and Federal Government Revenue. (Adedipe, 2004). Hence, it has been contended that agriculture was the main-stay of the Nigerian economy in terms of revenue generation, employment and supply of raw materials for industrial production with two-thirds input in all of these (Obadan, 1998). Meanwhile, despite the increasing relevance of the industrial sector in the GDP consequent upon the Industrialization Policy of the government in the later years of the 1960s, which had increased from 4.8% to 8.2% between 1960 and 1970, the dominant strategic position of the agricultural sector especially with regard to revenue and foreign exchange earnings only came to be challenged by crude oil which since

early 1970s, following the oil boom has culminated in the continuous relegation and dwindling of the relevance of the agricultural sector (Edo, 2001, Adedipe, 2004) thereby assuming in ever-growing trend, the bed-rock of the Nigerian economy except in the area of employment where agriculture still holds sway. Hence, Ajayi (1996) has posited that the 1970s represent an important turning point in the economic development of Nigeria with a dramatic change in the main source of growth from agriculture to crude petroleum. Available statistics however shows that crude petroleum which only contributed 0.3% to the GDP in 1960, increased its contribution to 7.1% in 1970, 22.0 in 1980, and 47.5 by 2000 (CBN, 2004). A review of other indices revealed that, the percentage of oil in the total Federal Government revenue between 1990 and 1999 alternated between the average of 75% and 85% except in those low years of 1995 and 1998 which were more to domestic political challenges than a deliberate policy impact. Also, the trend continued in 2000 down to 2011 with 2006 creating a record of 87.9%, and slowed down to 65.9% in 2009 due to the global economic crisis (CBN, 2010), from which it has continued to gather momentum as shown in 2010 and 2011 figures of 73.9% and 79.9% respectively (CBN, 2012). The Third Quarter Report of 2012 seemed to be approaching that 70% baseline as already set in mid-1970s. Similarly, from 1990 to 2009, oil contribution to the Nigerian domestic export had maintained an average of 97% reaching an all-time high of 99.0% in 2008 (CBN, 2010), thereby suggesting that all other sectors like agriculture, manufacturing and solid minerals, combined could only contribute one (1) % to the Nigerian earnings from export. The sector accounts for above 90 percent of total exports, 95 percent of foreign exchange earnings and about 80 percent of budgetary revenues. In 2011, the petroleum sector accounted for 79 percent of federal revenues and 71 percent of export revenue. The sector's contribution to GDP was 14.7 percent in 2011 and 12.9 percent in the second quarter of 2013 (African Development Bank, 2013).

Nevertheless, the point that must be made in this reflection on the Nigerian economy is the overbearing dependence on a single or couple of commodity-based economic activities, whether on agriculture at independence or on oil in succeeding period up to the present times in line with the classical capitalist or liberalist Richardian Comparative Advantage and colonial dependent economic structure which tend to have super-imposed itself in the economic development programmes, plans and strategies of the underdeveloped countries even in the face of diversification and industrialization policies. This skewed and lopsided

economic structure which provides foundation for most economic in the South and manifest or driven by heavy dependence on local agricultural production and primary product exports (Todaro and smith, 2006) seems to also provide basis for various policy rhetorics which has characterized Nigerian economic development plans which always express the desire for a balanced and multi-dimensional approach to development while perpetuating the existing structure of mono-cultural economy on the weak excuse of capital accumulation from oil for other sectors as a result of political inertia, official corruption and leadership indiscipline. Hence, in spite of all the investment-driven policies and economic advancement programmes which have been designed and experimented in Nigeria, the dependent and vulnerable primary sector of agriculture and mining including crude oil production continues to serve as the unrivalled and dominant sector or the very life-wire of the Nigerian economy.

However, consequently upon this background of high dependence on primary sector, was the Nigerian economic crisis which erupted in the early 1980s following the devastating shock from the global economic recession, declining world commodity prices (especially the collapse of crude oil prices, the boost of which had earlier marked a structural change in the preceding decade), increased protectionism by developed economies in the North, and declining capital inflows (Obadan and Uga, 1996) in the form of aid, grants and loans, which coexisted with increased oil revenue receipts. The consequences of this situation were large fiscal defaults, huge external current account deficits, and rapid depletion of foreign exchange reserves (Iyoha, 1992). Also, it gave rise to a gamut of socio-economic and political problems which have continued to pervade and prevail over the Nigerian national life or polity. Some of these problems include recession, galloping inflation, rising (and unprecedented) unemployment, backlog of abandoned projects, factory closures acute, shortage of essential commodities, and high external debt (Obadan and Edo, 2010).

It was therefore in response to these prevailing conditions since early 1980s that Nigeria has tended to show its greatest commitment to development, especially in quick and fast policy frameworks yet no clear difference seems exist between this period and that before it, as the Nigerian economy like many southern economies remained inextricably tied and dependent. Worst still was the increasing and gradual handing- over of the reins of economic development planning to external financial agencies and international bi-lateral and multilateral arrangements dominated by the Northern industrialized countries which have since assumed the

duties of the so-called ‘development partners and financiers’ in the country, while clandestinely perpetuating the dominant –dependent agenda of the developed capitalist Global North. The simple reason for this was the increasing reliance on the vulnerable primary sector of agriculture and later, crude oil production whose markets were located mostly in the north and foreign and grants and loans from the developed countries as the primary sources of mobilizing finance for executing development plans.

Economic Development Strategies in Nigeria

Nigeria like most Southern countries is permanently hunted by the specter of development, as her political history since independence has been most renowned for search for development, albeit the sincerity of purpose and commitment, through incremental strategies, programmes and plans, such that the myth of growth and development is so entrenched that the country’s history passes for the history of development strategies and growth models from colonial times to date (Lawal and Oluwatoyin, 2011). Hence, Aremu (2003) had argued that, Nigeria seems the only country where virtually all notions and models of development have been experimented, yet with virtually little or no success. However, the process of development in Nigeria and other developing countries cannot be analyzed realistically without also considering the role of economically developed nations in directly or indirectly promoting or retarding it (Todaro and Smith, 2006:6)

An overview of the Nigerian development history will reveal that since her colonial days in the 1940s to the present time, Nigeria has adopted the practice of development planning and several economic reform strategies, which justifiably were borne out of good intent, hence, their decorated ideas, but not without the realistic super-imposition of dependency which had resulted to little or no progress in the economic advancement of the country. Although the history of Fixed Medium-Term Plans or National Development Plans began in 1946 with the colonial Ten-Year Plan of Development and Welfare (1946-1956) for Nigeria, but what was eventually christened as the First National Development Plan only came to be in 1962. The main objectives of the Plan included:

1. to increase growth rate by 4 percent per annum,
2. to increase growth rate of per capital consumption of 1 percent,

3. provision of more opportunities in education, health, and employment and improving access to these opportunities, and
4. to provide self-sustaining future growth (Obadan and Edo, 2010: 18; Lawal and Oluwatoyin, 2011).

The Second National Development Plan (1970-1974) was designed purposefully to reconstruct the war torn economy and to promote social and economic development. The Plan which prioritized agriculture, industry, transport, manpower, defence, electricity, communication and water supply and provision of social services (Ogwumike, 1995), was aimed at achieving the following broad objectives:

1. High overall growth rate,
2. Rapid increase in food or agricultural production,
3. Considerable reduction of unemployment,
4. Significant diversification of the economy, and
5. Equitable distribution of income (Obadan and Edo, 2010).

This was followed by the Third National Development Plan (1975-1980) whose primary thrust were to engage rural development and revamp agricultural sector while maintaining and improving on the perceived good performance of the Second Plan.

However, in 1981 the Fourth National Development Plan (1981-1985) was launched with the aim of improving the living conditions of the people by laying a solid foundation for long-term economic and social development of the country with emphasis on greater reliance on internal resources, development of technology and promotion of new national orientation, so as to instill discipline and better attitude to work (Obadan and Edo, 2010). The specific objectives of the Plan according to Ogwumike (1995) were:

1. To increase the real income of the average citizens,
2. Promote even distribution of income among individuals and socio-economic groups,
3. Increase dependence on the countries material and human resources, and
4. Achieve reduction in the level of unemployment and underemployment.

Meanwhile, following the downturn of prices of primary goods in the world market including crude oil, which resulted to oil glut as well as the general international economic crisis of the early 1980s with its debilitating impact on the

Nigerian economy, the Fixed Medium-Term Plan development strategy was abandoned as several national economic survival measures were adopted including the Economic Stabilization Act of April 1982 (Obadan and Ogiogio, 1992) to salvage the nation's economy from the brink of economic collapse which had become imminent, rather than attempt to advance it through development plans. Consequent upon this was the increasing external influence through strategic but dependent engagement with multilateral agencies, controlled by the North, in the bid to transform and restructure the Nigerian economy and development strategies. The product of this new initiative was the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) which was a short-term development restructuring framework or agenda in 1986 under the tutelage of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF).

According to Obadan (1996), the introduction of SAP was the most revolutionary approach to solving Nigeria's long-standing economic problems and the most controversial economic governance framework ever instituted in the country as it sought to break away from the long-standing public sector-led development strategy to perfecting the liberal capitalist private sector-led development programme. Its two (2) major objectives were:

- I. The restructuring of aggregate domestic expenditure and production patterns, and
- II. Diversification of production which were to be achieved through several measures like exchange rate deregulation, liberalization, privatization and commercialization, reduction of subsidies staff rationalization, in the public sector, e.t.c. (Obadan and Edo, 2010). Nevertheless, SAP which was in-that-to designed as a short-term strategy to run its course till mid-1988, continued to run till it was abandoned in 1994 as a policy framework, while its strategy and development philosophy has remained pertinent and influential on Nigerian development thinking and agenda subsequently.

SAP like many other economic development programmes before it, failed and a new brand of national development plan was introduced in the early 1990s as the National Rolling Plan which was a flexible economic governance framework compared to the previous fixed medium plans adopted since 1946. Its general objectives were to consolidate on the achievements made in the implementation of SAP (If any) as well as address the pressing problems of the

economy. Notwithstanding, after about twelve Rolling Plans in 2003, the impact of the Plans was barely visible.

Meanwhile, having experimented with both medium and short-term strategies, fixed and flexible, development plans, Nigeria began to develop long-term perspective plans. This was however expressed in the 1997's avowed Vision 2010 which was later abandoned in 1999 with the return to civil rule, and in 2004 was replaced with the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS) (2003-2007), Creation of Development Centres, Seven Points Agenda of the Late President Yardua and Vision 20-2020 which sought to make Nigeria one of the top twenty economies in the world by 2020.

In spite of these series of development strategies and plans put in place by successive governments, and with good intention or sincere wishes, yet all attempts to generate meaningful economic development had proved futile, as Nigeria continues to wallow in economic adversity where development still seems remote as it was at independence. Several reasons have been canvassed as being responsible for this problem considering the co-existence of huge human and natural resources with economic underdevelopment. The reasons advanced include: lack of executive capacity to plan and execute development strategies, lack of consultation with the public, lack of good governance, and high level of official corruption and indiscipline (Lawal and Oluwatoyin, 2011). However, the consistency of this problem since independence regardless of the government, civil or military, tends to leave us with one possible explanation that Nigerian economy like many underdeveloped economies has maintained a particular pattern of development thinking or strategies as rooted in her incorporation into the free market capitalist and colonial economies of the industrialized countries of the global North.

Impact of the North-South System on Nigerian Development Plans

In spite of the several lofty and perceived beautifully idealized development programmes and strategies spanning over half a century, the development situation in Nigeria had only experienced insignificant changes (Jack, et al., 2016). With a population of about 200 million people, the United Nations Development Programme recent Human Development Index Report ranked Nigeria 152 out of 187 countries with a Human Development Index value of 0.514 (UNDP, 2015). Nigeria ranked at number 9 in the list of 42 countries with the least human

development in the world with Nepal, Pakistan and Kenya coming as the first three and Central African Republic, Congo, and Niger as the last three. This shows that the country is struggling with low human development with a huge disparity between economic growth and social welfare. The prevailing underdevelopment in the third world generally and Nigeria specifically, have been historically linked to inherent colonially imposed dependent economic structure within the third world states. This entails the historical fusion of the third world economy to the global capitalist economy and the subsequent dependence on the Western economies (Stokes & Anderson, 1990; Ake, 2002). The manifestations of this dependent and forced alliance between the developed capitalist North and the underdeveloped South in the development programmes and plans in Nigeria are as follow:

The most intrinsic element and a very influential force in all the development programmes, plans, and strategies adopted in Nigeria since independence is the reliance on external forces in the form of development partners/agencies from the North and bi-lateral/multi-lateral institutions owned and control by the developed capitalist states in the North for development initiatives and financing. The consequences of this have manifest in the adoption and implementation of non-functional development programmes with little or no bearing with the Nigerian unique socio-cultural and political environment coupled with the embedded interest of the North to safeguard its place in the global economic order; hence, their failure.

Moreover, the ensuing debt crisis which have destabilized many developing economies, including Nigeria or better still mortgaged the development of most states in the South which in itself was a product of development financing tends to represent the greatest influence of the North on the development of the South. Spero and Hart (1996) have argued that the effort of the South to obtain financial capital for development is a central theme in North - South relations. The continuous reliance on foreign loans, grants, and aids from the North to finance development programmes in Nigeria which has been the norm since the First Development Plan in 1962, but climaxed in 1986 following the adoption of SAP and continuing in the contemporaneous implementation of the NEEDS programme vis-à-vis the limited success in achieving set out objectives of these programmes is a clear evidence of enduring systemic mechanism that perpetuate some global economic order.

According to Thomas and Canagarajah (2002), the Nigerian economy is a dual economy with a modern segment dependent on oil since the early 1970s, overlaid by a traditional agricultural and trading economy. Development strategies in Nigeria since independence have been designed to blend and explore this dual structure, so as to engender and achieve economic development or modernization through a gradual process of industrialization in the wake of import substitution industrialization strategy and other development initiatives. However, following the failure of public sector-led development strategy due to inadequate resources for long-term development, a public and private sectors-led strategy has been adopted with heavy dependence on investment promotion and such drives to mobilize resources domestically and international, especially Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) which has assumed a prominent place in the strategies of economic revival and growth as advocated by policy makers at the national, regional and international levels, because it is considered to be the key to bridging the technology and resource gap between developed and underdeveloped countries and avoiding further build-up of debt (Dutse, 2008; UNCTAD,2003). Meanwhile, this new initiative of public-private partnership for development was borne out of the failed experience with a sole private sector-led development strategy which was enshrined in the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in the 1980s (Obadan and Edo, 2010). In recent times, this framework has tended to emphasize private sector-led growth strategy, while the role of the government or public sector shifts from owner of production enterprises to that of policy maker and regulator. The role of the public sector has been further streamlined to include: encouraging private sector development, especially FDIs, by providing an enabling environment that would increase microeconomic stability, elimination of barriers to market forces, security of lives and property, and provide efficient infrastructure (Obadan, 1997).

Despite the so-called dual structural classification of the Nigerian economy into modern and traditional, development through industrialization has remained the greatest challenge facing the country. At the heart of this problem is the transcending dependencia orientation which runs through the traditional to the modern, which had been systematically built into the economies, or better still, development consciousness of the underdeveloped countries, including Nigeria. This orientation which is rooted in the gradual and systematic incorporation of the underdeveloped economies in the South into the established and developed economies of the North which was eventually consolidated by colonialism and perpetuated by Neo-colonialism, with the former serving as the appendage to the

latter, has remained defacto and survived the different economic development models and programmes in Nigeria. Prima facie, this awkward orientation is basically expressed in the sole dependence on one major means of capital accumulation to the virtual neglect of others, an orientation that has also been replicated in the kind of international support sought and contact made. The overbearing dependence on crude oil with a failed expectation of re-investment of the huge revenue accruing from it in the development of other sectors, in the present time, is typical of the status of agriculture and solid minerals in the recent past, in consonance with the liberalist perspective of Comparative Advantage. Hence, this idea of mono-culturalism which naturally cannot withstand the multidimensional requirement of development, is the greatest legacy and impact of the capitalist industrialized North on the South, as economic policies and strategies are carefully guided through several channels including multilateral agencies like the World Bank and IMF as well as other so-called development partners through development lending which are usually laden with conditions (Ismi, 2004), designed to perpetuate this state of affairs.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it would be instructive to note from the foregoing that Nigeria has since 1946 began experimenting with development strategies, even with the best practices that had worked successfully for emerging economies in the world, including Long, Medium, and Short Fixed Term Plans and Programmes, yet the economy and developmental fortune of the people remain grossly low. Whilst several fundamental reasons have been advanced including corruption, leadership failure, and national question, yet the albatross of dependency has maintained or stayed a firm grab on her economic planning and strategies to defile them, regardless of how lofty those ideas have been. The most critical and obvious manifestation of this fact is the idea of development financing with its consequential impact on the development plans and their implementation. The reason for this is quite obvious, since developing countries short of their own funds, traditionally turned to the capital surplus countries for private funds in the form of loans and the purchase of bonds to finance infrastructure and productive facilities (Spero and Hart, 1996: 167), as well as unending hunt for Foreign Direct investment (FDI).

Policy Recommendations

Following from the above discourse and the prevailing underdevelopment in Nigeria, the following recommendations are hereby canvassed.

1. Nigerian leaders must recognize and appreciate development as a process that is environmentally sensitive and cannot be imported. Therefore whatever strategy copied from other part(s) of the globe including those canvassed by the multilateral and development partners must be situated within the Nigerian socio-cultural and political environment.
2. There must be a clear understanding of the inequalities inherent in the global economic system which continue to inhibit the best desire for economic development in the South. So, leaders of the underdeveloped countries must make concerted effort to overcome these inequalities realistically.
3. The culture of dependency which now determines the mobilization of resources for development and development programmes and strategies in the South, Nigeria specifically must be addressed through proper orientation and the understanding that development is by nature multidimensional; and as such are the strategies and plans including mobilization of resources to achieve it.
4. Nigeria must seek ways to leverage on the emerging South-South global partnership, as evident by the BRICS bloc in the wake of China's charge to global economic leadership, where she hoped to be treated as a more equal partner since most of the countries have similar socio-cultural and political history is also recommended. However, this new relationship must be approached with caution and based on the experience learnt from the former, as international political economic relations is a game of interest and influence of the parties involved.

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A Review of the Law on Termination of Employment in Master and Servant Relationship in Nigeria¹.

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Introduction

The law on master and servant relationship (otherwise known as employer and employee relationship) is very clear because the contract of employment and statute determine it². The law is based on the principles of contract of service where the master or employer controls the nature of services that the servant or employee renders³. Presently in Nigeria, this law is the law that regulates the contract of employment as employment under this law creates the master and servant relationship (or employer and employee relationship)⁴. Over the years, the courts, have stated and restated the laws over many times⁵. For the avoidance of doubt, the writer shall restate the law briefly in this article⁶. The writer shall also state the steps that can be taken to get contentious matters (such as the claim of wrongful termination of employment by a worker) struck out preliminarily (by the court) without having to go through the complications of lengthy legal proceedings. The problem that this article will consider concerns the manner by which the cases on termination of employment are handled by the courts and also how lawyers present them to the court. The law of employment matters in Nigeria, or labour law, has settled rules that have become so trite that it ought not to be a subject of contest in court in the sense that counsels to either the plaintiff

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² Vince V National Dock Labor Board (1956) 1 ALL ER 1

³ Rigby V Connon(1884) 14 Ch D 482

⁴ Olaniyan V University of Lagos (1985) 2 NWLR (PT 9) 599

⁵ Gbenga, O. Legal Redress for Unlawful Termination of Employment: It is Time to Call a spade a spade. In, Labour Law Review, a Nigerian Journal of Labour Law and Industrial Relations. Vol. 5 No. 4, Hybrid Consult Press. Lagos, Nigeria. December 2011, P-1.

⁶Op. cit.

or defendants could advise their clients properly without litigation. But the manner by which counsels present their case on wrongful termination of employment in courts often amounts to abuse of court process⁷. Cases without any *prima facie* cause of action are instituted in the High Court and continue on appeal to the Supreme Court⁸. The Supreme Court had made several remarks on the conduct of lawyers in handling employment matter cases to the effect that the court shows its displeasure on how the process of court has been abused by lawyers⁹. Therefore, this article aims at reviewing the law on termination of employment and reviewing how the courts has treated such cases with a view to restate the position of the law for the benefit of legal practitioners that may wish to handle briefs and cases on termination of employment.

The Law on Contract of Employment

The contract of service is the legal basis upon which the servant or employee must base his case, in the event that he feels his employment has been wrongfully terminated. As opposed to a contract for service, a contract of service is a kind of contract that creates a duty of obedience on the servant or employee. This means that the employee must obey all lawful orders of the employer on how to render the service. In this regards, the employee has little discretion on how to serve his employee. Each time an employee disobeys the lawful orders of his employer; the employer may hold the employee for misconduct and treat the disobedience as an act breach of contract. The employer may summarily dismiss the employee and the law allows him to do it. On the other hand, where an employee feels that a purported termination of his employment is wrong, he may ask the court to intervene and judge the termination accordingly. But there are some conditions the employee must fulfill if he is to succeed in his action or suit against a wrongful termination of employment. He succeeds or fails upon the terms of the contract of employment. In effect, where the contract of employment has been reduced into writing, the courts as well as the parties are bound by these terms¹⁰. The court generally has no duty to look outside the terms stipulated and agreed therein by the parties to the contract in determining the respective right and

⁷Ibama V Shell Petroleum Development Company of Nigeria Limited (2005) 10 SC 62.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Western Nigeria Development Corporation V Abimbola (2006) 4 NSCC 172

obligations of the parties in case of dispute on the contract. However, there are situations where the written terms or express terms of the contract may be insufficient to permit for adequate performance of the contract by either or both parties. In this case, the court may imply terms into the contract. This may occur where a statute allows or requires it, or where it is necessary to imply it or where trade customs recognize it.

Nonetheless, in the case of **Western Nigeria Development Corporation V Abimbola**¹¹. The Supreme Court held that the provisions of a written contract of service bind the parties thereto and it was outside the province of the court to look elsewhere for the terms of termination of the contract.

The position of the law is that a master or an employer can terminate the employment of an employee for good, for bad or for no reason at all. The master or employer is not bound in law to give reason(s) for terminating the employment of a servant or an employee¹². In **Olaniyan V University of Lagos**¹³ *Oputa*JSC observed that:

The law regarding master and servant is not in doubt. There is also no doubt that the contract of master and servant is subject to both statutory law and the common law Rules. By and large, the master can terminate the contract with his servant at any time and for any reason or for no reason at all.

The contract of service creates the master and servant relationship which oblige the servant to obey the master. While in modern times, the terms-master and servant- are not commonly used to refer to an employer and employee relationship, the terms nonetheless describe how the relationship legally exist. This means, under a contract of service, the employer is the master while the employee is the servant. The employer controls the employee and employee obeys the employer. The employer may dismiss the employee at will, any time. But should the employer dismiss the employee in a wrong manner, he may be liable in damages as we shall discuss below.

Declaring a Purported Termination of a Contract of Service Null and Void

In ordinary master and servant relationship, determination of the employment of the servant by the master whether by way of termination or dismissal cannot be

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Vince V National Dock Labor Board (1956) 1 ALL ER 1

¹³Op.cit.

declared null and void and of no effect¹⁴. It can only be wrongful, when there is no compliance with the terms of the contract governing the employment¹⁵. The Supreme Court stated this clearly in **UBN V Ogboh**¹⁶

Employment with statutory backing must be terminated in the way and manner prescribed by the relevant statute and any other manner of termination inconsistent therewith is null and void and of no effect. But in other cases governed by only agreement of the parties and not by statute, removal by way of termination appointment or dismissal will be in the form agreed to. Any other form connotes only wrongful termination or dismissal but not to declare such dismissal null and void.

The effect of this is that any claim or relief that the termination or dismissal of the employment of the plaintiff is null and void or of no effect has no legal basis and therefore an abuse of the processes of the court, which the court should strike out preliminarily¹⁷.

This simply means that a lawyer cannot ask the court to declare as null and void, a termination of employment of service by an employer because the employer failed to adhere to the terms of the contract. This law is settled¹⁸.

An Order for Specific Performance (re-instatement) in Master and Servant relationship

The common law principle which has been rightly followed in many decisions in Nigeria is that the courts will not grant specific performance in respect of contract of personal service or a declaration that a contract still subsists. In the case of **Vince V National Dock Labor Board**¹⁹, Viscount Kilmur expressed the common law position that: "...If the master wrongly dismisses the servant, either summarily or by giving him insufficient notice, the employment is effectively terminated, albeit in breach of the contract."

¹⁴ Olaniyan V University of Lagos, *Op.cit.*

¹⁵ Vince V National Dock Labor Board (1956) 1 ALL ER 1

¹⁶(2005) 2 NWLR (PT 389) 649

¹⁷Isievwore V NEPA (2013) 1 MJSC 43

¹⁸ Vince V National Dock Labor Board (1956) 1 ALL ER 1

¹⁹Ibid.

Once there is termination of employment, the question of reinstatement or specific performance does not arise. The remedy available to the employee is damages for wrongful termination and not an Order of reinstatement.

The jurisprudential bases for this legal position are twofold. One, the court will not foist a willing employee on an unwilling employer²⁰. Two, the court will not grant specific performance, because it will involve continuous supervision by the court. Professor *Fabunmi* stated the position that “The remedy of specific performance, like that of injunction, will not be granted if it involves continued supervision by the court²¹. In **Rigby V Connon**,Jessel MR said:

“The courts have never dreamt of enforcing agreements strictly personal in nature, whether they are agreement of hiring and service, being the common relation in master and servant, or whether they are agreement for the purpose of pleasure or for the purpose of specific pursuits or the purpose of charity or philanthropy”.²²

Similarly in **Apara V. UAC Ltd**, the plaintiff, who was engaged by the defendant received some years of training with a view to making him a train inspector, but his employment was later terminated. The court refused to compel the defendant to employ the plaintiff as a train inspector or assistant manager in accordance with the terms of their contract²³.

However, when an office or employment has statutory flavors in the sense that its conditions of service are provided for and protected by statute or regulating there under, any person holding that office or in that employment enjoys a special status over and above the ordinary master and servant relationship. In the matter of discipline for such a person, the procedure laid down in the statute or regulations must be strictly complied with. If the procedures are not strictly complied with, it follows *ipso facto* that termination or dismissal of such officer is a nullity. The court will declare the termination null and void and ordered the employee reinstated²⁴.

Damages for Wrongful Termination of Employment

²⁰UBN V Ogboh (Supra)

²¹Fabunmi, J.O. *Equity and Trust in Nigeria*. O.A.U Press. Ibadan. 2006. P-23.

²²Op.cit.

²³(2015) 20 NWLR 17

²⁴U.I.T.H.M.B V Oloruntoba (2007) ALL FWLR (Pt. 370) 1415

This is the most contested issue in cases of termination of contract of personal service. The law is that where a contract of employment is wrongly terminated, the appropriate damages are payment of salaries and benefits the employees would have earned within the period of notice as contained in the contract of service. The court will however not grant an unearned salary²⁵ to an employee. Wrongful termination of personal contract of service is not intended to give the employee a windfall on all claims of damages²⁶. In a decided case, *Ogbuagu JSC* observed that:

It ought to or should be borne in mind always especially by learned counsel who brings appeals ads in the instant one, and in most cases involving master and servant relationship that in the payment of damages, it is the salaries and other entitlements already lawfully accruable and payable for the period for which the employee should have been given notice of termination²⁷

Thus, where a contract of personal service is terminable by notice, and the employer either does not give notice or gives an insufficient notice, the measure of damages is the salaries and entitlements of the servant for the duration of the notice. Therefore, if it is one month, he gets one month notice, if it is three months notice; he gets three months notice, e.t.c.²⁸

The Burden of Proof for Wrongful Termination of Employment

The burden of prove for wrongful termination of contract of employment is on the servant, who is the plaintiff. The reason is that he who alleges must prove. The servant must place before the court the following:

- (a) The terms of the contract of service, such as the letter of employment or condition of service, where there is one in addition to the accepted letter of offer of employment or collective bargaining and.
- (b) To prove in what manner the said terms of employment were breached by the employer. It is not the duty of the employer to prove this²⁹.

²⁵*Ikhile V FAAN* (2012) 2 NWLR 9 (Pt. 17) 13.

²⁶*Ibama V Shell Petroleum Development Company Ltd* (2005) 10 SC 62

²⁷*Ibid*

²⁸*Ollivant V Agbabiaka* (1997) 2 SC 137

²⁹*Okomu oil Palm Co. Ltd V Isierhienrhien* (2011) 6 NWLR (Pt 710) 660

In **Ziideeh V RSCSC**,³⁰ the case of the plaintiff was dismissed because the plaintiff did not tender his letter of employment into the civil service of Rivers State, stating the terms of employment and the plaintiff failed to prove that the termination was a breach of the terms of the employment.

Problems in the courts of Law on Wrongful Termination of Employment

The courts have passed some judgments that aggravate the problems of wrongful termination of employment cases. A case that does not disclose a *prima facie* cause of action at all or a reasonable cause of action is an abuse of the process of the court and should be struck out at the earlier possible time by the court.

For instance, Order 22 Rule 4 in the High Court of Bendel State 1987 is authority for the powers of the court to strike out a case that does not disclose reasonable cause of action. The rule was interpreted in the case of **Okposo V Bendel Newspaper Corporation**.³¹ The defendant did not file a statement of defense but raised an objection preliminarily to the effect that the statement of claim did not disclose reasonable cause of action. The objection was upheld. Ohundare JCA {as he then was} in construing Order 22 Rule 4 of the Bendel State Rules had this to say: "A defendant is perfectly entitled before or without filing a statement of defense, to move the court under the rules to strike out the plaintiff's statement of claim as disclosing no cause of action against the defendant".

The learned justice stated further: "where it is contended, as a preliminary point that the plaintiff's pleadings disclose no cause of action or that it is statute barred, it is the statement of claim alone that is looked into for the determination of the preliminary point".

Similarly in **Onibudo V. Akibu**, Aniagolu JSC (as he then was) albeit obiter had this to say on Rule 4 of Order 22: "What the defendant should have done, at the close of plaintiff's pleadings was to move the court, as they were perfectly entitled to do under the rules, to strike out the claim, and statement of claim as disclosing no cause of action against the defendant..."³²

³⁰(2007) 4 MJSC 150

³¹(1998) 7 SC 60

³²(2008) 7 SC 6

The court rightly held that the defendant did not have to file his statement of defense where objection was raised on the ground that the statement of claim does not disclose reasonable cause of action. Similarly, in **Bambe V. Aderinsola**³³ objection was taken before filing statement of defense. The trial court held that it was not proper to do this, as the procedure would amount to demurrer, which has been abolished under rule 1 of Order 22. But on appeal to the Supreme Court, it was held that Order 22 not only abolished demurrer but substitutes a more summary procedure to get rid of pleadings which disclose no reasonable cause of action.³⁴

It is therefore incumbent on the judges particularly at the High Court's where these cases start to be more pro-active and raise the issue *suomotu* where it is clear from the pleadings of the plaintiff that the case is a personal contract of service and the plaintiff is claiming reinstatement or declaration that the termination was null and void and call on the counsel to both parties to address the court on the issues. At this stage, the case can be struck out, if the plaintiff claims or reliefs are baseless in law like seeking for reinstatement instead of waiting for another three years to dismiss the claims on the same grounds. This will reduce congestion in the courts and put the lawyers involved in such practices in check. This will save the time of the court and will promote efficient administration of justice in Nigeria.

Conclusion

The problem is not on the position of the laws on master and servant relations in cases of wrongful termination of employment cases in the courts. The problem is that notwithstanding that all the position of law on contract of personal service between the master and servant has been stated and restated over the years, some counsel either out of ignorance or greed still file cases and appeals in courts in total disregard of these trite Laws. It is on this basis that the writer endorses the dictum of *Ogbuagu* JSC that a legal practitioner would be damnable in cost if he files any frivolous appeals on the master and servant relationship. The writer therefore recommends the following:

³³(2009) NSCC 1

³⁴Ibrahim V Osim (2008) 3 NWLR 257

- (a) The amendment of Rules of Professional Conduct of Legal Practitioners to give legal backings to the dictum. The reason is that it appears that the courts do not have powers to do that now.
- (b) The position should not be limited to master and servant cases. It should be made applicable to other cases that are baseless in law.
- (c) That there might be need for continuous legal education or training for lawyers to update their knowledge of the law.
- (d) There should be emphasis on specialization in the Legal profession. The present position of continuous legal training for judges should be extended to lawyers. The court per *Onnoghen JSC* in **Ifeta V Shjell Petroleum Development Company Limited**³⁵ observed that:

If legal practitioners come to terms with this true position of the law, on the subject client's money and the court's time would be saved by their honestly advising their clients accordingly and probably settling the matter out of court by demanding only what is legally due to their client from the employer in breach. In practice however, we see these simple cases of ordinary master and servant being turned into imaginary monsters in which compensation amounting to millions of Naira are claimed and sometimes reinstatement in addition as in the instant case. So you have the client saddled with enormous bills in instituting and presenting such cases of wrongful termination of employment from the High Court right up to this court only at the end to be told the bitter truth which his counsel could have told him much earlier and would have saved cost.

³⁵(2008) 7 MJSC 12.