

Lapai International
JOURNAL OF POLITICS

Volume 4 No 1

2016

ISSN: 1594-3586



A Publication of:
© **The Department of Political Science**
Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida University,
Lapai, Nigeria.

Printed & Bound in Nigeria by:
The Rock Press & Publishing Co.
08039717276, 08055923116

Lapai International
JOURNAL OF POLITICS

Volume 4 No 1

2016

ISSN: 1594-3586

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Lapai International
JOURNAL OF POLITICS
(LIJOPOL)

Volume 4 No 1

2016

ISSN: 1594-3586

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Lapai International
JOURNAL OF POLITICS

Volume 4 No 1

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ISSN: 1594-3586

Table of Contents

Income Determinants Among Rural Women In Nigeria: Evidence From Niger State Abdumumuni Baba Alfa	1
Assessment Of Amnesty Policy In Nigeria Under President Umar Musa Yaradua's Administration Alabi Abdullahi	12
Political Instability And Foreign Direct Investment In Nigeria Umar Habiba Mohammed Bello	31
Appraisal of the Causes and Consequences of Political Violence on National Development in Nigeria: 2007–2014. Isyaku, Shuaibu Shittu & Obi Success Esomchi	51
The Diversification Of Nigerian Economy For Sustainable Development: Challenges And Possibilities Abdulrahman Adamu	72
Effects Of Off-campus Accommodation On Students' Academic Performance In Tertiary Institutions In Niger State Shehu Adamu Abdullahi & Abdulrauf Yusuf Aliyu	87
The Effect Of Foreign Policy To National Development: An Appraisal Of Goodluck Jonathan's Administration. Riyaddeen Zubairu Maitama	95
Enhancing Service Delivery Through Modern Information Technology In Bayero University Kano. Riyaddeen Zubairu Maitama	119

Lapai International
JOURNAL OF POLITICS

Volume 4 No 1

2016

ISSN: 1594-3586

- Moderating Role of Good Governance on the Relationship between Intervention Programs, Policy Participation and Poverty Alleviation: A Pls Approach
Abu Idris..... 137
- Democracy And National Security In The Nigerian Fourth Republic;
The Way Out.
Musa Ogah Ari & Ejura C. M Ugbeda 156
- Public Procurement Policy As A Tool For Alleviating Socio-economic Disparities: Lessons For Nigeria
Solomon I. Ifejika, Fatima O. Aliu, and Abdulrahman Abubakar 166
- Imperative Of Conflict Management For Development In Nigeria:
A Reflection On Good Governance
Obi Success Esomchi..... 183
- Religion, Politics And 2015 Presidential Election In Nigeria.
By Victor Are Kolawole, Ahmed Mohammed Letswa &
Musa Safiyanu Aminu 202
- An Appraisal Of Development And Democracy In Nigeria
Suleiman Mohammed Evuti & Shuaibu Shittu Isyaku..... 219
- Local Government And Rural Development: An Evaluation Of The Contributions Of Bida Local Government Of Niger State To Rural Development, 2015-date
Sunday Ichima & Yahaya Ibrahim..... 233
- An Assessment Of The Role Of Citizens' Participation In Electoral Process In Nigeria: A Study Of 2016 Governorship Election In Edo State
A.I. Mustapha, PhD & Ikponmwonsa Ebomoyi 245

Lapai International
JOURNAL OF POLITICS

Volume 4 No 1

2016

ISSN: 1594-3586

- Pathways To Africa's Development And The Option Of “delinking”: A Theoretical Approach
Aliyu Mohammed Shamsudeen..... 257
- Do Care Givers Matter On The Physical Health Status Of The Children Left-behind By Rural-urban Migrants? Evidence From Niger State, Nigeria
Muktar Bala..... 274
- Political Entrepreneurs: The Bane Of Democracy In Nigeria
Ichima, Sunday 289
- Political Parties And Democratic Growth In Nigeria: Insights From The People's Democratic Party
Adebiyi, Oluwashina Moruf & Isiaq, Atanda Abdulwaheed..... 297
- The Effect Of Training And Development On Employees' Performance: A Study Of Ifelodun Local Government Area Of Kwara State
MURANA, Asimiyu Olalekan; ¹AMBALI, Abdul Rauf; ¹SALAHU, Moshood Olayinka and ²LETSWA, Ahmed Muhammed 319

INCOME DETERMINANTS AMONG RURAL WOMEN IN NIGERIA: EVIDENCE FROM NIGER STATE

BY

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ABSTRACT

Women being the backbone of many households do involve in many source of incomes with the rural women always having few opportunities. Majority of rural women are always opened to few opportunities mainly agriculture and trade. It is to this end that the objective of the study is to investigate the determinants of income in rural areas of Niger State. The study uses a cross sectional data source and obtained data from 357 rural women leaving in the suburb areas of Minna metropolis and applied a multiple regression analysis. The study focuses on the nature of rural women income and found educational level of women and women who are entrepreneurs to be positively associated with income, while women who engaged in wage work have no any associated with their income. The study therefore recommends entrepreneurship scheme acquisition in rural areas of the state as well as SME loans to boost the rural women income.

Keywords: Income, Women, Education, Rural, Minna

1.0 Introduction

Over the time, the nature of rural women income diversification has been narrow when compared to opportunities in urban areas, not only in terms of occupational professionalism, but also in terms of market size. This made many rural women to be subjected to certain occupation within their environments. It has often been argued that, women are always deprived and been discriminated against, with limited access to resources (World Bank, 1991; UN, 2009). Evidence from most developing countries especially in the rural areas has shown that, female headed households have different socioeconomic and demographic characteristics when compared to their male counter parts (Oginni, Ahonsi & Ukwuije, 2013; Dassanayake, Luckert & Mohapatra, 2015). This is because rural women are mostly faced with problems of poverty and economic insecurity, which made a quite number of them to sell all or some of their assets (Djurfeldt, Djurfeldt & Lodin, 2013; Thomas & Gaspart, 2014). Their situations a time worsen couple with the responsibility of their children, while seeking employment becomes inevitable despite the unavailable income earning opportunities. These compel them to engage in informal sector, with low occupational positions compared to men. Looking at the African and some less developed countries scenario, where extended family practice is common and kinship networks waxed stronger, women relatively always experience low entitlements such as their restricted access to land ownership,

inaccessibility to credit facilities and other means of production (see Guirkinge & Platteau, 2015; Tufuor, Niehof, Sato & Horst, 2015; Hallward-Driemeier & Gajigo, 2015). In addition, they have limited access to basic education resulting in low literacy levels, which serve as barriers in terms of becoming business - women due to inaccessibility to capital (Mutavi Kokonya, Muliro, Obondo, Wariua & Ocharo, 2013).

According to Demographic and Health Surveys of 1990 to 1994 statistics, the rates of female household heads were 9.9% with 14.3% of total population living in female-headed households in **Nigeria; while according to World Bank in 2008, the female household heads was reported to be at 19.3% (World Bank, 2014).** The South Africa experience shows that 62% of the female headed households in South Africa were poor (Sekhampu, 2012), while 70% of younger widows are more likely to be faced with socio-economic problems (**Sekhampu, 2012**). Also, report by Nazoktabar and Aliabadi (2011) in Iran shows that 96% of the female-headed households have low education; 50% of these female have low jobs; 34% have semi-important jobs; 16% do not have a job; 64% have low income and 24% do not have income. While 80% of these families have middle and low social-economic status.

Unfortunately, in our present society, the female headed households are often confronted with some problems and

dangers; some of them are heading children alone and sometimes with difficulty, economic problems, depression and disappointment (Appleton, 1996). It is therefore pertinent to investigate the determinants of their income, especially looking at different sources of income. It is obvious that previous researches (Fuwa, 2000; Quisumbing Haddad, & Peña, 2001; Assefa, 2003; Chant, 2003; **Khalid and Akhtar, 2011**; Sekhampu, 2012) emphasized on the poverty aspect of the household heads, but their studies failed to look at the impact of different sources of income to rural women income, because these differences widen the poverty gap among rural women in many societies. This study therefore aims at investigating the determinants of women income in rural areas of Niger State, Nigeria. Women are always constrained in terms of income sources either by their husbands or family. This challenges are coupled with their level of education, which affects their ability to diversify some sources of income strategy. This study is divided into five sections, aside this introduction, section two discusses the relevant literature, section three is the methodology, section four analyses the data, and section consist of conclusion and recommendation.

2.1 Theoretical Framework

Information on decision making process, resource allocation, income earning mechanism and gender division of labour can best be explained by using Becker

household economic theory. The theory was propounded in 1965 by Becker and was a widely applied model of resources and labour time distribution within a household. The model entails that decision within a household are made jointly (mostly based on the needs of the family) and that the household head maximizes a single set of objectives for all its members (Ellis, 1988).

In the light of the study, inequalities in resources distribution are always generated by both the economic and social factors (Alderman, Chiappori, Haddad, Hoddinott & Kanbur, 1995). The female headed households are less in population as compared to the male headed households, the presence of gender inequality in our society limits the participation of women in socio economic activities especially in the African countries, and this encourages the inequality in resource distribution. The productivity of a female headed household depends on the pattern of family size, as well as the level of education of both the head and the children within households. The model therefore explains how female headed households can increase their sources of income in order to solve most of their socio economic problems they face in their various societies despite the inequality in resource allocation.

2.2 Literature Review

Several studies (Quisumbing *et al.*, 2001; Khalid & Akhtar, 2011; Sekhampu, 2012; etc) have explained the issues surrounding

the women heads, ranging from income, employment status, education etc. Early studies compared female heads with male heads, for example study by Fuwa (2000) found self-reported female headed households not to be well over-represented among the poor when compared to male heads in Panama, as female headed households are rather better-off on average income than self-reported male headed households. In contrary, Quisumbing *et al.* (2001) used a panel of 10 developing countries and found female headed households are worse off given the level of poverty, especially from one-fifth to one-half of the observation covered; though women were overrepresented among the poor. Likewise, Conley and Ryvicker (2004) study of United State indicates that female heads suffer from lower net worth than their male counterparts as the effect remains after controlling for age, marital status, number of children, labor market characteristics, income, education, and race.

More so, Khalid and Akhtar (2011) found that employed women residing in local environments have a higher probability of being poor, as the probability of female headed households to be living below the poverty line is seen to increase with the number of dependents by 3.9% especially after their service year. In furtherance, **Hossain and Huda (2007) discovered that most rural women suffer from poverty, economic insecurity, lack of assets, lack of employment, income earning**

opportunity, and political powerlessness. Later study by Sekhampu (2012) found a significant relationship between poverty and large family size with household head, such that the larger the family sizes the more likely the household head become poorer. Contrarily, Assefa (2003) looked into female headed households and poverty in Ethiopia, and findings show that there is no clear relationship between the poverty status and large family size if marital statuses of the female head are considered, as the majority of the female heads are widowers or divorced. **Gangopadhyay and Wadhwa (2003) discovered that the poverty of a household does not depend on the gender of the household head, rather on the level of education of the household heads.** Mutavi *et al.* (2013) used *sample of 80 women heads, and their finding revealed that low level of education among the women compounded their vulnerability to poverty and increased the risk of the female household heads not being able to educate their own children.* For women, education can provide the stepping stone out of poverty by providing access to formal sector employment and enhancing productivity in the informal sector. Walle (2011) used a case study of Mali, and found that greater illiteracy and lower educational attainments generally place stronger limitations on women access to employment and government services.

However, women also face pronounced health risks as a result of lack of sufficient

resources to stabilize their households. Though a Zimbabwe study by Horrel and Krishnan (2006) suggest that women are not unusually income poor but they do lack assets, particularly those assets needed for agricultural production. This constrains their ability to diversify both in terms of the types of crops grown and taking advantage of any local labour market options. But they don't disproportionately lack income or education. The study suggests that with more resources and support from extension services they can improve their position. This can in form of comprehensive training programme as suggested by Chant (2003). Income is one of the major problems faced by women, as such, Angel *et al.* (2007) used a time series data for the period of 1992 to 2000, and they applied an Ordinary Least Square (OLS) regression to examine the economic consequences of women. Their findings revealed that widows experienced significant and substantial losses in income and net worth. As minority of women are less able to accumulate assets during their working years. Appleton (1996) examined women headed household welfare in Uganda, using a cross-sectional data with a sample of 2729 households from the 1992 integrated household survey (IHS), argued that women-headed households are not poorer when assessed by consumption or income. Nor do they appear consistently disadvantaged on social indicators. The real issue is that some subgroups of women-headed households do have lower economic welfare.

3.0 Methodology

This section consists of data source and estimation procedure.

3.1 Data

This study uses a cross-sectional data set by obtaining information on 357 rural women who are household heads in suburb areas of Minna. The data were purposively collected on women due to their low level of engagement in economic activities; and also the life expectancy of women is greater than that of men. Evidence from National Bureau of Statistics (2015) shows women in Niger state have the highest life expectancy of 56 years when compared to other states. The suburb areas of Minna were chosen because Minna is the state capital of the state as it has the common features of both literate and illiterate females headed household.

This study analyses the determinants of income diversification of women living in rural areas. The study employed variables as seen in the previous studies (**Gangopadhyay & Wadhian, 2003; Khalid & Aktar, 2011; Malesu-Kasala, 2007; Sekhampu, 2012**) such as income proxy by daily expenditure as dependent variables, while the independent variables include age measured in years attained; **family size measured based on number of heads dependants; educational level have one as literate and zero otherwise; source of income taking the value of one for agricultural income, two for wage income, three for enterprise. This study**

therefore uses OLS to analyse the determinants of income (as seen in the studies of Angel *et al.*, 2007; Peterman,

2011). The theoretical model for OLS is specified below:

$$Y_i = \beta_1 + \beta_2 X_i + \epsilon_i \dots \dots \dots 1$$

Where, Y_i is the dependent variable; β_s denotes the vector of estimable parameters;

X_i indicates vector of explanatory variables; and

$$In_i = \beta_1 + \beta_2 Ag_i + \beta_3 Fz_i + \beta_4 Ed_i + \beta_5 Ac_i + \beta_6 Wg_i + \beta_7 Ep_i + \epsilon_i \dots \dots \dots 2$$

Where In is income, Ag refers to women age, Fz represent family size, Ed stands for women level of education, while Ac , Wg and Ep stands for agricultural, wage and enterprises source of income respectively. The study categorizes the model base on main sources of income to rural women, by estimating the model three times in order to determine each relationship and joint influence.

the size of family, majority of the respondents have a large family size with 266 respondents constituting more than four in a family. Large family size is one of the common characteristics of rural people be it male or female household head. Similarly, the highest number of women sampled has obtained a primary certificate, while 104 respondents had secondary certificates, with 118 respondents not having qualification. The mean is 1.03 and the deviation value is 1.06, indicating some of the women with qualifications having the opportunity to be working in area offices such as schools, dispensary etc. The source of income common to rural areas is agriculture, wage and enterprises. The descriptive result shows majority of women in rural area are engaged in agricultural farming with 182 respondents being a full time farmer, while 104 and 71 respondents are into wages and enterprise respectively; the mean value is 1.69 and standard deviation of 0.78.

4.0 Results

The result in Table 1 shows the descriptive statistics for 357 respondents. The result indicates 192 respondents do spend below 400, while 165 do spend above 400 with an average value 440.56 and standard deviation of 167.83. This shows that majority of women living in rural areas are leaving below \$1.25, given the international poverty threshold. For age categorization, 36 to 45 have the highest observation with 151 respondents, with average age of 44.99 and standard difference of 10.74. Looking

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics

Variable	Frequency	Mean	Standard Deviation
Income			
400	192	440.56	167.83
401	165		
Age			
18 – 35	72	44.99	10.74
36 – 45	151		
45 & Above	134		
Family size			
4	91	5.17	0.98
5	266		
Education			
<i>None</i>	118	1.03	1.06
<i>Primary Certificate</i>	135		
<i>Secondary Certificate</i>	104		
Sources of income			
<i>Agricultural</i>	182	1.69	0.78
<i>Wage</i>	104		
<i>Enterprise</i>	71		
N	357		

Source: Field Survey 2016

From the result indicated in Table 2, the age is positive and significantly associated with income in the three models. That is an increase in rural women age does increase their income by 2.23 for women with agriculture as their source of income, 2.53 for women that receive wage, and 2.36 for those women that engage in enterprise. By

implication, women may likely need additional income to spend on necessity items such as medication and children education especially for those with large families. The coefficient for family size is not significant in the three models, suggesting no any significant association, this therefore not in line with findings of

Sekhampu (2012). Education is positive and significant in the three models with wage income women having the highest contribution given the coefficient value to be 57.66. This shows that the more additional qualification leads to increase in income, because educated women do have the opportunity to serve in rural offices as clerical staffs which increase their income. Thus, this finding supports the assertion of

Walle (2011). But when it comes to sources of income, agricultural and wage source of income has negative relationship with income, while women with enterprise source have positive relationship with income. This suggests that enterprising women do have the opportunity to indulge in various trades which can easily generate more income.

Table 2: Estimation result for income

	Income 1	Income 2	Income 3
Age	2.23*** (0.80)	2.53*** (0.81)	2.36*** (0.79)
Family size	-9.99 (8.58)	-13.69 (8.62)	-10.66 (8.46)
Education	33.37*** (10.46)	57.66*** (9.04)	44.31*** (8.28)
Sources of income			
<i>Agricultural</i>	-67.24*** (21.88)		
<i>Wage</i>		-18.13 (20.60)	
<i>Enterprise</i>			86.87*** (21.51)
R^2	0.15	0.13	0.16

Notes: Robust standard errors are in parentheses, P values: significance ***1%.

5.1 Conclusion and Recommendation

Based on the findings, the study therefore concludes that age and education of rural women has positive relationship with income. Also, rural women who engage in enterprise source of income is positively associated with income. Although, agriculture and wage income have negative relationship because virtually all women engage in agriculture, while only few women have access to wage income. The recommendation of this study is that women should be encouraged to be entrepreneurs, to be self-employed even if they have other means of earning in order to diversify their means of earnings for the purpose of overcoming the problem of poverty. Also government can assist by providing assistance to women in form of entrepreneurship developmental scheme with SME loans support in order to establish or expand their small and medium scale businesses.

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**ASSESSMENT OF AMNESTY POLICY IN NIGERIA
UNDER PRESIDENT UMAR MUSA YARADUA'S
ADMINISTRATION**

By

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ABSTRACT

An amnesty deal in Niger Delta offered during Yar'adua administration was aimed at reducing the state of lingering unrest in the oil rich region. The region is indeed the cash cow of the nation where the chunk of revenue is realized. The incessant neglect over the years of the oil rich communities by the federal government has spurred agitation for resource control. The study assesses the effectiveness of the policy in relation to the policy thrust. It adopts secondary source of data through the use of textbooks, journals, internet among others. The paper infers that, the policy had failed to achieve its objectives since the restiveness among Niger Delta Youths remain unabated. The study concludes that the government must be proactive and strengthen the enforcement institutions to be able to live up to expectation.

INTRODUCTION

Amnesty policy was a mechanism sought by late President Yaradu'a as a political solution to the problem of agitation by the people of Niger-Delta for the loss of what they referred to as environmental degradation and resource control which according to Nwaodike and Ebienfa (2010) referred to fuelling the state violence that has resulted in the militant approach by the youths in the region. Since 2006, these, little known militant group have emerged in Nigeria's oil Niger-Delta, making life difficult for the Nigerian government and the oil companies in the region. Their activities include errant violent movement, sea piracy and bunkering of oil installations, communal clashes. Although there were various policies adopted by the government since the discovery of oil as a major revenue drive in Nigeria, such policies could be traced to the master plan that established the Niger-Delta ministry, derivation principle in the allocation of revenue that gave larger shares to the communities where the oil is found. However, the amnesty policy clearly represents a victory for short-term crisis management over resolution or transformation. Omotola (2010) acknowledged the fact that policy granted amnesty to all persons who have been directly or indirectly involved in militant activities in the Niger-Delta from the date of the pronouncement of the policy, militants were given a 60-day period to lay down their arms. Though before the amnesty policy, militant activities covered a whole grant of

events ranging from kidnaping of expatriates and even Nigeria workers in the oil sector, blowing up of flow stations and sundries which sometimes bordered on criminality. The implications of these militant activities, among others, are social instability, tension in the region and loss of oil and gas resources by the federal government of Nigeria and the oil and gas companies.

In an effort to bring peace and free flow of oil in the region, the federal government under the presidency of late Yaradu'a in 2008 initiated an amnesty programme for all militants in the region. The policy thrusts of the policy programme are to required militants to surrender their arms and in turn are pardoned for their activities (Chukwu and Oben, 2010). In spite the fact that the policy was structured, and the implementation was immediate, yet the militia actions is still prevailing in the region. In the final analysis, the work is designed to examine the reasons why the policy failed to achieve its objectives, effort was put in place to offer recommendations that will enhance good result of policy implementation. The Niger-Delta region is rich in oil and gas resources and also rich in diversity of it flora and fauna, the region like other parts is poor in terms of amenities and infrastructures. (Tell Magazine, 2007). The Nigeria infrastructural crisis does not seem to respect natural resources endowment. In spite of this, the Niger Delta case, is the of oppressive, exploitative, and discriminative

policies of the federal government aimed at marginalizing and rendering irrelevant, the people of the Niger Delta (Oloya and Ugbeyavwighren, 2009). This is to the extent that the Niger Delta may be considered as the proverbial goose that lays the golden egg. The grouse of the people of the region seems to be that the goose is treated with disdain and may even be faced with the risk of death. Osaghae sums up the problem of the region very nicely. According to him, although the bulk of the crude oil, Nigeria's main source of revenue is derived from the Niger Delta, the region belongs to the ranks of the most backward and politically marginalised groups in the country (Osaghae, 1995). The picture of infrastructural neglect painted above is made worse by the menace of environmental degradation. This largely unintended consequence of oil exploration activities is a threat to the livelihood of majority of the inhabitants of the region. The devastation caused by oil spillage and gas flaring has made it virtually impossible for the people to eke out a living. As Ajaero argues, exploration activities have led in some cases to the "systematic debasement and assault on the oil communities leading to the collapse of the eco-system in some areas, and to negative impact in terms of livelihood of the people and the survival strategies they have designed for generations" (Ajaero, 2008).

The Niger Deltans have expressed dysphoria and discontent of their conditions through several peaceful means including

appeals, petitions and litigation. Unfortunately the Nigerian state has not adequately shown any sympathy for this affliction. Being so angst about their future consequent upon the state's irresponsible response to their plight the Niger Delta youths resorted to violent actions to register their anger. This is what is today referred to as militancy in the region. The federal government of Nigeria and the host communities of Niger Delta have different positional views about the crisis which has contributed to its lingering. Paradoxically, what peace and security means for the federal government is at variance for the people as well as development. Yar'Adua stated that "with a view to engendering lasting peace in the area, we proclaimed a general amnesty... on this day and in the spirit of rededication, we renew our commitment to confronting the challenges of critical infrastructure in the Niger Delta, food security, security of lives and properties, human capital development, land tenure and wealth creation" (The Guardian, October 2, 2009).

The amnesty clearly represents a victory for short-term crisis management over resolution or transformation. The amnesty Programme neglected basic tenets of international good practices in conflict resolution. It was marketed as a 'comprehensive' DDR exercise, yet reintegration was scarcely addressed. There was no provision for mediation, dialogue, reconciliation or institutional reform. Local-

level disputes within and between communities over natural resources were not addressed by the amnesty, and thus remained as open sores and a breeding ground for re-radicalisation. The highly selective approach to DDR with its limited emphasis on reintegration does not have the capacity to deliver employment at anything like the levels necessary to ensure stability in the region. The programme has excluded those who have not borne arms but have played important roles in the conflict and been impacted by it, including women and girls, and there is no vehicle for facilitating access health services by the most vulnerable, or for addressing the psychological traumas of the conflict on victims and perpetrators of violence, apart from a small victim's compensation fund. The criteria for selection were unclear, leaving scope for abuse and resentment. Disarmament was not conducted transparently, so that a considerable number of arms remain in circulation. Some practices, including contract awards for security, appear to have rewarded criminality, with precarious long-term consequences.

THE STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

despite the fact the policy is to address the issues center around the hostages, killings and pipe vandalism in the region, the policy failed during the implementation as a result of lack of proper consultation by the government, also the policy gave room for the militant to take the government

responsibility to monitor the government properties not only that the policy did not take into cognizance the following:

- i. Relevant information about the origin of militia actions in the region;
- ii. Resources at hand to cater for the policy; and
- iii. The evaluation programme to see extent at which the policy achieves its objectives.

THE OBJECTIVES

To examine the historical track of politics of agitation for the resource control by the Niger-delta of Nigeria;

To examine what promote the interest of the federal government to proclaimed the establishment of amnesty programme in the Niger-delta of Nigeria;

To assess the actual implementation of the amnesty programme and its impact on the militants in the Niger-delta;

To evaluate the impact assessment of the amnesty programme on the violent and militias action eradication.

THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Following to the above problems encountered in the implementation of the amnesty the research work is aimed at looking into the following questions:

- i. To what extent would the programme, amnesty policy achieves its objectives

- in terms of eradication of militias' action in the Niger-delta?
- ii. What are the impacts of the policy on the socio-political economy stability of Nigeria?
 - iii. How would the Nigerian government sustain the policy in the region and beyond?

THE METHODOLOGY

This research work is basically placed on the secondary source with emphasis on the textbooks, journals, newspapers and the internet.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The following concepts will be developed in relation to the subject matter, such as:

THE AMNESTY AND THE POLICY

Amnesty

The action of a government by which all persons or certain groups of persons who have committed a criminal offense—usually of a political nature that threatens the sovereignty of the government (such as sedition or treason)—are granted immunity from prosecution.

Amnesty allows the government of a nation or state to "forget" criminal acts, usually before prosecution has occurred. Amnesty has traditionally been used as a political tool of compromise and reunion following a war. An act of amnesty is generally granted to a group of people who have committed crimes against the state, such as treason,

rebellion, or desertion from the military. The first amnesty in U.S. history was offered by President George Washington, in 1795, to participants in the Whiskey Rebellion, a series of riots caused by an unpopular excise tax on liquor; a conditional amnesty, it allowed the U.S. government to forget the crimes of those involved, in exchange for their signatures on an oath of loyalty to the United States. Other significant amnesties in U.S. history were granted on account of the Civil and Vietnam Wars. Because there is no specific legislative or constitutional mention of amnesty, its nature is somewhat ambiguous. Its legal justification is drawn from Article 2, Section 2, of the Constitution, which states, "The President ... shall have Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment." Because of their common basis, the difference between amnesty and pardon has been particularly vexing. In theory, an amnesty is granted before prosecution takes place, and a pardon after. However, even this basic distinction is blurry—President GERALD R. FORD, for example, granted a pardon to President RICHARD M. NIXON before Nixon was charged with any crime. Courts have allowed the two terms to be used interchangeably.

The earliest examples of amnesty are in Greek and Roman law. The best documented case of amnesty in the ancient world occurred in 403 B.C. A long-term

civil war in Athens was ended after a group dedicated to reuniting the city took over the government and arranged a general political amnesty. Affected by LOYALTY OATHS taken by all Athenians, and only later made into law, the amnesty proclaimed the acts of both warring factions officially forgotten.

In other nations in which amnesties are accepted parts of the governing process, the power to grant amnesty sometimes lies with legislative bodies. In the United States, granting amnesties is primarily a power of the **Executive Branch**, though on some occasions Congress may also initiate amnesties as part of legislation. The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (100 Stat. 3359, 8 U.S.C.A. §1101) attempted to reduce the number of **Aliens** illegally entering the United States by punishing employers who knowingly hired them. However, because of concerns voiced by both employers and immigrant community leaders, the act compromised: it contained provisions for an amnesty giving citizenship to illegal immigrants who had been residents for a set period of time.

Though the Supreme Court has given the opinion that Congress can grant an independent amnesty, it has never expressly ruled on the issue. However, the president's power to grant amnesty autonomously has never been in serious question. The president always has recourse to the pardoning powers granted the office by the Constitution.

During the Civil War period, President **Abraham Lincoln** offered a series of amnesties without congressional assent to Union deserters, on the condition that they willingly rejoin their regiments. After the war, Lincoln issued a proclamation of amnesty for those who had participated in the rebellion. Though Congress protested the leniency of the plan, it was helpless to alter or halt it. Lincoln's amnesty was limited, requiring a loyalty oath and excluding high-ranking Confederate officers and political leaders. Lincoln hinted at but never offered a broader amnesty. It was not until President **Andrew Johnson's** Christmas amnesty proclamation of 1868 that an unconditional amnesty was granted to all participants in the Civil War. Amnesty used in this way fosters reconciliation—in this case, by fully relinquishing the Union's criminal complaints against those participating in the rebellion.

Amnesty was used for a similar purpose at the conclusion of the **Vietnam War**. In 1974, President Ford attempted reconciliation by declaring a conditional amnesty for those who had evaded the draft or deserted the armed forces. The terms of the amnesty required two years of public service (the length of a draft term), and gave evaders and deserters only five months to return to the fold. Many of those whom the amnesty was designed to benefit were dissatisfied, viewing the required service as punishment. On the other hand, many U.S. citizens agreed with President Nixon that

any amnesty was out of the question. It was left to President JIMMY CARTER, in 1977, to issue a broad amnesty to draft evaders. Carter argued the distinction that their crimes were forgotten, not forgiven. This qualification makes clear the purpose of an amnesty: not to erase a criminal act, nor to condone or forgive it, but simply to facilitate political reconciliation. Although an amnesty can be broad or narrow, covering one person or many, and can be seriously qualified (as long as the conditions are not unconstitutional), it cannot grant a license to commit future crimes.

The amnesty program is made up of four components, namely, the environmental, petroleum, infrastructural, and Demobilization, Disarmament, and Reintegration (DDR) components. The DDR component has direct bearing on the successful rehabilitation of armed youths in the region. DDR refers to “the process of demilitarizing official and unofficial armed groups by controlling and reducing the possession of arms, by disbanding non-state armed groups and rightsizing state security services and by assisting former combatants to reintegrate into civilian life” (Ball and Van de Goor, 2006). It is used to consolidate peace and to promote stability within conflict-affected communities. The DDR is a proven instrument of conflict resolution and peace building, but it cannot and should not be substituted for peace enforcement activities.

The Niger Delta DDR component of the

amnesty program according to Okonofua (2013), though, might not achieve the desired results, which stakeholders expect or desire because it failed to address the causes of the conflict. In other words, Okonofua (2013) is insinuating that the DDR process might not produce the desired stability and consolidation of peace in Nigeria's delta region because fundamental issues that gave rise to the militarization of youths in the region were not addressed in the amnesty document. The DDR component of the amnesty program is an integral part of the intervention. The amnesty program was designed and established to tackle the problem of insecurity and youth restiveness in the Niger Delta, and by implication, to restore peace and stability to the region. Adejumobi (2009) has opined that: Political amnesty is usually a product of two contexts. The first is a negotiated settlement in which two warring parties have arrived at a dead-end in their conflict, and decided to settle their differences politically. The second context is one of a victor's amnesty in which a party overwhelms the other, claim victory and decides to be magnanimous in victory by offering amnesty to some or all of the combatants on the defeated side.

Amnesty as a concept is regarded as a general pardon for offences, especially political offenses, against a government, often granted before any trial or conviction. The term **amnesty** is also any initiative where individuals are encouraged to turn

over illicit items to the authorities, on the understanding that they will not be prosecuted for having been in possession of those items. A common use of such amnesties is to reduce the number of firearms or other weapons in circulation. Adeyemo, et. al. (2011) when they argued that the 2008 Niger Delta amnesty is:

Neither a negotiated settlement in the Niger Delta, nor a victor's benevolence of any kind. There is no peace truce and the federal government has not won the military battle in the creeks, in spite of its heavy artillery and weaponry. Why then offer an amnesty in a vacuum?

Amnesty policy programme is refers to a general pardon of offence by government or deliberate overlook of offences against the state. It means to cancel or not to exact punishment due for an offence

POLICY

A **policy** is a deliberate system of principles to guide decisions and achieve rational outcomes. A policy is a statement of intent, and is implemented as a procedure or protocol. Policies are generally adopted by the Board of or senior governance body within an organization whereas procedures or protocols would be developed and adopted by senior executive officers. Policies can assist in both *subjective* and

objective decision making. Policies to assist in subjective decision making would usually assist senior management with decisions that must consider the relative merits of a number of factors before making decisions and as a result are often hard to objectively test e.g. work-life balance policy. In contrast policies to assist in objective decision making are usually operational in nature and can be objectively tested e.g. password policy.

The term may apply to government, private sector organizations and groups, as well as individuals. Presidential executive orders, corporate privacy policies, and parliamentary rules of order are all examples of policy. Policy differs from rules or law. While law can compel or prohibit behaviors (e.g. a law requiring the payment of taxes on income), policy merely guides actions toward those that are most likely to achieve a desired outcome.

Policy or policy study may also refer to the process of making important organizational decisions, including the identification of different alternatives such as programs or spending priorities, and choosing among them on the basis of the impact they will have. Policies can be understood as political, management, financial, and administrative mechanisms arranged to reach explicit goals. In public corporate finance, a critical accounting policy is a policy for a firm/company or an industry which is considered to have a notably high

subjective element, and that has a material impact on the financial statements.

THE MAIN THRUST

According to Oluokun (2012:38-40); ... about N 127 billion was budgeted for the Niger Delta amnesty programme from 2009-2011. A further analysis indicated that of the amount, N 3 billion was spent in 2009 as take-off grant for the initiatives, while N 30 billion and N 96 billion were spent respectively in 2010 and 2011 for payment of stipends and training of the ex-militants; N 74 billion, equivalent to the budget of some states in the country, was allocated for the programme in the 2012 budget... N 15 billion contracted awarded to the Global West Vessel Specialist Limited GWVSL, a firm widely believed to be owned by Tompolo, to supply 20 vessels for the use of the nation's military authorities to secure the waterways... the federal government maintain an annual pipeline and maritime security contract with Asari Dokubo for US \$ 9.5 million, or N 2 billion, ...Boyloaf and Ateke Tom are annually being paid US \$3.8 million (N 1.2 billion) each to protect pipelines in the Niger Delta. However, the above does not suggest under funding but reckless and senseless spending which has created problem for the amnesty. The amnesty has sharply deviated and has culminated into bribery of militants for peace. The effect is already manifesting as many jobless youths in the region and outside have taken the title of ex-militants and are agitating to partake in the amnesty

banquet. Apart from the 6,166 militants who were incorporated into the programme in November 2010 after the October 4, 2009 deadline another 3,642 persons have formed the third phase making up the number to 30,000 ex-militants now in the programme (Ibid. 38-39). This is a product of over funding and deviation from the objectives of the programme. It will not be a surprise that fourth, fifth and sixth batches will soon follow. Opeyemi (2012: 79) states "this has made even the non-militant youths to begin to indulge in militancy in order to become beneficiaries of such economic packages that accompany the amnesty programme.

In October 2010, the government of President Yar' Adua, in demonstration of evident political will, announced an amnesty for the leaders and the militant groups in the Niger Delta. This initiative came against the background of tenuous security conditions and instability which characterized the region. The various militant groups had intensively engaged in series of kidnapping and abduction of prominent citizens of the region, government officials and workers in the oil and gas sector. Their activities included vandalism of oil pipelines which resulted in the disruption of oil and gas production in the country. At the peak of the insurgency, oil production dropped from 2.6 million barrels per day to merely 600,000 barrels per day. This represents about more than 70% drop in production with significant impact on revenue accruing to the

Federation Account. Regional underdevelopment has been advanced as the key driver of instability in the region. And it was against this background that the government initiated dialogue process with the leaders of the region aimed at ending the state of insecurity as a precondition to responding to the development challenges in the region.

The following constitute key elements or components of the negotiation; securing the “buy-in” of the political leadership of the Niger Delta people; secondly, initiating the “buy-out” of the militant leaders from the region through award of contracts and other financial considerations; thirdly, implementing the short term security stabilization program for the various rank and file of the militants through a formal disarmament, demobilization and reintegration program initiatives; and fourthly, the design and implementation of comprehensive development program directed towards addressing the development challenges in the region.

In response to this agreement, the Federal government established the Presidential Amnesty Commission charged to design and implement the Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration of the various militant groups in the Niger Delta. The government further mandated the Ministry of Niger Delta Affairs (MNDA) to coordinate and promote concerted development strategy for the region with the aim of addressing underdevelopment as a

major driver of instability in the region. It was envisaged that the MNDA will undertake this huge responsibility in concert with Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) and other local and international development partners working in the region.

In October 2010 and after series of delayed consultations, the Presidential Commission on Amnesty commenced the process of implementation of the programme. This included the design of the DDR framework and the recruitment of staffing and the contracting of implementing partners and formal launching of the programme. The programme was envisaged to last for a period of three years and then be mainstreamed into the broader development framework of the Ministry of Niger Delta Affairs. This is in line with prevailing international norms where such programmes are not implemented for long period to avoid fostering dependency and a sense of entitlement among the militants as well as minimizing the perception of rewarding militants for violence among other population targets. The conventional norm requires shifting from the targeted approach to a broader community-based, demand-driven development measures covering the needs of every population targets especially the high risk and vulnerable groups (leadership *Jun 19, 2015*).

The amnesty officially resulted in the

demobilization of 30,000 militants, paying them some allowances and providing training for a smaller number. It has markedly reduced conflict in the region. However, the amnesty was not part of a coherent and co-ordinated peace-building and reconciliation plan, and is unlikely to be able to facilitate sufficient employment for demobilized militants. In its partial nature, it has also neglected non-combatants who had been impacted by violence. On these and other grounds, the sustainability of its achievements remains in question. The brief advocates a number of measures; among them a broader strategy for reconciliation and peace building, including action at the community level, and a coherent, co-ordinated and rigorously implemented development vision for the region, with a concerted focus on employment generation.

THE REASONS FOR THE MILITANCY ACTIONS IN THE NIGER-DELTA REGION

One of the reasons for militia actions in the region referred the inability of government to deliver the most basic services and meet vital development needs, inability to maintain a monopoly of the possession and use of instruments of violence and high propensity for persistent violent conflicts or agitations for justice and social needs.

Others are identified by Ugwanyi et al (2014), an articulation of the features as :

- i. Persistent condition of extreme poverty;

- ii. Insecurity of lives and properties;
- iii. Persistent social tensions;
- iv. Undemocratic governance;
- v. Low human capital development; and
- vi. Wide inequality in income.

ESTIMATED ARMS AND AMMUNITIONS SURRENDERED

- 1 Solomon Ndigbara alias Osama bin Laden 26 June 2009 Gave up 11 arms and 1,000 ammunitions.
- 2 Henry Okah 13 July 2009 Though the supposed leader of MEND, Okah did not surrender any arm because he had been arrested in Angola and extradited to Nigeria since February 2008; where he was detained and was facing closed trial on 62 count charges.
- 3 Victor Ben Ebikabowei alias General Boyloaf and 31 other militants; including African Owei, Joshua Macaiver and Ezizi Ogunboss 7 August 2009 Surrendered an assortment of arms totalling 520, ammunitions valued at 95,970 rounds and 16 gunboats.
4. Soboma George of Outlaws cult group. 13 August 2009 Surrendered 36 assorted weapons
- 5 Kile Silkey Torughedi (Young Shall Grow). September 2009 Gave up an assortment of arms totalling 100 weapons, ammunitions worth 100,00 rounds and 3 gunboats
6. Ateke Tom of NDV 3 October 2009 Exact number is unknown but it included: anti-aircraft launchers, GPMG, Ak-47 rifles, Mark 4 rifles,

- pistols and loads of ammunition.
7. Manfimisebi Othello and the Gwama Boys of Ilaje 3 October 2009 Surrendered different weapons, such as: sub-machine guns, AK-47 rifles, hundreds of live ammunition and arrows.
 8. Biibo Ajube, second in command to Tompolo 3 October 2009 Surrendered several AK-47 rifles, heaps of ammunitions, hand grenades, rocket launchers and explosives.
 9. Fara Dagogo of NDSF 3 October 2009
 10. Government Ekpemupolo (aka Tompolo or GOC), a key militant of MEND 3 October 2009 Surrendered over 117 assorted weapons, 20 bullet proof jackets, numerous boxes of ammunitions, 26 camouflage uniforms, loads of dynamites, tear gases cans, on 4th October 2009; the last day of the amnesty. Lysias (2011:60)

The table below shows the amnesty policy programmes of the Yar'adua's administration

Disarmament	Demobilization/rehabilitation	Reintegration
Duration: August 6 -oct. 4, 2009	6 to 12 months	Up to 5 years
Key activities	Key activities	Key activities
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • collection of arms and ammunition, explosive, etc • documentation and biometrics 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ex-militants report to camp • verification and documentation • transformational training • peace building and conflict resolution • counselling • career guidance • wellness assessment • reintegration classification • education and vocational placement • graduation and demobilization 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • knowledge and skills acquisition • finance empowerment • placement programme • micro-credit • education • reconciliation and local community • conflict resolution framework/mechanism • monitoring and evaluation • exit of amnesty
Key enablers	Key enablers	Key enablers
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Disarmament camps massive campaign 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transformation training centres • Rehabilitation centres 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Partnering government agencies, NGOs and private organizations, OIGs • Tracking and support.

Sources: Niger delta amnesty programme (2009) in Ugwuanyi, et, al (2014) review of public administration and management vol.3, no. 6, December, 2014

Political economy of the amnesty policy programme in the Niger Delta region The political economy tradition is rooted in Marxist historical materialism and it holds that any form of exchange inherent in human nature depends on the production and distribution of surplus value (Pereira, 2009 quoted by Akeem, 2010). The political aspect of this approach is rooted in the issue of power, which differs according to structures of control in a society. The evolution of amnesty for militants in the Niger Delta is occasioned by incessant violence and colossal wastage of oil resources in the region. It is a radical shift in attempts to address the crisis of underdevelopment in Nigeria. While extant official measures to ensure peace for development in the Niger Delta were largely coercive, amnesty was highly persuasive. Official attempts to manage the social movement for the recognition of the need to develop the Niger Delta resulted in the death of Isaac Adaka Boro and the creation of mid-western region in the 1960s, followed by environmental degradation and neglect of the agricultural sector in the Niger Delta since the 1970s. In light of this situation, the Niger Delta has witnessed an upsurge in identity-based social movements in the 1990s especially with the popularity of the Movement for the Survival of Ogoni people (MOSOP), which was under the leadership of Ken Saro Wiwa and other key members, who were murdered in 1995 by the Nigerian military government. The murder of the MOSOP leaders coupled with mounting

socio-economic malaise in the Niger Delta created an atmosphere for the emergence of a new wave of militancy characterised by mass destruction of lives and properties and hostility against the Nigerian government. Studies have shown that activities of the militants adversely affected the Nigerian economy. An installed capacity of Nigeria's oil sector declined from 3.2 million barrels of crude per day (mbpd) to 1.3 mbpd in 2008 and it fluctuated between 800,000 bpd and 1.2 mbpd until June 2009 (Essien, 2008 quoted by Akeem, 2010). The amnesty was politically motivated as the Nigerian government used it to demonstrate its interest in promoting peace and development in the region. A major motivation for the use of amnesty in the management of oil-driven militancy in Nigeria is the belief that peace rather than violence is a necessary condition for sustainable development. However, the amnesty is exclusive; it targets only militants without consideration for the victims of militancy and hostage taking in the region. According to Economic Confidential (2009), the amnesty has ushered in the cessation of arms conflict, the wanton destruction of lives and properties and other forms of criminality in the region with recorded improvement in the economic sector and the barrel of crude oil jumping to 1.84 million per day from 1.3 million barrels within the space of time.

FINDINGS

1. The amnesty proclamation and its

implementation is that it has not addressed the issue of resource control for the region, which is one of the key demands of the militants. The present allocation formula of 13% derivation (federal allocation) fund to the region is not acceptable to the militants (Dokubo-Asari, 2011).

2. The amnesty package was not part of a broader peace-building strategy for the region. For stability to be sustainable beyond the amnesty, a comprehensive post-conflict reconciliation and peace-building programme for the Niger Delta will be required as a priority. This should be inclusive, and should recognise the damage done by the violence of various actors.
3. A considerable volume of arms remain in circulation as the disarmament elements of the programme were weak. Comprehensive security-sector reform, along with the reconciliation-building programme recommended above, is needed in order to build trust as the basis of effective and rigorous disarmament.
4. Security provision is short-sighted and incoherent, focused mainly on providing security for the oil industry rather than on broader human security. Under the amnesty, security has come to be provided by a combination of, on the one hand, an unreformed Joint Task force with an enlarged mandate, and, on the other, government-sponsored former militant leaders awarded large

contracts for pipeline security. While this arrangement may have deterred armed militia action, the price has been to institutionalise criminality. There is an urgent need for control over the oil theft economy, as it is responsible for massive and ever-rising losses. Suppression needs to go beyond targeting the artisanal refineries that provide livelihoods for small-scale producers and petroleum products for localities where both are scarce.

5. The amnesty programme is not part of a coherent, well-designed and effectively implemented vision of development for the region. Agencies charged with responsibility for the provision of infrastructure need a clear sense of direction, and to be seen to deliver timely results. The Office of the President should provide leadership in this area and sanction those federal institutions that persistently underperform, so as to improve implementation and deliver development benefits to the Delta.
6. Another challenge of the amnesty package is in the area of poor implementation. The amnesty programme was not implemented as recommended in the report of the Niger-delta technical committee. Rather than engage in open negotiations or a formal agreement with the militants, the constitutions were at the highest levels of federal government, involving Niger delta

elites/elders and top government officials of Niger delta origin negotiating with the militants' commanders (Obi and Rustad, 2011 quoted in Ejovi and Ebie 2013). The top down non inclusive approach invariably.

7. The amnesty is exclusive package, it only focusing on militants without consideration for the victims of militancy and hostage taking in the region (Ejovi and Ebie, 2013) mothers and children who had lost fathers and sons and homes and have been displaced by the conflict were not included in the package. The question here is that, are the militants the only actors deprived in Niger delta?

CONCLUSION

The policy really structured to put an end to the issue of insurgency, vandalism and undemocratic agitation for resource control but the empowerment policy of the government did not considered the ecology of the militant activities rather the programme limited to the militants. However, the programme must be extended to all the local inhabitants in the region, otherwise, it could send a wrong signal to others who have been excluded from the exercise that crime pays and may serve as a driving force for others to take arms for recognition. The amnesty package should not be implemented as a standalone act, but must be carried out within a comprehensive peace process, as recommended by the

technical committee (International Crime group 2009). Thus, government must not only publish the white appear on the recommendation of the Niger Delta Technical committee, but also embark on a holistic rather than the current fractured approach to the implementation of the report. This report is believed "Offers an opportunity to reduce the violent conflict significantly and begin long term regional development in the oil – rich region and could help to 'save the region from further violence and organized criminality. (International Crisis Group, 2009). Addressing the militants alone while neglecting the deplorable situation, the underdevelopment and poverty, governmental and corporate misgovernance, all of which led to the militancy and later criminality in the region will no doubt spell doom for the amnesty programme. this is because the number of militants presently being reintegrated under the programme constitute only a small percentage of the Niger Delta population, which under the 2006 population figure is 31,224,577 million people (Nigerian News Census, 2006) Efforts must be taken to remove the Niger Delta people from what Sacs (2005 refers to as poverty trap – a situation in which degraded environment, poor health, poor education, poor infrastructure and poor standard of living reinforce one another (Ogege, 2011 adopted by Ejovi and Ebie, 2013). In addition, it was revealed that some of the rehabilitation centers and demobilizing campus are

lacking in even the basic facilities for proper impactation of knowledge and skills. Shortages of bed spaces beds and other basic facilities in some of the centres made only few militants to be accommodated (Ikelegbe 2010 adopted by Ejovi and Ebie, 2013). Also in compliance with the UN code of DDR, it is expected that in the implementation of the DDR programmes, the ex-militants must be taken away from their natural habitats for transformation and reintegration purposes.

RECOMMENDATIONS

it is imperative to follow the amnesty policy on Niger-Delta region and see how it has been implemented, looking at the implementation process. The policy must put into consideration the following:

- i. Consultation with various stakeholders and inclusion of all youths in the training programmes that will cater to essential needs of the majority in the Niger delta.
- ii. The increase in the living standards of majority of people in the region will drastically will improve the sustainable peace and security.
- iii. The success of peace making initiatives in the Niger Delta communities will be guaranteed if the unequal exchange relationships that place the region in a disadvantaged position are balanced. In this regard, the Nigerian government and multinational oil companies should

- unanimously agree to put the Niger Delta at the centre of their priorities.
- iv. Furthermore, there is a need for private-public partnership to reinforce the implementation of human capital development agenda for the Niger Delta. Emphasis should be placed on the provision of modern technological facilities and social welfare package that can transform the region from its present situation to an industrial area.
- v. The hide out of ex-militants should be opened up and replaced with attractive development projects such as broad streets, tarred road, regular lights, modern schools and centres for information and communication technology.
- vi. Also, the political economy of underdevelopment in Nigeria should be revamped to accommodate an effective management of resources through forward and backward linkages. This process must be anchored on a good-quality institutional framework. An efficient institutional framework of development and effective management of resources can counteract rent seeking activities, which have been building structural imbalances that fuel militancy in the Niger Delta (Akeem, 2010).
- vii. There is need to reduce the level of unemployment, under-employment and economic powerlessness of the citizens of the region. The federal and state governments should address this

by the provision of opportunities for employment, training for skills acquisitions and overall socio-economic empowerment. This, implemented, will engage the masses of violent youths and frustrated citizens of the region, who might be tempted to go back to militancy.

- viii. The federal government should ensure massive investment in critical social infrastructures in the region. The emphasis should be on water services, transportation services, educational services, health services, energy supply services, etc. With these provisions, the development indicators of the region will definitely increase to ameliorate the present underdevelopment in the region.
- ix. The check on corruption and its impact in the region is necessary for good governance. This should be implemented through the intense use of anti-corruption institutions like EFCC and ICPC etc. This will checkmate these governance excesses as showcased in the former Governor DSP Alamieyeseigha's incidence of 2005.
- x. There is the relevance of resocialization and re-conscientization of the political leaders of the region towards people-oriented development programmes. This can be done through conferences and development-oriented retreats for these leaders.
- xi. The multinational organizations

engaged in oil and gas explorations in the region should be influenced by the federal government of Nigeria to adhere to right environmental practices devoid of environmental degradation and destruction of the ecology of the region. This should be done through sanctions on poor environmental practices as is obtainable in developed countries of the world. Additionally, these companies should imbibe greater social responsibility practices that will develop the Niger Delta region in comparison with other areas of the world, where oil and gas resources are found (Chukwuka and Oben 2010).

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**POLITICAL INSTABILITY AND FOREIGN
DIRECT INVESTMENT IN NIGERIA**

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ABSTRACT

Nigeria struggles to attract Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) because of its recognized advantage as a tool of economic development. This study investigates the determinants of FDI inflow into Nigeria by examining the influence of political instability which has constitute a problem in the country and other variables like openness, inflation and interest rate using a quarterly time series data for the period of 1980 to 2014 obtained from world bank development indicator. Series of econometric techniques were employed; unit root test, ARDL bound test, long and short run test all using the ARDL mode of estimation. The results of the long run relationship suggest that political instability which was significant shows that it decreases the rate of inflow of foreign investors into the country. Increase in inflation rate shows decrease in FDI but increase in the rate of interest rate increases FDI inflow. Openness was not significant in the long run but was significant in the short run.

INTRODUCTION

The nature of the Nigeria economic as an underdeveloped economic has hinders the progress of her economic development; this has led to the urge of inviting foreign direct investment into the country. Nigeria economic as a developing economic has adopted various measures aimed at accelerating economic growth and development one of which is the idea of foreign direct investment (Aremu, 1997). The role of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) has been widely recognized as a growth-enhancing factor in the developing countries. FDI is a machine of growth as it provides the much needed capital for investment, increases competition in the host country industries and aids local firms to become more productive by adopting more efficient technologies or by investing in human and/or physical capital. Foreign direct investments contribute to economic growth in a substantial manner because it is more stable than other forms of capital flows (Ajayi, 2006). FDI is seen as one of the main factors to stimulate economic growth, explaining the effect of foreign direct investment on the host countries Falki, (2009) sees FDI as a way of expanding production level, increase the level of employment opportunities, raise in export and the speed of technological transfer. He also describe the advantage of FDI to the host country as a way of facilitating the application of the local raw materials, introduction of modern techniques of marketing and management

and also financing current account deficits and increase in the stock of human capital through the job training. All this generates a considerable impact on the host nation's productive capabilities. A developing country always wants to attract investment from foreign investors and foreign country which is needed for the growth of its economic as well as for the development of the people in the country.

The Nigeria economy is often referred to as the "Giant of Africa", owing to its large population and biggest economy in Africa. With approximately 182 million inhabitants, Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa and the seventh most populous country in the world. With crude oil as the main source of revenue, Nigeria is said to be the 12th largest producer of petroleum in the world and the 8th largest exporter, and has the 10th largest proven reserves. (The country became a member in OPEC in 1971). Petroleum plays a large role in the Nigerian economy, accounting for 40% of GDP and 80% of Government earnings. Nigeria is well endorsed with vast human and material resources that can guarantee sustainable economic growth and development. The country has a land area of 923,773km², with varied vegetation and soil types that are suitable for a variety of agricultural purposes.

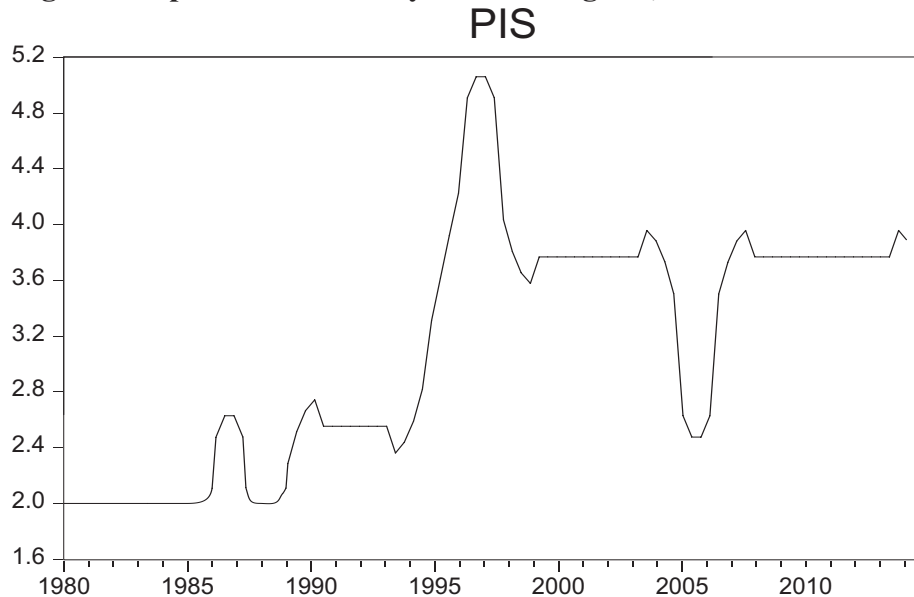
With the vast resources in the country the level of poverty is still high, that is the resources available are inadequate for the

large population size. The rate of unemployment in Nigeria is becoming alarming and the need to address poverty in Nigeria has become an issue. This is because it has been observed that over 70% of the Nigerian populations are living in abject poverty surviving under less than a dollar per day due to low level of investment in the country. These case of inadequate resources in the economics of the African countries chasing after many needs of its people and also the ability to be able to finance long-term development projects in Africa, and with the idea of poverty reduction looking more and more bleak, attracting FDI can be a very good

strategies that can be used by the African countries especially Nigeria economy. The Nigerian government has been trying to provide an investment climate conducive for foreign investments, since the inflow of foreign investments into the country has not been reassuring due to various economic, political problems in the country like security challenges, high level of religion and political crisis for the country to attract investors into the country.

The Nigeria economy is a region which is characterized by politically unstable incidences which include wars, politics, religious and ethnic conflicts etc.

Figure 1.1: political instability index of Nigeria, 1980- 2014



Source: world development data indicator.

From the chart in figure 1.1 it shows the fluctuation rate of the stability index in Nigeria, the rate of political stability which has been in increasing rate from 1993 due to the annulment of the 1993 presidential election which paved way for the intervention of general Sani Abacha's autocratic regime marked by political violence and unrestrained corruption raised the level of political instability in the country as can be seen from the data above. The rise in the index rate in 2000 has to do with various outbreak of violence caused by religion tension resulting in losses of life in places like Kaduna, Kano, Taraba, Jos etc. The recent political crisis in the country since 2006 is the Boko Haram, an Islamic extremist group based in northeastern Nigeria.

Political stability as one of the determinants of FDI which can influence the level of foreign inflow into the country, the main reasons why foreign investors are scared of investing their assets in the African continent despite the idea of the profitability ventures, is the uncertainty of the region to be exposed to various economic crises which can expose the firms to high significant risks. This level of uncertainty can manifest itself in the Nigeria economic through high rate of political instability issues. There is a high probability of the African continent being exposed to crisis than the other regions in the world, in a study conducted on the war rate around the globe, Rogoff and Reinhart,

(2003) stated that the computed regional susceptibility to war indices for the period of 1960-2001 found out that wars are more likely to occur in the African continent than in other regions of the world. The regional susceptibility to war index is 26.3% for Africa compared to 19.4% and 9.9% for Asia and the Western Hemisphere respectively. Some other macroeconomic stability index can also be measured in this part, like the rate of inflation; interest rate etc. can also contribute to FDI inflow.

The study will be grouped into five chapters, chapter one comprises of the introductions and aims of the study. Chapter two includes a review of relevant literature of the determinants of foreign direct investment and the theoretical theory of FDI. Chapter three contains the methodology used to achieve the research objectives. Chapter four is concerned with data analysis of the empirical results. Lastly, chapter five includes summary, conclusion, recommendation as well as the implication for further research.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Eclectic theory

A popular conceptualization of, and theoretical framework for, FDI determinants is the "eclectic paradigm" attributed to Dunning (1977, 1993). It provides a framework that groups micro- and macro-level determinants in order to analyze why and where multinational

companies (MNCs) invest abroad. For Dunning, not only the structure of organization is important. The theory states that the extent, geography and composition of FDI by a multinational firm are determined by the interaction of three sets of interdependent variables (Dunning, 2001). This is expressed mathematically as;

$FDI = f(O, L, I)$ where

O = ownership

L = location

I = Internalization

(a) Ownership advantages is the competitive benefits of the enterprises seeking to engage in FDI, a good example include trademark, production techniques, entrepreneurial skills, and return to scale. Ownership advantage address the reason why some firms moves to abroad due to facts that MNCs have specific advantages that allowed it to operate and then overcome the operating cost in the foreign countries.

(b) Location advantages comprises of area with existence of raw materials, low wage for labor, special taxes and tariffs etc. locational advantage is the alternative countries or region, for undertaking the value adding activities of multinational enterprises (MNEs). It allowed the firms to locate its firm in a foreign market where it can gain influence by the country's location advantage such as government policies, institutional arrangements, political, legal, and cultural environments.

(c) Internalization advantages (advantages by own production rather than producing through a partnership arrangement such as licensing or a joint venture). According to Dunning there are three reason for internalization , firstly, risk and uncertainty, emanating from risk management process, secondly, firm in an imperfect market with economic of scale and third, absence of transaction pricing externalities in the market (William,1997). In his theory he categories the type of FDI into a) Resource seeking FDI, b) Market seeking FDI, c) Efficiency seeking FDI and d) Strategic asset/capabilities seeking FDI. The OLI framework provides a general framework that includes various influential factors that serve as determinant of foreign direct investment in the country. Despite the idea behind the foreign direct investors investing into a foreign country the main attribute to it is a macroeconomic stable country. A conducive environment is more suitable for any form of business. Political stability plays an important role in relations to every country's business, with bad political conditions foreign projects will be delayed until the environment is considered favorable and conducive (UNCTAD, 2010).

2.2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Political stability enhances the probability of attracting more FDI inflows into the developing countries. It is a very important factor for normal macroeconomic and investing environment. The level of political risks in a country largely depends

on the political stability state of the country and good supremacy of the government Husain, (2009). According to Iyela (2009), politically unstable economic decreases the cost of doing business and as such foreign investors would rather prefer a more political stable or lower political instability situation to place their investment. According to him the level of timidity that is noticeable in these countries in form of death, hostage taking and kidnapping will scare off investors, for they will prefer a more peaceful environment. The evidence behind the ranking of political stability is not very clear so far among countries, and there is unanimous conclusion about the significant of a politically stable country and the level of FDI inflow in the country. According to (Odi, 1997) where the host country owns rich natural resources, no further incentive may be required by the foreign investors, with good examples with countries like Angola where the situation of political instability has been a general issue. In general, the idea behind it is that as long as the foreign company is confident of being able to operate profitably without excessive risk to its capital and personnel, it will continue to invest in such countries. Specific proxy variables that are related to the issue of political instability proved very significant in some studies in relation to FDI inflow but the proxy variables used only covers some aspect of the measurement of political risk in the country, example of variables used are number of strike, riots, work days loss etc. Jaspersen et al. (2000)

and Hausmann and Fernandez-Arias (2000) conducted a research in the aspect of political risk and in their finding there was no relationship between FDI flows and political risk. Using data on U.S. FDI for two time periods, Loree and Guisinger (1995) found that political risk had no effect in 1977 but has a negative impact on FDI in 1982. Another study conducted by Ngowi (2001) argues that many developing countries have attracted little FDI because they are regarded as “high risk and are characterized by a lack of political and established stability and certainty.” Schneider and Frey (1985) in their investigation find an reverse relationship between the two variables Edwards (1990) uses two indices, namely political risk and political violence, to measure political instability and according to him Political instability which according to him measures the possibility of a change of government was significant and political violence which was measure by the occurrence of political assassination, violent, riots, political motivated strike etc was found not to be significant. In today's business foreign investors considered many features that are very important before establishing their business in any place of the world and one of these important factors is the degree of political stability of a country.

The degree of openness (DOP) is commonly measured in terms of the trade ratio which is as follows: $DOP = ((X+M)/GDP)$. Where, X is the annual

export value, M is the annual import value, and GDP is the Gross Domestic Products. Degree of trade openness shows the sign of the level of global integration of an economy. Charkrabarti (2001) in his view about trade openness stated that there is varied suggestion on the significant of openness as one of the determinant of FDI inflow but if the types of investment project are directed towards the tradable sectors of a country, then the degree of openness to trade should be a significant factors in the decision. In another study by Jordan, (2004) found the impact of openness on FDI to depends on the type of investment that is being carried out. If the type of investment is market seeking then less openness will be in that form cause high trade restrictions will be applied. In such cases if the foreign firms finds it difficult to import their product into the country in other to serve the local markets, they may set up companies in the host country. multinational firms that involved in export oriented investment may prefer a more open economy to invest into since additional market imperfections that accompany trade protection will imply higher or increase in the transaction cost that will be associated to export. Study from Kravis and Lipsey,(1982) Culem, (1988) and Edward,(1990) in their research find that degree of openness has a strong positive impact on FDI inflow. So far, a collection of assessment on openness has widely shows that openness to trade encourages more foreign direct investment inflow.

Inflation is the rate at which the general level of prices for goods and services is rising and, consequently, the purchasing power of currency is falling. Inflation rate is a vital feature of a country's good economic fundamentals. Rate of inflation is regarded as a crucial factor in persuading the FDI inflows. The high rates of inflation imply economic instability of the country. Akinboade, (2006) have concluded that low inflation is a sign of internal economic stability in the country volatile and unpredictable inflation rate in the host market creates uncertainty and discourages MNEs' FDI activities (Buckley et al, 2007). The study of Awan and uzZaman (2010) in his study stated that inflation rates have a positive significant effect of the FDI inflows in Pakistan. Similarly, another study of Zaman K, Shan I.A, Khan M, and Ahmad M,(2006) also found that inflation rate have positive significant impact on FDI inflows in Pakistan.

Interest rate is cost of borrowing and return on savings. Investors will look for low cost funding sources or lower rates and will invest in higher return or higher interest rates. It means capital will move from low rate country to high rate country. When we speak of foreign investment two type of interest rate are important to be considered before taking a decision to invest the first is the international interest rate and the second is the domestic interest rate. The international interest rate which is the cost of fund to the foreign investors should have

a negative impact on foreign investment and the domestic interest rate which is the rate of return on investment in the host country should have a positive impact on foreign investment (investopedia). Interest rate is another important determinant of FDI. Interest rate adjusted for inflation is good measure and important variable of FDI inflows (Singhania, 2011). According to Gross and Trevino (1996) a relatively high interest rate in a host country has a positive impact on inward FDI. (Chakrabarti, 2001) found that there is positive relation between interest rate and FDI in India. Real interest rate mainly measures the economic stability of an economy.

The few studies on the determinant of foreign direct investment using time series to check the co integration level between FDI and its determinant in Nigeria uses Johansen co integration test or other forms of co integration test. In our study we will use the ARDL model which will constitute a main gap in our study. The test has a numerous advantage over the various co integration tests. First, unlike other conventional co integration techniques, the ARDL bounds testing approach does not impose the restrictive assumption that all the variables under study must be integrated of the same order. In other words, the ARDL approach can be applied to test the existence of a relationship between variables regardless of whether the underlying regressors are integrated of order one [I(1)], order zero [I(0)].

METHODOLOGY

The data employed in this study are secondary data which were obtained from the world data indicator for Nigeria from 1979 – 2014 using a quarterly range data.

FDI is the amount of capital invested by foreign investor in an economy. FDI inflow can also be referring to business enterprises that are established in a country different from the country's investor it represents the net inflows of FDI to a country with which the investment is made. Therefore, FDI is measured by FDI per capita, which is measured by

$$FDI = \text{fdi} / \text{total population}$$

Political stability is one of the most important determinants of FDI in Africa, (p.13). Quazi (2007) found that political instability decreased FDI inflow into East Asia and suggested that promoting economic and political stability is helpful for economic planning, investments and FDI in particular. The rate of political stability in the country is measured using the political index rate in the country for the period under studies.

Price stability is one indicator of a stable macroeconomic environment of a country. Inflation rate of the country was measured given the consumer price index rate. This variable is employed as a measure to control economic stability (macroeconomic stability) in the home country and it is expected to have a negative sign relationship.

The real domestic interest rate, which serves as an indicator of the rate of return on investment in the host country is expected to have a positive effect on foreign direct investment. Investors will look for low cost funding sources or lower rates and will invest in higher return or higher interest rates.

Openness measure the degree at which a country is open to trade with other part of the world. The more an economy is opened to trade, the more incentive for MNCs need to trade to that economy. The degree of openness should have a positive impact on FDI which implies high degree of openness in the country. A negative coefficient implies high restriction in trade in such country through tariff, quota etc. study carried out by Anyanwu (2006), Al-Sadiq (2009), Porters (2010), Aremu (2013) on openness to trade show a positive coefficient. The rate of degree of openness is given by the import rate plus export rate divide by the GDP value in the country.

The study utilizes the newly proposed ARDL bounds testing approach originally introduced by Pesaran and Shin (1999) and later extended by Pesaran, Shin and Smith (2001) to examine the co-integration relationship between FDI and its various determinants. The test has a numerous advantage over the various co-integration tests.

First, unlike other conventional co-integration techniques, the ARDL bounds testing approach does not impose the restrictive assumption that all the variables under study must be integrated of the same order. In other words, the ARDL approach can be applied to test the existence of a relationship between variables regardless of whether the underlying regressors are integrated of order one $I(1)$ and order zero $I(0)$. Another advantage of the ARDL technique is that it generally provides unbiased estimates of the long-run model and valid t -statistics – even when some of the regressors are endogenous (Odhiambo, 2008; 2011). Again, while other co-integration techniques are sensitive to the size of the sample, where the critical value on their estimation is based on a large sample from 500 and above, the ARDL test is suitable even when the sample size is small given the critical value of small sample size by Narayan (2005). Thus, the ARDL test has superior small sample properties compared to the Johansen and Juselius (1990) co-integration test (Pesaran & Shin, 1999).

Following Pesaran et al. (2001); Narayan (2005), the study estimates the robust Autoregressive Distributed Lag (ARDL) model. The bounds testing approach is employed to test the existence of a co integration relationship amongst the variables. Our model is as follows:

$$\begin{aligned} \Delta FDI_t = & \beta_0 + \beta_1 FDI_{t-1} + \beta_2 pls_{t-1} + \beta_3 inr_{t-1} + \beta_4 cpi_{t-1} + \beta_5 opn_{t-1} + \sum_{i=0}^p \psi_i \Delta FDI_{t-1} \\ & + \sum_{i=0}^p \gamma_i \Delta pls_{t-1} + \sum_{i=0}^p \phi_i \Delta inr_{t-1} + \sum_{i=0}^p \lambda_i \Delta cpi_{t-1} + \sum_{i=0}^p \delta_i \Delta opn_{t-1} + \mu_t \end{aligned} \quad (3.4)$$

Where FDI is foreign direct investment,
 PLS is the political scale
 INR is the interest rate
 CPI is the consumer price index which
 measures the inflation rate
 OPN is the degree of openness.
 The coefficient β are the parameters for each
 of the variables.
 The subscript $_{t-1}$ is the lag period.
 Δ is the first difference operator
 These coefficients
 are the parameters of the variables at first
 difference, and μ is a white noise
 disturbance term.
 t represents time period.

The model is based on the theoretical
 argument in the literature review.
 Therefore, the empirical model follows
 dunning (1980, 1988) Al sadiq (2009)
 though with a slight modification. The
 adoption of the model is because it gives
 the inside association of the dependent
 and independent variables. The model can
 express in the following linear form

$$FDI_t = \beta_0 + \beta_1 PLS_t + \beta_2 CPI_t + \beta_3 INR_t + \beta_4 OPN_t + \mu_t$$

To investigate the long-run relationship
 between the variables under consideration,
 the bounds test for co-integration within

ARDL modeling approach was adopted in
 this study. The bounds test is used to
 examine the evidence of a long run
 relationship which is conducted using the F-
 test. The F-statistic tests the joint
 significance of the coefficients of the one
 period lagged level of the variables. Two
 sets of critical values are reported in Pesaran
 and Pesaran (1997) as well as in Pesaran et
 al. (2001). The two sets of critical values
 provide critical value bounds for all
 classifications of the regressors into purely
 I(1), purely I(0) or mutually co-integrated.
 If the computed F statistics is higher than the
 upper bound of the critical values then the
 null hypotheses is rejected. This shows an
 indication that there is co-integration
 among the variables, if the F-statistics is
 lower than the upper bound of the critical
 values then we fail to reject the null
 hypotheses because this is indicating that
 there is no co-integration among the
 variables. If the variables are found to be co-
 integrated then we test for the existence of
 long run and short run relationship among
 the determinants of foreign investment
 using the following long run and short run
 elasticity equations.

The long run coefficients are estimated to
 find the elasticity of the determinants of FDI
 based on Equation 3.5 specified underneath.

$$FDI_t = \beta_0 + \beta_1 fdi_{t-i} + \beta_2 pls_{t-i} + \beta_3 inr_{t-i} + \beta_4 cpi_{t-i} + \beta_5 opn_{t-i} + \mu_t \quad (3.5)$$

The short run relationship between foreign direct investment and the determinant is examined using the following equation (Equation 3.6).

$$\Delta FDI_t = \sum_{i=0}^p \gamma_1 \Delta FDI_{t-1} + \sum_{i=0}^p \gamma_2 \Delta pls_{t-1} + \sum_{i=0}^p \gamma_3 \Delta inr_{t-1} + \sum_{i=0}^p \gamma_4 \Delta cpi_{t-1} + \sum_{i=0}^p \gamma_5 \Delta opn_{t-1} + \xi ECM_{t-1} + \mu_t \quad (3.6)$$

Pesaran and Pesaran (1997) suggest applying the cumulative sum of recursive residuals (CUSUM) and the CUSUM of square (CUSUMSQ) tests proposed by Brown et al. (1975) to assess the parameter stability.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

Variable	Constant without trend		Constant with trend	
	Level	1 st Difference	Level	1 st Difference
FDI	-1.977	-4.004***	-1.779	-4.246***
PIS	-1.806	-3.705***	-1.546	-3.879**
INR	-3.261**	-8.229***	-3.269**	-8.259***
CPI	-1.599	-3.707***	-1.089	-3.964**
OPN	-1.607	-5.219***	-1.368	-5.278***

Note: ***, ** and * represent significance level at 1%, 5% and 10% respectively given the t statistical figure that the null hypothesis has unit root. The lag length is determined automatically based on Schwarz information criteria. The critical values for intercept without trend are -3.483, -2.884 and -2.579 whereas, for intercept with trend the values are -4.032, -3.146 and -3.148 for 1%, 5% and 10% respectively.

Table 2: Phillips-Perron unit root test

Variable	Constant without trend		Constant with trend	
	Level	1 st Difference	Level	1 st Difference
FDI	-2.764*	-6.923***	-2.566	-8.918***
PIS	-1.651	-9.671***	-2.233	-11.801***
INR	-2.663*	-7.784***	-2.643	-7.771***
CPI	-1.594	-7.320***	-0.582	-7.460***
OPN	-1.851	-8.096***	-1.715	-9.674***

Note: ***, ** and * represent the significant level at 1%, 5% and 10% respectively. The statistical figure shows that the null hypothesis of the series has unit root. The bandwidth is determined automatically based on Newey and West (1986). The critical values for intercept without trend are -3.483, -2.884 and -2.579 whereas, for intercept with trend the values are -4.032, -3.146 and -3.148 for 1%, 5% and 10% respectively.

The result of the two unit root test in table one and two shows that all the variables are integrated after taking the first differences at order I(1) except for interest rate which was found in both the test to be integrated at level that is I(0). All the unit root test have a null hypothesis (H0) stating that the series in question has a unit root against the alternative that it does not. Our results review that our variables are stationary of both order I (0) and I(1) respectively.

After determining the other of integration of each of the variables, the next set is to evaluate whether the variables used in our analysis are co integrated. An important

issue in applying a bound testing approach to co integration is the selection of the optimal lag length. A situation where the chosen lag length is less than the actual lag length, the omission of relevant lags can cause bias. Another situation where by the chosen lag length is greater than the actual lag, the inclusion of irrelevant lags in the equation provides inefficient estimation and does not give the expected results (Bahovec and Erjavec, 2009.) we set the maximum lag length at four, which is sufficiently long for the quarterly data to capture the dynamic relationship (Tang & Shahbaz, 2011). The result of the co integration is shown in table 4.3

Table 4.3: The result of ARDL co integration test
Bound testing to co integration

F (FDI/ PLS, CPI, OPN, INR)		
Optimal lag structure	ARDL (3, 0, 1, 2, 1)	
f- Statistics	8.61	
Significant level	critical value	
	Lower bound I (0)	upper bound I(1)
10%	2.45	3.52
5%	2.86	4.01
2.5%	3.25	4.49
1%	3.74	5.06

Note: ***, ** and * represent the significant level at 1%, 5%, and 10% respectively. The f statistical figures are for testing the null hypothesis that the series have no co integration.

To ascertain the present of co integration relationship among FDI and its determinant, a joint significant F-test for the null hypothesis of no co integration relation ($H_0: b_0 = b_1 \dots = b_k = 0$) was conducted. Interestingly, the calculated F-statistics for co integration test F (FDI/ PLS, CPI, OPN, INR) = 8.61 which is higher than the 1% upper bound critical value (5.06) provided by Narayan (2005). This implies that there is evidence of co integration between FDI and the determinants in the country. Therefore

computation of the long run effect is needed to assess the effect of political instability, inflation, interest rate and openness to FDI inflow in the country.

The existence of a long run relationship leads us to examine the magnitude of the effect of political instability, inflation, interest rate, and openness as the determinant of foreign direct investment inflow in Nigeria. The result of the long run relationship can be seen in table 4.4

Table 4.4: long run results

Long run coefficient – dependent variable is FDI			
Regressor	coefficient	standard error	T-ratio (prob)
PLS	-0.3286	0.1116	-2.9422(0.0039) ***
CPI	-0.0041	0.0020	-2.0550(0.0420) **
OPN	-0.1445	0.4500	-0.3212(0.7486)
INR	0.0457	0.0174	2.6259(0.0097) ***
Short run coefficient – dependent variable is Δ FDI, Δ = first difference operator			
Regressor	coefficient	standard error	T –ratio (prob)
Δ PLS	-0.3674	0.0730	-5.03116(0.0000) ***
Δ CPI	-0.0010	0.0005	-1.8112(0.0725) **
Δ OPN	1.0534	0.2922	3.6053(0.0004) ***
Δ INR	-0.0102	0.0097	-0.0577(0.2922)
Coin Eq	-0.2504	0.0411	-6.0082(0.0000) ***

Note: ***, ** and * represent the significant level at 1%, 5% and 10% respectively.

The results of the estimated coefficients of the long-run relationship reported in Table 4.7 depicts that the coefficient of PLS is shown to be significant and negative, as expected. This implies that an increase in the unit of political instability in the country will decrease the rate of foreign direct investment into the country by 32% in the long run as shown in the table. The main reasons why foreign investors don't want to invest in African continent despite the profitable opportunities is the level of high degree of uncertainty in the region which expose the investors to significant risk. This level of uncertainty can manifest itself in the Nigeria economic through the various political instability issues governing the country in the form of religious and ethnic crisis among the people and also other crisis like the Boko Haram crisis.

The coefficient of inflation was significant and negative from the table in the long run implying that increase in inflation rate in the country reduces the inflow of foreign direct investment in the country, the magnitude of the change is a percentage change in inflation rate reduces FDI by the magnitude of 0.4 percent. The sign for inflation rate is just as expected and the level of inflation in the country is not based on the basis of improve standard of living but rather on the basis of shortage in the level of domestic productions in which the market demand is higher than, for that most of the goods has to be imported.

Interest rate coefficient was significant and positive though most of the studies regarding interest rate as a determinant of foreign direct investment believe the coefficient should be negative implying an increase interest reduces FDI but study from Singhanian, 2011 claims that if interest rate can serve as an adjusted variable of inflation in the country then it's a good measure and important variable for FDI inflow. The implication means that an increase in interest rate can adjust the inflation rate by reducing inflation in the economic which can then increase the attraction of foreign direct investment. The high interest rate in the country can only seek to attract foreign investors into the financial sectors in the country.

The degree of openness though not significant in the long run was significant and positive in the short run implying that a more open economic attracts more foreign direct investment than the other.

From the short run table it shows that the error correction model which was also estimated within the ARDL framework, the result is negative indicating that feedback mechanism is very effective. In other words, convergence to equilibrium in the long run after a shock given the value -0.25, suggested that a deviation from the long run equilibrium level quarterly will be corrected by 25% in the next quarter.

Table 4.5 diagnostic testing

Diagnostic test	tests statistic
R ²	0.525
Adjusted R ²	0.478
F – Statistics	12,338(0.0000) ***
JB Normality test	155.53(0.0000) ***
Breusch Godfrey serial correlation LM test	0.7839, 0.7728
Heteroskedasticity	0.5710, 0.5677

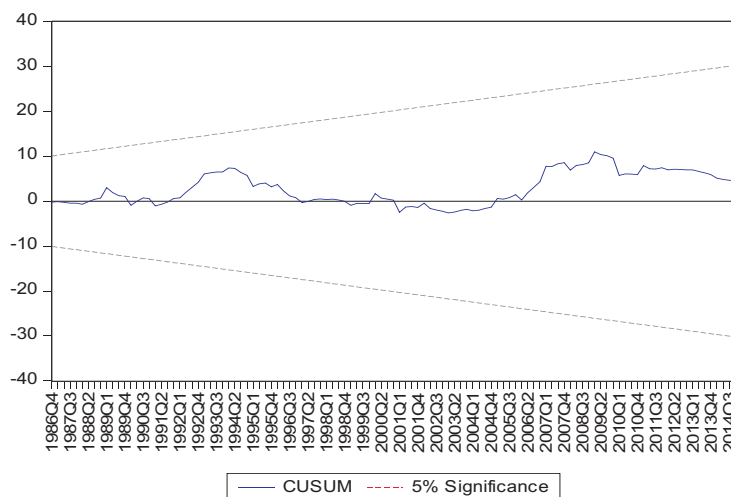
Note: ***, ** and * represent level of significant at 1%, 5%, and 10% respectively

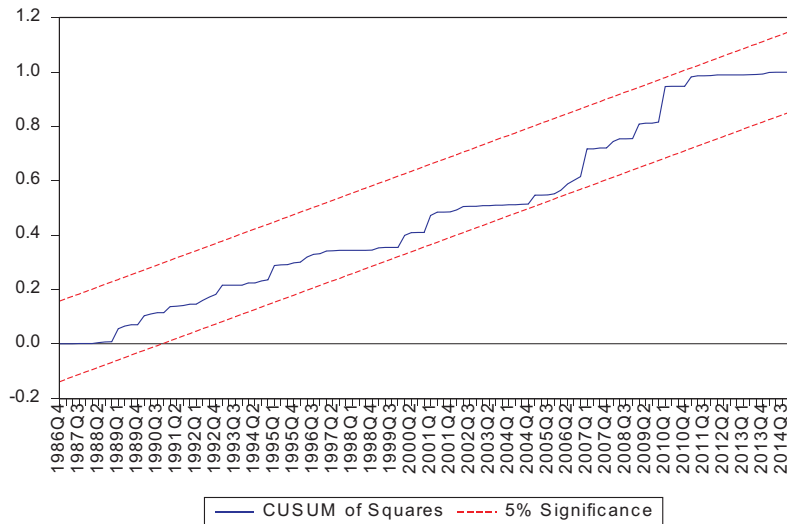
The result display in table 4.3 shows that the model passes the entire diagnostic test performed for serial correlation, heteroskedasticity, and normality test. The normality test viewing from the value of the probability shows that its statistically significant, both LM and Heteroskedasticity shows we will reject the null hypothesis, showing that no problem of

heteroskedasticity and the series are not serially correlated.

4.6 CUSUM and CUSUM square

The cumulative sum of recursive residuals plot and the cumulative sum of square of recursive residual plot estimation helps in showing the stability of the long run coefficient of the regressors.





Both figures of CUSUM and CUSUMQ are within the boundary lines, showing that the model is stable and confirm the stability of the long run co efficient of the regressors.

SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

There are theoretical and empirical studies conducted to examine the factors that can serve as determinant of FDI inflow. One of the most famous and widely accepted theories of FDI was adopted in our study, theory known as the Eclectic theory. This theory was adopted and applied to identify the factors that can influence foreign direct investment inflow in Nigeria. The result confirms the validity of the Eclectic paradigm modeling and also is in consistence with previous studies. However there are studies that asserted that rate of political instability is not significant to FDI

inflow in the country, viewing from the country's own natural resources, therefore no further incentive may be required by the foreign investors. Such can of FDI is referred to as resource seeking FDI. This study examines the effect of political instability on FDI inflow and if such inflow can be view as a resource seeking FDI or market seeking. Moreover, viewing from the significant of our analysis and negative coefficient of the political instability to FDI, we can say that FDI inflow in Nigeria is market seeking not resource seeking.

However, the estimation of the model with the selection of the macroeconomic variables was in accordance with the reviewed literature. The variables that are considered as the determinant of FDI inflow, such as political stability measured

by the political index rate in the country, inflation (CPI) this was used to measure the change in the price level of goods and services and macroeconomic stability, degree of openness in which import plus export divided by country's GDP was used to measure it and last variable interest rate. Political stability and interest rate were significant at one percent and inflation was significant at five percent level of significant. Degree of openness was significant at one percent but only in the short run. All the variables used are in consistent with their expected signs only interest rate that deviated from it expected sign.

Previous studies from the empirical literature given and even the theoretical framework has ascertained the important a country could derive from foreign direct investment inflow. It can be of many benefits to the country if they can adopt a policy that can help improve their security level and reduce the rate of political instability in the country. Decrease in the level of political instability can improve the certainty of investing into the country by foreign investors both from the theoretical and empirical literature perspective. The following are the policy recommendation for the study.

- i) Based on the result, it is found that political stability is an important determinant of FDI inflow. Therefore the Nigeria government should put in place a high security measures that can

help protect the country against internal and external crisis. Though the Nigeria government has been increasing its expenditure on security issues in the country, notwithstanding there are still high level of religious and political crisis in the country. Therefore the government can put more effort in educating the people on the important of unity and stability in the country. It can do so by educating the people on the effect of religion violent to the economic and the important of togetherness. Improve the working condition of the countries force power and ensure law and order enforcement that will bring peaceful co-existence among the people.

- ii) The government can put in place a very sound liberalization trade policy that would help facilitate the activities of foreign investors due to the crucial benefits that can be generated in the economy from FDI inflow.

The study was only able to examine four variables as the determinant for foreign direct investment. Therefore, it is suggested for future study to cooperate more variables to examine the significant of these other variables as determinant of foreign direct investment.

This study is a pioneering attempt to examine the determinant of FDI inflow in

Nigeria suggesting how the government and the policy makers in to revamp the FDI policy to attract more investment into the country. The present study's main finding is that the impact of political stability on FDI inflows in to the country is very important. The study traced that macroeconomic variables like inflation and interest rate are very significant to foreign direct investment inflow in Nigeria.

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**APPRAISAL OF THE CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF
POLITICAL VIOLENCE ON NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN
NIGERIA: 2007–2014.**

By

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Abstract

The study was undertaken to assess the causes and consequences of political violence on national development in Nigeria from 2007-2014. Political violence has been argued to affects National development owing to its accompanying destruction of lives and properties as was the case during the 2007 stretching to 2014 election period. **The group conflict theory was adopted for the study.** The study has its methodology rooted in the secondary source of data collection which has to do with the use of textbooks, journals, internet materials, etc. findings from the study shows that political violence has brought a lot of conflicts in Nigeria among ethnics groups, religions and tribes, the occurrence of conflicts in any society could be more violent leading to cruel destruction of lives and property which hinders sustainable national development. The paper suggested among others that; **Ethical re-orientation of persons and institutions, Viable and efficient Anti-corruption institutions, Addressing Unemployment problems, Poverty and illiteracy**, campaigns focused on the implementation of the critical national economic, political, social, cultural, educational, and health services, are way of curbing political violence in Nigeria.

Key Words: Politics, Violence, Causes, Development and Implications

INTRODUCTION

The civilization of mankind which has witnessed an enormous transformation of man and his environment would not have been possible without political power acquisition, utilization and manifestation in the political system for his ever unstoppable search for relevance and advantage which has indeed, generated so many tensions and hostilities. Consequently, for most developing democracies of the third world countries particularly Nigeria, political violence has been a constant occurrence which character and dimension are quite frightening in the political arena. Nigeria in the recent decades has been in the news for a very ugly reason of the unprecedented political violence which has occurred in different parts of the country but with specific dominance in the Northern area of Nigeria. In the same vein, multifarious and multi-dimensional violence is not new to the Nigeria political landscape and the generality of the people (Egwu, 2006). The philosophy of violence in Nigeria political system has been sustained as part of the country's political conduct since independence and constitute one of the powerful causes of poor political participation of Nigerians in politics particularly during elections and other social activities, (Uche & Obi, 2016: Obi & Ocheja, 2016). In place of democratic rivalries, struggles for political offices have often been conducted violently in the street by gangs of thugs recruited, trained and empowered by politicians to help them

seize control of power. Many political figures openly recruit and arm criminal gangs to unleash terror upon their opponents and ordinary members of the public.

In Gombe State, for example, politicians openly recruit violent cult gangs to harass, intimidate and victimize their opponent and rig the voting on Election Day (Human Rights Watch, 2007). Nationwide polls in 1999 and 2003 were systematically rigged and local government polls in 2004 were plagued by similar abuses and the country's 2007 polls proved to be another violent farce. Many seasoned observers stated that the 2007 polls were the worst they have witnessed anywhere in the world (Human Rights Watch 2007:2). The multiplier implication of political violence is that it has resulted in the underdeveloped growth and development of Nigeria.

It is based on the foregoing that this paper is poised at exploring the causes, implications, or effects of political violence on Nigeria's development, growth and the measures to solving the problem.

Research Assumption

Political violence does not negate national development.

Research Methods and Materials

The paper adopted secondary source of data collection from text books, journals, Newspapers, commentaries, documentaries

and internet materials, etc. documentary approach was the tool of analysis used to interpret, describe and understand how political violence affects national development in Nigeria. The choice of document analysis was pertinent because the paper was primarily concerned with identifying and selecting relevant documentaries, literature, magazines and evaluating evidence in academic research. Duffy (2000) stated that the document analysis approach is dynamic in nature because it can be used as the central or exclusive method of research. Johnson (1984) further explained that document analysis is useful in research that focuses on organization policy or evaluating government reports. Hakim (2000) and Elton (2002) viewed document analysis as examining information that came into existence during a particular period of study. This study was undertaken in essence of critical enquiry, with the aim of bringing to limelight the multiplier implication of political violence on development in Nigeria.

Framework of Analysis

The Group Conflict Theory

The group conflict theorists are of the view that there are groups in the society that have different interests. In this regard, they believe that social arrangement will tend to benefit some groups at the expense of others. Because of the existence of different interests, the potentials and the likelihood of conflict is always present. The group

conflict theory views violence as a product of a struggle for power among groups within the society. The proponents of this view, especially the sociologists, direct our attention to the cleavages within a society, especially between ethnic, racial and religious groups. Specifically, in this study, we are concerned with ethnic conflict models and also cleavages between political organizations. According to this theory, some groups come to dominate others, and to win for themselves a disproportionate share of the society's political power, which includes wealth and privileges in the society at the expense of the less powerful ones, (Verma, 1998)

They also incriminate the activities of the less powerful while they protect that of the most powerful persons, such situations according to this theory creates violence. The theory is of the view that, the masses are not bound to society by their shared values, but by coercion at the hands of those in power. This perspective sees social control, not consensus and conformity. Groups and individuals advance their own interests, struggling over control of societal resources. Those with the most resources exercise power over others with inequality and power struggles resulting. There is great attention paid to class race, and gender in this perspective because they are seen as the grounds of the most pertinent and enduring struggles in the society which often lead to political violence (Anderson and Taylor, 2009).

According to the theory, the nature of politicking in Nigeria abridges the basic right of citizens as the various institution of society such as the legal and political system are instruments of ruling class domination and serve to further its interests. However, the activities of citizens aimed at maintaining the resistance lead to increased escalation of political violence in Nigeria. Consequently, upon this ugly menace, politicians in Nigeria used to create many ethnic and social problems to the society especially when the masses attempt to fight back, for instance, the elections held in 2003 was preceded by widespread intra-party and inter-party violence that continued on the polling days (Human Rights Watch, 2007).

This further indicated that both Nigeria Federal and state elections in 2003 and local government elections in 2004 were marred by serious incidents of violence, which left scores of dead and many others injured. In April and May 2003, at least one hundred people were killed and many injured. The majority of the people were serious abuses and perpetrated by members or supporters of the ruling party, the People's Democratic Party (PDP). In a number of locations, elections simply did not take place as groups of armed thugs linked to political parties and candidates intimidated and threatened voters in order to falsify results (Alemika, 2011).

Political Violence

Politics, according to Quincy (1955), is the

quest for power, order, justice and the art of manipulating, influencing and controlling others. This is to say that people in the quest for power, justice and order, can result to force to ensure compliance. Politics is the general process of carrying out the business of the government. It is the theory and practice of government, especially the activities associated with governing, obtaining legislative and executive powers or forming and running organs connected with the government (Encarta Dictionary, 2009). Marx Weber defines politics as the struggle for power. Harold Lasswell defines it as the game of who gets what, when and how of the public resources. David Easton, on the other hand, sees politics as the authoritative allocation of values for the general benefit of all. Violence is associated with Karl Marx's notion of politics as essentially a class struggle between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots'. Violence is an illegal and illegitimate act or the intricate web of deciding who gets what, when and how carried out by non-government individuals and groups in a political setting, Anifowose (1982).

However, Eckstein (1964) argued that political violence is:

The use of threat or physical act carried out by an individual or individuals within a political system with the intent to cause injury or death to persons and damage to property and whose objectives, choice of targets,

victims, surrounding circumstances, implementation and effects have political significance that tends to modify the behaviour of others in existing arrangement of power structure that has some consequences for the political system.

This implies that for violence to be political, there must be intent of affecting the political process (though it may not be immediately apparent whether an action has a political component or not). The political process is considered to be the system of distribution of values by specific individuals within specific organization/institutions.

In his contribution to the literature on political violence, Smith (1968) asserts that;

Violence has always been part of the political process. Protest activities of one form or the other, efforts to dramatize grievances in a fashion that will attract attention or threaten the destruction of life and property, appear as the expression of political grievances even in stable consensual societies. The victim ratio of political action is force; political activity below the threshold of force is normally carried

on with the knowledge that an issue may be escalated into overt violence if a party feels aggrieved.

Adding strength to Smith assertion, Azeez,(2005) opined that Political violence is the breakdown of consensual norms, political alienation and the cohesiveness of a ruling group; a response to frustrating circumstances.

The above assertion suggests that, in every political setting, violence tends to set in for the purpose of achieving desired ends. Hence, Adigba (2002) asserts that political violence disrupts the political process as can be seen in the truncation of the first and second republic in Nigeria. This affects the implementation of government policies. Political violence in Nigeria has not only become a phenomenon but has become a strategy used by politicians to advance their interest, a strategy used by groups in pursuing redress, also a strategy used by an opposing party to frustrate the ruling party and this, however, has serious implication on the state and the society at large. The effect of political violence on National development cannot be underestimated in Nigeria.

Development

According to Seer's, (1969) Development means if the level of poverty, unemployment and inequality have declined over a period, then development

can say to have occurred. Then it is likely that the standard of living of individuals has improved, it is clear then, that economic progress is essential. For seers, before one can talk about development, there are four important questions to be asked,

- i. What is happening to poverty?
- ii. What is happening to unemployment?
- iii. What is happening to inequality?
- iv. What is happening to illiteracy

According to Seer's true development lay in the elimination of poverty, increase in literacy and improvement in the health system as opposed to the increase of per capita output. Dudley Seer's stressed the implication of social development in developing countries before moving to economic development seeing that in order for economic development to reach its maximum potential social development has to occur first. Seer was highly critical of using indexes such as unemployment and inflation when referring to Third World countries. In other words to Seers true development lay in the elimination of poverty, increase in literacy, improvement in the health system as opposed to the increase of per capita output.

Development is now seen as a transformation of the society, a move from the old ways of thinking, and old form of social and economic organization to new ones (Stiglitz cited in Afeikhena 2004:207). As Chandler (2007) rightly

observed that development has been redefined, taking the emphasis away from traditional economic indicators of GDP and trade and broadening out the concept to take in psychological and material factors related to the measurement of human well-being. Specifically, Rodney (1981), Nnoli (1981), Ake (2001) have argued that development is multifaceted and indeed centred on man. For Nnoli (1981) development could be seen as a dialectical phenomenon in which the individual and the society interact with their physical, biological and inter human environments transforming them for own betterment and that of humanity at large and being transformed in the process. This view or conception of development according to Okolie (2009) pointedly improves man's potentials and capacities and subsequently eliminates and/or reduces poverty, penury, inequality, unemployment and generally enhances the condition for human existence and self-reproduction.

Development, therefore, could be seen as the process of empowering people to maximize their potentials and the ability to exploit nature to meet daily human needs. It can also be seen as a process by which quality of human lives and capacity to surmount daily needs are considerably improved.

Development Report 2007/2008 stated that:
Human development is about people. It is about expanding

people's real choices and the substantive freedoms, the capabilities that enable them to lead lives that they value. Choice and freedom in human development mean something more than the absence of constraints. People whose lives are blighted by poverty, ill health or illiteracy are not in any meaningful sense free to lead the lives that they value, neither are people who are denied their civil and political rights. They need to influence decisions that affect their lives (UNDP, 2007:24).

Causes of Political Violence in Nigeria

Political violence is a common phenomenon in Nigeria. It is a deliberate use of force to achieve specific political objectives. Obviously, political violence is encouraged by internal and external contradictions in the nation's political system. A range of political crises is triggered off by political differences of the ruling elites. The fact that politics deals with power acquisition and allocation of resources, the instinct and urge for political violence become the inescapable reality in social engineering; although violence in Nigerian politics sometimes seem to possess liberating and redemptive value. Corruption, poverty and high rate of illiteracy promote the culture of political violence in Nigeria. Again, discontent, strife

action and social disaffection could be predisposing factors. The influence of godfatherism in Nigerian politics further entrenched the culture of violence within the political space. Political violence is an expression of the apparatus of the state particularly the police, state security service and national intelligence system Kolade (2007).

The persistence of political crises symptomizes ugly trends in the political development of the Nation. Consequently, political violence could arise from wide spread frustration in the polity. In some instances, violence erupts in politics as a result of power tussle between parties and also the manifestation of high joblessness of people. Also, money politics has corrosive effects on the political system.

The 2007 General Election Crisis

The 2007 general election in Nigeria has been judged by most observers to fall short in a long way of the standards of credible, free and fair election and has proven to be the worst in Nigeria's post-independence. This view was however informed by the act of violence, display of madness, corruption, high-handedness of the incumbent president and the shameless rigging that characterized the 2007 general election. In the lead up to the 2007 general elections acts of violence were committed by supporters of competing factors within political parties, particularly during contests for the party nomination and against the member of

rival parties. Instances of this violence are evident in the murder of Funsho Williams, the leading contender of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) gubernatorial nomination in Lagos, Jesse Arukwu of Action Congress(AC) governorship candidate in Plateau State, Ayo Daramola of Ondo State.

Violence worsened once election campaigning began and particularly after President Olusegun Obasanjo was quoted as describing the 2007 elections as a do or die affair as well as a matter of life and death for the People's Democratic Party (PDP), Kolade (2007). In response, some opposition leaders called on the Nigerian Police Force (NPF) which answer directly to the president not to act as a partisan force. There were also several incidents of activists from different parties attempting to disrupt opponent rallies and other events.

The 2007 Election Day violence was followed by public protests in many states as INEC (Independent National Electoral Commission) announced results mostly in favour of the PDP that in some case were at odds with anticipated results. The winner of the governorship election in Delta State was already announced in Abuja before the collation and counting of votes. In Ondo State protesters set ablaze the houses and vehicles of known PDP supporters.

In Edo State, Adams Ochiomole of A.C.N was arrested for leading protest against the

declaration of victory for the PDP candidate. In Kogi State, riots broke out when the state was declared for the PDP and a deputy commissioner of police was among reported total of 15 (fifteen) persons killed (Chris 2007). In Nassarawa State as well, six persons were reported killed during the protest against the declaration for the PDP over the ANPP (All Nigeria People Party) candidate (Chris, 2007).

On April 19th, 2007, President Olusegun Obasanjo broadcast a national appeal to quell tension and encourage citizens to exercise their civic right by voting in the April 21st polls. Despite the President's appeal, violence continued to rumble. In Benue State, 10 people were reported killed and 30 houses were burnt when violence erupted between the AC and PDP. Several police officers lost their lives in violent attacks on police stations in Kano State by a group that called itself the Nigerian Taliban group (Human Right Watch 2007:4).

The 2011 General Election Crisis

The April 2011 presidential election was heralded as among the fairest in Nigeria's history but also among the bloodiest. The violence began with the protest by supporters of the main opposition candidate, Muhammadu Buhari, a Northern Muslim from the Congress for Progressive Change (C.P.C) following the re-election of Incumbent Goodluck Jonathan, a Christian from the Niger Delta in the south, who was the candidate for the ruling P.D.P. The

Protests degenerated into violent riots and sectarian killings in the Northern States as Human Right Watch (2011) reported that more than 800 people died in election related and communal violence in Northern Nigeria.

The presidential election divided the country along ethnic and religious lines. As elections results trickled in on April 17, 2011, it became clear that Buhari had lost; his supporters took to the streets of Northern towns and cities to protest what they alleged to be the rigging of election results. The protesters started burning tires and protests soon turned into riots. The Muslim rioters targeted and killed Christians and members of ethnic groups from Southern Nigeria, who were perceived to be supporters of the ruling party. They also attacked police stations and electoral commission offices. In the predominantly Christian towns and villages of Southern Kaduna State, sectarian clashes left more than 500 people dead and Human right watch also estimated that in Northern Kaduna State, at least 180 people were killed in the cities of Kaduna and Zaria and their surrounding suburbs, Human Right Watch (2011)

Key Indicators of Political Violence in Nigeria/Implication

Of recent, political violence is now more alarming than what was observed and felt in the late 1960s and 1980s. However, there are various reasons advanced for the political violence in Nigeria, and perhaps

these reasons vary from one or regions to regions which among others include:

A. Lack of Realistic Natural Identity:

Nigeria is inhibited by a large number of tribal groups with population figures from a few thousand to millions and speaking over 400 hundred languages. Otite (2002) observed that Nigeria has about 300 ethnic groups. Taking a deeper look at background history of Nigeria you will find out that Nigeria is made up of sub-national groups who have no common desire of unity and as a result, the relationship between the various ethnic groups in Nigeria is characterized by antagonism and hatred. These, however, were manifested by the number of violent clashes witnessed between 1999 and 2007. Within this period ethnic clashes arose between Yorubas and Hausas in Sagamu, the Ibos and Hausa/Fulani in Kaduna, these violent killings led to the death of many. This level of acrimony antagonism between ethnic groups in Nigeria shows that they are not ready to live together and cooperate effectively in the realization of an integrated nation.

B. Injustice and Marginalization in the distribution of Resources:

discontent, as a result of injustice and marginalization suffered by many ethnic groups, states and individuals

from the distribution of socio-economic right have a direct bearing on the problem of political violence. Sharply unequal distribution of resources creates social and political divisions that undermine consensus and increased opportunities for political violence. The violent uprising in the Niger delta was a response to the frustration accumulated over their marginalization and regarding the distribution of political and economic resources.

The states in the Niger delta saw themselves sidelined in the existing social, economic and political institutions and this attitude generated to frustration and anger which gave vent to violent outburst in order to support demands for tangible responses. These violent actions were not only demonstrated in the destruction of oil pipelines but the property of oil companies in Niger delta. In the Eastern states as well, there was a strong demand for the creation of Biafra pioneered by a militant group MASSOB (Movement for the Actualization of the state of Biafra) and recently indigenous people of Biafra (IPOB) movement led by Nnamdi Kalu. In other parts of Nigeria, there a number of evidences on how injustices and marginalization in the provision of social amenities

opened the flood gate of political violence.

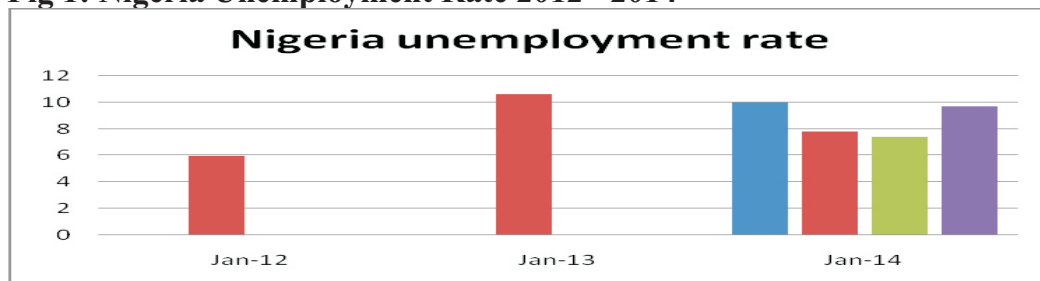
- C. The rate of Unemployment:** the high unemployment rate in Nigeria, triggers political violence. As state enterprises get privatized in the early part of the fourth republic, unemployment increased astronomically among displaced workers and youth as with low education and absolute skills. In March 2003, there was a composite unemployment rate of 10.8 percent as at when the Nigeria labour force was 61 million (Nwokoma, 2005). The chronic shortage of employment opportunities gives the politicians the leverage to mobilize the unemployed youth for a personal and parochial purpose.

In addition, unemployment, many Nigerians are underemployed, or better still exploited because they lack an alternative for a basic living. It is not uncommon to see even Master's Degree Holders earning ten thousand naira a month against the real salary. It is also not uncommon to see Nigeria University graduates becoming bus conductors – all because of frustration and perhaps maintaining family names. Some, too, are Okada drivers. It is because of these odd jobs engaged by this group of Nigerians that Gbenro Adesina

and Femi Ayodele of the News Magazine described them as "The Wasted Generation" (Adesina and Ayodele, 2011). It is also from this group that the dubious politicians usually recruit to do their bid during elections and promised juicy

rewards. Available statistics show that of the unemployed youth turn into trained militant sects and were recruited by politicians to intimidate, harass and assassinate political opponents.

Fig 1: Nigeria Unemployment Rate 2012 - 2014



Source: www.tradingeconomics.com national bureau of statistics,

Nigeria unemployment rate was recorded at 9.7% up from 10% in the fourth quarter of 2013, reaching the highest since December of 2009

D. Poor and Low Economic Growth in the Country: this is also considered as one of the primary cause of political violence in the Nigerian state. It is observed that between 1999-2007, Nigeria suffered economic growth rate of 0.8 percent per annum (Nwokoma, 2005) and one major consequence of this economic slow growth is the inability of the government to meet the needs of the citizens and this, however, causes wide spread frustration and disappointment in the country leading to protests.

E. High Level of Poverty: although Nigeria is recognized as the richest oil nation in Africa, majority of Nigerians are poor Opanyeni (1975:5) noted that *"It's now becoming evident that oil wealth does not mean an automatic prosperity for the people.... In Nigeria scarcity and wealth are companies"*

Nigerians both in the rural and urban centres find it difficult to feed clothe and house because of poverty. Children of thousands of Nigerians cannot go to school, increasing cost of living to neutralize the purchasing power of individuals and household thereby keeping them below the poverty level. Nigeria today is surrounded by catalogues of poverty which have become endemic in

her rural areas where over seventy (70%) percent of her population including small scale farmers resides (Nigeria Bureau of Statistics (NBS, 2010). There is declining well-being and rising poverty level as the impressive and sustained growth has failed to translate into poverty reduction which is inclusive of growth and development and this observation is substantiated by the significant deterioration in economic prosperity for the citizens, Iwayemi (2012), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP-2014) and (National Bureau of Statistics, 2012), stated that the level of poverty remained high at 65.5% at the national level. Unemployment level in Nigeria is high, for example, unemployment rate rose from 4.3% in 1976 to 6.4% in 1980, rose to 28.0 % in 1986, 28.57% in 2009, (Okigbo, 1989 in Obadan and Odusola, 2010; World Bank Report, 2009; Daily Trust, 2009;), and according to the then Minister of Finance Dr. Okonjo-Iweala, and Chairman of economic team in Nigeria as at then put unemployment rate at 37%, further research put it at 40% and claimed it will rise to 50% by the end of 2013, Ogunmade, (2013).

A study was conducted by a human rights group based in Lagos and it was discovered that 20 million Nigerian children below the age of fifteen are roaming the streets of the nineteen Northern state capitals as beggars. The study showed that in Kano State alone recorded 402,285 child beggars and seven out of every ten acts of violence are

perpetrated by these children (Obasi, 2002).

F. Arms Build-up: the proliferation of arms is also a constituting factor for political violence. In the Niger-delta area, for instance, politicians and militant groups acquire deadly weapons with which they use to incite political violence and to protect people who transform themselves into ethnic demagogues for instance Asari Dokubo, the leader of MEND (Movement for the emancipation of Niger Delta). Another example of Arms buildup is the arsenal of weapons built by the Boko Haram group and improvised explosive devices which they detonate at public places.

G. Inordinate Corrupt and Selfish Desire of Political Godfathers (Godfatherism): Not all aspirants to political office in Nigeria can rise on their own substantial resources usually necessary to compete in the country's violent and corrupt political system especially if they do not enjoy control over public resources. As a result, in many parts of Nigeria successful candidates are often those who are sponsored by wealthy and powerful individuals known in Nigeria as the "Political godfathers".

Godfatherism is the "States man" that was or still an influential politician who command respect in public because of material possession, wealth or charisma. A godfather can also be seen as a political Hulk who invest on a political Vulture with

the hope that the success of his protégé will translate to his political and economic interest. It is seen as king makers in most cases and all politicians within his area of influence become loyal to him, (Abia, 2008). Often times these Godfathers appear to be untouchables in the political chessboard. Indeed, whenever he sponsors a candidate for an election, it is expected that his candidate must win whether such candidate is accepted by the people or not. In such circumstance, they would do anything to make sure the Godfather's representative wins. Their actions would range from arming his boys, snatching of ballot boxes, and where there is opposition to their actions may result in killing, maiming of oppositions. It is from these actions that oppositions thrive and unnecessary elements take the centre stage.

Nexus between Political Violence and National Development in Nigeria

Based on the analysis of Political violence in Nigeria, it can, however, be deduced that political violence poses threat to National security. The Nigerian society is getting more and more insecure as a result of the unscrupulous activities of greedy politicians to wield power. More people are getting into crimes and they are getting more ruthless, desperate and deadly (Ukpere and Otto, 2012). Security according to Williams (2008:6) involves the ability to pursue cherished political and social goals. The relationship between the

two variables, which is political violence and National Development within the context of this work, is that National Development is dependent on the absence of political violence to thrive in other words; Political violence negates national development. That is the relationship between political violence and national development based on the effects it has on the economic, social and political well-being of Nigeria which is as well one of the objectives which this research paper seeks to affirm.

Effects of Political Violence on Nigeria's Economy

The growing rate of insecurity in Nigeria characterized by political undertones since 2007 has significantly affected the Country's economy. Before the Federal government's amnesty programme designed for militants in the Niger Delta region, the oil production and numbers of barrels produced per day, drastically declined and this was largely due to kidnapping and hostage of oil workers in the region thus most capital projects captured in 2007 and 2008 budget were not effectively implemented largely due to shortage of financial resources occasioned by militancy/unrest in the Nigeria. The spate of kidnapping in Nigeria's Niger Delta also resulted in serious economic problems as business men and investors were forced to relocate, (Obi, 2017).

The Boko-Haram activities in Nigeria

gradually changed the economic structure of the North, as the violence persists, the development of the region worsened. The evidence and fast change in indices in form of changing migration patterns from the North to the South, cost of insurance in the North, mass repatriation of funds, and dearth in skilled labour among others speak. Historically, each region in Nigeria compliments each other, what the North lacks in access to the sea, the South provides. The North wields 78 percent of Nigeria's land which supports most of

Nigeria's agriculture (Food, cash crops and livestock) and with the persistence of violence in the North, Nigeria experiences food scarcity as well as increase in prices of foodstuffs as the Northerners' claim the atmosphere is not conducive enough for them to supply. Finally as a result of political violence and other forms of unrest which the country is mired with, Nigeria's recurrent expenditure on security between 2007 – 2011 surpassed that of Agriculture, Education, Health, Road and Construction.

Table 1 Federal Government Recurrent Expenditure 2007 – 2011 (Naira – Billion)

CATEGORY	YEAR				
	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Internal Security	181.3	196.9	221.7	287.4	358.6
Agriculture	32.5	65.4	22.4	29.6	32.5
Education	50.8	164.0	137.1	158.6	162.5
Health	81.9	98.2	90.2	102.6	105.6
Roads and Construction	71.3	94.5	80.6	138.1	140.2

Source: Central Bank of Nigeria Annual Report, 2011

From the table, it is clear that Federal government recurrent expenditure on internal security supersedes all other sectors that would have improved the well-being and standard of living which National Development stands for. Expenditure on Agriculture would have contributed more to the GDP (Gross domestic product) of the country; increased expenditure on health would reduce the rate of deaths which is one of the indicators of Human Development Index (HDI).

From the foregoing analysis on the effect of political violence on Nigeria's economy, it is however evident that the only way that Nigeria can realize its goals of having a stable economy is by curbing political violence. Businesses no longer have a stay in our economy due to unrest and just as Clare (1998) rightly notes, businesses have a strong interest in the peaceful security of the countries which they are operating or wish to operate. The unemployment rate is on the increase as well as migration from the

North to the South which causes an economic catastrophe as well.

Effects of Political Violence on National Development in Nigeria

A democratic country is however believed to be one in which power is held by elected representatives. Incessant political killings and explosion of violent ethno-religious and communal conflicts ethno-religious and communal conflicts in Nigeria have eroded the widespread expectation that the inauguration of the civilian administration in 1999 would usher in a democratic dispensation (Omotosho, 2007). Political violence does not only challenge the authority of the Nigerian state as the custodian of the legitimate instruments of coercion but also pose systemic threats to democratic governance. The unconstitutional interruptions through flawed electoral processes and dramatic upsurge in deadly clashes and among the various political parties during the election period have continued to affect the country's nascent democracy. Electoral violence has caused a lot of harm to the democratic stability in Nigeria. An uncontrolled electoral violence has the potentials of truncating democratic stability in a country.

In Nigeria's Fourth Republic there are disturbing evidence of the abuse and manipulation of election finance and political funding. Not only have election financiers and political godfathers impose candidates and practically hijack most

political parties, those in the ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP) have also created the impression of being above the law (Yagboyaju, 2009), Schori in his explanation on the role of peace and security in the operation of a modern state and sustenance of democracy asserts that;

It must be realized that the security of the individual is as important as the security of the State and that human security is an essential element of democracy as insecurity of individuals occasioned by poverty, deprivation and social injustice, is a threat to democracy since one of the major reasons of individuals to form states is security” (Schori, 1996:59)

As long as Electoral violence continues democracy in Nigeria cannot be said to be the government for the people, by the people and for the people and the wishes of the people will be a distant dream as their government lacks accountability, transparency and responsibility.

Acceptance of Research Assumptions

Based on the overall analysis given on the effect of political violence on Nigeria's social, political and economic development it is however pertinent for us to accept our Alternative assumption which posits that political violence negates national development.

Ways of Curbing Political Violence in Nigeria

Political violence in Nigeria has specific characteristics that make its re-occurrence persistence. Below are however the ways of curbing political violence in Nigeria;

- 1. Addressing Unemployment problems:** unemployment is one of the fundamental factors that are responsible for smooth running of political violence activities in Nigeria. With a large population of unemployed people, the idle hands cannot but be the devil's workshop; violence basically is carried out by idle Nigerian Youths or insurgents from neighbouring countries. Therefore creating employment opportunities would reduce the level of political violence in the country as the youths will be engaged in responsible activities (Wale, 2011).
- 2. Addressing Poverty and illiteracy:** this, however, would minimize the level at which people react violently to frustrating circumstances. Poverty in the Niger Delta led to their violent behaviour and mass illiteracy in the Northern Nigeria as well led to their being sensitized on Western education as forbidden (Sunday, 2011).
- 3. Anti-corruption Development:** Corruption affects every facet of life in Nigeria; therefore any meaningful developmental effort must incorporate anti-corruption. It is corrupt nature of

public office holders that makes them want to wield power at all cost, therefore, they engage in all form of violent activities to scare their opponents. It is, however, important to remove the immunity clause for political office holders from the Constitution. The institution of a viable social security regime can help checkmate corruption. Prosecuting former corrupt political office holders could also serve as deterrence.

- 4. Security Sector Reforms:** the police have a crucial role in ensuring law and order in any society, to this effect, they must be well trained, structured, equipped and motivated, and the Nigerian police force likewise needs to be restructured, re-equipped and motivated to play its role in ensuring the consolidation of Nigeria's democracy which is a sign of political development. There is also a need for capacity building for the police and other security agencies in the area of small arms proliferation for the purpose of enabling their operational efficiency. Also increased co-operation between the police and other security agencies like customs and immigration service would also be necessary (Thompson, 2010).
- 5. Communication:** this is the process of sharing and exchanging information between individual groups and potential parties in a conflict situation. Political violence in Nigeria can,

however, be curbed by giving positive consideration to the increasing demand by the people for a national conference as a credible platform for ascertaining prevalent grievances of the diverse ethno-religious groups for possible remediation (Ajayi, 2012).

6. **Ethical re-orientation of persons and institutions:** this, however, can guarantee the establishment and sustenance of national security and eradicate political violence as it would have as its primary goal the redefinition of the value systems, attitudes, beliefs of the human population and the key social institutions and structures guiding national life. This ethical rejuvenation must affect every segment of the society such as the leadership, education industries, state agencies, commerce, economy, social services and infrastructures, political parties and professional unions (Ujomu, 2001). Summarily, it is obvious that governance issues are the bane of national development and political instability, in order to break this cycle of violence, accountability, transparency has to be guaranteed and the people have to be involved in issues that affect their lives.

Conclusion

Conclusively, this study analyses the causes and consequences of political violence on National Development with emphasis on

political violence in Nigeria from 2007–2014. Political violence manifest in acrimony, assault, assassination, intimidation, harassment, maiming and killing, consequently these affect the existing political and social relations in the society. This research reveals that as a result of political violence Nigeria's, economic growth has been negatively affected as it has reduced Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in the economy which led to increasing unemployment rate. It also revealed how government current expenditure on internal security surpasses all other sectors due to the high rate of insecurity in present day Nigeria characterized by political undertones. This research paper also reveals how the political violence affects Nigeria's political development as it stands as a bane to viable democracy in Nigeria, it analysis the effect of political violence on social development through the use of youths which inadvertently affects Human Development. However, the only way to fighting political violence in Nigeria is by removing all incentives that propel political violence like unemployment, illiteracy, poverty and corruption to mention but few.

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THE DIVERSIFICATION OF NIGERIAN ECONOMY FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT: CHALLENGES AND POSSIBILITIES

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Abstract

This study examines the importance of diversifying the Nigerian economy for sustainable development and to see how that can liberate the country out of the present economic challenges. The study relies on secondary source of data collection and argues that the continuous dwindling revenue generation in Nigeria particularly from the oil export has called for the diversification of the nation's economy. It reveals that many state governments in Nigeria have been finding it difficult especially towards the end of 2014 to even pay salaries of their public servants as a result of meager revenue allocation from the Federation Account. The study concludes that the diversification of the Nigerian economy should be given necessary attention it requires considering the development challenges facing the country at the moment. It recommends among others that governments at all levels in Nigeria should intensify efforts towards investing more in human development to double the skills and knowledge required to increase productivity and decrease import dependence which has been putting unnecessary pressures on the exchange rate for the naira.

Keywords: Diversification, Sustainable Growth, Sustainable Development, Nigerian Economy.

Introduction

The dwindling revenue generation in Nigeria today particularly from the oil export has called for the diversification of the nation's economy. This is evident in the fact that many state governments in Nigeria have been finding it difficult to even pay salaries of their public servants as a result of meager revenue allocation from the Federation Account. It is on record that in January 2016, the total revenue distributed to the three tiers of government, local state and federal, was N387.8 billion. In February the amount distributed came down to N370.3 billion. By the end of the first quarter in March it was N345.1 (Isa, 2015:27). This situation has continued since then and the question now is if governments cannot pay salary which is recurrent expenditure how can they embark on capital expenditure? This has made some states situation pitiable considering the fact that everything is now on hold with the existing basic infrastructure decaying.

It is interesting to note that Nigeria is the largest oil exporting country in Africa and sixth in the world and has a rapidly growing economy. The country, apart from crude oil, it is blessed with other numerous natural and human potentials but follows a resource based growth strategy driven by the production and exporting of oil. With the crash of global oil prices in the international market and often volatile growth of Nigeria's economy, the country has mismanaged most of the opportunities it

had and failed to break away from cocoon of underdevelopment in spite of its abundant natural and human resources. According to (Ojo, 1994) Nigeria has relied only on its huge crude oil resources as the major source of revenue, driving a monolithic economy for years in spite of the enormous developmental challenges it faces. It is regrettable to note that the oil resources are being mismanaged and a substantial part of it has gone on rent seeking and red-tapism common in Nigerian bureaucracy. For more than a decade now, Nigeria has been enjoying high levels of economic growth, human development, and relative political stability. As it continues along the path of economic progress, it is imperative that the country finds ways to diversify its economy by boosting non-traditional sectors, expanding its range of products for exports and engaging new economic and trade partners. Worthy to note again is that the economic nerve centre of Africa shifted northward in 2016 when Nigeria took South Africa's long-held position as the country with the continent's largest Gross Domestic Product. While GDP neither reflects the wealth distribution nor accounts for the size of the population, it is a significant indication of Nigeria's emerging economic power. Similarly, Yusuf, (2015:1) opined that during the boom years the price of crude oil per barrel was as high as \$100.00 but the government did not provide for the rainy day and much of the revenue was looted by corrupt public officers and elected representatives. In this respect, it becomes a

matter of serious concern and priority for the government to encourage the diversification of Nigeria's economy. This is because, that serves as the only alternative to survive the current global economic recession with the crash of oil price and as such, Nigerian government should not see or regard oil as the only option for revenue generation.

According to Osalor, (2016), Nigeria being the biggest black nation, was once the Chief in the production and export of palm-oil. In the 1950s, the country accounted for more than 40% of global palm-oil output; 82% of national export revenue was contributed by palm-oil in the year of her independence, 1960. However, the oil boom of the mid-seventies depressed the once-lively industry. The palm-oil harvest dwindled to a low 7% of global production just before the beginning of the new millennium. In the same vein, the Oil World Annual (2013) regretted that Nigeria now has a mere 1.75% of world production (and negligible exports). More embarrassing than dispiriting is the fact that Nigeria, the once-biggest exporter of crude oil has become a net importer, about 870,000 metric tons of the products are sourced annually from international markets largely from Malaysia-the leader in the world production-and small neighbouring countries like Togo, Benin, Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana, to meet local demands (Potter 2015:90)

Reflecting on Nigeria's development challenges, the most viable option better for the country is the diversification of her economy considering her background. It is against the foregoing that this paper examines the diversification of Nigerian economy by looking at the benefits essentially as it will help the country to judiciously utilize her endowed abundant human and material potentials in order to rebuild the economy and in turn, enjoy the benefits of all the linkages, synergy, economies of scale, grow national technology and foreign investment profile, build human capital, exploit new opportunities, lessen averagely operational costs, increase national competitiveness and increase the standard of living of the citizenry thereby building confidence of the citizens for national advancement.

What Went Wrong?

It is not an exaggeration to state at this juncture that the oil boom in the mid 1970s was what actually caused a serious neglect for agriculture as the Federal Government of Nigeria abandoned the industry to put all their arsenals on revenues from crude oil exports. There is no gainsaying the fact that the oil has seen Nigeria through her economic growth and prosperity but not without issues to regret. The last thirty years has seen decimal declining of the agricultural GDP contribution from 64% in 1960 to 44% in 2010. **This has made** (Udah, Nwachukwu, and Akpan 2015:57) to assert that undoubtedly, the agricultural

sector is the largest sector in the Nigerian economy, employing more than 70% of the active labour force and generating about 88% of non-oil foreign exchange earnings, (Yakubu and Akanegbu 2015:24) but as it is Nigeria is a monolithic economy, depending almost entirely on oil revenues which makes up 80% of its foreign exchange earnings (Ogbodo and Stewart 2014:28).

Meanwhile, the crash in the global oil market price since the second quarter of 2014 has generated a lot of scholarly debates and discussions about utilizing other alternatives through agriculture for sustainable economic development. It is interesting to note that the current administration of President Muhammadu Buhari has made frantic efforts towards reviving the economy through agriculture and has made a new fiscal policy which is geared towards restricting manufacturers access to Forex for import of certain raw materials which can be sourced alternatively at home, so as to boost local production and strengthen the value of the Naira, which has depreciated to a tune of 25% since June 2014 (Douglas 2015). For if Nigeria is to remain a key player in Africa and the changing global economy, it must change its appetite for import revenues and grow its taste for home-made revenues.

Put differently, it must diversify its economy to include all other non-oil sectors which have the ability to drive

industrialization. Now that the Central Bank of Nigeria has listed 41 items as “not fit for forex” (Abiodun 2015), and Palm oil happens to be one of them, it therefore signifies that this palm oil sector has the potential to contribute significantly towards the country's sustainable [economic] development. Although, there are various options for diversifying an economy such as agriculture, entertainment, financial services, industrialization, information and communication technology, tourism, mining, etc. However, with a major objective of diversifying the productive base of the Nigerian economy with a view to reducing dependence on the oil sector, this paper therefore, zoom its search light on 'agriculture' as the best alternative. The choice of this approach is informed by the fact that Developmental Policy in Nigeria and the huge successes recorded by some Asian countries—which are collectively referred to as 'Asian Tigers'—in applying these imperative, as well as the fact that these countries were basically at the same level of national development with Nigeria, at the time of their respective take-off and still share certain similarities with Nigeria, (Eko, et al. 2013).

Conceptual Clarifications

Here, some scholarly views about the meaning of the basic concepts under study were given due attention so as to ensure smooth flow of analysis. These are Economic Diversification and Sustainable Development.

Economic Diversification: There is no generally accepted definition of economic diversification due to the fact that a number of scholars have conceptualized it from different perspectives. But for the purpose of this study, some scholarly definitions will be examined so as to give us proper picture of the term. The term economic diversification refers to the strategy of making the economy dependent on a wide range of products and sectors instead of relying on a few or just one product. It also means integrating the economy into different regions of the global economy so that a robust economic growth and sustainable development can be generated (Uzonwanne, 2015:1).

This paper defines a diversified economy as an economy that has a number of various sources of revenue and provides nations with the potentials for sustainable growth and development due to the fact that it does not rely on one particular source of revenue. In a situation like this, such diversification provides nations with the security and reliability needed in case there is a failure in one economic revenue source the nation's attention can be diverted to other several alternatives for revenue.

Suffice it to say that the Nigerian agricultural sector has all it takes to serve as the springboard from which the socio-economic and industrial development of the

country can take root. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) cited in Adewunmi (2012) revealed nine specific investment options for business people and entrepreneurs, of which palm oil cultivation is listed. In Malaysia alone, the biggest player in the industry, palm oil accounts for over 5% of its exports, with an approximate value of \$20 billion; in fact, more than 600,000 people are directly employed by the Malaysian palm oil (Sustainable Palm Oil Report 2016).

In the opinion of Abiodun (2015), the transformation of agriculture holds the key to economic diversification and sustainable development. Economic diversification demands active participation in wide range of sectors, and firm integration into different regions (Uzonwanne 2015:61). Economic growth is the increase in per capita GDP or other measures of aggregate income, typically reported as the annual rate of change in real GDP (Nwosu, Osuji, Ajibade and Ogbumuo 2015:28). In a broader sense, it refers to the expansion in economic activities (production, exchange, and consumption) in a country at a particular time (Ojo and Oluwatayo 2015: 326). Economic development refers to economic growth sustained over time, and sustainable development is the development that meets the need of the present without compromising the ability of the future generations to meet their own needs (Ojo and Oluwatayo 2015: 326; Ogbodo and Stewart 2014: 21).

Sustainable Development: Just like the concept of economic diversification, the term sustainable development has also been defined by different writers from different perspectives. For instance, Lele (1991:607) defines sustainable development as a new way of life and approach to social and economic activities for all societies, rich and poor which is compatible with the preservation of the environment. Sustainable development according to Pearce and Watford (1993:8) is a process in which the natural resources base is not allowed to deteriorate. It emphasizes the hitherto unappreciated role of the environmental quality and environmental inputs in the process of raising real income and quality of life. In another development, the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) (1987:43) defines sustainable development as development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.

From the above conceptualizations however, it is crystal clear that sustainable development implies three primary factors of economic, social and environment. According to Oyeshola (2008:162), an economically sustainable system must be able to produce goods and services on a continuing basis and maintain manageable economy without jeopardizing sectoral balances of economic activities of the country. Environmentally sustainable system must maintain a stable resource

base, avoiding over exploitation of renewable system or environmental sink functions and depleting non-renewable resources only to the extent that investment is made in adequate substitutes. The last factor must achieve distributional equity, adequate provision of social services including health and education, transparency and participation, Oyeshola (2008:162).

Structure of the Nigerian Economy

It is pertinent to note that the Nigerian economy was originally based on Agriculture/Forestry, Manufacturing Industry/Construction and Trade/Services. The economy was rebased with the growing of other sectors such as Telecommunication.

According to the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS, 2014), the rebased Gross Domestic Product (GDP) amounted to N81 trillion (\$510 billion) as at the year ended 2014 and the growth rate was 7.5%. Interestingly, Nigerian economy became the largest in Africa and the 26th in the whole world with the statistics reeled out. Again, the rate of growth of the GDP of 7.5% placed the Nigerian economy in the group of countries with high growth rate like China and India and the Global average growth rate was 3.5%. With the G.D.P level of \$510bn Nigeria was ranked among nations with approximate G.D.Ps namely: Argentina – 25th, Nigeria – 26th, Austria – 27th and South Africa – 28th (Okeke, 2014:6).

A good example of this is the United States economy which is arguably the world's leading economy in the areas of technology, manufacturing, fashion, entertainment, financial services etc. Importantly, they export all of these services to other countries and earn revenue from it largely at any point in time. It is worthy to note that the economy is not entirely dependent on any one sector. If the technology industry suffers a setback, they can easily rely on revenues derived from the other sectors vice versa.

Going by the statistics from the National Bureau of Statistics NBS (2017), there is a significant change in the structure of the Nigerian economy as the agency reported that Nigeria is out of economic recession by the end of the second quarter of the year which is seen as a paradigm shift from previous years. Although, the share of Agriculture declined greatly while there was an increase in the share of other Services-Trade in the nominal GDP which makes the economy services oriented. By the end of the first quarter of 2015, the contribution of services sector to GDP stood at 54.56% while industry and agriculture accounted for 25.6% and 19.79% respectively (NBS, 2015, 2017; Enebili-Uzor 2015:18-46). The emergent other sectors are also coming up namely: telecommunication, e-commerce, entertainment etc. However, the preponderance of the trade/services sector is not a very healthy situation. It means that majority of Nigerians are selling and what

they are selling are imported goods not produced locally. Manufacturing contributed only 25.65% of GDP. Indeed GDP estimates based on the 1990 nominal series indicated that wholesale and retail trade was the largest component of the service sector, Mbaegbu (2016).

In another way, Nigeria is virtually dependent on the revenue derived from the sale of crude oil which accounts for about 90% of export revenue and over 60% of government revenue. Suffice it to say that Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product is diversified due to the number of goods and services produced in the economy which comprises of other goods aside oil. In short, oil can be said to account for only about 8 % of Nigeria's GDP.

The Need for Diversification of the Nigerian Economy

It is pertinent to note that diversification does not occur in a vacuum therefore, it becomes imperative to have in place an enabling environment necessarily for diversification. In diversifying the Nigerian economy, attention should be given to Agriculture which is the main stay of the Nigeria economy before the discovery of crude oil. To achieve this objective, adequate funding of agriculture will serve as an appropriate alternative in the diversification of the country's economy.

Iniodu, (1995) opined that diversification implies “movement into new fields and

stimulation and expansion of existing traditional products.” Diversification does not discourage specialization, but requires that resources be channeled into the best alternative uses. In macroeconomic planning, diversification promotes growth and development through the mobilization of savings from surplus sectors for use in the development of deficit sectors of the economy.

Considering the data from 2015, Nigeria's total value of exports stood at \$45,365 million which according to OPEC, Annual Statistical Bulletin (2016) within that figure, a whopping \$41,818 million came from petroleum export. Observing that in terms of Nigeria's total balance of payments, petroleum export revenue represents over 90 per cent of total export revenue. What can be deduced from this is just how vital the oil industry is to the Nigerian economy, and how volatile its economic position remains as a result of oil price fluctuations and continual oil price crises. It isn't difficult to recognize that there is a lack of economic diversity, and if the government is to avoid further economic downturn in Nigeria, changes must be made; the country must now turn to other industries. Related issues have also been mirrored in similarly oil-dependent Saudi Arabia and both countries are to now make fiscal adjustments following a series of oil price crises. Nigeria cannot continue spending its oil revenues without saving and cannot spend on consumption without

building the future economy.

Looking at the economic data of the second quarter of the year 2017 by the National Bureau of Statistics which pronounced Nigeria out of recession, one could be optimistic about Nigeria's future. It is interesting to note that Nigeria's non-oil sector was driven by the agriculture, information and communication, and services sectors, all of which are potential areas for economic diversification and have in one way or the other contributed greatly to the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). These sectors potentially saved the Nigerian economy from recession, most essentially agriculture and telecoms which both grew in the second quarter of the year 2017, with agriculture alone growing some 3.01%, (National Bureau of Statistics, 2017). It is worthy to note again that after the country's official recession diagnosis, the Nigerian government had set a 10% annual growth target for the agricultural sector and for good reason. For example, a 50kg bag of rice, likely imported from Thailand, was sold for 20,000 naira compared to 8,000 naira in the previous years. What this implies is that rising inflation is complicating the economic turmoil in Nigeria and one of the ways to curtail this is to reduce import volumes and instead produce its own goods for local needs. This gave reason to the current administration of President Muhammadu Buhari to give due attention to agriculture by encouraging farming so as to reduce

excessive hunger and starvation and as such, billions of naira have been awarded to many farmers as soft loans in that respect. It is also the belief of the government that this will not be difficult for the country to achieve given its 84 million hectares of arable land.

The Challenges of Economic Diversification in Nigeria

According to Mbaegbu & Ogbeifun (2009:16) The challenges for achieving a manufacturing driven diversification are basically the environmental factors of business in Nigeria detailed out as Economic, Socio-cultural, Political-legal and Technological/Global factors. The economic factors include unavailability of finance. Bank credits to small-scale enterprises have steadily been on decline. The banks should be made to finance the real sector before Nigeria can think of the industrial take off that will lead to diversification of the economy (Mbaegbu & Ogbeifun 2009:20). While finance is not easy to come by the costs of production have been prohibitive. The cost correlates-rate of inflation, the exchange rates and interest rates had always been on the increase thereby making capacity utilization in industries low. The Nigerian population by its sheer size projected to be 200 million in 2020 should provide good market for industrial goods, but there is mass poverty in the land and therefore purchasing power is low. There is also the need to consider the use of local inputs instead of being

dependent on imported raw materials like oats and barley for the breweries.

There are also the socio-cultural challenges which resulted to the dearth of basic infrastructure that can in turn, support industrialization. According to Global Competitiveness Index, Nigeria ranked 130 out of 180 countries in overall infrastructure development (Hassan, 2016:29). This includes energy crises, poor transport facilities and bad roads etc. Regrettably, the power sector situation has worsened in spite of the privatization and billions of dollars invested in the sector. In the opinion of Yusuf, (2016:26) they have been days during the first quarter of 2016 when electricity generation from the Generating Companies (GENCOS) was zero megawatts due to grid collapse occasioned by vandalization of pipelines that supply gas to the GENCOS.

Also since the last quarter of 2015 queues have returned to the petrol filling stations because of scarcity of fuel yet, Nigeria is the largest exporter of oil in Africa (Yusuf, 2016:25). The local refineries cannot meet local demand and the importers cannot sell at control prices without subsidy which had been tainted with corruption and reaps offs over the years. Even fuel pipelines are not spared of vandalization by the enemies of the government in the Niger Delta. Another challenge for diversification is the state of the Nigerian road networks which are not industry friendly. They are riddled with pot

holes that regularly make trailers carrying industrial raw materials and merchandize to fall over and destroy their wares. Again, railway lines that provide cheap means of transport in the industrialized countries of the world are not readily available any more in Nigeria in spite of the billions of naira regularly sunk to rehabilitate what the colonialist left for the country. Nigeria is blessed with many inland waterways that could be used for bulk haulage of industrial goods but they are not developed. The period of clearing goods at the ports is still long. Corruption and bureaucracy are the major problems (Mbaegbu, 2016). Besides, industries cannot thrive where there is poor communication network as it is in Nigeria in spite of the fact that the Global System for Mobile Communication (GSM) companies have more than 100 million subscribers in Nigeria (Okeke, 2014:8).

There is every need for good governance in order to deal decisively with the political and legal challenges which are very strong obstacle. According to Oteh, (2009:16), there are quick changes in public policies and the ease of doing business in Nigeria is among the highest in the world due to over-regulation and corruption. Public policy framework is a *sine qua non* for our model to operate. Policy inconsistency has been the bane of the development of Nigeria. Nigeria's policy makers are not unmindful of the second National Development plan of June 1966 with the industrial sector expected to grow at over 15% per annum.

The plan was jettisoned as well as the industrial policy of 1988 which was essentially an update of that of 1980 and part of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) 1986. There are also the vision 2020, the Nigerian Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy and its subset State Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS and SEEDS) (See National Planning Commission, 2004). The immediate past administration used a medium term expenditure framework which was not strategic in effect and the economy remained undiversified. The present administration has gone down two years and Nigerians are yet to see the exact policy framework even though they have been some initiatives, policies and programmes.

It is worthy to note that globally, technology has become the means of transacting business through the use of financial electronic machines but the use of this technology in Nigeria is limited as a result of broadband challenge. Lastly, it should be noted that Nigerian markets have been dumping grounds for inferior goods from South East Asia and if not until Nigerian government grapples this challenge and encourage local manufacturers, the diversification of Nigerian economy would remain a mirage.

The Possibilities of Diversifying the Nigerian Economy

In spite of the enormous challenges bedeviling the Nigerian economy, the

country still have the potentials for diversifying the economy with good governance in place through responsive and transparent leadership. In the first place, the processing of solid minerals has the potentials that can take the shine away from crude oil. Suffice it to say that Nigeria is endowed with a number of natural resources in large quantity such as limestone, columbite, coal, cassiterite, iron, marble, etc. In the middle belt region for instance, there is large quantity of solid minerals. Considering the quantity of crude oil reserves in Nigeria, efforts should be made towards rehabilitating all the refineries in the country to be able to operate in full capacity and if possible, create new ones so as to add value to the oil which will enable fuel and other products create export substitution. It was reported that gas flaring is a regular practice among the oil companies, yet Nigeria has 188 trillion standard cubic feet gas reserves that need to be exploited and commercialized (New Telegraph, 2015:17). All that is needed is policy predictability in the mining sector to attract local and international investors. Renewable energy supply using biotechnology to generate gas from organic materials such as refuse dumps can supply electricity to industries. Agro-allied industries are areas that need to be encouraged. Nigeria produces a lot of fruits at season and much of it rot away and the country imports canned products. Tin tomatoes produced locally, for example are competing with Chinese products whereas

tomatoes from tomato farms in Jos perish. Generally there are good prospects for industrialization once there is a responsible government that will face the challenges (Mbaegbu & Ogbeifun 2009).

The new foreign exchange policy will make the commercial banks finance the real sector instead of speculating on exchange rates. In 2015 the Bank of Industry (BOI) disbursed N5.6bn for its Graduate Empowerment Fund (GEF). In 2016 it planned to disburse N30 billion to stimulate entrepreneurship in the SMEs sector (Hassan, 2016:30). There are evidences of socio-economic reforms to attract investors. The comprehensive review of the institutional, regulating legislative and associated instruments affecting Business in Nigeria is aimed at proposing amendment of 54 obsolete laws to make Nigeria investor friendly and enhance ease of doing business (Vanguard Newspaper, 2016:9). These are encouraging news.

Conclusion

The need for the diversification of the Nigerian economy cannot be overemphasized considering the challenges facing the country economically as discussed in this study. It becomes pertinent for Nigeria to be creative and diversify its economy so as to fully recover from the economic recession. It is the belief of this paper that some government ministers are beginning to recognize the need for diversification. This is evident in the

statement credited to the Nigeria's Finance Minister Mrs Kemi Adeosun, who stressed that Nigeria has to grow her own non-oil economy. Suffice it to say that since this wake-up call by the minister, a number of positive moves are being made in the non-oil sectors especially Agriculture and Telecommunication.

Recommendations

It is based on the findings of this study that the paper makes the following recommendations:

1. If the diversification of the Nigerian economy must be achieved, due attention should be given to the agricultural sector which has been the mainstay of the country's economy before the discovery of crude oil. Nigeria should invest more in Agriculture by making available enough resources to the farmers in the form of soft loan. If this is done, the diversification of the nation's economy through agriculture is guaranteed.
2. There is also the need for improvement and investment in Nigeria's infrastructure and maintain a stable regulatory policy that will encourage investors to boost this industry which can also go a long way in the diversification of the country's economy.
3. Efforts should be geared towards designing the Nigerian petroleum industry so as to increase production for local processing by developing a

national petrochemical industry that will be capable of competing in the world market. Nigeria should not be regarded as crude oil exporter alone but also as a marketer of refined products and petrochemicals. If this is achieved, there is every tendency that the oil sector will provide the country with enough revenue and create employment opportunities that will in turn, add value to lives of the citizenry.

4. Finally, governments at all levels in Nigeria should invest more in human development to double the skills and knowledge required to increase productivity and decrease import dependence which has been putting unnecessary pressures on the exchange rate for the naira. This can as well contribute to ongoing efforts towards the diversification of the Nigerian economy.

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EFFECTS OF OFF-CAMPUS ACCOMODATION ON STUDENTS' ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE IN TERTIARY INSTITUTIONS IN NIGER STATE

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EFFECTS OF OFF- CAMPUS ACCOMODATION ON STUDENTS' ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE IN TERTIARY INSTITUTIONS IN NIGER STATE

Abstract

This study looks at the effects of living in off campus accommodation on students in educational institutions, using three educational institutions in Niger state as case study. The frequent problems posed by students living in off campus accommodations to school managements and the observed decline in the academic performance of some of the off campus students have been of concern to school administrators. The data was collected using multiple -answer-questionnaires distributed to students in the three institutions. It was complemented with interviews with staff of the student's affairs unit of the schools. Some of the findings were that most of those lured into cult activities in these schools are in off campus accommodations, they incur high financial expenses in off campus accommodations and that most of them perform below expectations in their academics. Some of the recommendations were for institutions to improve on their student accommodation capacities, and to strengthen security around off campus accommodations.

Keywords: Off-campus, Cultism, crime, campus marriage.

Introduction

Off campus accommodation is the situation where students live in accommodations outside the school premises or those hostels not owned by the institutions and attend lectures from such lodges. This situation has gradually become the trend in tertiary educational institutions in Nigeria. In fact, from the 1980s some secondary schools had started the de-boarding system of accommodation of students by allowing some of their students to stay off boarding houses and attend classes from their homes or rented premises close to their schools. Two main reasons accounted for this policy: the desire to have elderly and married people in mass teacher training colleges and the inadequacy of school hostels to accommodate increased student population in secondary and tertiary institutions in Nigeria. In fact, some secondary schools began to operate solely as day colleges which implied students going from their homes or rented lodges to these schools. This was backed by the national education policy to encourage de-boarding of schools (Akinpelu (2005)

This practice of allowing students stay off campus in tertiary educational institutions is said to have resulted in untold hardships and other ancillary consequences. It is known that many of the students have had bitter experiences in their social lives and have had to decline in their academic pursuits. Due to inability to pay prevailing rents outside the schools, some are said to have

left the schools. It has therefore become difficult to confirm that all students are given equal opportunity in the pursuit of their academics (Bowles, 1968)

Besides negative impact on the academic lives of the students, many of the students living off campus are reported to be victims of social harassment while going or returning from lectures or while in their homes in the night. Such incidents have led to some of them withdrawing from their academic programmes on grounds of shame to face colleagues who may have known about what happened to them. The shame alone of such incidence has led to some being unable to concentrate in their studies even if they stay in school. This has ultimately led to them being withdrawn on academic grounds or their academic performances being drastically lowered.

Obviously the cost of renting off campus accommodations has sky rocketed in recent times with landlords taking undue advantage of the students. Again, much of the money the students would have used for purchase of academic materials are spent on renting and furnishing these houses.

It is known that not all students living off campus were forced by the lack of accommodation in the school premises. It is observed that many of them do so as a bandwagon effect on them by colleagues who have felt or imagined themselves as 'big/senior students' who would not want to

live in crowded hostels. It can be said that this trend and its negative consequences has constituted problems for Nigerian students. The statement of the problem of this research therefore, is what negative impact living in off campus accommodations have on the lives of the students?

The Students of three tertiary educational institutions in Niger state, Nigeria were used as case study :The Federal University of Technology, Minna, The Niger state Polytechnic Bida Campus, and the Federal Polytechnic Bida; all in Niger state, Nigeria. The researcher particularly concentrated on students living in off campus accommodations in these schools for in-depth study and assessment. The researcher has therefore adopted the judgmental random survey method. In this survey, respondents were purposely selected from various lodges of these educational institutions and given questionnaires to fill. A total of 150 questionnaires were distributed and 140 were duly completed and returned .Their responses were then analysed using tables and percentages. The researchers concentrated on students in off campus accommodations who have first-hand information on the effect of their type of accommodation on the lives and academic performances of the students.

Primarily, this study is significant because problems of off campus accommodation cut across schools in Nigeria. A study of this nature on such a current issue is

therefore significant.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Information from the three institutions has it that over 70% of the student population in the three schools live in off campus accommodations called lodges. This includes both regular, weekend and spill-over students who have failed to graduate because of inability to pass the required number of courses. There is therefore no definite data as to the exact number of students in the off campus accommodation of these schools.

Off-campus accommodation began in Nigeria from the 1980s when student population in schools became more than available bed spaces in the hostels. Some institutions began by renting rooms outside the campuses for post-graduate students and gradually moved to allowing both post-graduate and under-graduate students rent rooms for themselves in houses close to the campus because they could not access hostel accommodations (Ichima, 2010). In recent times, some students are said to prefer living in off-campus accommodations because of the acclaimed freedom students have while in these accommodations. The rigorous rules against visitors at odd hours, level of furnishings permitted in hostels and other rules guiding students living in school hostels do not apply to those living in off-campus lodges and this has become attractive to some students.

Establishment of private hostels off-campus was initially perceived as a solution to problems of campus accommodations but landlords have taken advantage of the high demand and escalated their rents (Fatunde, 2010). In these institutions rents range from thirty thousand to eighty thousand naira per room, depending on the quality of the lodges and their proximity to the campuses. Students all over the campuses are therefore reeling under the financial burden. These tertiary institutions possess large amounts of land on which student hostels could be built. But due to financial problems or private sector influence on housing policies in schools, efforts to build hostels in schools have been minimal. Today students are having a rough time at the hands of hostel owners whose primary obsession, like all business ventures, is to maximize profit with little concern for students' welfare. Students have also complained about the absence of a learning environment in private hostels. Portions of these private lodges are used as mini markets with hawkers daily disturbing the peace of the students. At night and during the weekend the hostels are very noisy and movements in and out of the hostels are not restricted.

PRESENTATION OF DATA

The data presented below are as obtained from the questionnaire completed by the respondents and analysed by the researchers.

Table 1 Distribution of respondents and

returned questionnaire.

Respondents	Frequency	Percentage
FUT Minna	48	34
FED POLY Bida	50	36
NIGER POLY Bida campus	42	30
Total	140	100

Table 1 above shows the distribution of respondents according to the Institutions. 34% of the respondents were from the Federal University Minna campus, 36% of them from the Federal Polytechnic, Bida campus and 30% of them from the Niger state Polytechnic, Bida campus

Table 2 Students live off campus out of personal preference

Responses	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	35	25
No	105	75
Total	140	100

In table 2 above, 75% of the respondents disagreed with the statement that students live off campus out of their personal preference. It can therefore be concluded that majority of students live in off campus accommodations due to lack of accommodations within the school campuses.

Table 3 Living off campus is more expensive than living in school hostels

Responses	Frequency	Percentage
Agreed	140	100
Disagreed	-	-
Total	140	100

Table 3 above shows that 100% of the respondents agreed that living in off campus accommodations is more expensive than living in school hostels. It can therefore be concluded that there is a high financial burden on students living in off campus accommodations.

Table 4 There is high rate of crimes among those living off campus

Responses	Frequency	percentage
Agreed	130	92
Disagreed	10	8
Total	140	100

On table 4 above, 92% of the respondents agreed that there is a high rate of crime among students living in off campus accommodations. It can therefore be concluded that higher number of students living in off campus accommodations are liable to negative crime effects than those living within the school hostels.

Table 5 If more female students living off campus experience indecent attacks from unknown people than those in school hostels

Responses	Frequency	percentage
Agreed	120	86
Disagreed	20	14
Total	140	100

Table 5 shows that 86% of the respondents agreed that more female students in off campus accommodations experience indecent attacks from unknown persons than those living within the school hostels. It can therefore be concluded that living in school hostels are safer than living in off campus accommodations.

Table 6 Three most common anti-social behavior among off campus students

Responses	Frequency	percentage
Campus marriage	120	86
Alcoholism	100	71
Theft	110	78

Table 6 are responses on ratings of the three most common ant-social behavior among off-campus students. When respondents were asked to list three of the most common ant-social behavior among off campus students the ratings were:

Campus marriage-86%

Theft-78%

Alcoholism-71%

The above data shows that 86% of the respondents agreed that campus marriage is one of the most common anti-social behavior among off campus students. Campus marriage means male and female students living in the same room and engaging in amorous activities when they are not really married.

Theft is rated as the second most common anti-social behavior among the off campus students while alcoholism was rated as the third most common nanti-social behavior.

Table 7 more off campus students deliberately miss lectures than those living in hostels

Responses	Frequency	percentage
Agreed	125	89
Disagreed	15	11
Total	140	100

Table 7 above shows that 89% of the respondents agreed that students in off campus accommodations have higher incidence of deliberately missing lectures than those in school hostels. It can therefore be concluded that such attitude could lead to decline in academic performance of the students in off campus accommodations.

Table 8 more students in campus hostel accommodations belong to secret cults than those in off campus lodges

Responses	Frequency	percentage
Agreed	5	4
Disagreed	135	96
Total	140	100

On table 8 above 96% of the respondents disagreed with the assertion that more students living in school hostels belong to secret cults than those in off campus

accommodations. It can therefore be concluded that secret cult activities in schools are more based among off campus students.

Table 9 Living in off campus negatively affects academic performance of students

Responses	Frequency	percentage
No	5	4
Yes	120	85
Can't say	15	11
Total	140	100

In table 9, a total of 85% of the students agreed that living in off campus accommodation has negative impact on the academic performance of the students. Only 4% of the respondents disagreed with this view.

Summary of Findings And Conclusions

Respondents confirmed that living off-campus often involves high financial challenges .Complementary interviews with students and school administrators confirmed that this situation arises from competition to furnish their rooms and transportation to lectures by those in lodges not close to their lecture areas. This means that indigent students living off-campus would be financially uncomfortable.

Many of the off-campus students face cases of thefts arising from poor security in their lodges.

It can therefore be concluded that it is either that some of the students are the thieves or those people living near them come to steal from them when they go to lectures. Insecurity of property is therefore a major challenge of those living in off-campus lodges.

The female students face challenges of indecent attacks such as attempted rapes, rapes, unwanted plays/touching etc. Reports are that these are particularly carried out in the nights.

Many students living off-campus have the habit of missing lectures. Investigations show that two reasons are responsible.

- i. Rains during rainy season prevent them from finding transport to lectures
- ii. Bad attitude of sleeping or doing other activities instead of lectures.

The habit of many off-campus students refusing to go to lectures have negative effect on their academic performances.

The respondents said that students living off-campus have the tendency to join bad gangs more than those living in school hostels. Complementary interview reports show that they are initiated by others who have been withdrawn from school but pretend to be students and live in these off campus lodges. It can therefore be concluded that the increase in membership of bad gangs in the schools has direct relationship with the increased number of

off campus students in the schools

Majority of the respondent agreed that students living off-campus decline in their academic standard. Because they do not pay good attention to their academic life, their academic performances decline. This contradicts the position of Brenda(1981) that education is to primarily build in a child the ability for self-development.

It can therefore be concluded that there is a causal relationship between living in off campus accommodations and low academic performance though it cannot be denied that some of the students living off-campus are also academically good.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the findings the following recommendations are made:

1. The Schools should build more hostels to accommodate more students. This will reduce the number of students living in off-campus lodges.
2. It should become compulsory for all fresh students and final year students to live in the campus. In this way it will be easy to monitor their activities and academic performance
3. A good security system should be put in place to monitor the students living in off-campus lodges. This will reduce cases of anti-social activities.
4. There should be a way of detecting those students already withdrawn but

who still live around the campuses. They should be ejected and the landlords made to accommodate only real students in the lodges very close to the institutions

5. There should be a way of controlling rents around the campus. This will make students pay affordable prices instead of the uncontrolled high rates.

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THE EFFECT OF FOREIGN POLICY TO NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT: AN APPRAISAL OF GOODLUCK JONATHAN'S ADMINISTRATION.

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Abstract

As recent studies shows, Nigerian's foreign policy has been in a constant state of flux as a result of internal and external dynamics inherent in the government. Although, the formation of Nigeria foreign policy has gone through 14 different administrations in the past 57 years, out of which 35 years was under military regimes. Consequently, there has been a plethora of conceptual, ideological and psychological postulation of policies in Nigeria's foreign policy machinery, most of which were born out of a crave and selfish hunger for an identity that would leave a lasting impression about the various administration or regime in question. The objective of this research paper is to find out reasons for the failures in Nigeria's foreign policies over the years. the research also provide answers as to why there is continued insistence on Afro-centric foreign policy by past administration in Nigeria, and it critically assess President Jonathan's foreign policy and its impact on national development. The framework of analysis adopted by this research paper is Personality model of foreign policy. The theory assumes that the success or failure of foreign policy is not usually a result of weakness of the nation, but more as a consequences of the far-or-short sightedness of the man or leader behind the foreign policy. Thus, Folarin (2013) opined that, a leader's personality is a decisive element in the making of foreign policy and that it matters very much who is there at a given moment. The research conclude that Nigeria's foreign policy is afro-centric in nature, very broad in its goals and it is being determined by socio-political factors that are both internal and external to Nigerian environment. It is imperative that Nigerian government must address the underlying causes and provides realistic ideas and solutions that will tackle the inherent socio-political contradictions in Nigeria as way of enhancing the image of the country within the international system.

Keywords: Foreign Policy, Development, Personality

INTRODUCTION

A country's foreign policy consists of self-interest strategies chosen by the state to safeguard its national interests and to achieve its goals within the international relations milieu. It is the aggregate of a country's national interest which results from the interaction of internal and external forces as perceived by the foreign policy decision makers. The approaches used are strategically employed to interact with other countries. In recent times however, due to the deepening level of globalization and transnational activities, relations and interactions have been known to exist between state and non- state actors in the international political arena. These relations in their own way have influenced several foreign policies between nation states (Garuba, 2008).

Nigeria's foreign policy since independence has been viewed from different perspectives (Aluko, 1981); Macridis (1985), Anyaele, (2005) in recent times. One of the most prevailing perspectives of her foreign policy is that "it is chameleon in nature", (Anyaele, 2005) a foreign policy constantly in a state of flux as a result of internal and external dynamics inherent in any given administration or regime. Some writers (Garuba, 2008, Gambari, 1989 and Folarin, 2013) however maintained that irrespective of the frequent changes, the substance of Nigeria's foreign policy has remained the same. The later parts of this study will however argue otherwise. Buttressing the

above point, (Anyaele, 2005:2) upholds the view that "the protection of our national interest has remained the permanent focus of Nigeria's foreign policy, but the strategies for such protection have varied from one regime / government to another". The formation and execution of Nigeria's foreign policy from independence has been carried out in no fewer than fourteen different administrations through the external affairs ministry. From Tafawa Balewa's administration in 1960 to President Obasanjo's administration in 2003; from the administration of President Musa Yar'Adua, President Goodluck Jonathan to the current administration of President Muhammadu Buhari. These various administrations-including the different military regimes which took over administrative power in Nigeria for over a cumulative period of 35 years, of the entire 57 years of the existence of Nigeria's foreign policy- claimed to pursue the same national interest with regards to the nation's foreign policy. The consequence of the flaxy nature of Nigeria's foreign policy, has been a plethora of conceptual ideological transitions in Nigeria's foreign policy machinery (Pine, 2011). Studies conducted in (Aluko, 1981); (Vision 2020 Report, 2009); (Pine, 2011); (Akinboye, 2013); indicate that past administrations strove towards an epistemological construction and definition of the thrust of Nigeria's foreign policy. These conceptualizations are often regime specific and born out of a psychological and selfish hunger of various

administrations or regimes to carve an identity which will leave a lasting impression in the minds of Nigerians. To this end, (Pine, 2011) laments: "...these ideologies are not necessarily products of deep and profound philosophical reflections".

Objectives

- To find out reasons for the failures in Nigeria's foreign policies over the years.
- To provide answers as to why there is continued insistence on Afro-centric foreign policy by past administration in Nigeria, and
- To critically assess President Jonathan's foreign policy and its impact on national development

Methodology

The work relies on secondary source of data which is qualitative in nature. The study involves archival analysis to examine the relevant literatures on the various concepts dwelt on. Data for the analysis were sourced from newspapers, relevant books, journals, publication and from the internet.

Conceptual and Theoretical Issues

In other to analyse the effect of Nigeria foreign policy on national development, it is appropriate to clarify concepts that are salient to this discourse. The following concepts are to be clarified such as foreign policy, National interest, State, Diplomacy.

Foreign Policy

This is a concept that is central to international relations according to Northedge (1968) foreign policy is the inter play between the outside and inside. While Frankel, (1973), opined that foreign policy is a dynamic process of interaction between the changing domestic demands and the changing international environment. Furthermore, Rourke (2008) opined that, foreign policy is the goal sought, values, set decisions made and actions taken by states and national societies and it constitutes an attempts to design, manage and control the foreign relations of national societies. On a general note, foreign policy is an instrument by which nations use to influence their relations with other states and to achieve their objectives within the global system.

National Interest

National interest is the sum total of the goals of sovereign state, it is the primary motivation for foreign policy formulation and implementation as a guide for actors and policy makers According to Ogwu (1986) national interest serves as a convenient base to encompass all strategies employed in the international interaction of states to ensure the preservation of the states and to ensure the preservation of the stated goals of society. Thus, National Interest represents those values, goals, means and beliefs that can ensure a nation's self – dignity and its security.

State

State is a central feature of modern society which is characterized by four main elements population, territory, government and sovereignty. Roberts, (1971) conceptualized state as territorial area in which a population is governed by a set of political authorities and which successfully claims the compliance of the citizenry for its laws and is able to secure such compliance by its monopolistic control of legitimate force.

Diplomacy

Diplomacy is a concept that is synonymous with international relations and it is the most effective instruments of conducting relations with other independent states. Anifowose and Enemuo (1999) posited that, diplomacy is the conduct of interstate relations by means of negotiations.

Theoretical Framework

The personality model of foreign policy is the basis of analysis of the issue in this discourse. Scholars have the notion that there is no universal definition of personality. Ngara, (2013) defines personality as the totality of an individual's behaviour and emotional characteristics. While, American Psychological Association (2011) viewed personality as individual difference in characteristics patterns of thinking, feeling and behaving.

The course of history of a nation is determined by the decisions of political

leaders. Leaders and the kind of leadership they have shape the way in which foreign policies are made and the consequent behavior of state in world politics. Kegley and Wittkopf (1999) did a great deal of work on personality and foreign policy. They argue that state action is nothing but the preferences, actions and initiatives of the highest political office holder. This explains why name of past Nigerian leaders are attached to foreign policies that were initiated and implemented at the time they rule. In the realm of foreign policy analysis, the influence and the impact of personality on decision making is contentious but also important in nature. The role of personality in foreign policy encompasses cognitive processes, background, personal characteristics, motives and beliefs and assumes that decision making is the result of individual, that is, it is individuals who make decisions and not states (Ajayi, 2005).

It is imperative to note that the success or failure of foreign policy is not usually a result of weakness of the nation, but more as a consequences of the far-or-short sightedness of the man or leader behind the foreign policy. Thus, Folarin (2013) opined that, a leader's personality is a decisive element in the making of foreign policy and that it matters very much who is there at a given moment.

Murtala/Obasanjos' foreign policy achieved overwhelming success for Nigeria due to

dynamic, assertive, principle and pro-active nature of these military leaders. Their reign remained and marked the golden era of Nigeria foreign policy. A lot of milestones were set in terms of foreign policy articulation and implementation. Conversely, Jonathan's foreign policy marked a low – down turn in Nigeria external relations, he was a passive leader and this passitive nature reflected in Nigeria's foreign policy posture. Thus Nigeria was not accorded the kind of status it deserved due to lack of action internationally by Jonathan's administration (Nwankwo, 2013).

The personality in foreign policy decision – making is a useful model and highly relevant as a basis of theoretical analysis of international relations and decisions taken by foreign policy actors. Furthermore, it will enrich the knowledge of students, scholars and practitioners of international relations bearing in mind that in analyzing a social phenomenon, theoretical model serves as lenses through which all the issues involved in particular social phenomenon can be analyzed.

Nigeria's International Image: Issues at stake

A country's standing in the international system although dependent on some other factors, is highly dependent on her image perception being positive or negative. A good image results in respect, influence and prestige. While, a bad or negative

perception of a country's image implies that such a country lacks respect, influence and prestige in the international system (Egwemi, 2010:131).

Ojo and Aghedo (2013:85) remarked that Nigeria's reputation is at its lowest ebb. Building on the works of some analysts and public commentators, they arguably described Nigerians in general terms as criminally minded. While they blamed this on the behaviour of a few Nigerians whose activities undermine the country, they also attributed this image deficit to the negative stereotyping of the country by some foreign media (Ojo and Aghedo, 2013:88).

These accusations have wider ramifications and consequences on the image of the country. However, Ojo and Aghedo (2013:90-91) are of the opinion that there are deliberate attempts to positively build the country's image. They named successes in survival instincts; a love for life; good followership/imitation; prowess in soccer, UN peacekeeping initiatives and decorations of Nigerian officers for meritorious service; resourceful and enterprising people; and youthful interest in education. The above factors import that “Nigeria is not all a gory picture of crime and violence, but also of creativity, skills, and enduring legacies of universal acclaim” (Ojo and Aghedo, 2013:91).

Bamiduro and Aremu (2012:11) expressed opinions that are similar to Ojo and Aghedo

(2013) by underscoring that:

Nigeria's disfigured image in the global village has become an insignia of dishonesty, dishonour and disrespect; this is outright humiliation of a nation of almost 150 million people. Majority of Nigerians are industrious, God-fearing and law abiding people. But a tiny minority is destroying the image of the country and the governance ineptitude is adding salt to the injury.

They posited that the positivities in the Nigerian state far exceed the negativities from the foregoing averment, and as such recommend that, via credible, free and fair elections; invigorated/consistent anti-graft drive (without political interference); youth empowerment; promotion of entrepreneurship and financial support; and finally, the adoption of good leadership styles characterized by honesty, faithfulness, transparency, love and justice, the image of the country can be promoted (Bamiduro and Aremu, 2012:20).

Akinboye (2013) opined that Nigeria had indeed been battling with image crisis for the past three decades. He identified the major issue inhibiting the image to be corruption and stated that until the government shows seriousness in fighting corruption, Nigeria will not be taken

seriously at the international level. He also identified terrorism and insurgency to be other sources of the image crisis in Nigeria, alluding that until the fundamental domestic sources of Nigeria's image crisis have been tackled, Nigeria's aspiration to be a regional influential nation will remain an illusion.

This position taken by Akinboye (2013) converges with Corruption Perception Index by Transparency International (2013); wherein it was recorded that on a scale of 0 (perceived to be highly corrupt) to 100 (perceived to be highly clean), Nigeria scored 25% in contrast to her 27% score in 2012. This score was derived from 9 surveys carried out in 2013. This ranked her 144th out of 177 countries globally (*Transparency International*, 2013). This factor as revealed by Transparency International gives a perception to the world that Nigeria is indeed a highly corrupt country and when this is the case, the image of the country becomes negative to the rest of the world.

Evolution of Nigerian Foreign Policy

Nigeria's image crisis has historical foundation and dynamics (Ajayi, 2005:50). This section becomes relevant as it explores Nigeria's image since 1960 in order to identify and highlights the turning points in Nigeria's image and foreign policy.

First Republic

Tafawa Balewa, through his pioneering foreign policy anchored on Afrocentricism,

was able to lay the foundation for Nigeria's roles and influences in international politics which; ultimately helped to give a credible image for the country in the comity of nations (Ajayi, 2005). The expulsion of apartheid South Africa, breaking of ties with France and participation in the Non-aligned movement rang positive bells towards Nigeria's image abroad (Folarin, 2013:21).

Second Republic

The expelling of illegal aliens from Nigeria, in the guise of national interest, was an action that was indeed inimical to the country's development. Over two to three million illegal immigrants were given fourteen days to leave the country. This action alone created a bad image for Nigeria abroad (Lukpata, 2013:65). Thus, Shagari's administration was described as inhumane, callous and irresponsible. It did incalculable damage to Nigeria's reputation and standing among the Great Powers and the developing world.

This action was so disappointing that even the opposition parties and senior officials in the Ministry of External Affairs were frustrated because most of their efforts in building a positive image for Nigeria had gone down the drain as a result (Abegunrin, 2003:107). Nigeria also lost her reputation in this period as a frontline state fighting against the apartheid in South Africa because the administration was not as active and concerned as the previous administrations (Folarin, 2013:22).

The manner in which the management of Nigeria's presence in international organizations was organized, appeared very appalling and had made null the efforts that previous administrations had exerted to making the Nigerian image a good one on a regional and sub-regional scale (Garuba, 2008:8).

Military Rule

The civil war of 1967-1970, and the discovery of oil conditioned the Gowon era to a large extent. However, Nigeria was still active in the international system as evident in the recognition of China, the formation of ECOWAS, Niger Basin Commission and the Chad Basin Commission (Folarin, 2013:22). Nigeria's efforts under Gowon against apartheid, crimes against humanity, anti-colonial and anti-racial policies were indeed commendable (Ajayi, 2005:52)

The Murtala/Obasanjo regime was radical against colonialism and racism. Nigeria, under their administrations engaged in a large number of peace keeping missions and was more alert to issues of injustice mostly in Africa by promoting the causes of freedom fighters and Pan Africanism (Ajayi, 2005:52; Garuba, 2008:6). Generally, under their administrations, the country's image can be said to have been very favourable.

The Buhari-Idiagbon regime made efforts at restoring the battered image of Nigeria after Shagari's tenure by ushering in an anti-drug

and anti-corruption policy to brighten the country's image (Folarin, 2013:22). This regime was able to gain direction in tackling the country's economic problems and debt incurred by Shagari's administration. The regime was credited in 1984 for having paid promptly for all imports with foreign exchange earned by the nation and did not borrow from any international financial institution. This factor was able to re-establish Nigeria's image in the foreign market (Ali, 2013:3).

Babangida's regime started by claiming that, it was an offshoot of the Murtala social revolution that was later intensified by Buhari, but it instead rubbished their efforts by reinstating dismissed officials and returning all that were confiscated, deported Keeling from Nigeria, a Financial Times journalist for investigating and reporting on the Gulf War oil windfall corruption (Ojukwu and Shopeju, 2010:19). Emordi (2008:6 in Ali, 2013:5) stated that "Babangida's administration institutionalized corruption as if it was a cardinal state policy". This compounded the moral image of the country as a very corrupt country.

Prospective investors found it hard to do business in the country, because of the bribes and kickbacks to the bureaucrats. The lack of credibility in the transition programme and the eventual annulment of the June 12, 1993 elections increased the downward plunge of the country's

credibility owing to the fact that international observers deemed the elections to be the most peaceful and fairest elections ever conducted in Nigeria. The regime was also acclaimed to have had disregard for human rights and was autocratic in his approach (Ajayi, 2005:52).

The height of the decline in Nigeria's international image occurred during the late General Abacha regime. He disbanded all democratic institutions, assassinated a number of pro-democracy activists, and killed opponents and protesters. He had complete disregard for human rights and the opinion of the international community (Folarin, 2013:22). Things got worse with the execution of Ken Saro-Wiwa and his eight Ogoni kinsmen in November 1995, which put his regime at odds with the world, particularly the United Nations, the European Union and the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth in particular, outrightly suspended Nigeria from its membership because it considered all of Abacha's conduct a gross violation of its 1991 Harare Declaration of Commonwealth Principles (Josiah, 2008 in Folarin, 2013:23)

The administration initiated some measures to curb corruption like the War Against Indiscipline and Corruption (WAIC), but this was an irony in itself as his government itself was characterized by general mismanagement, "corruption of monumental dimension" (Emma, 2009 in

Chukwuemeka, Bartholomew and Ugwu, 2012:71). The level of corruption was so much that it led to the ostracising of Nigeria from the comity of nations, and Nigeria became a pariah state. His administration almost emptied the government's treasury and after his death, over \$600 million and £75 million pounds were recovered from his family (Chukwuemeka, Bartholomew and Ugwu, 2012:71).

Fourth Republic

President Olusegun Obasanjo, at inauguration in May, 1999, inherited a nation with a battered image and without credibility externally. He made efforts to build the country's image and re-integrate Nigeria into the world while regaining her lost glory through shuttle diplomacy. Under his leadership, Nigeria assumed leadership of several international organizations like the ECOWAS, African Union (AU) and G-77. Nigeria also hosted several international summits including those of the Commonwealth Heads of State and Government and the AU in 2004, the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) in 2005, and ECOWAS since 1999. The country had also hosted the All Africa Games in 2004. Obasanjo had been the guest of honour to the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) in May 2004. All these showed that the international community had begun to have confidence again in Nigeria (Ajayi, 2005).

Nigeria was able to recover most of the

stolen funds in foreign banks located in Belgium, Switzerland, Britain, America and Germany. He held periodic meetings with the Nigerians in the countries that he visited from time to time in order to discuss issues of common interest and update them on government policies, as well as possible ways they can help move the country forward. He helped Nigeria regain her lost status of being the hub of air and sea transportation in Africa which was severely affected during the Abacha regime. Nigeria in this period also played a frontline role in the relations between the G8 and other developed countries. She also played a central role in the formation of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM). Obasanjo, through a US-contracted military outfit, restructured the Nigerian Military Professionals Resource Incorporation (MPRI) (Garuba, 2008:15-16).

Obasanjo's tenure recorded remarkable achievements in the areas of peace and security. There were active engagements in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Darfur (Sudan), where it sent peacekeeping troops; the country has also held peace talks between the Sudanese government and the warring factions in Abuja. The government had equally demonstrated efforts on the restoration of peace in Liberia and Sierra Leone. In Liberia, it sponsored Nigeria's former leader General Abdulsalami Abubakar

through ECOWAS to lead the peace process that got Charles Taylor to relinquish power, while it facilitated the second track of peace and reconciliation in Sierra Leone, in collaboration with ECOWAS and its member-states (Garuba, 2008:17).

Obasanjo's government also championed projects such as Gulf of Guinea Commission, attempted to strengthen bilateral relations with Cameroun with which it settled the long dispute over Bakassi through the Nigeria-Cameroun Border Commission and the Republic of Benin with which it tried to address issues of cross-border crimes (Garuba, 2008:17-18).

The country and her leadership enjoyed accommodation and tolerance by the international community but the ordinary citizens are often made to suffer personality pillage, inhumane treatments and abuse of fundamental human rights at embassies and off-shore. Nigeria's image crisis at the level of individual Nigerians, rather than the state, is yet to be resolved despite the president's shuttle diplomacy. Other issues which engender and sustain such image problem externally include internal insecurity, poor infrastructural base, perpetration of financial crimes and lack of organization and discipline. As much as these may be perceived as internal problems, stating these internal challenges is important because foreign policy is a reflection of domestic policies externally (Ajayi, 2005:57).

Yar'Adua/Jonathan Administration (2007-2014)

The election that brought President Yar'Adua into power was reported by international observers as being flawed. The European Union specifically criticised the 2007 elections as being seriously faulty and did not meet the required international standards. This issue contributed to a decline in the country's image. The democratic credibility of the country had become questionable as a result (Yagboyaju, 2011:99).

At the time President Yar'Adua came into office, it was worthy of note that his health had been severely threatened. While he was trying to manage his ill-health, Yar'Adua made no provisions for the Vice President to act in his absence. Thus: The consequence was that the ship of the Nigerian state was sailing rudderless on the international waters of foreign policy... Without functional institutions and without a leader, Nigeria's foreign relations and indeed the State of Nigeria also went into coma when Yar'Adua went into coma in Saudi Arabian hospital. Nigeria failed to show up at important international meetings, lost many positions in multilateral associations, forsook obligations, and found herself in a situation where many of her allies started wondering what had gone wrong with Nigeria (Nwankwo, 2013:215).

More than external challenges, it is the internal challenges that are dampening

Nigeria's attainment of great power status which Vision 20:2020 envisages. Key internal challenges include poor governance, insecurity of lives and property, irregular power supply, low quality public service delivery and rating of the nation's educational institutions; poor capacity to innovate; the unimpressive quality of its democracy and the inability to build consensus and resolve conflicts. More specifically, the insurgency in the North, the collapse of public education, growing unemployment, oil dependent economy, dilapidated economic infrastructure among others are major issues that deserve attention, if not radical government intervention (Olutokun, 2013; Okere, 2012 in Nwankwo, 2013:218).

It has become very obvious that crime and corruption are the bane of Nigeria's development. The current Boko Haram insurgency in the north-eastern part of the country speaks volume. These social problems, no doubt, have battered the country's image. Many foreign companies have had to withdraw their operations from Nigeria because of crime, corruption and insecurity. For those that managed to stay, doing business in the country has become very expensive. Therefore, there is urgent need for a holistic effort by the government, corporate bodies and individuals to stamp out the evils of insecurity, crime and corruption so that the country is relatively safe for both Nigerians and foreigners (Ajaebili, 2011:218).

Internationally, the pervasive corruption in Nigeria has tarnished the image of the country and has resulted in foreign nationals exercising extreme caution in entering into business transactions with Nigerians, thereby weakening the economic sector (Chukwuemeka, Bartholomew and Ugwu, 2012:68).

Foreign Policy Under Jonathan's Administration: Strength or weakness?

The foreign policy position of the administration of President Goodluck Jonathan who succeeded the late Yar'Adua is generally perceived as a continuation of the foreign policy thrust of his predecessor. In his capacity as the acting President, Jonathan embarked on a number of diplomatic shuttles, as part of a deliberate attempt to reassure the world that Nigeria was well and secured despite the internal political challenges especially with the challenges of succession it was going through. Nigeria literally returned to the international arena. One of the shuttles took him to the USA where he met with his American counterpart which enabled the delisting of Nigeria from the discriminatory rule of the Department of Homeland Security on special screening of passengers on international flights to the United States that specifically targeted Nigerians (consequent upon the Christmas day attempted bombing a US airline by a Nigerian Umar Abdulmutallab).

Also, Jonathan recalled Nigeria's

ambassador to Libya in protest of suggestion by Muammar Gaddafi that Nigeria should separate into a Muslim North State and a Christian South. The action was aimed at checkmating the excesses of the then Libyan leader and sending a strong signal that Nigeria can no longer tolerate such undue interference in the nation's internal affairs from any State.

The relationship between Nigeria and US continued to improve under Jonathan. This is most exemplified in the signing of the first US–Nigeria Bi-national Commission. This as noted aimed to establish a mechanism for sustained, bilateral, high-level dialogue to promote and increase diplomatic, economic and security co-operation between the two countries. The Commission's main focus was Nigeria's domestic priorities. These key domestic priorities include good governance, electoral reform and preparations, transparency and anti-corruption, energy (electricity supply) reform and investment, as well as food and agricultural development, which were all key components of what Jonathan, termed his transformation agenda.

In fact, he engineered a purposeful mobilisation and instrumentalisation of Nigerians in Diaspora for national development. Not only did the administration encourage the formation of the Nigerians in Diaspora Organisation (NIDO) in all countries where there are Nigerians, it went further to establish a

Diaspora Commission to take charge of the affairs of Nigerians in Diasporas and ensure their effective instrumentalisation. His prompt response to the denigrating deportation of Nigerians by South Africa sent a very strong signal that Nigeria “has come of age” and that any attempt to denigrate her will have consequences. The diplomatic way president Jonathan was able to manage the said Nigeria-South Africa face-off was highly welcomed by Nigerians. He was also quick to order the evacuation of Nigerians trapped in the crisis torn countries like Libya in 2011 and Egypt in January 2012. In fact Nigeria was the first to airlift her citizens from Egypt. In January 2012 Nigeria hosted the fifth Nigeria/EU dialogue aimed at streamlining migration in a globalizing world and in the interest of all parties. This affirmative action's projected vividly the citizen centred focus of Nigeria's Foreign Policy.

The Jonathan administration gave special attention to the improvement and strengthening of economic ties with the country's partners in the international community as a foundation for stability and growth (Nwankwo, 2013).

For the first time, there were conscious efforts by Nigeria to ensure that her sacrifices of lives and resources towards restoring peace to many countries in Africa no longer go without commensurate national benefit. It marked a paradigm shift in Nigeria's foreign policy. However,

focusing on Nigeria's domestic priorities did not mean abandonment of African issues. It is on this commitment that the regime and through its leadership in ECOWAS effectively managed the ouster of Laurent Gbagbo of Cote D'Ivoire when he refused to hand over power, after the 2010 Presidential elections in that country. Similar crisis of self-perpetuation in office in Niger was also condemned by the Jonathan's administration.

CORRUPTION AND RECKLESS SPENDING UNDER JONATHAN ADMINISTRATION: SOME FACTS

Inflating Cost Of Governance

President Jonathan is largely touted as running an extravagant government judging by the amount devoted to feeding, refreshments, entertainments and other incidental expenses like trips among others. The near – N1 billion allocated for the same purpose in the 2012 budget generated a swirl of controversy big enough to force the presidency to order a reduction. In the 2013 budget, the president has tried to come down a bit with allocation, particularly in the area of expenses on food, refreshments and welfare for the State House, the Vice-president and other ministries. The total allocation to the presidency in the 2013 budget proposal is N35, 545,673,132, with total personnel cost put at N 11,476,593,929. Total over-head is N11,569,079,204, with total recurrent put at N23,045,673,132 while total capital

stands at N12,500,000,000. out of this, the presidency budgeted N327,154,931 for refreshment and meals and another N406,738,969 to purchase foodstuff, just as Vice-President Namadi Sambo would spend N112,500,000 to purchase food for the 2013 fiscal year another N123,406,499 on refreshment and N7,020,750 to purchase cooking gas. When added, the total for the presidency meals is not too far from the N1 billion budgets of 2012. The presidency has, however, always argued that the allocation include budget for meals and drinks served during the different ceremonies and events at the State House and feeding of cabinet ministers during the weekly cabinet meetings. Even in spite of the boast about improved electricity supply across the country, the presidency, it appears, is not ready to take chances on the possibility of outage. Hence in 2013, it proposed to spend N72, 510,832 to fuel its generators while it will also spend N553, 056,411 for honorarium and sitting allowances (Onyishi, & Eme, 2013).

Inflating the cost of foreign trips

Just like other areas, President Jonathan spent billions of naira on foreign trips in 2012 despite his earlier promise to cut down these expenses, even as he is planning on spending a whopping N2.6 billion next year on foreign trips. The nation can authoritatively report that the president together with his entourage have spent nothing less that N3.354 billion since 2010 on foreign trips. The president within the

first 11 months of this year flew out at least 20 times.

In September alone, the president traveled out of the country four times, including his trips to Addis Ababa. Within the first nine months when he first became president, he spent N970, 891 million on foreign travels (Yusuf,2012:60). The budget did not however, state explicitly the figures for his travels. But investigations have shown that President Jonathan spent N1.7 billion on foreign trips this year alone (The Nation Editorial,2012:39).

In 2012, N684.74 million was budgeted for foreign travels alone. During his presidency, the president was reported to have flown to different destinations in Africa, Europe, Asia, North America, and South America. In 2011, he visited numerous countries including, United States, France, Uganda, Australia, Ghana, Chad, Equatorial Guinea, and Ethiopia among others. The president travels with his entourage, top aides, and officials of the presidential villa are usual faces on such trips; ministries applicable to the purpose of his overseas trips also send delegations. In recent times the President travels with two members of the National Assembly (one from each chamber), depending on the purpose of his visit. Sahara reporters had in June claimed that Jonathan traveled to Rio de Janeiro, Brazil for the United Nations' Earth Summit with 116 government officials (Yusuf,2012:61). Although the

President rebuffed the figures but he never gave out the exact figure. Jonathan had said in a national broadcast in January, "I have directed that overseas travels by all political office holders, including the president, should be reduced to the barest minimum. The size of delegations on foreign trips will also be drastically reduced; only trips that are absolutely necessary will be approved" (Yusuf,2012:61).

The cost of maintaining Presidential Aircraft Fleet

Information obtained from government aviation agencies and airline operators by Anofi & Oluwasegun (2012:57) also revealed that the Goodluck Jonathan led administration spend an estimated N9.08 billion annually on the Presidential Air Fleet (PAF). PAF has the third largest fleet of aircraft in the country. According to findings, the PAF contains a total of 10 aircraft, coming closely behind aerocontractors airline, which has total of 14 aircraft. Arik Air, the largest commercial airline in the country, has a fleet of 23 aircraft. Figures obtained from the Nigerian Airspace Management Agency (NAMA), Federal Airports Authority of Nigeria (FAAN), and the Nigerian Civil Aviation Authority (NCAA) revealed that N9.08 billion is spent to maintain the 10 presidential jets every year. The PAF include two Falcon 7x jets, two Falcon 900 jets, Gulfstream 550, one Boeing 737 BBJ (Nigerian Air Force 001 or Eagle One), and Gulfstream IVSP. Others are one

Gulfstream V, Cessna Citation 2 aircraft and Hawker siddeley 125-800 jet. According to a former minister of Information, Professor, Dora Akunyili, each of the two falcon 7x jets purchased in 2010 costs \$51.1 million, while the Gulfstream 550 cost \$53.3 million (Durojaiye,2012:23). The factory price of other aircraft in the fleet could not be easily obtained online. However, airline CEOs put the average price of Falcon 900 at \$35 million, Gulfstream IVSP as \$40 million, Gulfstream V at \$45 million; Boeing 737 BBJ at \$58 million, Cessna Citation is \$7 million and hawker siddeley 125-800 at \$15 million. This brings a combined estimated value of Nigeria's PAF to \$390.5 million (N60.53: billion) (Durojaiye,2012:23).

According to airline chief executives and industry experts, airlines, airlines spend between 15 and 20 per cent of the cost of an aircraft on its operation yearly. They say that averagely, a little less than one-fifth of the cost of the plane is spent every year on insurance, flight and cabin crew, maintenance, fuelling, catering and training. Going by the fact that at least 15 per cent of this amount is spent annually on operating the PAF, it means about \$58.57 million (N9.08 n billion) is spent annually on running the planes (Durojaiye,2012:23). Nigeria happens to be one of few countries of the world with a large PAF. Most major countries in Europe and Asia maintain mostly two aircraft in their presidential air fleet, according to Wikipedia (2012). According to the website, Japan maintains

only two Boeing 747-400 planes in its presidential air fleet. The two aircraft, mostly for the prime minister, the emperor, empress and other members of the imperial family, is operated by the Japan air Self-Defence Force. The aircraft were constructed at the Boeing factory at the same time as the United States' Air Force One. Both Japanese aircraft were delivered in 1990. Wikipedia also confirms that The Netherlands Government operates only two aircraft, one Fokker 70 and one Gulfstream IV, as a means of transport for the Dutch Royal family and government officials, such as the Prime Minister and other Ministers. They are used, also, to attend international conferences, and also for private trips by the Queen and the Prince of Orange (Durojaiye, 2012:23). For long haul trips, the Royal Dutch Airline is used. Often the upper deck of a Boeing 747 is used. The Queen of England, Queen Elizabeth 11 and Prime Minister, David Cameron, often go on British Airways chartered flights for long trips. UK's Cameron was recently criticized by the UK media for chartering a foreign plane instead of a British's. Countries like Ghana, Algeria and a host of others in Europe maintain only one aircraft in their PAF (Onyishi, & Eme, 2013)..

Process of awarding Contracts by FEC Under Jonathan

As part of the endless spending spree, information obtained from the website of the Bureau of Public Procurement (BPP), BusinessDay(2012) and Ikuomola, 2012

a&b, and Onogu (2012) show that the federal government awarded contracts worth about N1.187 trillion between August 10, 2011 and November 28, 2012. The figure represents the total value of over 140 contracts spread across various sectors of the economy. A breakdown of the contract showed that between August 10 and February 15, the federal government awarded contracts worth over N700 billion, while in the months from May 30 to November 28, it awarded contracts in excess of N400 billion. As the government continues to award contracts, in its quest “to better” the lot of Nigerians, however, there has been skepticism as to whether the contracts would be executed and if executed, whether they would be effective, especially as a number of them have continued to generate controversy. In June this year, Vice-President Namadi Sambo had himself said over 12,000 federal projects with N7.8 trillion had been abandoned.

The vice president had warned that the trend would no longer be tolerated on June 21 when he inaugurated the committee on guideline for the management and implementation of federal infrastructure projects in Abuja. Though warned that, “in line with the transformation agenda, the federal government has decided that federal projects would no longer be done haphazardly or arbitrarily” (Businessday, 2012:39). Nigerians have continued to complain of the trend. In November 20 12,

the Federal Executive Council (FEC) approved no fewer than 25 contracts s the total number of contracts awarded between May and November were worth more than N200 billion. Among them was a contract worth N54.4 billion for the provision of complementary engineering infrastructure facilities to the Federal Capital City. The contract for the rehabilitation of railway track network – Eastern Line (Port Harcourt – Maiduguri), which is worth N67.3 billion was also among those awarded in November. Also, in November contracts worth N4.3 billion were awarded for the design, manufacture, supply and commission of two sets of five-car diesel multiple units, each with a capacity of 540 passengers and additional six numbers of 68-seater passenger coaches. Other contracts awarded in 2012 included a N2.7 billion contract for the construction of Nkporo-Abirba-Ohafia Road in Abia state to Messrs Dutum Construction

(Nigeria) Limited. The contract, awarded on May 30 is expected to be completed 18 months from the date. On June 13, 2012, the FEC approved a contract worth N 90.6 million for a major overhaul and restoration of Plant Unit GT17 at Ughelli Power Plc (Onyishi, & Eme, 2013)..

Over a month later, on July 25, 2012, it reviewed the contract sum for the rehabilitation of phase I of the ministry of Finance office, to N2, 263,231,068, with the contract expected to be completed in 56

weeks. Three months later, with many more contracts approved in the time, the FEC awarded a contract worth N1.49b for the completion of the construction of the Zik Mausoleum at Onitsha Anambra State. A review of the contracts awarded by the Jonathan administration between May 30 and November 28 this year showed that at least five consultancy contracts, worth NE.36 billion were awarded. These included the contract for the supervision consultancy services for reclamation work on the Abam-Nnuju-Igbiri-Oba-Ojimba-Okujagu-Ama Water front and back swamps, which was worth N383.3 million. On August 8, a contract was awarded for transaction advisory for Design, Build, Finance and Operate on the 2nd Niger Bridge, which links Anambra and Delta States, The contract was worth N325.6 million on the same day, the FEC also awarded a contract worth N297.7 million for transport advisory services for Design, Build, Finance and Operate on Apakun-Murtala Mohammed International Airport Road. Two more consultancy contracts were awarded on November 28. the first, which is for the provision of consultancy services for the improvement of power supply at Murtala Muhammad International Airport, Lagos, was worth N233.8 million, while the second-a contract for consultancy services (supervision) for the construction of Inland River Port at Jamata, Lokoja- was worth N121.1 million. For the same period-May to November, the FEC favoured short-term projects. Of the 47 awarded contracts

reviewed for the period, 29 (62 per cent) were contracts with completion duration of between one and 12 months. Contracts to be completed between 13 and 20 months were nine, as were those with completion duration of 21 months and above. The regular approval of contracts by the FEC has not been without criticism with many Nigerians accusing the executive of turning the weekly meeting into a platform for the award of contracts rather than an avenue for discussing serious national issues. In March this year, the house of representatives had also slammed the approval of contracts by the FEC, describing such actions as illegal. At the time, the Chairman of the House Committee on Public Procurement, Mrs. Jumoke Okoya-Thomas, had reportedly said the FEC was usurping the powers of the National Councils on procurement as stipulated by law. In the months that followed, the FEC has gone on to approve contracts in excess of N700 billion and the debate has shifted from the legality of the contracts approved by the council to the relevance of the contracts and the council's ability to ensure the approved contracts are executed properly if at all they are executed (Onyishi, & Eme, 2013).

A Critique of Nigeria's Foreign Policy Thrust under President Goodluck Jonathan's Administration.

After President Goodluck completed the tenure of former President Umaru Musa Yar-Adua, he (Jonathan) then contested and won the April 2011 presidential election

with massive support and expectations among many Nigerians. The president development emphasis was anchored on transformation programme which according to him was to totally transform every decaying sector in Nigeria. It was also the time Nigeria was witnessing high level of insecurity occasioned by the activities of Boko – Haram in the North East, corruption and youth's restiveness among other problems. All these factors contributed negatively to the global perception of Nigeria and Nigerians. In order to address these problems, President Goodluck Jonathan's foreign policy direction focused on investment and economic co-operation within the global community. This according to Obuoforib (2014) was made now during the May 29 inaugural and acceptance speech of the President thus: Nigeria's new foreign policy direction is now on investment and economic co-operation which thus ties Foreign Policy to the country's domestic agenda, a radical departure from the old one which has Africa as the centre piece. The new foreign policy lay more emphasis on investment rather than political drive as it is the only avenue to deliver the dividends of democracy to the electorate. The new posture of government is that – while we retain the leadership role in our sub-region, and while we play our leadership role on the continent by taking the lead in all major issues on the continent, the Foreign Policy direction will also be used to propel the economic and industrial development of our country.

To back his words with actions the president gave new directives to the nation's various diplomatic missions to consider themselves as the operators of the foreign policy in practical terms. They were urged to look for opportunities, ventures, programmes that they could bring to Nigeria to give the new focus a success. The hallmark of Jonathan's foreign policy based to his 2011 inaugural address was to priorities domestic concerns as he clearly stated that, the present administration's foreign policy of externalising domestic priorities. The concern therefore is that even within the sub-region there should be a new thinking on sub-regional integration based on inputs from the people as against past efforts which was the exclusive handwork as well as aspiration of the past leaders.

Indeed, to the best of his abilities, Goodluck Jonathan renewed diplomatic and bilateral relationship with many countries. He also addressed international gathering to help Nigeria in fighting Bokom Haram terrorist activities and corruption. He also urged Europe and Asian giants to invest in Nigeria's private sector especially in the key areas of energy, downstream sector and agriculture. According to Ajaebili (2013) President Jonathan stress that, “Therefore, there is urgent need for a holistic effort by the government, corporate bodies and individuals to stamp out the evils of insecurity, crime and corruption so that the country is relatively safe for both Nigerians and foreigners”.

Internationally, the pervasive corruption in Nigeria had tarnished the image of the country and has resulted in foreign nationals exercising extreme caution in entering into business transactions with Nigerians, thereby weakening the economic sector. President Goodluck did not actually succeed in implementing foreign policy as evidenced from USA government refusing to sell weapons to Nigeria, and the South Africa government also sizing Nigeria money meant to purchase weapons to fight Boko Haram among other diplomatic skirmishes globally. Similarly, many Nigerians were executed in countries like Indonesia, Philippines, Australia and unprovoked attacks on Nigerian national and massive deportation of Nigerians across the globe.

In general, The Jonathan's administration, like many other administrations in Nigeria has never lacked in good policies. The problem of Nigeria's foreign policy that is affecting the country's image is not in formulation, but in implementation as noted by Nwankwo. It therefore means, Nigerian Foreign Policy under Jonathans' administration failed to have meaningful impact on the global community.

Inherent Challenges Affecting Nigeria Foreign Policy

Foreign policies are systematic way that a sovereign nation can use to deal with matters that may arise with its interactions with other independent states and other non-

states actors. It is pertinent to note that Nigeria has not fared better in the conduct of its foreign policy for the larger part of its fifty five years of existence as sovereign state. In retrospect Teniola (2013) addressed Nigeria's foreign policy succinctly that a bold foreign policy has become major mishap in the face of grave internal problems confronting Nigeria today, in the global scene, Nigeria has become very inactive.

Furthermore, Asobie (2010) came up with questions that are challenging in nature such as how the changes in the international system in the last fifty year been perceived and interpreted by policy makers? How has Nigeria's national interest been defined, in the contexts of those changes? What specific policies have been formulated and implemented to respond to the changes? What has been impact of the changes and Nigeria's responses on Nigeria's national development? The posers raised by Asobie Assisi are part of the challenges inherent in Nigeria Foreign policy

In addition, the appointment of non career officers as diplomats especially political appointees to serves as ambassadors and high commissioners is counter-productive at implementing effectively foreign policy objectives of Nigerian government outside it shores due to misplacement of government priorities by these set of ambassadors. In addition, it affects negatively the morales of career officers in the ministry of external affairs.

Persistent economic hardship and downslide of oil price globally is an impeding factor in the implementation of foreign policy objectives by Nigerian government due to the mono-cultural and oil driven nature of Nigerian economy. Nigeria attained a dynamic and pragmatic foreign policy during the period of oil boom in the 1970s. Thus, if the structure of states economy is strong, diversify and stable, it will serve as a major determinants of states behavior vis-à-vis its relations within the international system.

Repositioning Nigerian Foreign Policy for Development

From the above analysis, we have observed with keen interest the complex relationships between foreign policy, international image and national transformation as they affect Nigeria. It is evident that foreign policy, when conceived as the way a country relates with its external environment, has serious implications for the country's international image. In other words, foreign relations invariably dictate how foreigners are received and treated by host countries. On the other hand, the feed-back mechanism embedded in the foreign policy formulation and implementation process can help to drive national development.

Hence, the earlier allusion by Ate (2012) that national economic transformation is the prioritization of foreign policy and diversification of resources on cultivating special bilateral and multilateral

relationships that are considered critical to the realization of the strategic vision of development becomes apt. In essence, the critical linkage between domestic processes (politics, economics, social, cultural, religion and so on) and the external situation towards which foreign policy is focused provides an illumination into how foreign policy, when carefully articulated can promote a country's international image and foster its national transformation.

Adelusi and Oluwashakin (2014:135) had argued that the linkage between domestic processes and external relations provides a specific context which identifies the extent to which specific issues can positively or negatively exert influence on achievement of a given policy. They contended that foreign policy constitutes a force for positive international image, indeed, a force for positive change, which should be maximally harnessed for national development and transformation. It therefore, suffices to mention that an engagement of a robust foreign policy position invariably promotes international respectability among the comity of nations and positively affects a country's national transformation agenda.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The paper has examined the issue of the objectives of Nigeria foreign policy and its implementations and the inherent challenges facing it in the last fifty five years. It is obvious that Nigeria foreign

policy is afro-centric in nature, very broad in its goals and it is being determined by socio-political factors that are both internal and external to Nigerian environment.

It is imperative that Nigerian government must address the underlying causes and provides realistic ideas and solutions that will tackle the inherent socio-political contradictions in Nigeria as way of enhancing the image of the country within the international system.

Furthermore, it is imperative that foreign affairs institutions and missions abroad should make it imperative to advance Nigeria's foreign policy objectives with consistency in line with stipulated constitutional goals of Nigeria vis-a-vis international system. In this light, foreign policy institutions and diplomats should key into the assertion of Uhomoibhi and Iweriebor (2015) the need to dedicate to the realization through the vigorous pursuit of the vital national interests of the federal republic of Nigeria through the formulation, articulation and implementation of Nigeria's foreign policy objectives for the benefits of Nigeria and its citizens by building the capacity to be a major role player in world affairs and earning the respect of the people of Africa and the larger international community. On a final note Nigeria foreign policy objectives and its implementation should inculcate the adoption of combination of economic diplomacy and preventive diplomacy as

foreign policy instruments as a means or tools of repositioning Nigerian foreign policy to cope with the developmental challenges of the twenty first century's

The inability of Nigeria foreign policy makers and actors to key into the globally acknowledged preventive diplomacy in the realization of de-escalation of violence especially in northern Eastern Nigeria bearing the contiguous nature of the zone with Cameroon, Chad and Niger republic is a reflection of lack of pro-active policies and measures by Nigerian government thus it should embrace preventive diplomacy bearing in mind realities of time. Albert (2012) acknowledged that, preventive diplomacy means an action to prevent disputes from arising between parties, to prevent existing disputes from escalating into conflicts and to limit the spread of the latter when they occur.

In conclusion, there is the need to link Nigeria national interest in line with our foreign policy objectives, our national interests should supercede other external considerations and remain imperatives, the focus should be on the gains or the advantages that Nigeria will derive as a nation in its foreign policy implementation. Thus, in the comments of Obadiah, M. quoting from the study of Wogu et, al (2015) the centerpiece of any country's foreign policy ought to be that country itself if it seriously considers itself a rational actor on the world stage...Every single action shall

be adjudged by how much it advances our national power and influence and how much it advances our interest and objectives

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ENHANCING SERVICE DELIVERY THROUGH MODERN INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY IN BAYERO UNIVERSITY KANO.

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ABSTRACT

This Paper has focused on enhancing Service Delivery through Modern Information Technology in Bayero University, Kano (BUK). Specifically, it examined the challenges that confronted BUK in her attempt to deliver public service before the creation of the Management Information System (MIS). The study further examined the extent to which the creation of MIS had enhanced the system of generating, dissemination, storage and analysis of information in BUK. The study also studied the factors impeding the implementation of the strategic plan of BUK on Information and Communication Technology (ICT). The study reviewed literature based on the research topic and related theory and adopted Adaptive Structuration Theory as the theoretical framework for the study. The study used both quantitative and qualitative methods for data collection and analysis. The total sample size for the work was two hundred and seventy, which comprised of two hundred and sixty respondents for the quantitative data and ten staff interviewed drawn from CIT, MIS, Automation and Computer Science Department. The study discovered Modern Information Technology as a critical tool for effective service delivery and that certain challenges confronted BUK before the creation of MIS unit that included poor storage of data, inefficient management of information and poor dissemination of information. The study among others recommended that, the management of the Bayero University Kano, should effectively train personnel on modern information technology to enhance the availability of man-power in CIT and MIS units as this will help to solve the problem of expertise on modern information technology of the institution.

Keywords: Information Technology, Service Delivery, Organization, Administration

INTRODUCTION

The world today is being transformed by continuously evolving technologies that are changing the way we do things at the most fundamental levels. This transformation is precipitated by a number of trends; a shift from manufacturing to a service economy; the usage of information as a resource, factor of production, and commodity; and the propulsion of the current economic growth through technical innovation and scientific discovery (Dickey *et al.*, 1999). In the 1960s a famous modern management theorist Peter Drucker stated that knowledge has become the basis of modern economy after the shift of society from the commodity economy to the knowledge economy (Gatautis, R. 2004). Nowadays it is also often stated (Custells, 2003) that people have developed into a society, where knowledge and organization are first and most important creators of welfare.

The human race is full of insatiable taste for goods and services. As these want and needs grow, so do the means of satisfying them. Therefore, every organization, be it government or otherwise, is set up to achieve these objectives. On an individual level, many aspects of our daily lives are subject to technological innovations. We have become dependent on the flexibility, access, and services that they provide us. Computers, fax machines, networks, cable television, fibre optics and Automated Teller Machine (ATM) have all played a pivotal role in the way we communicate,

work, play and do business. As the information age progresses we increasingly owe more of our economic and technological progress to the free flow of ideas and knowledge. Consequently, it becomes more important that we have access to superior and timely information.

In recent years, the concepts of government and administration have been transformed. Transformation were caused not only by growing requirements and expectations for ways of governing civil society to reflect modern method of efficiency and productivity, but also the attitude that public administration should be more open to democratic control and accountability (Adamu and Gwarzo, 2002). The above mentioned processes of change had a lot of impact on the activity of government. A lot of public institutions have included the Information and communication technology (ICT) dimension into their activities. Many authors like Vigoda, Dougherty and Fang state that e-Government ensures efficiency and democracy in a more economical way than it was forecasted before, and the application of ICT creates opportunities for government to modify the traditional compromise between these two objectives.

Public administration conceptually has to do with all the events and activities that government undertakes towards achieving its objectives. It also entails human resource development, governmental policies and

decision making to mention a few. It is the machinery through which government provides public goods to the citizens, thereby ensuring efficiency and effectiveness. However, effective service delivery in public organizations would better be enhanced through modern information technology. The management information system, information resource management, e-Government, office automation etc, are all means through which service delivery could be achieved in public organizations. Hence the core assumption of this research is that, 'with ICT there will be improvement in administration'. But the real problem is how could ICT bring about improvement in public organizations like B.U.K?

Every government conducts its activities through articulation of data, records and information. Both the bureaucrats and public office holders have great concern with generating, disseminating and storage of government data and records. It is on that note that this research is framed in order to see how effective system of data generation, dissemination and storage will improve public service or service delivery. A reliable policy cannot be formulated with insufficient data.

Bayero University, Kano is not an exception to these trends. It was that quest for data, record, and information management, and the need for effective service delivery, that necessitate the establishment of

Management information system (MIS) and Centre for information technology in the university. Most importantly therefore, the research will tend to review the strategic plan of B.U.K on ICT so as to see the level of development or otherwise in that aspect. To also see if it had improved service delivery in the university. An effective analysis of what is on ground will be made. What are the targets, and efforts towards achieving these targets. What has been achieved, if not what are the constraints?

Planning and implementation of information technology in an organization, (B.U.K inclusive) is an involved and complicated endeavour, and becomes more so with each new innovation. It is no longer a simple task to simply automate clerical tasks or transfer reams of data into a computer. Today's technologically driven organization must make use of integrated information systems which will not only allow them to process data and perform clerical tasks but also provide services in a more effective and super-friendly way. ICT based public service can offer better ways to provide for government administration and service deliveries but getting there is not an easy matter.

Precisely this research is aimed at examining the role of modern information technology in enhancing service delivery, with specific objectives of finding the factors that are impeding the implementation of ICT Plan in BUK, the

challenges confronting BUK before the implementation of ICT and to examine the extent to which MIS improve information dissemination, generation and storage.

STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

The effective management of our universities depends to a large extent, on how university managers have utilized available human and material resources. A lot of data on students, staff and finance abound in our universities. The organisation and processing of these volumes of data to generate valuable information for dissemination to all who might need it has become a very serious issue in our universities. Access to vital information which is available outside our own environments is even a nightmare in most of our universities. Information and Communications Technology (ICT) facilities are helping to provide means of solving these problems. But how have our universities embraced this rendition that is changing the way we perform our functions.

The initiative to enhance effective service delivery in the Nigerian universities started with the MIS (management Information System) project, which was sponsored by the National Universities Commission (NUC) about twenty years ago. Poor infrastructural facilities in our universities, is a major constraint in the realisation of the dream of that project. How could one single personal computer or very few computers

be used for entering the students' data in a university with a population of over 30,000 students? Creating and storing information on one system is to lock up the database with only one person having access to it at a time. This is far from the ideal in a university environment where administrators require timely and accurate information for planning purposes and academics require information for research and teaching.

However, in spite of the establishment of Centre for Information Technology CIT in 2004, as part of a comprehensive strategic plan of BUK on IT, and another strategic plan on ICT in 2002, BUK is far from actualising its dream of ensuring a better system of data generation, dissemination and storage. There is still poor IT infrastructure and lack of training for both staff and students. In fact the situation today in BUK with the Modern information technology is not far different from what was obtained prior to IT implementation. Processing of results, admission processes and issuance of transcripts takes much longer time even with the ICT than those years without ICT. It is pertinent to note that this research will try to find out the challenges that confronted BUK in her attempt to deliver public service before the creation of MIS Unit. It will also focus on how the creation of MIS could improve Data generation, dissemination and storage, there by looking at the factors impeding the strategic plan of BUK on ICT.

AIM AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The general aim of this study is to examine the role of modern information technology in enhancing service delivery. The specific objectives are stated below;

1. To find out the challenges that confronted Bayero University, Kano in her attempt to deliver public service before the creation of the management information system (MIS) unit.
2. To examine the extent to which the creation of MIS could enhance the system of generating, disseminating, storing and analysis of information in Bayero University, Kano.
3. To study the factors impeding the implementation of the strategic plan of B.U.K on ICT.

Theoretical Framework

For the purpose of this research work, Adaptive structuration theory is applied. This theory provides a model that describes the interplay between advanced information technologies, social structures, and human interaction. Consistent with structuration theory, Adaptive structuration theory focuses on social structures, rules and resources provided by technologies and institutions as the basis for human activity (Zmud, 1994). Social structures serve as templates for planning and accomplishing tasks. Prior to development of an advanced technology, structures are found in institutions such as reporting, hierarchies, organizational knowledge, and standard

operating procedures. Designers incorporate some of these structures into the technology; the structures may be reproduced so as to mimic their non-technology counterparts, or they may be modified, enhanced or combined with manual procedures, thus creating new structures within the technology (Holmes and Desanctis, 1991).

Another model of the Adaptive structuration theory is decision making model. This model is rooted in the positivist tradition and presumes that decision making is “the primordial organizational act” (Perrow, 1986); it emphasizes the cognitive process associated with rational decision making and adopts a psychological approach to the study of technology and change. Decision theorist espouses “system rationalism” (Rice, 1984), the view that technology should consist of structures (e.g. data and decision models) designed to overcome human weaknesses (e.g. “bounded rationality” and “process losses”). Once applied, the technology should bring productivity, efficiency, and satisfaction to individuals and organizations. Decision theorist tends toward an engineering view of organizational change, believing that failure to achieve desired change reflects a failure in the technology, its implementation, or its delivery to the organization.

By way of justifying this theory, Feldman and March, (1981) points that information

plays a distinctly social, and interpersonal role in organizations. Perhaps for this reason, development and evaluation of technologies to support the exchange of information among organizational members has become a research tradition within organization and information sciences (Goodman, 1986) Keen and Scott (1978) VandeVen and Delbecq (1974). The past decades has brought advanced information technologies, which include electronic messaging systems, executive information system, management information system, collaborative systems, group decision support system and other technologies that enable multiparty participation in organizational activities through sophisticated information management (Huber 1990; Huseman and Mills, 1988, Rice 1984). Developers and users of these systems hold high hopes for their potential to change traditional organizational design, intelligence and decision-making for the better.

According to Adaptive structuration theory, adoption of technology structures by organizational actors is a key factor in organizational change (Huber, 1990). Whereas, traditional computer systems support accomplishment of business transactions and discrete work tasks, such a billing, inventory management, financial analysis, and report preparation, advanced information technology support these activities and more; they support coordination among people and provide

procedures for accomplishing interpersonal exchange, group decision support systems for example provide electronic path for exchanging ideas among meeting participants and formula for integrating the work of multiple parties (Perrow, 1986).

This theory is capable of explaining the relationship between need for transformation in organisation and the attainment of effective service delivery. As the theory assumes that, use of technology in organisation will help to overcome human weaknesses. And once applied the technology should bring productivity, efficiency and satisfaction. This therefore will explain the need for organisation like BUK to employ modern information technology in their quest for effective service delivery. This is because some of the challenges that BUK faced in its quest for service delivery could be overcome through the use of ICT.

CONCEPTUALISATION:

Service Delivery

Service here implies tangible and intangible goods and services provided by the government in order to improve the well-being of the citizenry. Carlson et al. (2005) conceptualised service delivery as the relationship between policy makers, service providers and poor people. According to them, it encompasses services and their supporting systems that are typically regarded as a state responsibility. These

include social services (primary education and basic health services), infrastructure (water, sanitation, roads and bridges) and services that promote personal security (justice, police etc).

In Nigeria, government constitutes the major service provider through the Public Service. The Public Service refers to all organisations that exist as part of government machinery for implementing policy decisions and delivering services that are of value to the citizens. It is a mandatory institution of the state under the 1999 Constitution of Nigeria.

The Nigerian Public Service includes the Civil Service, often referred to as core service, consisting of line ministries and extra-ministerial agencies; the Public bureaucracy or the enlarged Public Service made up of service of the State and National Assembly, the Judiciary, the Armed Forces, the Police and other security agencies, paramilitary services (i.e. Customs, Immigration, Prisons Services, Civil-Defence Corps etc); parastatals and agencies i.e. regulatory agencies, educational institutions, research institutions, social services, commercially oriented agencies etc. it is also used to refer to Public Servant who are direct employees of those ministries, extra-ministerial agencies, parastatals, corporations and institutions. In Nigeria, there are many attempts by government to improve effective service delivery in the public

sector. One of the common service delivery improvement initiatives include *SERVICOM*.

The *SERVICOM* Initiative

This is an initiative similar to, the Citizen First initiative in the UK or the Batho Pele (People First) in South Africa. It is important to look at the dynamics that gave rise to the adoption and implementation of the *SERVICOM*. According to Ad'Obe Obe *SEVICOM* National coordinator, indicates that servicom is a reform initiative that is geared towards improving effective and efficient service delivery 'no reform by government would succeed unless it brings about improved service delivery in a specific aspect of life of the people. He went on to state, "Therefore, whatever reform you embark on, service delivery is both the subject and object of the reform. Without improving service, no reform would be said to have been successful. Therefore *SERVICOM* is the mother of all Reforms".

Information Technology

Information technology (IT) is the processing and maintenance of information, and the use of all forms of computer, communication, network and mobile technologies to mediate information. Information technologies include all media employed in transmitting audio, video, data or multimedia such as cable, satellite, fibre optics, wireless (radio, infra-red, Bluetooth, wifi).

Network technologies include personal area networks (PAN), campus area network (CAN), intranets, extranets, Local Area Network(LAN), Wide Area Network (WAN), and the internet. According to Kraemer *et al* (1993) computer and information systems are now present everywhere in American public and private organizations. Over the past five decades there had been many studies on how managers can and should use modern information technology to increase their personal effectiveness and that of their organizations. In fact, some have suggested that organizational effectiveness can be measured by the extent to which managers are able to acquire information that reduces the uncertainty and ambiguity they perceive in their organizational environments (Tushman and Nadler, 1978).

In Africa, governments and organizations are now faced with the challenge or transformation, a paradigm shift, necessitated by the age of network intelligence. Governments must undergo internal and external transformation in order to move in unison with the private sector and respond swiftly to information technology developments and its dictates (Kundishora, 2000). Internally, Governments are called to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of internal functions and processes within available to computer users through the global internet. It enables users to view a wide variety of information, including magazines, archives,

public and college library resources, and current world and business news.

Innovation as a tool for effective service delivery

The term innovation derives from the Latin "*innovatio*", the noun of action from *innovare*. The central meaning of innovation thus relate to renewal or improvement, with novelty being a consequence of this improvement (wikipedia.org). On a lower level, innovation can be seen as a change in the thought process for doing something, or the useful application of innovations or discoveries (McKeown, 2008).

According to Batali (2011), in theory and practice of the states the process of innovations in public administration is considered as "ongoing process" and "ongoing transformation." As an ongoing process, the public administration innovation includes the decentralization of public administration, simplifying of procedures, informatization of the service delivery, integrating ICT, and improving human resources developments. As rightly put by Albertiu and Sayed (2007) the innovation process includes mechanism that will ensure public sector transparency and accountability and mechanisms for attracting increased foreign direct investments. The innovation of public administration is a key instrument for the state building.

However, Alberti and Bertucci, (2006) aptly puts it that, innovation in public

administration is an effective and inventive solution of problems and obstacles. Furthermore, innovation is not a closed and complete solution, but an open solution, transformed by those who adopt it.

Also, Dougherty and Gibson (2008) argued that the public administration innovation should start with the simplification of the whole frameworks that regulate the functioning of government structures. Administrative legislation reforms and administrative system compatibility should be considered the basis for the public administration innovation.

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

This study has examined the role of modern information technology in enhancing service delivery in public organization with a specific concern on Bayero University, Kano. In the process of collecting data, which is presented below, staff and students were selected for interview and administration of questionnaire. The tables below will show the data collected and its interpretations.

Response on whether staff and students are aware of Strategic Plan on ICT in B.U.K

Strategic Plan	N	%
Yes	99	40.7
No	144	59.3
Total	243	100

Source: Field Survey, 2014

A study on the strategic plan of ICT in Bayero University, Kano shows that 40.7% claim that there are strategic plan on it in the institution while a relatively higher 59.3% did not concur with the claim. This implies that there may be some plan of ICT in the institution, and possibly because it has nothing to do with the students only few knew about it. An informant during the IDI whom was interviewed on whether he is fully aware of the strategic plan on ICT in BUK said:

Bayero University started its strategic ICT plan with a need for a computer centre that would provide computing services to the university...the university senate therefore set up a Computer Committee that was charged with the responsibility of establishing a computer Centre and advising Senate on all matters related to the use of computers in the University. With installation of a VAX 11/780 mini-computer in 1980, which was an expensive state of the art machine that only few American and European Universities could afford. It shows a great deal of commitment to IT by the university.

Another informant said:

The university had no option but to comply to the changes

brought by new developments in ICT, even though it took Bayero University computer centre long time to adjust. It commences with procurement of microcomputers. In 1998 and 1999 about 70 computers and other accessories were procured...and hence a boost to its objectives on IT.

Also stated by another respondent:

The development recorded in 1980s and 1990s in BUK, made the university to come up with the following plans as its strategic objectives on ICT:-

- 1) To immediately network the entire building of computer centre
- 2) To utilize these procured computers for the needs of staff and students in carrying out researches and other academic purposes..
- 3) To also establish Centre for information technology with responsibility of making the university community fully computer literates and providing state of the art computing facilities for the use of students, researchers, lecturers and administrators.
- 4) The centre when established will also be charged with the following:
 - a) To provide computing facilities for every interested member of the university community.

- b) To provide special advice and guidance on the use of computers.
- c) To provide advance IT resources for special applications such as research projects.
- d) To provide training for members of the University community.
- e) To provide consultancy services
- f) To provide training for outsiders.

This however shows a comprehensive IT strategic plan in BUK, but possible due to confidentiality of information like this, few even among the personnel interviewed new about it. This however indicates that, dissemination of information is poor even among the implementers. As few personnel of Centre for Information Technology (CIT) and Management Information System (MIS) knew about strategic Plan on IT, it therefore indicates a wider gap between planners and implementers which ultimately affect service delivery.

Factors Impeding the Implementation of the Strategic Plan of B.U.K on ICT

The table below shows the summary of response from the respondents on the factors that are impeding the Implementation of strategic plan of BUK on IT. Although some respondent provided different answer such as corruption and lack of political will, but most of the response centred around the factors listed in the table.

Factors	N	%
Lack of clear policy objectives	38	15.6
Inadequate knowledge of the policy	89	36.7
Poor funding	27	11.1
Lack of training	14	5.7
All of the above	75	30.9
Total	243	100

Source: Field Survey, 2014

On the factors impeding the implementation of the strategic plan of Bayero University, Kano on information and communication technology, 16% claimed that Lack of clear policy objectives is the reason for poor implementation of ICT plan, 36.7% claimed inadequate knowledge of the policy itself, 11.1% attribute it to poor funding, 5.7% indicates lack of training. However about 31% of the respondents attributes it to lack of clear policy objectives, inadequate knowledge of the policy, poor funding, and lack of training.

An informant during the in depth interview (IDI) said:

Factors, such as expertise, lack of effective man-power training and lack of willingness from leaders will impede the implementation of the strategic plan of Bayero University, Kano on information and communication technology.

This means that a number of factors tend to impede the implementation of the strategic plan of the institution on ICT and this could affect the quality of service delivery in general. This also implies that a number of personnel in BUK were only aware of the policy on IT at the level of interview (ie when they were being interviewed about the policy during this research). Most likely that was the reason why significant number of the respondents consider lack of actual knowledge of the policy, as one of the most impeding problem of ICT implementation in BUK.

Opinion on the Factors Influencing the Development of Information Technology in Bayero University, Kano.

Factors	N	%
Globalisation	52	21.4
Need for efficiency	48	19.7
Quality services	23	9.5
Technological innovations	80	32.9
All of the above	40	16.5
Total	243	100

Source: Field Survey, 2014

Data in Table above indicates the opinion on the factors influencing the development of information technology in Bayero University, Kano. it shows that 21.4% claimed Globalisation, 19.7% need for efficiency, 9.5% claimed need for quality of services, 32.9% indicates technological innovations while some 16.5% shows all the

above factors plays role in influencing the development of Information technology in BUK.

An informant during the IDI said:

Donor supports; for example in December 2003 the building of Centre for Information Technology (CIT) was completed fully funded by McArthur Foundation. Other agencies like Nigerian Deposit insurance corporation (NDIC) equipped some of the Labs with computers...these positively influenced the development of ICT in BUK.

Another informant during the IDI said: ...the factors affecting ICT development in BUK includes:

- a) Lack of comprehensive ICT policies.
- b) Government supports.
- c) External pressure and donor support.
- d) Technological change, modernization and globalization.

This shows that, the development of ICT in BUK was more or less a natural change which has been influenced by globalisation and rapid technological transformation taking place in the world. Also some factors like need for effective service delivery could have been another issue, since public organisations at all level are gradually

moving toward utilisation of modern technology to improve quality of service, it could also be a factor to influence ICT development in Bayero University.

Research Findings

Using the raw data obtained from the field survey as complimented by other reports, and qualitative data, the research discovered the following:

There are many challenges that bedevilled Bayero University prior to the creation of Management Information System (MIS). These challenges include inability to properly articulate, generate and manage data or information. Both the management and personnel have great difficulties with generating, disseminating and storage of data and records which ultimately affected planning and policy formulation. The record keeping before MIS, in BUK and in particular some departments and units have grown very large and becoming too unwieldy for the traditional manual methods. In some of the departments and units the filing system is not well organised with the results that sometimes records are difficult to locate and retrieve. Some of the departments or units have space problem with respect to keeping of files.

Conceptually it is accepted by this research that Service Delivery through modern information technology is the effective

utilisation of ICT for research and other academic purposes. It is found that effective service delivery in any tertiary institution and in particular Bayero University, could imply provision of top quality services in teaching, learning and research. For the university being a world ranked tertiary institution of learning, by it having a well-established faculties, by the university being well recognised within Nigeria and the community within which it resides, by the institution providing quality education, by it providing degrees that are recognised and respected, by the institution having well recognised and highly skilled academics and efficient administrative staff, by the university providing a safe learning environment with well-equipped lecture venues and laboratories.

This invariably requires good planning, organisation and management, which is only possible through proper management and utilisation of data. In essence therefore the goal and objectives of any institution will not be achieved without proper system of data generation, dissemination and analysis. As such therefore, modern information technology is an important instrument of data generation, dissemination and storage. This has coincided with the assumptions of Structuration Adaptive Theory which the research employs as its theoretical guide.

The theory assumes the use of technology in organisations to overcome human weaknesses, and once the technology is applied it should bring productivity, efficiency and satisfaction to individuals and organisation.

Therefore, for BUK to effectively deliver public service it first need to address these problems like poor storage of data, inefficient management of information, poor access of data and poor dissemination of information, as claimed by a significant number of respondents. Therefore, the creation of the management information unit of the institution has led to effective access and storage of information as well as facilitating the process of data analysis in policy formulation. Many of the respondents stated that the creation of MIS has increased electronic sharing and dissemination of information between and among units and departments. But this does not mean BUK is sufficient in term of achieving effective service delivery through the utilisation of MIS.

The extent to which the creation of MIS influenced the system of generating, disseminating, storing and analysis of data in Bayero University, Kano has been commendable. Though, the process has been marred by range of problems and challenges. Poor IT infrastructure as

pointed above, shortage of power, lack of internet coverage, lack of training, inadequate resources, unskilled personnel to anticipate the changes that accompany an ICT structure and new roles, the decision of Bayero University Management to delineate MIS Unit under the Directorate of Examination, Admission and Records (DEAR), were among the problems observed by most of the respondents. It is also found that CIT in BUK has not been performing its expected function. They were created to provide IT infrastructure and maintain these infrastructures within BUK. Such kinds of infrastructures include *internet services*, without which MIS could not carry some of its functions, but they only provide these services to some few selected areas around VC's office and CIT building. Even around these areas, the access is very limited, and the strength of the network is very poor.

But in spite of all these challenges, MIS unit of Bayero University has helped to improve the admission and registration process from manual to electronic. It is cheaper and easier. It has also improved the manual filling system to an electronic one. Data analysis, data query and modelling can easily be made, which makes policy formulation easier. As also portrayed, MIS has ensured the creation of general data bank for all BUK students, information on

registration exercise, enrolment of all faculties and departments, issuance of transcripts and keeping of electronic records of all out-going students. It also provides data for other units such as student's affairs, senate and academic office. It has ensured effective storage of information, accessing and simplifies analysis of data. It also ensures the process of inspecting, cleaning, transforming and modelling data with the goal of discovering useful information, suggesting conclusion and supporting decision making.

Although it has done a lot in data generating, storage and analysis, MIS has failed in ensuring electronic dissemination of data and information. Although, this could look as somehow contradictory with earlier statements above, but it is not. This is because there is difference in data generation, data storage, data analysis and "electronic dissemination" of data. MIS has achieved success in electronically generating data, electronically storing data, but it has not achieved any reasonable success in disseminating this data within the university electronically. This is exactly due to absolute reliance on Centre for Information Technology (CIT) to provide internet services for doing that. In fact there is over reliance on internet services by MIS unit to connect computers and share information and resources. This has led to spending huge

sum of money to subscribe with service providers which is not always certain. As such the use of *intranet* could have effectively solved that problem.

There are number of factors that impede the implementation of the strategic plan of Bayero University on ICT. These include poor network service, inadequate trained personnel and poor funding among others. Thus, nearly 58% of the respondents claimed that there are factors impeding the implementation of the strategic plan of B.U.K. Many of the respondents interviewed said that the factors range from inadequate expertise to ineffective man-power training. This means that despite the concerted efforts made by management, certain factors still impede the implementation of the strategic plan of Bayero University, Kano on information and communication technology. Therefore, to achieve the effective implementation of the strategic plan of Bayero University, Kano on Information and Communication Technology, the above factors must be effectively tackled.

Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study the following recommendations are offered:

For BUK to effectively deliver public service it first needs to improve its system of data storage, management of information,

access to data and dissemination of information. As public organizations cannot do without data or information for policy formulation and implementation this urgently need to be improved.

For MIS to achieve it set objectives there must be adequate IT infrastructure, efficient power supply, good and reliable internet access, trained staff, adequate funding, skilled personnel to anticipate the changes that accompany an ICT structure and new roles, among others

The management of the Bayero University, Kano should effectively trained personnel on modern information technology to enhance the availability of man-power in CIT and MIS units. This will help to solve the problem of expertise on modern information technology of the institution.

The use of intranet is recommended. Intranet is used to describe a situation where electronic mail, data and other information is sent via a LAN/WAN operation. The system operates very much like the internet but is contained and accessed solely within a single organization. An intranet operation may comprised a number of databases located on numerous file servers where access may be restricted to personnel from a specific subject matter area or to personnel within specific echelons within the organization. However, the general sending and receiving of electronic mail is usually unrestricted.

There is urgent need for MIS to given back it independent directorate status. The decision of Bayero University Management to delineate MIS Unit under the Directorate of Examination, Admission and Records (DEAR) will hampers the function of the unit, which could overall affects the University.

There should also be more Donor Push; for example in December 2003 the building of CIT was completed which was fully funded by McAthur Foundation. Other agencies like Nigerian Deposit Insurance Corporation (NDIC) equipped some of the Labs with computers and other accessories. This explains that with more push for donor support some of the challenges could be tackled.

There is also need for restructing ICT goals and objectives, appointing of a board for coordinating ICT implementation and to encourage public-private partnership to create sustainable ICT programs which could perhaps go a long way in actualising the strategic plans of BUK on ICT.

Conclusion

Based on the data generated, the modern information technology is a key tool for enhancing service delivery in Public Organizations, like Bayero University, Kano. It is an effective tool for accessing and storing of information as well as facilitating effective teaching and learning of both teachers and students. It influences

how information is being kept and retrieved to enhance teaching and learning. Therefore, for BUK to effectively deliver service it first need to address these problems like poor storage of data, inefficient management of information, poor access of data and poor dissemination of information.

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**MODERATING ROLE OF GOOD GOVERNANCE ON THE
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INTERVENTION PROGRAMS,
POLICY PARTICIPATION AND POVERTY ALLEVIATION: A
PLS APPROACH**

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Abstract

Poverty is one of the greatest threats to global peace and a topical topic of discussion in the development agenda. In an effort to break the cycle of poverty, governments at different levels introduced various intervention schemes to combat the scourge. This paper adopts quantitative technique using Partial Least Square (PLS) to examine the moderating effects of good governance on two intervention programs (IPs), participation of target beneficiaries in policy formulation and implementation and poverty alleviation. The findings highlight that National Fadama Development Project III is significantly related to poverty alleviation and most beneficial to the target beneficiaries. However, the relationship between Niger State Commercial Agricultural Credit Scheme and poverty alleviation was insignificant. Correspondingly, the introduction of good governance in the study will strengthen the affiliation between IPs and poverty reduction if there is effective participation of recipients of IPs in policies, periodic accountability of stakeholders and application of rule of law. The study shows that manifold intervention programs are linked with compound challenges, hence, the study recommends for the synchronization of the couple programs to curb the waste of scarce resource and accord it a required devotion. Good governance is the key to poverty alleviation, therefore, government should engender coherent vision and concrete commitment administratively, politically and professionally to realize it. Specifically, the study calls for the transformation and reinforcement of the judicial institutions to combat corruption and lead a crusade for the reinstatement of the good virtues entrenched in the public service to enhance a hitch free application of rule of law as a stepping stone to expedite economic development and poverty alleviation in Niger state.

Keywords: Good governance, intervention programs, policy participation, poverty alleviation

1.0 Introduction

Poverty is as old as history of mankind and it has affects several aspects of human conditions physically, morally and psychologically. It is menace that has zero consideration for age, race, religion, ethnicity or nationality. Poverty has rendered many miserable, helpless, powerless, voiceless and visionless. Poverty is one of the greatest threats to global peace and a topical topic in the development agenda (Roy, Cawood, Hordijk, & Hulme, 2016) to human development and the uppermost topic of deliberation in the development agenda of most nations. Poverty is a universal phenomenon (Ravallion, 2016) across countries of the world and a basic antithesis to human dignity. As a universal phenomenon, poverty affects approximately four billion people across the globe and more devastating in the developing world of Africa, Asia and Latin America (Greig, Hulme, & Turner, 2007). Out of the three continents, Africa remains the poorest (Tupy, 2016) most technologically regressive, most indebted, most crisis ridden, most politically unbalanced, most marginalized in the world. Poverty threat on the rural population was a driven force for the United Nations proclamations to fight the scourge across the globe, consequently, the Federal Government of Nigeria among comity of nations was inspired to direct significant resources into various institutions particularly Agricultural Intervention

Programs (AIPs) to bridge the gap between economic growth and prosperity of the citizens. Famous among them are the National Agricultural and Cooperative Bank (NACB), Operation Feed the Nation (OFN), Agricultural Development Project (ADP), Directorate of Food, Road and Rural Infrastructure (DFRRI), National Directorate of Employment (NDE), Better Life Program (BLP), Micro Finance Bank, Bank of Agriculture, National Poverty Eradication Program (NAPEP) among others (Dugguh, 2014; Ogwumike, 2002). The effectiveness of the schemes in combating poverty remains a recurring questions (Ighodalo, 2012).

Researchers argue that persistence poverty is less in the lack of funds for its alleviation than in the failures of governance (Baker, 2013; Cain, 2016). In the same vein, (Devas, 2012; Grindle, 2011; Hulme & Shepherd, 2003; McFerson, 2013; Moore, 2001; Ogun, 2010; Sobhan, 1998) concurred that poverty has direct linkage with bad governance further affirmed that the incidence of poverty in developing countries of the world is related with bad governance and not dearth of financial resources as claimed by some scholars. The failures range from narrow-minded developmental vision, poor commitment and lack of political determination to translating the vision into attainable policies and programs.

In observing the challenges of poverty annihilation and hunger, governance is

identified as the missing link. For instance, Kofi Anan in 1998 conceived good governance as the most essential factor required by every government to eradicate poverty and promote development (UN, 1998). Good governance entails improvement of all aspects of the society- the institutional rules, the intra and interrelation between the economic and political system (Aryeetey, Devarajan, Kanbur, & Kasekende, 2012; Bezold, Juech, Michelson, & Lyakurwa, 2009; Gul, Sajid, Afzal, Khan, & Mughal, 2012; Lusk, 2010; Murega, 2014). Consequently, Azam & Emirullah upheld that good governance expedite sustainable development vis-a-vis poverty eradication especially in the developing world of Asia, Latin America Africa where Nigeria belongs. Accordingly, good governance is perceived as a major precondition for poverty alleviation and sustainable economic development (Anyang, 2001; Bolton, 2000; Craig & Porter, 2006b; Dingwerth & Pattberg, 2006; Frenk & Moon, 2013; Lyakurwa, 2009). In spite of the foregoing assumptions, there is paucity of empirical research that align good governance with intervention policies and programs, level of participation of target beneficiaries in policy formulation and implementation to determine the level of poverty in Nigeria. It has manifested in various studies that results on Intervention Programs (IPs) and poverty alleviation in Niger state rural areas were inconclusive and equivocal (Sanusi, 2015), thus requires the introduction of moderating variable

(Baron & Kenny, 1986) to effectively assess the impact of IPs on poverty alleviation (Sanusi, 2015) . This study is to provide new empirical evidence of the relationship between two intervention programs, participation of the intended beneficiaries under the umbrella of prevailing level of poverty and good governance. In recent scenario, it is unfeasible for the poor communities to participate in usual functioning of the society as a result of weak social bonding that limit the exchange of information concerning employment, human rights, political rights, routine activities and female contribution in common dealings. In the light of above, this study intends to address the following research questions.

1. To what extent does Agricultural Intervention Programs influence poverty alleviation in the rural areas of Niger State?
2. To what extent does participation of target beneficiaries in policy formulation and implementation impact on poverty alleviation in the rural areas of Niger State?
3. Does the practice of good governance moderate the relationship between AIPs, participation in policy process and poverty alleviation in the rural areas of Niger state?

In the same vein, the study intends to achieve the following objectives:

1. To examine the impact of Agricultural Intervention Programs (AIPs) on poverty alleviation in the rural areas of Niger State.

2. To determine the impact of participation of target beneficiaries in policy implementation on poverty alleviation in the rural areas of Niger State.
3. To assess the moderating effect of good governance on AIPs, participation of beneficiaries on policy towards poverty alleviation in the rural areas.

2.0 Methodology

This study adopts quantitative instrument to pull together a cross sectional data from 18 rural areas of Niger state to examine the relationship between good governance, National Fadama Development Project III (NFDPIII) and Niger State Commercial Agricultural Credit Scheme (NSCACS) on poverty alleviation. 440 structured questionnaires were administered on the target beneficiaries and 347 were valid for analysis. The study adopts probability sampling technique which tolerate each item of the population and corresponding chance to be chosen as a sample so as to limit high rate of bias (Sekaran & Bougie, 2014). The study adopts multi-stage sampling method, where Niger state was clustered into three senatorial zones. Partial Least Square (PLS) software was used to run the data as it provide better prediction capacity and best option for data collected from social setting like rural areas which might not be absolutely normal (Hwang, Malhotra, Kim, Tomiuk, & Hong, 2010). Also, measurement of this study was adapted from the studies of (Ilemona, Akoji, & Matthew, 2014; Orji, 2005) with minor

contextual modification that twinset the study area vis-a-vis to measure the independent and dependent variables using 5 likert scale.

3.0 Literature Review

3.1 Intervention Program

Intervention schemes play considerable roles in moderating poverty and supporting socio-economic development (Bank, 1997). However, the schemes were criticized for their duplicative functions which consume huge fractions of government funds at the detriment of the real beneficiaries. For instance, in reviewing poverty alleviation programs in Latin America and the Caribbean, high administrative expenses dejected the concerned governments to sustain the programs and consequently they were abandoned (Caldés, Coady, & Maluccio, 2006). Related study advocate that investment on poverty programs is in opposite direction with poverty reduction (Kalu & James, 2012; Mehmood & Sadiq, 2010). The values of poverty intervention programs have persistently trim down as a result of its replications (Arogundade, Adebisi, & Ogunro, 2011; Caldés et al., 2006). This inspires the present study to examine National Fadama Development Project III (NFDPIII) and Niger State Commercial Agricultural Credit Scheme (NSCACS) with a view to determine their achievements and the foremost beneficial to *rural areas*. According to Simonyan, Olukosi, Omolehin, and Atala (2012), the

first segment of the program recorded huge success as mainstream of the farmers in participating states like Niger, Enugu, Kogi, Oyo etc. increases their production capacity, annual income and consequently improved standard of living. The Fadama projects were owned and managed by the participating communities to ensure sustainability (Ezeokeke, Anyanwu, & Okoro, 2012). Results of a study reveals a significant net farm income among beneficiaries of Fadama in Akwa Ibom state (Kainga, Nnadi, Morgan, & Akpas, 2016). A similar result on the intervention program positioned beneficiaries of Fadama III program higher against the non-beneficiaries with poverty gap indices of 0.36 and 0.45 representing 9% (Adenuga, Omotesho, Babatunde, Popoola, & Opeyemi, 2015). Consequently, this study hypothesized that Fadama III program is positively related to poverty alleviation as presumed by the previous research (Agbarevo & Age, 2013; Ike, 2012; Ugwumba & Okechukwu, 2014).

Statistics indicate that bank loan to agriculture sector through NSCACCS shoot-up from 1.7% to 2.1% from 2009 to 2011. On the contrary, bank credit to agriculture stagnated at 1.4% from 2008 to 2011, (Obaidullah, 2008; Odufote, 2012) as accessing fund improves from N43.332 billion to N96.811 billion in 2010 and afterward to N151.016 billion in 2011 respectively. A different study conducted on agriculture credit reveals that agricultural

credit program by purpose has led to a significant positive growth in agricultural productivity in Nigeria (Agbo 2013; Agunuwa, Inaya, & Proso, 2015; Polycarp & Odufote, 2012). Yet, Obasi (2015), argue that the loan granted to borrowers improved national output by 20.33%, and also impacted significantly on the income of borrowers. In the light of the foregoing, it could be figure out that CACS was architect to increase recorded in bank credit to the agricultural sector. This was further confirmed by a strong positive correlation of 0.89 (Polycarp & Odufote, 2012). Bearing in mind the position of dominance studies, we advanced the hypothesis thus: Commercial Agriculture Credit Scheme is positively related to poverty alleviation.

3.2 Participation in policy formulation and implementation

The misgivings of conventional development concepts in the late 1960s and their failure to address the mystery of poverty across the globe facilitates the dependable search for an alternating theoretical analyses and a paradigm shift from economic growth to social development. Within the neighborhood of 1970s and 1980s, participatory approaches were symbolically professed as a “child of necessity” to development practice and progressively sustained as people-centered development, state society synergies, participatory democracy and grassroots development (Maiava, 1995; Potts, Awuzie, McDermott, & Stephenson, 2015; Rahman, 1993).

Participatory approaches to poverty study identifies the specific group of people with knowledge of poverty to put forward their realities (Lewis, 2008). The opinions in favor of participatory approaches in poverty study underscore the value of improving the quality of research and its potency on the weak in the society. Thus, the kernel of participatory concept is a turn from intra-subjective experiences to participatory events in our understanding of transpersonal and spiritual phenomena (Ferrer, 2002). By implication, people-centered development discourse stresses that people should be the planners of their own future (Al Attar, 2015; Burkey, 1993; Mandal & Jirli, 2016; Oakley, 1991) concentrating on the role of social capital, competences, liberty and the skill of common people to cope with development strategies (Dreze & Sen, 1999; Sen, 1999). In this context, participatory development enable the deprived people to influence, implement and control activities which are indispensable to their growth through interaction with agencies, officials and technical consultants among others (Burkey, 1993; Chambers, 2002). Participatory approaches in the 80s acknowledged the significance of generating indigenous knowledge and investing on beneficiaries of development efforts to participate in all stages of the process (Brownhill, Moturi, & Hickey, 2016; Hickey & Mohan, 2004, 2005). Participation in decision making offers opportunities for cross-fertilization of idea

(Tschirhart et al., 2016) and enable the citizen acquires skills to challenge or sway the government when needed; and equally, government persuades its citizens, builds trust and tranquil anxiety or antagonism to strike a balance vis-à-vis give room for harmonious relationship with the citizens towards societal development .

The participation of the downtrodden in intervention programs summarizes the philosophy of bottom-up approach. acknowledged that, bottom-up approach mainly focuses on the target groups and service deliverers and it is a condition that policy formulation allows the contribution of the beneficiaries. For instance, a study reveals that farmers' participation in agricultural projects has a direct bearing on technology awareness, adoption, livelihoods, environment, and nutrition vis-a-vis poverty reduction (Etwire et al., 2013). A farming institute that adopts the top-bottom strategy with little input and commitment of farmers have been recognized as an unsustainable and weak trajectory to farmers' active participation in policy formulation and implementation and subsequently explains the low yield and productivity in Ethiopian agriculture (Etwire et al., 2013). In the same vein, pointed out that the adoption of top-bottom approach in the formulation and implementation of poverty alleviation program exacerbated the situation in Nigeria, because the target beneficiaries who mostly reside in the rural areas were

marginalized as a result of the fact that the activities or programs that alleviate poverty only focused on the state and local government headquarters. Considering the roles of participation of the target beneficiaries and result of previous empirical studies, we hypothesized that participation of target beneficiaries in policy formulation and implementation is positively related to poverty alleviation in Niger State rural areas.

3.3 Good governance

Good governance predetermines human development in its entirety. This is realizable through poverty reduction in the sphere of creative employment, integration of the taxpayers, principally the poor people in the social activities and policies that directly affect their felt-needs. uphold that it is the worthiness of governance that smooth the progress of sustainable development as well as poverty eradication in the emerging world of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Considering the significance of good governance, Africa Union (AU) advocates the New Partnership for Africa Development (NEPAD) which proclaims better governance as an fundamental requirement for the development of the African continent (Anyang, 2001). In a proclamation, opined that good governance promote resilient, pro-poor growth, by allusion, it trim down poverty, promote peace, heartens political participation vis-a-

vis social empowerment and development of any nation.

Similarly, observed that good governance is missing link that impinge on the effective combat of poverty in Africa (Nigeria and Niger State inclusive). Therefore, to address the problem of poverty in Africa, the author suggested on the need to embrace democratic values, accord priority to security, emphasis on economic development, zero tolerance to corruption, just to mention but a few. This claim was further substantiated by (Craig & Porter, 2006a). The concept of governance goes beyond the official apparatus of government, it refers to the entirety of ways in which humanity or the general society organizes and jointly manages its affairs. Global governance is an annex of this notion of the world as a whole. Equally, it involves formal decision-making processes of any nation or numerous processes that form the way we jointly address issues of concern that have global implication, such as financial stability or instability, environmental sustainability, peacekeeping and security, human rights, trafficking and many more (Bolton, 2000; Dingwerth & Pattberg, 2006; Frenk & Moon, 2013; Thomas, 2000). Similarly, disclosed that the right to make choice on the economic policy and agenda which each country intends to pursue without foreign intervention or imposition of market ideology that could facilitate poverty reduction is feasible through effective

governance. In addition to the direct relationship that exist between good governance intervention programs and poverty alleviation, the study also proposed that good governance will moderate the relationship between intervention programs and poverty alleviation such that there is high degree of participation of target beneficiaries in policy formulation and implementation, accountability and application of rule of law.

4.0 Result and Discussion

Measurement model

Tables 1 and 2 show the discriminant validity and result of composite reliability coefficients of the variables, each latent variable has .861 as the least and .954 as the highest. This mean that each exceeds the acceptable threshold of .70 suggesting tolerable internal consistency reliability of the measures adopted in this study (Hair, Ringle, & Sarstedt, 2011). Yet, it is important to note that the analysis of the outer model led to the deletion of 18

indicators out of 75. Nevertheless, none of the variables was removed as they have adequate number of indicators per each variable (Hair, Sarstedt, Pieper, & Ringle, 2012). The indicators removed are: Fadama III (FDM10, FDM11, FDM12, and FDM16); CAS (CAS01, CAS09, CAS10, and CAS11); PAR (PAR01, PAR04, PAR02, PAR06, PAR07 and PAR11); GOV (GOV05 and GOV10); PAL (PAL08 and PAL13).

Note: Values in bold across diagonal in Table 2 below are the square root of AVE, while of diagonal values are the correlations between variables. CAS represent Niger state Commercial Agricultural Credit Scheme, FDM= National Fadama Development Project III, PAL=Poverty Alleviation, PAR=Participation, PEP=National Poverty Eradication Program and GOV= Good governance

Table 1 Latent Variable Correlation

Variables	CAS	FDM	GOV	PAL	PAR
CAS	0.872				
FDM	0.172	0.711			
GOV	0.508	0.319	0.731		
PAL	0.465	0.3	0.624	0.76	
PAR	0.475	0.092	0.457	0.433	0.745

Table 2 Item loadings AVE and reliabilities

Code	Loadings	AVE	Composite Reliability	Cronbach Alpha
CAS02	.874	.761	.957	.947
CAS03	.828			
CAS04	.921			
CAS05	.943			
CAS06	.908			
CAS07	.867			
CAS08	.753			
FDM01	.786	.506	.929	.922
FDM02	.775			
FDM03	.758			
FDM04	.800			
FDM05	.719			
FDM06	.741			
FDM07	.809			
FDM08	.620			
FDM09	.613			
FDM13	.746			
FDM14	.635			
FDM15	.563			
FDM17	.619			
GOV01	.750	.535	.901	.873
GOV02	.830			
GOV03	.596			
GOV04	.808			
GOV06	.640			
GOV07	.685			
GOV08	.783			
GOV09	.723			

Table 2 Contd. Item loadings AVE and reliabilities

Code	Loadings	AVE	Composite Reliability	Cronbach Alpha
PAL01	.784	.577	.953	.947
PAL02	.706			
PAL03	.764			
PAL04	.788			
PAL05	.787			
PAL06	.746			
PAL07	.721			
PAL09	.663			
PAL10	.717			
PAL11	.848			
PAL12	.861			
PAL14	.769			
PAL15	.750			
PAL16	.794			
PAL17	.672			
PAR03	.808			
PAR05	.728			
PAR08	.717			
PAR09	.691			
PAR10	.774			

Source:
Computation

Structural Model Results (PLS Path with moderator)

Hair et al (2013) conceived that there are four major criteria for evaluating the structural model in PLS SEM. These are:

significance of the path coefficients, coefficient determination (R^2), the effect size (f^2), and predictive relevance (Q^2). The default results for the assessment of the significance of path coefficients are obtainable in Table 3 below.

Table 3 *Direct relationship among the variables without moderator* Hypotheses test

Hypotheses	Relationships	Beta value (β)	Standard Error	T value	P value	Decision
H1	FDM -> PAL	.039	.024	1.614	0.05*	Supported
H2	CAS -> PAL	.015	.036	.418	0.34	Not Supported
H3	PAR -> PAL	.076	.039	1.963	* 0.03*	Supported

Source: Computation

In line with the reviewed literature and developed hypothesis, the result of hypothesis 1 indicate that National Fadama Development Project III is positively related to poverty alleviation in Niger State rural areas. Thus, the result in Table 3 revealed a significant positive relationship between Fadama III program and the phenomenon under study (poverty). Thus: $\beta = .039$, $t = 1.614$, $p = 0.05$ thereby supporting Hypothesis 1. In the same vein, hypothesis 2 predicted that Niger State Commercial Agricultural Credit Scheme is positively related to poverty alleviation in the rural areas of Niger State. Result in Table 3 did not support the prediction, because the t-value is below the

recommended threshold (1.282) and the probability value above the cut-off point(0.34)(R. A. Fisher & Yates, 1974) ($\beta = .015$, $t = .418$ and $p = 0.34$), thereby conflicting the postulation of Hypothesis 2.

Hypothesis 3 predicted that participation of target beneficiaries in policy formulation and implementation is positively related to poverty alleviation in Niger State rural areas. The above prediction coincides with the result in Table 3, indicating a significant positive relationship between participation of beneficiaries in policies and poverty reduction in the rural areas. Therefore, $\beta = .076$, $t = 1.963$, $p < 0.05$ portraying a strong support for hypothesis 3 of this study.

Table 4 *Indirect relationship*

Hypotheses	Indirect Relationships	Beta value	Standard Error	T value	P value	Decision
H4	FDM * GOV -> PAL	.085	.034	2.487	.01***	Supported
H5	CAS * GOV -> PAL	-.146	.049	2.986	.00***	Supported
H6	PAR * GOV -> PAL	.059	.043	1.368	.09*	Supported

To determine the moderating effect of this study, we adopt a product indicator method using PLS to classify and estimate the influence of the moderating effect (good governance) on the 2 intervention programs as well as participation of target beneficiaries on poverty alleviation. Consequently, H4 predicted that: Good Governance moderate the relationship between National Fadama Development Project III and poverty alleviation in the rural areas, such that there is high degree of participation of beneficiaries in policy, accountability and application of rule of law. The result tells that good governance moderates a positive exists between Fadama III program and poverty alleviation ($\beta=0.85$; $t =2.847$; $p = 0.01$), thereby supporting H4.

Again, H5 proposed that: Good Governance moderate the relationship between Niger State Commercial Agricultural Credit Scheme and poverty alleviation in the rural areas of Niger State, such that there is high degree of accountability and application of rule of law. The result further shown that governance dampen the positive relationship between Niger state Commercial Agricultural Scheme and poverty alleviation, yet, the result of probability value (p-value) is significant and therefore supporting the non-directional H5 with: ($\beta= -1.46$; $t=2.986$; $p = .00$).

H6 predicts that Good Governance

moderates the relationship between participation in policy formulation and implementation and poverty alleviation in the rural areas of Niger State such that recipients' views are accepted and implemented. The moderating effect further illustrates that good governance moderate the positive relationship between participation of target beneficiaries and poverty alleviation. So: ($\beta = 0.59$; $t = 1.369$; $p = 0.09$), hence, H6 also established and accepted at 10 percent level of significance.

Effect size (f^2) was computed to determine the degree to which individual exogenous latent variable contribute to the study and to assess whether the omitted exogenous variable has a significant impact on the endogenous variables (Hair *et al.*, 2013). The R^2 for the core effect model was 0.693 and after the introduction of the interaction effect model the R^2 shoot-up to 0.708. Therefore, the R^2 improved by 0.015 parallels to 1.5 percent additional variance. The effect sizes (f^2) of participation of target beneficiaries on intervention programs, National Fadama Development project III and Niger State Commercial Agriculture Credit Scheme are 0.016, 0.003 and 0.000 which are small effect for the former and no effect for the later respectively. Interestingly, the effect-size (f^2) of good governance as the moderator is 0.834 which higher and consider larger.

Table 5 *Effect size*

Endogenous Variable	Exogenous Variable	R Squared Included	R Squared Excluded	f^2	Effect Size
PAL	PAR	.693	.688	.016	small
	FDM	.693	.692	.003	None
	CAS	.693	.693	.000	None
	GOV	.693	.437	.834	Large

Source: Computation

This study offers empirical proof on the significant contribution of good governance as a moderator between Intervention Programs (IPs), participation in policy and Poverty reduction in the rural areas. The three hypotheses were significant and supportive suggesting that the practice of good governance will ease poverty alleviation through the intervention programs and joint contribution of the target beneficiaries in the formulation and implementation processes. The result is consistent with our supposition that poverty will be alleviated only if good governance; which entails high degree of policy participation (bottom-top approach), accountability and application of rule of law among government representatives is practiced.

5. Conclusion and Policy Recommendation .

Basically, this study examines the direct

effect of National Fadama Development Project III and Niger State Commercial Agriculture Credit Scheme on poverty alleviation. It equally examines the moderating role of good governance on the relationship between the two intervention programs, policy participation and poverty alleviation. The result established a significant relationship between Fadama III program and poverty alleviation and insignificant relationship between NSCACS and poverty alleviation. Similarly, the introduction of good governance in the study will strengthen the relationship between IPs and poverty reduction if recipients of IPs effectively participate in policies that affect them, periodic accountability of the stakeholders and application of rule of law. The study shows that manifold intervention programs are linked with compound challenges. Thus, it recommends for the synchronization of the multiple programs to curb the waste of

scarce resource and accord it a required devotion. In order to eliminate poverty, good governance is the key, denotatively, government should design and engender coherent vision to alleviate poverty and concrete commitment administratively, politically and professionally to realize it. Specifically, the study calls for structural transformation and reinforcement of the judicial institutions to combat corruption and lead a crusade for the reinstatement of the good virtues entrenched in the public service to enhance a hitch free application of rule of law as a stepping stone to facilitate economic development and poverty alleviation in Niger state.

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DEMOCRACY AND NATIONAL SECURITY IN THE NIGERIAN FOURTH REPUBLIC; THE WAY OUT.

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Abstract

This study examines security challenges in Nigeria and its growing effects in the nascent democracy. The cardinal objective of this study is to establish the interconnectivity between Democracy and National security in Nigeria from 1999 to 2015. Utilizing secondary sources of data and content analysis and the adoption of liberal democratic theory as the theoretical underpinning. The study found out that the non-adherence to the basic democratic tenets constitutes the major problem that breed insecurity and threatening the survival of the Nigerian nascent democracy. The study concludes thus, that the government most ensures the proper utilization of the resources of the state in a judicious manner to provide greater happiness to greater number of the Nigerian populace. The study recommends among others that, unless and until the basic democratic tenets are strongly adhere to, true democratic practice and a secured National Security will remain a mirage in the Nigerian body polity.

Keyword: Democracy, National Security, Constitutionalism, Nigerian State.

Introduction

In this democratic dispensation, the issue of security has remained topical and indeed constituted a serious cause for concern not only to the private but also to public individuals in the country. Succinctly put, the security question has, in recent times, emerged as a key concept in Nigeria's struggle for good governance, sustainable democracy and development (Nkwede, 2011). As noted by Agbaje, Diamond and Onwudiwe (2004) its appeal cuts across the nooks and crannies of the society. Despite successive attempts by Nigerian government to address the canker worm through public policy alternatives such as regional and state mechanisms, federal character principle, inter alia, the security problem still remains a thorny issue in the country and has taken a staggering dimension.

Onyeoziri (2002) aptly accounted for the centrality of the character of the Nigerian state to the abysmal failure of the management strategies of the security question in the country. Borrowing from Ake (2000), he identified four characters of the Nigerian state that have disabled it from effective response to the security issues. These are the coercive nature of the state because it has been an exploitative state. Secondly, the Nigerian state is quite indifferent to social welfare, thirdly, the state has an image of a hostile coercive force, as a result of its colonial origin as exacerbated by its post-colonial abuses; and fourthly, its lack of autonomy. Consequently upon the above, the state was not seen as a

protector of public interest and as such deserves no respect and loyalty.

Apart from the above reasons, it can safely be argued that the efforts to build a virile democracy in a heterogeneous culture with fear of political domination and perceived insecurity, social injustice and absolute neglect to the principles of rule of law have resulted to several unrests, frustrations, deep seated hatred, insinuations and killings which indeed culminated to the current security challenges. As Okpata and Nwali (2013:173) puts it;

Political struggles among the political class, politics of rancour and bitterness, ethnic based politics and intimidation of opposition groups, the use of state apparatus to undermine others are the major source of insecurity in Nigerian state.

The above has led to various insecurity problem in the country as witnessed in many parts of Nigeria via; Niger Delta militias, Boko Haram insurgencies in the North, kidnapping sagasm in the South-East, spate of bombing and killing of innocent souls with reckless abandon and without recourse to the protection of human life which was the foremost reason for the social contract (Hobbes, 1957).

It is against the background of the foregoing that this study is undertaken to establish the nexus between democracy and national

security in the Nigeria's fourth republic with the intent to proffer solution to the peril in the country.

Theoretical Framework

This study adapted the liberal theory of democracy. In the view and position held by the Liberal theorists, the state exists to promote the welfare of its citizens and to protect their lives and properties. It is only by doing these that it earns the loyalty of its citizens and extracts compliance without recourse to force (Mbachu, 2009). The role of the state therefore, in democracy, is either as a direct agent or mediator, and how this is associated with success or failure is a matter of concern. Public policy emanates solely, from the responsibilities of the state to nurture and protect the aspirations and needs of her citizens.

The administrative and political challenges facing Nigeria is to simultaneously improve the delivery of public goods and services. It also faces the problem of downsizing the public goods and services and substantially downsizing the public sectors. This is done primarily through increased devolution and delegation. But rising to these challenges will be difficult for Nigeria because of weak institutions, limited committed personnel and misdirected financial resources. The task is further compounded by ethnic and religious unrest, and regional demands for greater local resource control. Meeting these challenges will necessarily require new analytical frameworks. This can assist

government decision makers and professionals in designing and implementing innovative administrative reforms and interventions. Pursuant to these, we can quickly isolate three objectives of administrative design in Liberal Democratic Theory (Mbachu, 2009). This includes accountability of performance, efficiency of management and effectiveness in mobilizing and using resources.

This is further to point out that the accountability is the most objective and that efficient management and effective resource mobilization stem from accountability. Thus, the challenge that confronts Nigerian State is good governance. Good governance is a means to an end and not an end in itself. The end is well functioning state that encompasses the following characteristic: Well-being of the greatest number of citizenry, maintain peace, law and order, protect life and property. Others are to defend and enhance individual liberties, maintain governmental checks and balances, sustain economic growth, development and prosperity. There could be the capacity of public organization to provide goods and services to its citizens. It can be in effective, efficient, transparent and accountable manner under the rule of law and individual liberty (Olukoshi, 2009).

Egwu (2003), based his own perception of contribution of democracy to national security on three major factors. The first is what he called the multipolar tendency in

politics leading to multiparty system. The second is the political realignment in elections and the third is, the lack of political culture. Commenting further on political culture, he notes that most developing nations lack civic culture of participation and abiding by the rules of democracy, this often results to electoral violence and threat to national security.

Sodangi (2002), observed that democracy is a critical factor in ensuring proper national security. According to him, democracy implies the interplay of various interests and shades of opinions in the mode of political parties and pressure groups. He further stated that this interplay must be open, free and fair atmosphere, with adherence to such fundamental principles. They are tolerance, freedom of existence and choice. He posited further that, the desperate, intolerant and ruthless contests among political parties, political leaders and their followers. These have often resulted in violence, security breaches, killings and destruction which threaten national security. According to him, it was these actions that set off the post electoral violence in some parts of Northern Nigeria in 2011.

Whereas, Banwo (2004), looked at contribution of democracy to national security within the context of electoral violence. He asserted that electoral violence in a democracy is a consequence of the underdeveloped nature of the economies of

developing or third world nations. According to him, democracy has made control of power a pre-condition for access to the wealth and privileges of state. Therefore it becomes necessary for members of a political class to continually struggle to attain and sustain power. He contends further that this inordinate ambition has often led to party factionalization or breakaways.

Egwu(2003), In his perception of contribution of democracy to national security, fails to explain the yardstick of measuring political culture and why there is low level of political culture among the developing nations. In the case of Sodangi (2002), he looked at the contribution of democracy to national security within the context of political parties and the pressure groups. He did not take cognizance of the ordinary citizens that are not members of any political party or pressure group that participate in the democratic process. He could not clearly bring out the relationship between democracy and national security. On the other hand, Banwo (2004), conceptualized the contribution of democracy to national security within the context of electoral violence. He focuses more on the activities of the political class and the political elites. He could not clearly establish what constitute the challenges facing democracy and national security.

Nexus between Democracy and National Security in the Nigerian Fourth Republic

There is a very strong and incontrovertible links between democracy and national security. A democratic state feels more secured than non-democratic state. A democratic state has an inbuilt mechanism for resolving and checkmating security threats than non-democratic state.

In the late 1960s, the Social Science Research Council identified four challenges of political development in which nations tend to experience. These are the challenge of authority or state building, in which the political centre tries to penetrate or control the gubernatorial units.

The second is the challenge of nation building or the creation of unity among heterogeneous members of the polity. The challenge of participation which refers to the extent to which people influence decisions that impact their lives is the third. And lastly is the challenge of distribution, that is how scarce but allocable resources are shared relatively, equitably among members of the political community (Ndulo, 2008). This refers to the extent to which citizens enjoy freedom, political liberty, protection and guarantee of the safety of life, property, wealth of the citizenry and measures to guard against threats to national sovereignty.

Many Nigerians are of the view that contributions of democracy to national

security are diametrically opposed (Mbachu, 2009). The truth is that contributions of democracy to national security are mutually reinforcing and complimentary. Without one, the other cannot be possibly guaranteed. Also, socio-economic and political conditions do affect the attainment of both. Yet in the contemporary world, a democratic setting offers a far better environment for the pursuit of the goal of national security and human rights, on long term basis., As McNamar, (1996) would like us to believe that, security and development are so closely related that they can be seen as different sides of the same coin. According to him, development is directly proportional to security. When people lean to compromise peacefully among competing demands in the large national interest then their resistance to disorder and violence will enormously increase. There is no doubt that when a government is able to develop and satisfy the welfare needs of its citizens, the government will get more legitimacy. The administration will as a result get more loyalty, patriotism and obedience from the citizenry and thus would be secured.

The Impacts of Civil Rules on Nigeria Democracy and Security

On 1 October 1979 civilians took over the reins of power. The new constitution replaced Nigeria's cabinet-style of government with a US-style presidential system in an effort to enhance the federal government's ability to deal with national

problems and thereby hold the country together. There was a separation of powers between the three branches of government, an independent judiciary, and complete freedom for the people to choose all their representatives on the basis of universal suffrage with secret ballots. This constitution also sought to reduce ethnic tensions by affirming the differences among Nigeria's ethnic groups under a robust federal structure and through such concepts as federal character (i.e., affirmative action) and the Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy. Pursuant to local government reforms of 1976, the Constitution established local governments (of which there are now 774) as the third order of government. The 1979 Constitution provided a good framework for solving the nation's social, economic, and political problems. Yet it lasted only until December 1983 in part because it was frequently abused and violated by politicians. Also, in the early 1980s some state governments, particularly in the Southwest and East, refused to comply with federal-government decisions and used their state-controlled media to attack the federal government. Many states created barriers to appointment to state public services, to admission to state schools, and to intra-state trading for non residents in violation of the universality of Nigerian citizenship and the freedoms of movement and residence guaranteed by the Constitution. In many states, those in power excluded opposition parties from policy

making, monopolized the bureaucracy, and implemented government programs in a partisan fashion. The situation was aggravated by weak and incompetent national leadership and gross mismanagement of the economy. Corruption assumed alarming proportions, and there was no serious effort to fight poverty. Hence many losers in this corrupt system welcomed military intervention.

The current constitution went into effect on 29 May 1999 and was the outcome of a transition process led by the military government of General Abdusalami Abubakar after more than 15 years of failed attempts to restore civilian rule. Two major constitution-making efforts had failed during these years: the short-lived 1989 Constitution that was never implemented fully and a 1995 draft constitution that was abandoned in 1998 after the sudden death of General Sani Abacha, its chief sponsor (Elaigwu and Galadima, 1994). As part of the transition, General Abubakar appointed a Constitution Debate Coordinating Committee headed by Justice Niki charging it to organise nationwide consultations on a new constitution and to make a report and recommendations. One idea debated was to base the new constitution on the 1995 Abacha draft, which never came into force, but "Nigerians raised compelling reservations" about the 1995 draft, the most serious of which were that it was "a product of disputed legitimacy" and suffered from a "crisis of authenticity in the public consciousness" (Report of the Constitution Debate Coordinating Committee, 1999). Similar

considerations applied to the 1989 Babangida Constitution. The Tobi Committee found, rather, that Nigerians "were near unanimous that the 1979 Constitution had been tried and tested and, therefore, provides a better point of departure in the quest for constitutionalism in Nigeria (Report of the Constitution Debate Coordinating Committee, 1999). Making only minor adjustments to the 1979 document, the Tobi Committee recommended adopting the adjusted document as the new constitution. General Abdulsalami promulgated the Constitution, with a few amendments, in early May 1999 and handed power to the newly elected civilian regime of President Obasanjo on 29 May.

Thus, the Constitution retains presidential government and a federal system with three orders of government, and it addresses various political issues that have divided ethnic and cultural groups. The issue of sharing political power among ethnic groups is addressed by the principle of rotation in executive office. The marginalization of disadvantaged minorities has been ameliorated by the establishment of the Federal Character Commission to enforce equity (i.e., affirmative action or positive discrimination) in public-service appointments. The distribution of wealth has been improved by entrenchment of a new revenue sharing formula. Surpassing all its postcolonial predecessors, the 1999 Constitution has been enforced for more than sixteen years and survived its first major test: countrywide general elections

conducted in 2003, 2007, 2011 and 2015 which marked first in history, the peaceful transition from the party PDP to the opposition party APC.

Causes of Insecurity in Nigeria

It is critical clear that insecurity does not just occur in the country but caused by some factors. Apparently, there are many factors causing insecurity in the country and these include inter alia; incessant ethno-religious and communal conflicts, political instability, bad governance, decomposition and attendant lack of efficacy of state institutions, economic stagnation/decline, intense poverty, high rate of unemployment, income disparities, social dislocation caused by massive rural-urban migration, breakdown of societal values leading to fraud and community unrest etc (Nwachukwu 2011).

Similarly Kupolati (1990:321) "submitted that Political instability arising from the absence of an enviable political culture, religious intolerance and fanaticism, ethnic rivalry, uneven distribution of development projects and amenities, and concentration of wealth in the hands of a disproportionate, lazy few are some of the internal threats facing this country".

Other scholars like Ajakaiye (2002), and Jega (2007) are all in agreement that poverty appears to be the major greatest underlying

threats to security in Nigeria. They further opined that a combination of widening gap in income inequality, worsening unemployment situation and perceptions of group discrimination and marginalization based on ethnic, religious, and communal differences, create rigid identity divides based on WE versus THEM syndrome, buff the ashes of group hatred and ignite tensions and even violent conflicts. Idowu (1999) quoted in Nwachukwu (2011:76) aptly highlighted a multiplicity of factors that threaten security in Nigeria thus;

- a Bad and weak government;
- b Human rights violation;
- c Unjust and inequitable distribution of National resources including political posts, industries, investments, funds etc;
- d Disunited and un-integrated ethnic groups;
- e Ethnic and religious antagonisms and cleavages;
- f Weak and poor economy marked by corruption and weak currency etc;
- g Social-economic hardship, unemployment hunger, starvation, cashlessness etc.
- h Weak military might;
- I Coups and military rule
- J Communal clashes;
- K Unhealthy competition among the ethnic groups for national resources
- l Political domination

- m Misappropriation of national revenue; and
- n uninformed and visionless leadership and followership

Conclusion

security is a dynamic phenomenon and a persistent societal problem ravaging the country. It is tied to the stability, survival, growth and development of any country. A real and potential threat to democratic rule makes it an issue of constant review and discussion, aimed at devising appropriate mechanism for its extinction in the country. Without viable alternative options for checkmating the menace of insecurity in the country, it is unlikely that democracy cannot thrive well and human rights cannot be guaranteed. This is because a democratic state feel more secured than a non-democratic one because of the prevalence of effective mechanism that ensures greater common goods.

Recommendations

A number of recommendations appeared prime as to ensuring a conducive atmosphere for democracy to triumph and a secured national security in Nigeria.

- That for a well flourished and secured Nigerian State, there should be a national philosophy that would serve as a national impulse, and guide individuals' action. This philosophy should be one of purposeful leadership, predicated on probity, transparency, and accountability.

- Government must always strive through good policies and programmes to impact positively on the life of the people. This to a large extent will reduce anger and frustration on the part of the people, often vented in the form of violent demonstration against government and its agencies, and sabotage of public assets and facilities.
- Other stakeholders in the internal security arrangements should be fully engaged. The military, customs, immigration, National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA), National Agency for Food, Drug, Administration and Control (NAFDAC) and other agencies must continue to discharge their respective responsibilities efficaciously since internal security is a collective effort and not the monopoly of the police. This can best be assured when every agency plays its own role without fear or favour.
- Finally, the study also recommends the need for a harmonious working relation between the National Assembly and the Executive Arms of the government so as to enact laws that will make Nigeria a corrupt free state as this will no doubt restore public confidence on governance or government. This can only be achieved where people of like minds that there

interest and priority is on the promotion of social goods and not those of principalities in inclination.

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**PUBLIC PROCUREMENT POLICY AS A TOOL FOR
ALLEVIATING SOCIO-ECONOMIC DISPARITIES: LESSONS
FOR NIGERIA**

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ABSTRACT

The public procurement systems and practices in most countries, especially developing nations, majorly focus on solving infrastructures problems and acquiring services and goods or items necessary for developmental purposes and the day-day running of state affairs. Against this conventional notion, however, this paper demonstrates the applicability of public procurement to addressing other important societal concerns. Specifically, the paper explores the usefulness of public procurement as a veritable tool for alleviating socioeconomic disparities among groups and categories of people in the society. It concludes by arguing that, following the examples of other countries, Nigeria could maximize her public procurement power to accomplish similar goals through a review and amendment of the country's 1999 Constitutional and the Public Procurement Act of 2007, to bring to bear the socioeconomic realities of the country in her public procurement practice and system. The paper is basically a theoretical and qualitative research. Data for the study were derived mainly from secondary sources, and the descriptive method of qualitative analysis was employed to analyze the data.

Keywords: Development, Diversity, Public Procurement, Public Procurement Policy, Socio-Economic Disparity.

Introduction

In all countries, public procurement remains a key instrument for achieving inclusive development and its potentials are yet to be fully tapped (Kashap, 2004). Indeed, the field of public procurement is still relatively an under-studied area among economists, lawyers and social scientists despite the scale and complexity of government purchases (Arrowsmith and Hartley, 2000). However, in the recent times, especially in the wake of the global economic crises, issues related to public procurement are gradually gaining growing attention among scholars, policy makers, national governments and development partners and/or donor agencies. This is mainly due to the magnitude of capital outlays in the public procurement market and the immense innate potentials of the procurement system to positively affect the society by transforming these values into concrete development achievements. "Government procurement of goods and services typically accounts for 10-15% of GDP for developed countries and up to as much as 20% of GDP for developing countries" (Kashap, 2004:134). Public procurement thus holds more than can be discerned for the world's development, and these economic resources must be adequately managed. Consequently, the increasing attention has also partly stemmed from the need for effective and efficient mechanism for ensuring proper management and channeling of the

enormous financial resources available in the procurement sector towards actualizing established development ends.

Moreover, in the new millennium, national governments and development partners have come face-to face with numerous emerging challenges bothering on societal administration. These including pressures to cultivate good governance practices through participatory decision making as well as creating enabling environment for equal access to social, political and economic opportunities to all members and groups in the society. Characteristically, "Public Procurement is an indispensable economic activity for good governance" (Kashap, 2004:133). As an upshot, public procurement has also attracted appreciable concern as state actors are being compelled, both by human forces and realities attributable to prevailing societal exigencies, to adopt public procurement as a part of the broad measures for eliminating socioeconomic differences among groups and cleavages in the society. This is considered both as a matter of a conscious and deliberate policy measure and a strategy for enhancing national engineering and cohesion. An inclusive, responsible and widely accepted government is such that ensures equal participation of its members in the administrative process as well as present an unequal leverage to all constituent elements to benefit from the common wealth. Public procurement is the

most economically or business-like viable side of government. The huge financial resources designated to the procurement sector are publicly or collectively-owned. Hence, ensuring that all societal elements benefits from it, has become one major concern of state managers in both developed and developing countries.

This paper is motivated by the need to demonstrate the usefulness of the public procurement system as a tool for curing certain aspects of societal ill, specifically socioeconomic biases, and lessons Nigeria can draw from empirically generated theoretical evidences from some countries. To achieve this key objective, the paper is structured into six major parts with the introductory section as first part. The second part explains the meaning and main rationale for public procurement. The third part is the justification of public procurement as a socioeconomic policy instrument. The fourth part demonstrates how the public procurement system can serve as a veritable instrument for addressing socioeconomic un-equilibrium in the modern society by drawing examples from the experiences of some countries. The fifth part consists of the lessons Nigeria can draw from other countries' experiences and what it can do. The sixth part is constituted by the final conclusion of the paper.

Meaning and Basic Rationale for Public Procurement

Scholars have offered various definitions in attempt at explaining the meaning and purpose of public procurement. As can be deduced from the different definitions, the concept of public procurement seems to be enjoying quite an appreciable degree of consensus among scholars in the field regarding the meaning of the term. Though scholars' definitions vary in terms of manners of presentation, they obviously convey the same idea as well as imply the same thing. According to Ifejika and Aliu (2015:125), for instance, public procurement refers to “the most active business part of government, the means by which essential goods and services are provided to the public while ensuring adequate and efficient public expenditure management”. Of course, “today governments all over the world have received a great deal of attention as providers of essential services, such as health, education, defense and infrastructure. To be able to meet the demand for these services, governments purchase goods and services from the marketplace” (Odhiambo and Kamau, 2003:10). Therefore, public procurement can be alternatively viewed as “the aspect of governmental activity that brings it into face-to-face contact with the private sector, either locally or internationally, for the exchange of goods, works or services for financial or monetary considerations” (Ifejika and Aliu (2015:125).

In his own words, Kashap (2004:134) conceives of public procurement as “the purchasing by governments and local authorities of the works, goods and services they need to operate - ranging from simple office items to sophisticated high-tech equipment”. For him, “procurement also includes purchasing, hiring, leasing or any other contractual means of engaging suppliers in the provisions of public services” (Kashap, 2004:134). The definition by the World Bank is also noteworthy in this regard. The World Bank (1995) sees public procurement broadly as involving the purchasing, hiring or obtaining by contractual means of goods, construction works and services by the public sector. In alternative terms, public procurement, according to the World Bank (1995), refers to the purchase of commodities and contracting of construction works and services by use of resources from state budgets, local authority budgets, state foundation funds, domestic loans or foreign loans guaranteed by the state, foreign aid as well as revenue received from the economic activity of state. In other words, public procurement simply means procurement or acquisition by a procuring entity using public funds (World Bank, 1995).

The public process generally consists of three major phases: (i) deciding which goods or services to be bought and when to buy them (procurement planning); (ii) the process of placing a contract to purchase those goods or services which involves, specifically, choosing who is to be the

supplier or contractor and the terms on which the goods and services are to be provided; and (iii) the process of administering the contract to ensure effective performance. These three critical stages or phases constitute what is referred to as public procurement (Arrowsmith, 2010). “The items involved in public procurement range from simple goods or services such as clips or cleaning services to large commercial projects, such as the development of infrastructure, including road, power stations and airports” (Odhiambo and Kamau, 2003:10). Fundamentally, “public procurement is different from private procurement, because in public procurement the economic results must be measured against more complex and long-term criteria” (Odhiambo and Kamau, 2003:10). Furthermore, public procurement is carried-out bearing other considerations in mind, besides the economy such as accountability, non-discrimination among potential suppliers and respect for international obligations. It is mainly for this reason that public procurement in all countries is subjected to enacted laws and regulations, in a bid to guide against possible harm to the public interests (Odhiambo and Kamau, 2003:10). Consequently, Wittig (1999) sees public procurement as a business process in a political system having special consideration for integrity, accountability, national interest and effectiveness.

Certain important facts are discernible from the above. Despite the observable differences among the foregoing definitions, they agree on major salient characteristics of public procurement, which also differentiates it from procurement in the private sector and these include that: public procurement is a business process within the governmental circle; it involves acquisition or purchasing, hiring and obtaining of goods, works and services using public funds for developmental purposes and day-to-day operations of government; it is an arena of interaction between government and private suppliers or business organizations for economic exchanges; it takes place in the public domain and is carried-out within the framework of a known statutory legislation; it is a representation of public interest, while ensuring economy, value for public money, accountability, transparency, egalitarianism, competition and fairness; it is the gateway of economic development; public procurement is the active business environment of government.

Justification of Public Procurement as a Socio-Economic Policy Instrument

In the recent years, there has been an increasing attention to public procurement, both in terms of practice and scholarly, which has led to widespread recognition of its innate capacity and potentials to contribute robustly to resolving various aspects of society's developmental challenges. This conception

does not refer to the primary notion about the procurement system as merely a means of obtaining goods, works and services required by government. In both developed and developing countries, the idea and practice of public procurement now transcends this strict sense regarding the purpose of the procurement system. Public procurement is now being used to pursue a broad range of goals. Ultimately, aside being "business," that is, the acquisition or purchasing of goods and services on the best possible terms, government procurement also has broader social, economic and political implications (Labuschagne, 1985; Morris, 1998; Turpin, 1972). Public procurement serves as a means for promoting aims which are secondary to the primary aim of procurement. As a matter of examples, these include using procurement to promote social, industrial or environmental policies (Arrowsmith, Linarelli and Wallace, 2000; Cane, 2004; Turpin, 1989). Public procurement as a socioeconomic policy tool also serves as a strategy or means of "wealth redistribution", that is, using procurement to channel funds to distinct categories of economic actors such as the previously disadvantaged groups in South Africa (Bolton, 2006). "Preferential procurement policies can also offer advantages over more direct methods of assistance because" (Bolton, 2006:196), "it does not raise public spending directly... is less likely to be channeled into the purse of organized crime...(and is) more efficient than tax-financed State aid which barely reaches recipients" (Martin and Stehmann, 1991:238).

Although different measures have been implemented in the recent years to reduce the extent of government freedom to use procurement as a policy tool as a way of promoting free trade in public markets, this has changed little or nothing. The most notable are the World Trade Organization Government Procurement Agreement (WTO GPA) and the trade restrictions in place under European Community law. This does not, and has not reduced the use of public as a tool to achieving other policy objectives (Bolton, 2006). Procurement has often been, and is still being used by governments as a tool to implement secondary policies (Arrowsmith, 2005; Cane, 2004; Craig, 2003; McCrudden, 1999; Reich, 1999; Seddon, 2004; Sparke, 1996; Turpin, 1989). Arguably, therefore, the use of procurement is “a valid and valuable tool for the implementation of social policies; and one which should not be denied to government(s) without convincing justification” (Arrowsmith, 1995: 247-248). It is appropriate for the use of procurement as a policy tool to be regulated, but such use should not be assumed to be “presumptively illegitimate” (McCrudden, 1999:11). So long as the justification for using procurement as a policy tool has measurable targets; the processes used are verifiable, auditable, and transparent; and the use of procurement as a policy tool takes place within a competitive environment, procurement can largely contribute to the development of growing enterprises that are able to participate

equitably in the global economy (Shezi, 1998; Watermeyer, 2000).

The idea thus is not to be condemned but commended. Contracts by state organs should “not be viewed solely as commercial bargains. The very power to grant contracts should be able to be utilized to advance socially desirable objectives, precisely because (organs of state) cannot be and should not be politically neutral towards such matters” (Craig, 2003: 141). Based on prevailing societal realities, public procurement is no longer a clerical job to say that it focuses only on buying goods, services, construction and saving money. The procurement professional has had to deal not only with market, technologies evolution and financial aspect, but also has to take into account a variety of related issues such as human right, labor, environment protection, women empowerment, corruption etc. (Sadikin, 2008). Public procurement practitioners have been laden with more and more duties and responsibilities as the procurement system has seemingly usurped increasingly multiple functions due to its usefulness and applicability in various facets of the society's life. In other words, besides obtaining goods, services and construction with the best value of money, there are some important issues that government can address with the instrumentality of public procurement including health, unemployment, national debt, poverty,

corruption, low human development index and environment. With well-articulated and functional public procurement system, the foregoing problems can be properly ameliorated (Sadikin, 2008). Hence, most governments have broadened their target goals in relation to public procurement. The procurement system has been, and will continue to serve multifaceted purpose.

Public Procurement as a Tool for Alleviating Socio-Economic Disparities

There are specific examples of the use of public procurement in achieving secondary development objectives including using the procurement system to address socioeconomic issues as evident in many countries and regions. Watermeyer (2000), in a study conducted for the European Community in 1995 indicates that procurement has been used by governments to: stimulate economic activity; protect national industry against foreign competition; improve the competitiveness of certain industrial sectors; and remedy regional disparities.

It has also been employed to achieve certain more direct social policy objectives such as to: foster the creation of jobs; promote fair labour conditions; promote the use of local labour as a means to prevent discrimination against minority groups; protect the environment; encourage equality of opportunity

between men and women; and promote the increased utilization of the disabled in employment (Bolton, 2006:195).

Observably, “the important role of public procurement is now become more and more recognized that many countries give special attention in developing the concept, regulations as well as institutional building” (Sadikin, 2008: 598). In South Africa, for example, public procurement has been recognized as a tool for correcting the country's past political history of discrimination and inequality. As such, several legislations have been enacted to ensure the achievement of this objective including the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1996, and the Preferential Procurement Policy Framework Act of 2000. Others include the Public Finance Management Act of 1999, as amended by Act 29 of 1999, the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Act of 2003, the Local Government: Municipal Finance Management Act of 2003, and the Local Government: Municipal Systems Act of 2000, as amended in 2003 (Bolton, 2006).

Procurement is being used to discourage discrimination at work places in South Africa. As an anti-discrimination measure, employers who indulge in discriminatory practices are denied government contract (Bolton, 2006). With regards to their labour or human resource, suppliers, service providers and contractors must comply with

various legislations such as the Labour Relations Act (66 of 1995), the Basic Conditions of Employment Act (75 of 1997), the Employment Equity Act (55 of 1998) and the Occupational Health and Safety Act (85 of 1996). Failure by any entity seeking government contracts to abide by these statutes automatically puts it at a disadvantageous condition in the tendering process. Its offer would be rejected or cancelled. Those who participate in public procurement must therefore adhere to labour rules and regulations (Bolton, 2006). Similarly, in Denmark, where ILO Convention has been ratified, many Municipalities have inscribed the provisions of the Conventions in their procurement strategy. For example, Frederiksberg Municipality has adopted a social clause in contracting-out (CEMR-EP and EPSU, 2011). In Frederiksberg Municipality, “suppliers/bidders must ensure employees (who are employed by the bidder as well as potential subcontractors) wages and employment conditions no less favorable than the wages and employment conditions applicable to that sector of the region where they work” (CEMR-EP and EPSU, 2011: online).

This is likewise in Luxembourg where, “compliance with applicable collective agreements is a mandatory condition in the award for tenders. Additionally, if the agreed wages are not paid or payment is delayed, the contracting authority may pay

salary supplements and deduct the amount spent from the final payment to the contractor” (CEMR-EP and EPSU, 2011: online). In the case of non-compliance, Frederiksberg Municipality specifies that:

If the supplier/bidder fails to meet these obligations, and this result in a valid claim from the employee, Frederiksberg Municipality may withhold payment to the bidder in order to meet this requirement. Bidders have the responsibility to ensure that employees employed by the bidder or any subcontractors for task execution, have valid work and residence permits. Frederiksberg Municipality reserves the right to exclude employees who do not possess the necessary work or residence permits and who are not registered in the database RUT. Failure to meet the social clause constitutes a material breach of this contract (CEMR-EP and EPSU, 2011: online).

Even when private individuals are contracting-out, Frederiksberg Municipality Plan mandates that:

The individual contracts should involve questions regarding social clauses, which require local suppliers to enter into dialogue on the recruitment of staff on special

terms (to meet the obligations imposed on the municipality as an employer). Furthermore the social clauses aim to encourage the contract holder to establish apprenticeships within the construction area, where appropriate (CEMR-EP and EPSU, 2011:online).

In South Africa, procurement is also being used to remedy the inequality problem in its society. South Africa integrates affirmative action, and thus affirmative procurement, into the right to equality, whereby the constitution allows for preferential treatment in the award of government contracts, so as to protect or advance persons or categories of persons disadvantaged by unfair discrimination (Bolton, 2006). As Bolton (2006) argues:

The actual social and economic disparities between groups and individuals in South Africa cannot be ignored. Due to South Africa's history of discrimination, unfair practices and marginalization of people, various groups in society were denied the privilege of being economically active within the government procurement system. Affording preferences to previously disadvantaged groups in the award of government contracts therefore does not infringe on the right to equality (Bolton, 2006:198).

This substantive conception of equality differs from the formal conception of equality- that all persons in South Africa are equal bearers of rights. It is to eliminate the inequalities of the past by simply extending the same rights and entitlements to all in accordance with the same "neutral" norms or standards (Bolton, 2006). Equality here is therefore used technically as a measure for bringing the formerly disadvantaged groups in the country into their supposed socioeconomic position. It aims at re-engineering the society.

In Greece, it has been noted that:

The benefit of including specific social criteria and the social dialogue has in some pilot projects resulted to the enhancement of woman employment and entrepreneurship, the integration of vulnerable social groups and the enhancement of actions regarding local long-term unemployment (CEMR-EP and EPSU, 2011:online).

In Greece, procurement is also adopted as a tool for tackling gender inequality and ensuring the inclusion of vulnerable groups in the execution of government contracts. Service provisions in most municipalities in Greece are assigned with exceptional procedures as a way of enhancing the operation of women's cooperatives and NGOs in order to enhance the employment

and specific actions concerning the social integration of vulnerable social groups in public business. In achieving this, specific legislative framework has been formulated to enhance the employment of vulnerable groups and their participation in the implementation of public works. As a matter of example, there is a specific percentage for financing actions against social inclusion or the control in addressing the non-violation of labour relations (CEMR-EP and EPSU, 2011). In Switzerland, there is a requirement for equal pay between men and women as a condition for obtaining public contracts in the country (United Nations, 2008). Luxembourg protects workers with disability through public procurement. In Luxembourg:

In order to foster employment of and protect disadvantaged workers, contracting authorities may reserve the right to tender for certain contracts to sheltered workplaces where the majority of employees are disabled workers who cannot, due to the nature or severity of their disability, work under normal conditions. The contract notice must make reference to this provision (CEMR-EP and EPSU, 2011: online).

Just as procurement rules in India stipulate that certain goods must be purchased from small and micro-enterprises, even if prices are up to 15% higher than those offered by

the competition (United Nations, 2008), “Luxembourg City also promotes fair trade products by requiring service operators/contractors in school restaurants to purchase at least 10% of their fruit and vegetables and meat from fair trade sources” (CEMR-EP and EPSU, 2011: online). In Brazil's state of Ceara, there is a “demand driven” form of preferential procurement practice where the state buys from small scale enterprises while at the same time providing technical assistance to them is used to promote growth of small enterprises and also as a technique of diminishing transaction costs (Tender, 1997, cited in Turyahikayo, 2008). The United States system of affirmative action in public Procurement is not limited to small businesses alone. It also targets certain minorities, such as ex-prisoners, firms directed by women, veterans, etc. This means that the provisions for the use of procurement power in the USA are wide-ranging, affecting other sectors other than the SBs (Foresti, Arantes and Rossetto, 2006). This shows that America uses public procurement more intrinsically as a reconstructive and rehabilitative measure.

The guidelines for the procurement and contracting of goods, services, construction works and public works in the USA are established in the Federal Acquisition Regulation (FAR) and adopt the following principle: to make available in due time the good or service with the

best price for the buyer, maintaining the confidence of the public and achieving the objectives of public policies (Foresti, Arantes and Rossetto, 2006:340).

Regional bodies have also demonstrated practical effort at evolving binding agreement towards the development of collective frameworks for socially responsible public procurement (SRPP). The European Commission Guide on socially responsible public procurement (SRPP) for local and regional government, for example, is a tool to better explain how social considerations could be applied to public procurement. It offer useful encouragement to local and regional authorities on ways to developing SRPP and determine their purchasing priorities (CEMR-EP and EPSU, 2011). The EC Guide when read in conjunction with the Lisbon Treaty, which recognizes local and regional self-government and states, states that:

In defining policies and activities the Union shall take into account requirements linked to the promotion of high level of employment, the adequate social protection, the fight against social exclusion, and a high level of education, training and protection of human health (CEMR-EP and EPSU, 2011:online).

“The Treaty also acknowledges that Services of General Economic Interest (SGEI) are an intrinsic part of Europe’s social market economy, while the European Charter of Fundamental Rights recognizes the right of citizens to access SGEI” (CEMR-EP and EPSU, 2011:online). This is similar to the practice in Malaysia where, in order to encourage greater participation of the bumiputeras (indigenous Malays), tenders from bumiputera companies receive preferential treatment in government contracts (United Nations, 2008).

In Northern Ireland, public procurement is also being adopted in combating ethnic minority inequalities in employment (Erridge and Hennigan, 2006). The Race Relations Amendment Act (2002) “imposes a duty on public sector agencies to ensure that their services are available to all communities” (Ram and Smallbone, 2003). A policy initiative introduced by a consortium of West Midland Councils to ensure their contractors provide and implement equal opportunities in employment policy is a typical example in this regard (Erridge and Hennigan, 2006). In their overall evaluation of the scheme, Orton and Ratcliffe (2004) established that the scheme led to developing of firms, and more importantly, implementing their equal opportunity policies. In Canada, there are specific contracts for which aboriginal populations are the primary recipients. This practice has been in existence since 1996. In

view of the practice procurement is restricted to qualified aboriginal suppliers (United Nations, 2008). Also, a law enacted in the Botswana republic in 2001 provides for reservation and referencing schemes in public procurement in order to promote citizen contractors or companies wholly owned and controlled by natives (McCrudden, 2004, cited in Turyahikayo 2008). This is not a matter of discrimination, but for the promotion of certain secondary developmental ends, after all, for genuine purpose like this, the APEC Government Procurement Experts Group (1999) believes that:

The laws, regulations, judicial decisions, administrative rulings, policies (including any discriminatory or preferential treatment such as prohibitions against or set aside for certain categories of suppliers), procedures and practices (including the choice of procurement method) related to GP should be transparent (APEC Government Procurement Experts Group, 1999: 2).

It is recognized that socially responsible public procurement (SRPP) can help to: support the development of higher standards of social public policy objectives in Europe; contribute to a fair social market economy, and raise awareness on the possibilities to drive social standards upwards (CEMR-EP and EPSU, 2011). In

United Kingdom, for instance, public procurement is linked to enhancing a wider range of socioeconomic development goals and implementing regulatory aspects related to issues like tackling unemployment, promotion of fair working conditions and payment of fair wages by private sector employers (Turyahikayo, 2008).

Furthermore, by its very nature, the public procurement has all the attributes needed to make an impact on the quality of goods and services as well as on industrial and technological competitiveness. Unarguably, the State is a major consumer of goods and services, and it is at a vantage position to establish a system to promote increased productivity, quality control and transfer of technology. Based on experiences from the USA, the OECD countries and nations like South Africa, as well as examples of the use of procurement power in the private sector, it has been revealed that when an institution's large-scale procurement power is targeted, it has the capacity to stimulate suppliers to improve the quality of their goods and services, including to form networks and clusters, with increasing gains in the form of productivity and transfer of technology, guaranteeing the domestic market and preparing these enterprises for international competition (Foresti, Arantes and Rossetto, 2006). Even in the European Commission, it is observed that:

Against the background of the ongoing economic crisis and austerity measures, local and regional authorities may be pressured to go for lowest price; this may compromise the quality and sustainability of services and goods and put pressure on wages, working conditions and collective agreements. SRPP can be a tool for local and regional government actors and trade unions to maintain and enhance the quality of services, contribute to preventing social dumping and to ensure that wages and working conditions are in accordance with standards laid down in legislation and/or in collective agreements (CEMR-EP and EPSU, 2011).

It is therefore all the more important to note that elsewhere and in EC, it has long been acknowledged that there are huge benefits that arise when contracting authorities use SRPP as a lever to promote social concerns such as employment, skills training, equality and social inclusion, thereby influencing the market in a positive direction. The immense benefits of socially responsible public procurement propelled the EPSU and CEMR-EP to endorse the following principles and definition of SRPP in the EC guide: to promote employment opportunities (for example, youth employment, gender balance, long-term unemployed, migrants, people with disabilities); to promote decent work; to promote compliance with “social and labour rights”, including

collective agreements to support social inclusion and equality; to support universal access, and to take into account ethical (fair) trade (CEMR-EP and EPSU, 2011). Obviously, it is, in short, impossible to completely exhaust the role of public procurement as an instrument for advancing socioeconomic policy objectives in both developed and developing nations in this single piece. Given the gains associated with it, developing countries such as Nigeria can take advantage of its public procurement power to address the deep-seated socioeconomic ambivalences in the society. The following section highlights the lessons Nigerian can draw from the experiences of other countries, and how it can maximize the potentials of her public procurement system to pursue important secondary goals and objectives.

Lessons for Nigeria

In view of the findings of this study, Nigeria can draw some lessons from the experiences of other countries including the following:

- . The usefulness of the public procurement system transcends the conventional purpose of acquisition of goods, works and services by government; procurement can be used in achieving other important secondary development objectives.
- . If properly articulated and adequately

- wielded, public procurement has the capacity and potentials to serve as a good instrument of wealth redistribution in any society including Nigeria.
- .· Public procurement can be used to tackle poverty and unemployment problem, and for the promotion of the working conditions of citizens, especially in the private sector.
 - .· It can serve as measure against discriminatory and hostile policies at work places in the private sector.
 - .· The South African example demonstrates the potency of public procurement to serve as a veritable tool for sociopolitical reconstruction and rehabilitation; it can be used to address the issues of discrimination and inequality among various groups in a society.
 - .· Procurement can be used to ameliorate ethnic and gender inequality problems, and the positioning of vulnerable and disadvantaged groups for equal opportunity with others.
 - .· Public procurement can simulate healthy competition, galvanize technological innovation and growth as well as enhance the delivery of quality goods, works and services by holders of public contracts.
 - .· Procurement can serve as a catalyst for the growth of small and medium scale enterprises (SMEs), and the development of indigenous industry, thereby leveling ground for the achievement of sustainable economic development.
- Nigeria can apply the power of her public procurement system towards achieving the similar objectives through a review and amendment of its constitution and public procurement law.

Conclusion

This paper has analyzed the usefulness of the public procurement system in addressing social and economic imbalances in the society. As the study has proven, aside procuring, purchasing or acquiring and hiring of goods, works and services required by government, public procurement can be adopted and applied to other aspects of a country's national life. Experiences of many countries as discussed in the paper make a case for this, and explain why most nations are increasing paying adequate attention to issues related to public procurement in the recent times. The manifestation of the observable growing attention to public procurement is the reform initiative and programmes being undertaken by many nations, especially developing countries to reposition their public procurement system in order to maximize its inherent potentials for the purpose of accomplishing desired

development goals. As evident from the study, a well-structured and adequately managed public procurement system can be used in achieving numerous important secondary objectives other than the conventional purpose.

The procurement system can be wielded as an instrument of wealth redistribution, as applied to addressing poverty and unemployment problems, can be adopted as a tool for political re-engineering or reconstruction, that is, as an anti-discriminatory measure and in resolving inequality- ethnically, racial, gender wise among other aspects; is an instrument for promoting fair work policies and conditions in the private sector, can facilitate the growth and development of small and medium scale businesses and indigenous industry, promotes healthy competition and enhances the quality of works, goods and service obtained with tax-payers monies, thereby facilitating socioeconomic development. Following the examples of other countries, developing nations such as Nigeria can leverage on her public procurement power to pursue other critical aims and objectives aside acquisition of goods, works and serves. This can be achieve through a review and amendment of the country's 1999 Constitutional and the Public Procurement Act of 2007, to reflect the socioeconomic realities or concerns of the country in her public procurement system and practice, in order to facilitate the attainment of inclusive development in the country.

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IMPERATIVE OF CONFLICT MANAGEMENT FOR DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA: A REFLECTION ON GOOD GOVERNANCE

By

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Abstract

Conflict is said to be negative because it stagnates the society in terms of developmental effort. Objective: the study highlights factors and conditions that generate conflict in Nigeria society which among others include: Plural and diverse settings such as diversity in the area of religion, ethnicity, culture, religion and the imperative of good Governance in conflict Management for Development in Nigeria. Methodology: A qualitative design was adopted using the documentary method of data collection and Documentary analysis was the tool employed. Findings: The paper found among others that, the major causes of conflict in the society particularly Nigeria where processes of resource generation and distribution, leadership, feeling of exclusion and marginalization and Disagreement over values and breakdown from a good administration. Recommendations: The study recommends that conflict should not be viewed as evil by the society, but rather should be seen as agent of change because through conflict opinions are shared, government inability to provide for mass interest is expressed, and for proper management of the Biafra agitation resurgence in the south east geopolitical zone not to degenerate into open violence and animosity (war), there is a need for restructuring to preserve the unity of this nation due to our level of political exposition and behavioural propensity of religious and ethnic identity, and Good governance that enables political development and legal environment of the economic growth and equitable distribution of resources in providing basic, essential and its social function, effectively manage and suppresses conflict if not resolve it.

Key words: Conflict, Good Governance, Political Development and Conflict Management.

INTRODUCTION

Conflict, to a common man and everyday assumption, is that it is necessarily negative and dysfunctional. This view expresses that conflict stagnates the society, this is because experiences and stories of the conflicts that generate into first World War which began 28 July 1914 and lasted until 11 November 1918 claimed about 40 million (there were 20 million deaths and 21 million wounded) and the total number of deaths includes 9.7 million military personnel and about 10 million civilians. The Entente Powers (also known as the Allies) lost about 5.7 million soldiers while the Central Powers lost about 4 million, Uralanis, (1971), Haythornthwaite, (1993) and Erickson (2001). The Second World War which began in 1939 to 1945 as well claimed millions of lives and resources that have hindered the societal development of the world, particularly third world countries. Civil unrest, religious disturbances, an ethnic crisis among others have characterized Nigerian society since independence, 1967-1970 civil war, the Ijaw versus Itsekiri war, Ife Modakeke, Aguleri and Umuleri, Bassa and Tiv, Jukun crisis nearly tore Nigeria apart, Avav, (2002). Consequently, the territorial conflict between Nigeria and Cameroon over Bakassi Peninsula and currently Boko-Haram insurgency, IPOP/MASSOP Biafra agitation for sovereign Nation, Niger-Delta crises and Fulani herdsmen-farmers conflict in rural communities.

This image of conflict is quite popular but not correct. Conflict is negative when it degenerates into open violence and animosity, especially when it is not well managed and resolved. Therefore the society can easily move from low intensity to high intensity of conflict (war), e.g. boundary dispute over territory which brings to fore the essence of conflict as a struggle over values and scarce status, power and resources, in which the aims of opponents is to neutralize, injure or eliminate rivals, Lewis (1956). Conflict can occur between individuals and groups. It can even occur within a group (intra-group conflict) and between groups (inter-groups conflict). To this end, (Hocker and Wilmot, 1985 cited in Bernard and Ashimi, 2014:2) opined that conflict is an interaction between interdependent people who perceive incompatible goals and whose expect interference from the other party if they attempt to achieve their goal. In consonance with this, Galtung (1996) asserted that conflict is a triangle with structure, attitudes and behaviour as its vertices.

Nevertheless, conflict is simply a disagreement between one or two people which play a positive role in the society, conflict points to existing problems in the socio-economic and political arrangement of the society and can be used to adjust the society for the better, i.e. the conflict in the Niger Delta brings to fore the injustice against the people of the region and Biafra

agitation resurgence in the south east geopolitical zone point to the leadership (presidency) marginalization of the zone. It draws attention to the problem and the importance of resolving the problem; this makes conflict useful to the society. The process of distributing resources generates conflict because the resources are scarce, Lewis (1956). However, the causes of conflict in the Nigeria context cannot be attributed to scarce resources because the Nigeria state is one of the most natural endowed countries in the world with resources ranging from fertile land for crops production, livestock rearing, forestry and River Niger and Benue for fishing exploration, large reserves of solid minerals including bitumen, topaz, lignite, coal, tin, columbite, iron ore, gypsum, barite and talc, Crude oil, Gold among others. Rather, the process of generating and distribution of resources which is like looting from Mr A to satisfy Mr B is the basis of so many conflicts in Nigeria that is based on endless division and cleavages, and this is because of the divergent interests, goals and aspirations by individuals or groups in a defined social and physical environment, in essence, zero-some competitions among people generates conflict Onigu, (1999).

Since the attainment of political independence in 1960, the major problem of Nigeria has been the inability of marrying the interest of various ethnic groups to avoid generating conflict in Nigeria. Be it

leadership and development crises, relationship between different nationalities, social classes and political administrative unit over material resources, power sharing, local government creation, the minority question, citizen-indigene-ship-native question, practice of true federalism and continuous glamour for secession, the Nigeria Biafra Civil War, the then June 12 crises, military coup and counter coup d'état, the Niger-Delta agitation for resource control (Militants), Boko Haram insurgency and Fulani herdsmen attack rural farmers has demonstrated in the course of our existence as colonial creation that good governance (leadership) is indeed the national question. This is because; development and conflict management in any society depends largely on the nature of leadership and good governance. To this end, proper conflict management is essential for societal development, particularly for the government. It is based on the foregoing that this study is geared towards exploring the imperative of conflict management for Development in Nigeria with a reflection on Good Governance.

Good Governance

The world currently revolves around good governance as a better alternative for development, for it occupies a primary place in the lives of individuals and countries. This enhances the desires for people to move closer to development. Those who are far from development wish

they were closer and consistently strive to be closer to it, while those who are closer wish there is nothing separating them from it. Governance for development ought to be accountable, participatory, responsive, effective and guarding the interest of citizens and marching towards a holistic development. Governance is as old as human civilization. The concept of governance relates to the quality relationship between the government and the citizens whom it serves and protects, (Hyden, 1999).

According to Daniel Kaufman (2005), governance embodies "the economy and institutions by which authority in a country is exercised for the common good. Governance means thinking about the means of orienting the economy and society, as well as the means of attaining specific collective goals in which the state plays a fundamental role, focusing on priorities and defining objectives, Peter and Pierre (2000) and Bell (2002) conceived governance as the use of instructions, structure of authority and even collaboration to allocate resources and coordinate or control activities in the society which brought in the process by which governance is selected monitored and replaced. To Dike (2010) governance comprises the mechanism and processes for citizens and group to articulate their interest, do work together and exercise their legal rights and obligations with rules,

institutions and practice that set limits and provides incentives for individuals, organization and form.

Hamdok (2001:123) also maintained that governance comprises of the following:

1. An effective state: This talk about one that possesses an enabling political and legal environment of the economic growth and equitable distribution.
2. Civil society and communities that are represented in the policy making process with the state facilitating political and social interaction and fostering social cohesion and stability.
3. A private sector that is allowed to play an independent and productive role in the economy. To him, all the three elements, similarly to and in combination, together with sound economic management are essential for sustainable development. World Bank (1992:14) defines governance as the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economy and social resources for development. The World Bank has identified three distinct aspects in the conceptualization of "governance" such as:
 - A. The form of political regime
 - B. The process by which authority is

exercised in the management of the country's economic and social resources.

- C. The capacity of government to design, formulate and implement policies and in general, to discharge government functions.

But, Good governance is a difficult concept, as it is not always easy to define. It is amenable to different definitions depending on the perception of the person. Nevertheless, good governance can be attainable depending on the type of political regimes, the process by which authority is exercised in the management of the economic and social resources, with a view to development, and the capacity of governments to formulate policies and have them effectively implemented. Notwithstanding, when we remember that the modern state is a human creation, according to the social contract theorists, namely, John Locke, Thomas Hobbes and Jean Jacques Rousseau, one can say for sure on what constitutes good governance.

Generally, the social contract theory believes that the terrible, violent, unsecured and unpredictable state of nature compelled men to come together, under a social contract, and surrendered their rights to security of personal lives and property to the state. The state is expected to protect the personal lives and property of the citizens, as well as their general welfare. The state, as

an amorphous entity, cedes this power to a smaller and proactive agency called the government. Good governance, therefore, includes the processes and products of the government towards the fulfilment of the social contract it has with the people. Specifically, good governance involves: enthronement of a democratic government, which guarantees equal participation of all citizens in governance; provision, promotion and sustenance of the rule of law; provision and protection of the Constitution; promotion and protection of the fundamental human rights of the citizens; provision and sustenance of the freedom of the press; availability of a transparent, accountable and participatory governance at all levels of government; regular, free and fair elections; as well as provision of basic amenities, such as, portable water, electricity, qualitative education, healthcare delivery, good roads, among others. And if above mention attributes are found in a governmental administration, it will enhance the political system and as well effectively and efficiently consolidate our political development. (Apadorai, 1968)

Political Development

Development around the world, whether political or otherwise depends on the level of political development. In fact, political development is sacrosanct to any kind of social welfare and conflict management. This is because it is usually taped upon for

its vital role in conflict management, employment generation and promotion of growth and progressive increase in development. Little wonder every nation thinks of political development as a means of sustainable development and project its future plans and work to achieve it. Political development in whatever form it takes is a sine-qua-non for social welfare. It determines the nation state. This is because political development contains inbuilt variable needed to change a society's pattern of behaviour even its leadership structure and conflict management in the society in spite of any plural settings, Reginaldo, (2011)

As used in this work, political development refers to changes in the political and/or government structure of a nation/state and its impact on its social structure. The impact of this change in governmental structure could be partial or holistic, though measured quantitatively in some instances. In order words, political development can be view as the politics of change created by the government of the day. As examined by Peter and Pierre (2000) political development engenders development in institutions, attitudes and values that form the political system of a society. Peter also asserts that it enhances the state's capacity to mobilize and allocate resources, to process policy inputs into implementable output. This assists with problem-solving and adaption to environmental changes and goal realization. More recently

democratization and good governance have been portrayed as constitutive of political development and as conditions for sustained economic development in developing areas and post-communist societies,(Obi, 2014).

However, the enduring problem of political development for some divided societies like in Nigeria and especially in the Third World remains how to combine political stability with political liberalization and democratization. Another challenge is safeguarding democratic transition and consolidation in the midst of the drastic economic restructuring that engenders popular dissatisfaction and can breed political extremism. Hence, political development means not just institutional reform but changes in attitudes and the political culture that places limits on how far political development can be imported or imposed from without. Political development is neither linear nor irreversible; not all countries are experiencing it, and some endure periods of political decline and decay, while a few suffer a terminal political breakdown, like the former USSR.

Political Development and Good Governance in Nigeria

The dawn of democracy in Nigeria has witnessed renewed and sustained the activities of political parties which is the most complex and critical institutions of democracy but undoubtedly has either

shaped or stagnated the deepening and consolidation of democracy, with heavy reliance on secondary data supported by analytical approach to political development, since the dawn of democratic dispensation in Nigeria has been faced with diverse challenges such as lack of institutionalization and personalization of political parties. Problem of God fatherism, crisis and absence of internal democracy within the political parties and incessant political party violence

The party system in Nigeria is still weak and vulnerable with no visible signs of adding value to the democratic consolidation. For example ,the rates of party cross carpeting by politicians, lack of rooted leadership ideology and lopsided fight against corruption. Consequently, issues of organizational capacity effective leadership, internal democracy, discipline, institutionalization and personalization, ideological platforms of mobilization and linkage to civil society and the masses should be addressed, and this is because Political development involves the development of institutions, attitudes and values that form the political power system of a society, Peter and Pierre (2000). This, therefore, creates a symbiotic relationship between democracy and good governance in managing societal conflict. This is borne out of the belief that democracy premised on the principle of the rule of law and constitutionalism is capable of ushering in

good governance and societal development. It is equally believed that democracy conforms to the principle of justice, equality and fair play as a democratic state are based on consent and popular participation, Boeninger, (1992).

The Synergy between Governance, Democracy, Development and Conflict Management

As already noted, development and conflict management in any society depends largely on the nature of leadership and good governance. Because the quality of a country's development is anchored on the nature of democratic dispensation and leadership, when the quality of governance is low it amounts to under-development and crisis in the society but when the quality of governance is high it amounts to development, conflict management, suppression and transformation.

However, it is pertinent to note that, the quality of good governance is dependent variable on leadership as this comprises of ruling class of the state who steers the ships of the state for progress or misfortunes. Therefore, leadership dictates the types or quality and art of governance of every society. The competence of leadership facilitates and encourages development. This shows that for effective conflict management and political development to be obtained, leadership has to be effective

and with a sense of objection which can steer the society on the path of development but when the leadership is ineffective and the level of good governance is poor, it amounts to conflict or crisis and if not properly controlled can degenerate to open violence and animosity (war) and underdevelopment of a society, as typical of Nigeria and other third world countries.

Framework of Analysis/Discussion

As has been argued previously, conflict is inherent in all societies and has been a source of concern to social and political thinkers throughout the ages. The study of conflict as a process requires that we explore the theories of conflict. The value of the theories is that it helps to explain the nature of the problem, explores its diverse origin and complex manifestation. In the context of our experience, we need to engage theories of conflict because it is multifaceted in Africa. Therefore, exploring theories of conflict will provide us with the scientific basis for formulating policies and for assisting social reformers to identify relevant policies for effective and efficient management of conflict. Therefore, for the purpose of the research paper, four theories of conflict were examined.

Robert Ted Gurr (1970) in his book *Why Men Rebel*; demonstrates the importance of relative deprivation in explaining the tendency for people to respond violently to situations. In using the idea of relative deprivation to explain violent behaviour, it

argues that individuals or groups tend to be violent when there is a gap between what they seek and what seems attainable. In other words, people tend to give a violent response in thwarted circumstances with the tendency of striking the source of frustration. There is also the question of the revolution of rising expectation which focuses on the distances between current status and aspirations of individuals and groups. According to this view, what instigates people to violence is hope that is ruined.

Psychological Theory of conflicts; one of the most popular influential theory of conflict rests on three major pillars.

- 1) Relative deprivation
- 2) Rising expectation (promise with fulfilment that is not forthcoming)
- 3) Frustration aggression. (deprivation-frustration-aggression-conflict)
The central argument of the theory is that conflict arises in a state of mind, knowing you are deprived your right, you might fight for it. What is common to the three pillars, however, is that they are drawn from the psychological theory of motivation, behaviour, frustration and aggression.

Structural Theory of Conflict; argues that conflict is inherent in the way the society is

organized and structured. That is, conflict is not a product of external forces but the product of the society itself, and its structure. What this theory points to is that conflict arises as a result of interaction among individuals and groups when scarce resources and values are unequally distributed, or when social, political-economic and cultural processes are monopolized by some groups at the expense of others. Therefore, conflict is a byproduct of structural inequality, and the history of hitherto societies is the perpetual struggle. There are two (2) perspectives on structural theory of conflict which are: Classical Marxist theory of conflict, the Liberal traditional theory of conflict. For Karl Marx, society is organized on the basis of class antagonism. Marx viewed conflict as a major source of change in any society because society is divided into the dominating and the dominated class. The dominating class survives by exploiting the dominated class. Therefore, this leads to conflict or struggle. According to Marx, a revolution is inevitable when the dominant class is overthrown by the dominated class. The Liberal traditional theory of conflict argues that conflict is a product of structural inequality but could be corrected through reform and redistribution and not by revolution. The significance of structural theory lies in the fact that it draws our attention to the immediate and underlines causes of conflict or those factors that lead to the emergence or escalation of the internal conflict (Hunt, 2009).

More often than not, this theory draws our attention to economic, social, political and institutional factors of conflict i.e. the theory focuses on the following factors:

- 1) Structure of the state
- 2) Discriminatory political institution
- 3) Inter-group politics (competition that takes place among groups)
- 4) Elite cohesion or fragmentation, division of groups
- 5) Ethnic factors.

Systemic Theory of Conflict; on the other hand, draws our attention to the social context of conflict especially those variables which may contribute to instability or stability in the political system.

- i. The Legitimacy of the ruling group: - This refers to whether there is a general acceptance in the society or whether those ruling have the legitimacy to rule. If the majority believe that those ruling lack the legitimacy, conflict may be inevitable, e.g. election rigging and military rule that is believed to be an aberration. Therefore, the contest of legitimacy may lead to conflict.
- ii. The cohesiveness of political Elite:- When the ruling class or elite is fragmented along ethnic religious

cleavages, their followers may be mobilized along such cleavages. This may lead to disunity and violence.

- iii. Instances of political Alienation:- If there are cases in which a particular area is excluded from the rule, military, representation in the cabinet, political participation and they feel that all peaceful means will not produce a positive impact on their aspirations, violence becomes the only last option. This perspective also looks at the effect of changes in the social structure and processes, e.g. industrialization, modernization and urbanization can change the entire structure of the society.

There are three (3) ways in which such large scale changes can lead to conflict;(i) It can lead to rising expectation of revolution e.g. rural-urban migration, (ii) Modernization can intensify conflict over distribution of scarce resources (It leads to new demands. e.g. electricity, education, pipe borne water), (iii) Where opportunity for western education is expanded without corresponding expansion for employment in the Nigeria situation.

The central argument is that it exposes us to many factors that can lead to conflict, legitimacy of rulers, ruling class (Division led to the Nigerian civil war of 1967-1970) sidelining of some groups e.g. military, government led to conflict e.g. Niger Delta

crisis, due to peaceful movement not manifesting their aspirations, they resorted to conflict.

Conflict Management

Conflict management tends to focus more on mitigating and controlling the destructive consequences that emanate from a given conflict than on finding a solution to the underlying issues causing the conflict. It typically involves the use of military force for deterrence or peacekeeping. Conflict settlement emphasizes reaching an agreement between parties through negotiation and bargaining. Conflict resolution is a more comprehensive approach based on mutual problem sharing between the conflicting parties. Deep rooted causes of conflict are addressed so that the situation is no longer violent, hostile and exploitative, Sandole & Van de Merwe, (1993). Conflict resolution elicits win-win solution and does not use coercion, Cornelius & Faire, (1989). Although scholars have differentiated conflicts management, settlement and resolution, this paper use the concepts interchangeably; so long as the objective is to end the conflict. Conflict resolution here covers the whole gamut of positive conflict handling, (Aderanti, 2005).

As argued earlier, conflict is inevitable and inherent in every human society. Therefore civil unrest, religious disturbances, ethnic crisis, among others have characterized Nigerian society since independence. For

example, in (1967), there was a civil war that nearly tore Nigeria apart. Similarly, in the 1980s, ethno religious conflict nearly wrecked the Nigerian society. Examples of various ethnic crises include, the Ijaw versus Itsekiri war, Ife/Modakeke, Agulari/Umuleri, Bassa/Tive/Jukun crisis, Sharia law Crisis, Biafra agitation crisis/IPOP/MASSOB, Boko Haram insurgency and Fulani herdsmen-farmers conflict. It is pertinent to note the fact that it is only the Nigerian state or government that can prevent politics from degenerating into crisis and conflict. That is, it is the government that is uniquely empowered to authoritatively compel obedience. This is because Conflict management involves doing things to limit the negative aspects of conflict and to increase the positive aspects of the conflict. The aim of conflict management is to enhance learning and group outcomes, (Rahim, 2002). Properly managed conflict can improve group outcomes (Alpert, Osvaldo, & Law, 2000; Bodtker & Jameson, 2001; Ra-him & Bono ma, 1979; Kuhn & Poole, 2000; Church & Marks, 2001).

The authority of government in conflict management can be derived from two major sources.

i. Legitimacy: This means the act of obeying the decision of the government by the citizen. Before independence, the traditional rulers were held in high

esteem as well as command respect among their subjects. However, at independence and the adoption of democracy, the legitimacy of government is now based on the consent of the people. The people decide who leads or rules them through elections. This is an indication that the citizens can hold their leaders accountable for their actions while in government. The principle, therefore, is that civil society can influence the government through protests, rallies, lobbying, solidarity and advocacy visits. If the government fails in its duty, the people have the right to remove such government from power.

ii. Coercion or Force: Under this situation, the government has the monopoly of control. Coercion or force is being used against the civil society. It needs to be pointed out that there is no single organization that can coerce or force without being challenged by the government, e.g. the activities of Boko-Harm, IPOB, MASSOB, Niger-Delta Militancy and Farmers-Fulani herdsmen crisis is being confronted by the Government. Institutions such as the Police, judiciary, military and other security agencies put in place to checkmate the excesses of individuals or groups of persons. For a government to succeed in managing conflict particularly in Nigeria, such government must possess coercion to

compel the civil society to obey government decision and ensure strict compliance. However, the government responds to some ethno religious crisis in the country in most cases lack coercions. e.g. the Anambra state crisis of 2005, (http://www.waado.org/nigerdelta/Politics/PDP_crisis/ogbeh_obasanjo.html).

In the same vein, a coercive government that lacks legitimacy will not enjoy the followership of the citizens. For example, the various military regimes in Nigeria between 1966/1999 lacked legitimacy and their physical violence did not achieve the desired result. Therefore, coercion and legitimacy are interwoven.

There are two basic ways of managing conflicts in Nigeria by the Government. These include Structural rule and Policies rules. While structural rule method of managing conflicts is all about constitutional provisions. It is a structure of government in the society that determines who rules and how the society is being ruled. It might be through the use of constitution or decrees, as the case may be. Structural rules involve the step to take in decision making, choosing of government representative e.g. the 1979 Constitution provided for four-year tenure for the office of the president with a second tenure consecutive rule. The same thing applies in the 1999 Constitution. However, there was a

review under the then president Goodluck Ebele Jonathan that contemplated a five (5) or seven (7) year term for the president. Furthermore, the Constitution also makes the following provision; terms of the election, impeachment, qualification among others. All these, therefore, gives the government the direction on how, when, what, who of the policy to introduce. The structural rule also plays a stabilizing role and leads to continuity of the government, especially a civilian rule. The structural rule under the military is guided by the use of decrees which they use in enforcing their policy to their subjects, e.g. Decree No. 2 empowers the military rulers to dictate without question, (Carl, 2014).

Policy Rule on the hand has to do with the decisions of the government as it touches issues or budget cuts, welfares, health, education, economy and security etc. For example, the banning of importation to encourage Nigeria local made product, Treasury Single Account (TSA), Whistle blowing policy, 2016 proposed cattle ranching policy by Buhari administration, N-power social temporary empowerment programme for unemployed youths, the political appointment under President Muhammad Buhari administration. It also has to do with the decisions that the government reaches on the specific political question that is within their jurisdiction. This is otherwise called public policy. The public policy, therefore,

allocates certain benefits to the citizens. Public policies are formulated to favour some set of people as well as disfavour others. They are formulated to solve problems that cannot be effectively managed. However, most of the time, public policies are formulated to favour those who are in government e.g. privatization of public firms Nitel, fuel subsidy removal of 1/1/2012, AIT (2012). Donald Horowitz, (1985) provides five Mechanisms for conflict management in plural and divided societies like Nigeria.

- i. The creation of lower level political units (i.e. proliferation of points of power) with a view to directing struggles away from, and taking the heat off, the centre;
- ii. Putting in place arrangements which activate intra-ethnic conflict and reduce energies available for inter-ethnic conflict. The arrangements include the creation of lower-level political units and reservation of offices for members of particular groups;
- iii. Adoption of policies that create incentives for inter-group cooperation e.g. electoral inducement for coalition purposes;
- iv. Adopting policies that encourage alignments based on interest other than ethnicity; and

- v. Preferential programmes to reduce disparities between groups.

Horowitz presents the last three as a follow-up to, or as resulting from, the first two, and all five prescriptions as having the potential of producing both politics of bargaining and representation of minority groups in national institutions. The prescriptions happened to have been drawn from Nigeria, which is case in point for this paper. In his words, Horowitz stated "if one is looking for African democracy in a divided society, the place to look is Nigeria that is where many of the African lessons are.

Larry Diamond (1990) there are four principal mechanisms for managing conflict politically within a democratic framework: federalism, proportionality in the distribution of resources and power, minority rights to cultural integrity and non-discrimination, and sharing or rotation of power, particularly through coalition arrangements at the centre. In a similar classification, Crawford Young outlines 'four major policy spheres' for the management of ethnic diversity. These are:

- (i) Constitutional formulas, particularly federal decentralized alternatives to the centralized unitary state;
- (ii) Cultural policies, especially in the fields of education and language;

(iii) Remedies for marginalized population categories (indigenous peoples, immigrants, peripheral minorities); and

(iv) Resources distribution issues (including “affirmative action questions”).

Table 1: Strategies for Conflict Management

Donald Rothchild & Victor A. Olorunsola	Theodore Lowi	Edmund J. Keller	Samuel P. Huntington
<p>I. Hegemonic Strategy:</p> <p>A. Subjection: Mechanisms of coercion structural inequality.</p> <p>B. Isolation: Conflict regulated by separating conflicting groups into separate political system or subsystems.</p> <p>C. Avoidance: Insulation of decision-makers from ethnic demands to avoid direct confrontations.</p> <p>D. Displacement: Population transferred to alter the nature of the inter-group encounter.</p> <p>II. Bargaining Strategy:</p> <p>A. Buffering: Provision for the intervention of third parties.</p> <p>B. Protection: Concessions of legal and constitutional guarantees to ethnic minorities.</p>	<p>I. Regulatory: Specific rules or legislation limiting the operations of a group.</p> <p>II. Redistributive Strategy: The reallocation of opportunities to satisfy one group at the expense of another.</p> <p>III Distributive: The allocation of opportunities to satisfy individual demands.</p>	<p>I. Regulatory: Specific legislation of decree banning or proscribing certain institutions or actions that cause or perpetuate ethnic division.</p> <p>II. Redistributive Strategy: The deliberate reallocation of opportunities to satisfy one group at the expense of another.</p> <p>III. Distributive Strategy: The allocation of opportunities to satisfy individual demands.</p> <p>IV. Reorganizational Policy: To strengthen centralized state power or to redistribute political power so as to accommodate the demands of certain groups. It may entail the restructuring of political parties, party systems, constitutions and administrative arrangements.</p> <p>V. Symbolic</p>	<p>I. Exclusionary: Restriction of political participation of subordinate actions.</p> <p>II. Revolutionary:</p> <p>A. Assimilation: The absorption of the minority group.</p> <p>B. Extermination: Genocide of minority, e.g., Nazi Germany's “Final Solution”.</p>

Table 1 continues

<p><i>C. Redistribution:</i> The reallocation of inter-ethnic opportunities by means of redistribution programs.</p> <p><i>D. Sharing:</i> Formalised reciprocity through coordinated participation in the decision-making process</p>		<p><i>Policy:</i> Policies that lack substance but elicit voluntary popular reactions of one form or another.</p>	
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Source: Donald Rothchild and Victor A. Olorunsola, "African Public Policies on Ethnic Autonomy and State Control", in Donald Rothchild and Victor A.

Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations

It is obvious that conflict is inevitable in all human societies because there are scarce resource and disagreement over values in the society including the super and the sub-structure subscribing to this resource which often leads to conflict in the society. Conflict is good for the societal development because through conflict opinions are expressed. However, the results of conflict are not predetermined. The conflict might escalate and lead to nonproductive results, or conflict can be beneficially resolved or managed and lead to productive developmental results. More often than not, conflict results because of the process of generating and distributing resources in the Nigeria context and not necessary scarce resource, miscommunication between people with regard to their needs, ideas, beliefs, goals, or

values, wide communication gap between the government and the people, wide gap between the have and the "have not", (Rich-Poor), disengagement and alienation, Loss of mental balance. Aggressive nature of "all or anything goes. Dictatorship and despotic leaders, misguided development, Lack of moral qualities among leaders and Pre-modal loyalty to religious groups, ethnic groups, culture and tradition).Therefore, learning to manage conflict is integral for sustainable development. Although very few people see conflict as the mechanism for change in most inevitable situations. This explains why Conflict management as a principle is essential for sustainable development in the society because all conflicts cannot necessarily be resolved, but learning how to manage conflicts can decrease the odds of nonproductive escalation. Conflict management involves acquiring skills related

to conflict resolution, self-awareness about conflict modes, conflict communication skills, and establishing a structure for management of conflict in the society.

In the end, we believe that conflict is good. It tells us we have a different view of life, faith and love for our country. It also poses a question to all of us; a question of maturity in the context of these two major causes of our many conflicts in Nigeria which are resource generation and distribution and disagreement over value. In view of the aforementioned, the paper, therefore, recommends the following for effective conflict management in Nigeria for sustainable governance and political development so that peace and security can be achieved.

- i. Conflict should not be viewed as an evil by the society, but rather be seen as the agent of change because through conflict opinions are shared, government inability to provide for mass interest is expressed. Conflict is only bad when it involves violence and it is not good for the society and conflict is inevitable in all human societies.
- ii. For proper management of the Biafra agitation resurgence in the south east geopolitical zone not to degenerate into open violence and animosity (blood shed or war), there is a need for restructuring to preserve the unity of this nation due to our level of political exposition and the

behavioural propensity of religious and ethnic identity.

- iii. Good governance that enables political development and legal environment of the economic growth and equitable distribution of resources in providing basic, essential and its social function, effectively manage and suppresses conflict if not resolve it.
- iv. Government at all level should integrate more and articulated programmes of conflict management. Such programmes should be able to effectively manage, resolve, suppress and transform conflict situations as the case may be. Emphasis should be on Early Warning Signals (EWS) monitoring and detection.
- v. Encourage the formation of effective and functional platforms like PROCMURA for ethnoreligious leaders so that through them it would be possible to establish a network for conflict prevention and management at the grass root.
- vi. The youth in and out of school should be sensitization on conflict prevention/management, peace building and reconciliation.
- vii. Media sensitization for wider societal reach.

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RELIGION, POLITICS AND 2015 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN NIGERIA.

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ABSTRACT

Nigerians have been observed to be more loyal to religion than the state. This is manifested in the growing trend of religiosity, the phenomenal rise in the number of worship centres and influential clergies in Nigeria today. The interdependence of Religion and Politics as social dynamics in fostering the development of Nigeria has become quite a concern across the nation. Nigeria is a highly heterogeneous nation with diversity in terms of multi-tribal, cultural, religious and political spheres. Thus, the objective of this study is to analyze the extent to which politicization of religion had affected the political development of Nigeria as a whole and Northern Nigeria in particular. The study made use of primary and secondary sources of data. The data obtained through questionnaire was analysed by descriptive statistics presented in tables and frequency distribution simple percentages. Data on the result of the 2015 presidential election was also obtained from INEC office to buttress our point. The study reveals remote and immediate causes of religious politics included the hunger for power, wealth and independent religious sentiments. To de-emphasize religious politics, the country should de-emphasize religion. Tribe and state of origin should be excluded in the filling of forms for both public and private organisations. Appointments and employments into these organisations should be based on merit and competency.

INTRODUCTION

There is an incontrovertible connection between religion and politics. While the actual role that religion plays in politics has remained debatable, the nexus between the two concepts has been established for long. In Nigeria, Religion does not make people good or bad. On the contrary, it is being used as an instrument of oppression and deceit. It appears that Nigerians have resigned themselves to fate and this is possibly further compounded by poverty, illiteracy, and lack of political education on the part of majority. This position is further aggravated by the general view that politics is a dirty game and that only people who can manipulate, deceive and accumulate wealth in greediness are meant to participate in it (Egbewole and Etudaiye, 2011). The number of religious people in Nigeria count into million, yet the level of destruction of lives and properties, crimes and insecurity committed in God's name is overwhelming. This is against the original intent of the founder of religion, or God himself.

The need for political stability in Nigeria cannot be overemphasized. A major variable in the Nigerian polity is the relationship between religion and politics which some consider as inseparable, while some support the notion of the separation of religion from politics, so that the former will not imbibe the corruption inherent in the latter. Generally speaking, there is a

common fallacy that religion and politics are two different fields of social activity.

All over the country, religion plays an important role in the daily lives of people; our choice of dressing, food, and politics and even the way we interact with one other are mostly affected by religion. In other words, politics and religion are intertwined and it empowers man to function in his society by contesting for a political position so as to contribute his ideology. Nigeria's population of over 150 million is divided nearly equally between Christians and Muslims. The importance and as well as evidence of this division has been proven during the Nigerian 2015 General Elections, and is well illustrated by the fact that religion, (though not nationality or in all cases) is the way in which most Nigerians chooses to identify themselves. Thus, the domains of religion, secularism and politics are becoming increasingly intermingled in both overt and covert ways. Invariably, sectarian politics is inherently problematic (Tar and Shettima, 2010). Thus, there is a need to look at the effects of religion on politics in Nigeria since independence. In addition, the study intends to find out how religion can bring sustainable development to our politics. It concludes by agitating for religious tolerance and reorientation.

In a survey conducted by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in 2004,

Nigeria stood out as the only country where 100 % of the participants said they believe in God. The result of the survey held in 10 countries (US, UK, Israel, India, South Korea, Indonesia, Nigeria, Mexico and Lebanon) also showed a country like South Korea with just about 7 % of its population declaring that they believe in God. In the same survey Nigeria also stood out as the only country where more than 90 % of her population s are willing to die for their religious convictions. More than 91 % of the people interviewed said they regularly attend religious services while 95 % of them said they pray regularly (Akanmode, 2015).

Politics on the other hand does not have a common definition. Politics is the activity through which people make, preserve and amend the general rules under which they live. As such, it is an essentially social activity, inextricably linked on the one hand to the existence of diversity and conflict, and on the other, to a willingness to cooperate and act collectively. Politics involves ideology, includes criticism (opinion); it requires the public and the state which made up of individuals (Dzurgba, 2008). It is about the acquisition of power and the use of such power. Onyekpe (1998) defines it as: “The struggle for power which itself is the authority to determine or formulate and execute decisions and policies, which must be accepted by the society... it is the struggle for power of governance, especially executive

authority”.

Political scientists believe that man is a political animal, that is, man cannot do without politics as well as religion in his everyday life. Therefore, since we make use of each of them in our daily activities, we tend to politicize religion and *religionize* politics. Thus, Nigerian politics is characterized chiefly by “politicization of religion and religionization of politics” (Adogame, 2006). Mixing the two together makes religion to lose its sanctity and politics to become dirtier. This reality is manifested in the nature of Nigeria's postcolonial state system. For instance, after Nigeria's independence in 1960, Sir Ahmadu Bello, the premier of Northern Nigeria, embarked on an “official” campaign to “Islamize” the north and eventually spread Islam to other regions. This drive generated, particularly among the Christians and adherents of African Traditional Religions (ATRs), the fear of looming religious extinction.

It has been observed that politicians openly espouse religious sectarian sentiments in campaigning for public support. That is why (Kukah, 1993) observed “no one can aspire to, or hold political office in Nigeria without pretending to be religious”. Invariably, religion goes hand-in-hand with politics, and it will be difficult to hold a public office without hold on religion. For this reason, the dominant religious groups; Islam and

Christianity have been locked in a fierce battle for the political control of the country (Bujra, 2006).

The manipulation of religion by some powerful individuals who hide under the guise of religion to pursue selfish interests, and greediness of some religious leaders who patronize corrupt rulers remains part of the negative effects of religion on the polity. Greed has crept into the religious terrain to the extent that some religious leaders now patronize corrupt rulers to meet their lust for money and other material gains. Efforts by Nigerian politicians to gain ascendancy and power have led to situation in which politics have swept away sacred precepts of religion, and in the process, contaminated the hearts of people with bitterness and enmity for the religion of others. Hence, (Falana, 2010) quotes Bala Usman who says that:

“The real basis of the manipulation of religion in Nigeria today is the need to obscure from the people of Nigeria, a fundamental aspect of our reality; that is the domination of our political economy by a class of intermediaries who are being increasingly exposed. And this is to enable this class to cover themselves with religious and ethnic disguises in order to further entrench division among

our people, slow down their awakening at any cost; even the unity of our country for which so much has been sacrificed”.

On the other hand, the positive effect of religion on politics has brought about the reinvigoration of Christian reawakening to politics. In the 1999 elections, Pentecostal Christians openly supported Obasanjo's candidature under the banner of the People's Democratic Party (PDP), viewing him as a symbol of the restoration of Christian control over the government of Nigeria and of the “ending of Muslim political dominance” (Ojo, 2004). Obasanjo's government, like all other was faced with several problems, but he has proven himself to be an outstanding administrator and only during his time, Nigeria as a country had witnessed what many considered as 'the beginning of true democratic regime'. After Obasanjo was elected president, Pentecostal leaders conducted an all-night prayer meeting for him. This gesture was politically endorsed and rewarded with the construction of a chapel in the Presidential Villa, the seat of national politics. Obasanjo's victory at the polls and his eventual swearing-in as president on 29th May, 1999 was heavily steeped in Christian Pentecostal symbolism. A drama that was spectacularly replayed in subsequent elections testifies to this:

After the completion of two four-

year terms and the abortive third term by President Olusegun Obasanjo, political leaders began talking of alternating the Presidency between the largely Christian South and predominately Muslim North. All of the country's major political parties chose Muslims as their candidates and after the controversial election; Alhaji Musa Yar'Adua emerged as the President.

(Eso, 2003) notes some incontrovertible facts to our religion-in-politics dilemma. According to him,

“Religion has a place in the lives of every nation, Nigeria included. Irrespective of the faith or denomination, religion when truly practiced in its truest form and spirit, has been and remains sacred. It plays a vital role in purposeful leadership, community building, social justice, law and order, peacemaking, reconciliation, forgiveness and the healing of wounds, be it political, family or personal”.

This means that if people truly make use of beliefs, values and attitudes inherent in religion into politics, it will bring about focused and resolute political leaders in the country who will be devoid of

sanctimonious hypocritical attitude. It will also help in bringing about fair play into politics. The character of Nigerian Muslims who adopted a religious provision to pursue sanctification, in 2015, yet again justified Eso's claims, a replica of the event of voting President Obasanjo into power in 1999 was repeated. This time, the resilient Muslims of the North conducted a three (3) days Tahajjud (special night prayer) all over the country, by order of Jama'atul Izalatul Bidi'a Wa Ikamatus Sunnah (JIBWIS) with the objective that (i) the elections be conducted free and fair, (ii) that their candidate Gen. Muhammadu Buhari, who is seen as a disciplined personality with zero tolerance for corruption emerge victorious, (iii) that the outcome of the result should not lead to yet another conflict and (iv) whoever emerges victor, let the loser accept defeat. It is commonly and generally believed in Islam that whosoever stands for Tahajjud with the correct and sincere intentions', and then the person will not leave his place of worship except that Allah has accepted his prayer, granted him his wish and forgive him his sins. (Al Bukhari Vol 2 Hadith No. 221-228). It was not surprising to the Muslims when the sitting President, who was also the Presidential aspirant of the Peoples' Democratic Party, called to congratulate Gen. Muhammadu Buhari of APC even before the official declaration of results by the Electoral body.

CAUSES OF RELIGIOUS POLITICS

Question 1: What could be the cause of religious politics?

Table 1: Distribution of Respondents by what could be the Cause of Religious Politics

RESPONSES	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Money/position	48	27
To make Heaven	30	17
To earn more support	68	38
Others	27	15
Don't know	6	3
Total	179	100

Source: Field Work, 2015

Table 1 above shows the causes of religious politics in Nigeria. While 48 of the respondents who are representing 27% attributed the cause to higher taste for money and other things (such as political appointment) by religious clerics as well as aspirants, 30 respondents that are representing 17% said it is caused by religious idiosyncrasy and beliefs. In the Holy Qur'an, for example, the Muslims are instructed to entrust and cast their votes to a believer (Muslims) when contesting against an unbeliever (someone who is not a Muslim), however, the literal meaning of this commandment requires proper interpretation than the ordinary meaning. The attempt to obey God's commandments makes it possible for need to make heaven to be a strong cause of religious politicization. 68 respondents representing 38% agreed that it is the desire and aspiration to earn more popular support that aspirant of various political offices consult to religion

in other to gain unfair advantage. Religion is the simplest means of manipulating the hearts and minds of people from equal believe; it has the power to motivate the highest level of sentiments. 27 respondents, representing 15% feels that there are other reasons beyond the above explained, these factors include favoritism and tribalism and 6 respondents, representing 3% really don't know the cause's of religious politics.

This however facilitates a better understanding of the fact that politicization of religion is therefore caused by the pursuit of earning more support to remove a bad representative or appoint a credible one, to gain popular support by the masses of equal religion, to protect and avoid the possibility of making unwanted or unfair political policies that contradicts the religious morale of a people living in a particular community among others are the remote

causes of politicizing religion rather than the need of money/position or even other reasons. The need to make heaven is solely

an independent aim of a person, aspirant or supporter.

Table 2: Distribution of Respondents by consideration when voting.

RESPONSES	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Religion	34	19
Credibility	141	79
Others	4	2
Total	179	100

Source: Field Work, 2015

Table 2 shows that 34 of the respondents representing 19% consider religion as criteria for voting a representative into political office. This however did not categorize them bigots or fanatics, what they really consider are the level of one's personal religious commitment and sincerity. These respondents believed no religion encourage immorality, they measure one's level of faith and trust him to be their representative whether they are of the same religion or not, they consider an aspirant so long as he/she posses certain religious discipline, they believe all other necessary features should be found in

religious motivated personality. 141 of the respondent representing 79% consider and endorse an aspirant by the credibility of such an aspirant since credibility is necessary for good representation and nation building. While just 4 respondents representing 2% consider other reasons not mentioned above when voting their representatives.

This however connotes or means that the bulk of the majority of the respondents consider credibility as the necessary criteria for electing someone into political office.

Table 3: Distribution of Respondent by the likeliness of considering someone of equal religion when voting.

COMMENTS	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Yes	106	59
No	73	41
Total	179	100

Source: Field Work, 2015

Table 3 above shows the percentage distribution of respondents by their likeliness of considering someone of their religion when voting into political office. While we see in the previous table that 141 of the respondents representing 79% of the research population, a population above 2/3 majority of the population of this research holds that “Credibility” is the necessary criteria for them to give their mandate to a political office aspirant, here we see that 106 of the respondents representing 59% would actually consider and prefer someone of their religion when contesting for similar political position against someone from an alien religious group. 73 of the respondent who are representing 41% however said the differences in religion would not affect their decision in political (voting) arena.

The above two tables (2 & 3) has given us

to understand and conclude about how fast people are involving religion into politics, for example, in table 2, we have a population of 34 respondents representing just 19% who are concerned with Religion as their necessary criteria for given their political mandate, then we witnessed in the second table a drastic improvement from 34 respondents who are representing just 19% to 106 respondents representing 59%.

This helps to understand that religion is hurriedly moving to affect the behavior of people in political decisions. It may not be the cause of all civil unrest and civil commotion in Northern Nigeria, but this research has (again) given us to understand that if politicization of religion is not controlled, soon we will have to be practicing “Religiosity” instead of Democracy.

Table4: Distribution of respondents by “Northern Nigeria strictly religious politics.”

COMMENT	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
5. Strongly agree	56	31
4. Agree	58	32
3. Undecided	17	10
2. Disagree	36	20
1. Strongly disagree	12	7
Total	179	100

Source: Field Work, 2015

Table 5 shows the distribution of respondents by whether Northern Nigeria strictly plays religious politics. However, by the virtue of the responses accumulated from this research, it shows a combine population of 114 of the respondents representing a total of 63% of the research population agreeing to the fact that Northern Nigeria strictly plays religious politics, 17 respondents representing just 10% of the population could not decide whether Northern Nigeria strictly politicized religion. While a combine

population of 48, representing a total of 27% argued that Northern Nigeria do not strictly play religious politics as a whole, they argued that religious politics exist even in the other parts of Nigeria. Although they constitute a minority few that responded and ascertain this view, however, the researcher has opt to use the 2015 Nigerian general election results to justify this claim in the later part of this paper. However, this facilitates the understanding that Northern Nigeria largely plays religious politics.

Table 5: Distribution of respondents on the effects of religion on good governance.

COMMENT	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
5. Strongly agree	15	8
4. Agree	34	19
3. Undecided	19	11
2. Disagree	71	40
1. Strongly disagree	40	22
Total	179	100

Source: Field Work, 2015

Table 5 shows the distribution of respondents by whether religious politics can bring about good government and as well facilitate social development. A combined population of 49 respondents who are representing 27% of the total population agreed that politicizing religion can actually lead to good governance and also facilitate social development, 11 respondents representing 11% of the total population could not conclude whether involving politics into religion can actually promote good governance and facilitate

social development or not. While a combined population of 90 respondents, representing a total of 51% of the research population argued that involving religion has nothing to do with social development and provision of good governance

This facilitates the understanding that religious politics does not bring about good governance nor facilitate social development in totality, but could be an agent of development if cultivated to advantage.

Table 6: Distribution of respondents by Politicization of religion in the North.

COMMENT	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
5. Strongly agree	82	46
4. Agree	47	26
3. Undecided	22	12
2. Disagree	20	11
1. Strongly disagree	8	5
Total	179	100

Source: Field Work, 2015

Table 6 shows the distribution of respondents by whether the politicization of religion in Northern Nigeria is a result of the inability to understand the real parting of the way between various religious. For the purpose of easy conclusion, the researcher has decided to use Islam and Christianity as a case study, since these two constitute the two dominant religions in the country. Before giving the analysis of the data represented in table 25 above, it is worthy to note that the researcher has discovered during the cause of undertaking this research that Islam is the only non-Christian faith which makes it an article of faith for its followers to believe in Jesus (Peace Be Upon Him). No Muslim is a Muslim if he/she does not believe in Jesus (PBUH). What the Muslims are made to believe is (i) the miraculous (Virgin) birth of Jesus (PBUH), meaning He was born without any male intervention, (ii) they believe that Jesus (PBUH) is one of the mightiest messengers of God, (iii) they believe that He is the Messiah (Christ), (iv) they believe that He is the “Word” of God that was bestowed upon Mary (the Mother of Jesus.

Peace Be Upon Them All [PBUTA]), (v) they believe that He gave life to the dead by God's permission and (vi) He healed those born blind and the lepers by God's permission. As such, the Muslims and the Christians are going together. The only real parting of the way between the two (Islam and Christianity) takes place in three dimensions, the “Original Sin”, the “Divinity of Christ” and the “Crucifixion”, the Muslims say He (Jesus PBUH) is not God almighty in human form, meaning He is not “God incarnate”, He's not “crucified for the sins of humanity” and He is not the “Begotten Son” of God.

Haven said all that, 22 respondents representing just 11% of the research population could not conclude whether the differences in religious beliefs and opinion is what prompted to politicizing religion in the North. While a total of 28 respondents, representing 16% of the research population said the politicization of religion that is largely practiced in the North has nothing to do with the differences in religious beliefs, they argued that since Northern region is

largely constituted by a people of certain religious beliefs, it is only natural and normal that they act according to their religious perceptions and sentiments even in the field of politics, they argued that as much as the Northerners has religious sentiments in political affairs, the Southerners also have the same sentiments.

RELIGIOUS POLITICS AND THE 2015 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

To justify this argument, the researcher has decided to use the 2015 presidential election results from Southern region that were largely constitute by Christians and the

Northern region that were dominated by the Muslims of both APC's Muslim candidate and PDP's Christian presidential candidate as was officially given by the Nigerian electoral body, INEC.

Please note that all substituent were merged to form a single region for easy analysis, e.g. South-East and South-South were merged as single Southern region vis a vis Northern regions with the exception of North central which includes the Federal Capital Territory and the Southwestern Zone

Table 7: Presidential results from Southeastern and South-South Zones

States	APC	Votes %	PDP	Votes %
Abia	13,394	3.50%	368,303	96.50%
Akwa Ibom	58,441	6%	953,304	94%
Anambra	17,926	3%	660,762	97%
Bayelsa	5,194	1%	377,316	99%
Cross River	19,774	5%	400,000	95%
Ebonyi	71,660	20%	287,804	80%
Edo	185,815	41%	262,114	59%
Delta	67,586	5%	1,200,000	95%
Enugu	14,157	2%	563,003	98%
Imo	133,253	18%	599,185	82%
Rivers	69,238	4%	1,487,075	96%
Total	656,438		7,158,866	
Percentage	8%		92%	
Total counted votes	7,815,304			

Source: INEC, 2015

Table 7 gives us the official released INEC results of the 2015 presidential elections as collated from the Southern parts of Nigeria. Out of the total 7,815,304 counted as valid votes, the APC presidential candidate who is a Muslim from the Northern part of the country was able to pull only 656,438 votes, that is just 8% of the total votes cast, while the PDP's candidate who is a Christian from the Southern part of the country bagged an awesome 7,158,866 votes, representing a total of 92% of the total votes cast. We also noticed in Bayelsa state, the Home state of the PDP presidential candidate, the Muslim candidate of the APC recorded 5,194 representing just 1% of the total votes cast in the state, while the Christian candidate of PDP again bagged a whopping 99% of the total votes cast with 377,316 votes. Out of the 11 states that made up the Southern region, the Muslim candidate of the APC had succeeded in getting the required 25%

of the total votes cast in a state only in Edo state, and maintained a control of an average win 3% - 6% of the total votes cast in all the states that made up the Southern region. This ascertain the believe that for as much as there is politicizing of religion in the North, the Southern region is standing with its hands clotted and guilty of politicizing religion according to the records of the 2015 Nigerian presidential elections.

Although, we cannot yet draw conclusions as to whether religious politics is more practice in Northern Nigerian than it is practice Southern parts, vis a vis more in the South than in the North. We are going to run another analysis on the results collated from the Northern regions during the presidential elections. It is worthy to note that the results collated from North-Central, which includes the Federal Capital Territory, were not employed for analysis in table 9.

Table9: Presidential results from Northeastern & Northwestern Zone

State	APC	Votes %	PDP	Votes %
Adamawa	374,701	60%	251,664	40%
Bauchi	931,598	91%	86,085	9%
Borno	474,094	95%	26,098	5%
Gombe	361,423	79%	96,873	21%
Jigawa	885,988	86%	142,897	14%
Kaduna	1,127,760	70%	484,085	30%
Kano	1,903,999	90%	215,779	10%
Katsina	1,345,441	93%	98,937	7%
Kebbi	567,883	85%	100,972	15%
Sokoto	671,926	81%	152,199	19%
Taraba	261,326	46%	310,800	54%
Yobe	446,265	95%	25,526	5%
Zamfara	612,000	81%	144,000	19%
Total	9,973,404		2,135,915	
Percentage	82%		18%	
Total counted votes	12,109,319			

Source: INEC, 2015

Table 9 shows us the collated results from the Northern parts of the country gathered from the 2015 presidential elections. Unlike what we have in the previous table, here we are going to lay emphasis on the number and the percentage of votes the PDP presidential candidate who was a Christian from the Southern area was able to pull in the Muslim's dominated North. Out of the total 12,109,404 votes cast during the elections, the PDP candidate was able to manage a total of 2,135,319 votes representing up to 18% of the total votes cast in the North. While the Northern and Muslim's APC candidate won the total of 9,973,404 votes, representing 82% of the total votes cast within the Northern areas represented in the table.

In Katsina state for instance, the birth home of the APC aspirant; we have in our records a total of 1,444,378 votes collated from that state. The Christian opposition of the PDP was able to win just 98,937 votes, representing 7% of the total votes cast, while the APC candidate claimed in his home state 1,345,441 votes, representing 93% of the total votes cast in the state. Also, the Christian candidate of the PDP was able to control the required 25% of the total votes cast in a state in Adamawa, Kaduna and Taraba states and also earned an average of 10-20% in all the Northern states with the exception of Bauchi, Borno, Katsina and Yobe state.

Judging the Nigerian presidential elections by virtues of religious motivation and seeing how both candidates performed

poorly in their opposite regional and religious counterparts i.e. how APC failed woefully to a total 8% from the votes accumulated from the Southern region and how PDP failed to considerable 18% of the total votes cast in the North, one cannot help but conclude to agree that although religious politics is more outwardly seen in the North, it bites and itches more from the South. This is easy to digest considering the fact that a presidential aspirant of a country was able to pull out only 1% of the total votes cast from a whole region that constitute a State in the Southern part of the country and his opponent was successful enough to only control 7% of the total votes cast in the opposite direction due to their religious differences.

This facilitates the idea, assumption and understanding that both Northern and Southern regions of Nigeria plays religious politics, this is because we have grown to an era where religion decides and dictate in the most important affairs of our lives including politics.

Haven justified the religious sentiments that control the political behavior of a people living in the Northern and Southern part of Nigeria, an attempt is made towards understanding the political culture of the South-West and North central regions. It is worthy of note that these areas have almost what is largely considered as a balance of mixture between both Muslims and Christians in the country.

Table 10: Presidential results from South-West region

States	APC	Vote %	PDP	Vote %
Ekiti	120,332	41%	176,414	59%
Lagos	792,460	56%	632,327	44%
Ogun	308,290	60%	207,950	40%
Ondo	299,889	54%	251,368	46%
Osun	383,603	61%	249,929	39%
Oyo	528,620	64%	303,376	36%
Total	2,433,194		1,821,364	
Percentage	57%		43%	
Total counted votes	4,254,558			

Source: INEC, 2015

Table 10 above gives us the collated 2015 Presidential election results from the South-West areas, in table 28 above, we can see that although, APC maintained a lead in 5 states with the exception of Ekiti, what is important and interesting to know is that both of the candidates had had the required 25% of the total votes cast across all the states and the highest defeat recorded by the PDP was a considerable defeat by 14% of the votes cast in Oyo state. Out of the 4,254,558 of the total votes count, we noticed that the PDP's Christian candidate won the over total of 1,821,364 votes, representing 43% of the total votes cast and the APC's Muslim aspirant

controlled the majority of the votes with 2,433,194 votes representing 57% of the total votes cast in the South-West region.

In order to draw a general conclusion as to whether religious sentiments is already to a larger degree deciding the political culture of Nigerians, another attempt has been made to study the 2015 presidential election results of the North-Central region with the aim of justifying or denying the already based argument that “religious sentiments determines the political behavior and culture of Nigerians.”

Table 11: Presidential results from North-Central region

States	APC	Vote %	PDP	Vote %
Benue	373,961	55%	303,737	45%
FCT/Abuja	146,399	49%	157,195	51%
Kogi	264,851	64%	149,987	36%
Kwara	302,146	69.50%	132,602	30.50%
Nassarawa	236,838	46%	273,460	54%
Niger	657,678	81.50%	149,222	18.50%
Plateau	429,140	44%	549,615	56%
Total	2,411,013		1,715,818	
Percentage	58%		42%	
Total counted votes	4,126,831			

Source: INEC, 2015

Table 11 above shows us the 2015 presidential elections from the North-Central region. In table 29 above, we witnessed yet another balance in the voting culture, out of the 7 states, the PDP candidate has recorded a victory in FCT/Abuja, Nassarawa and Plateau while the APC maintained a clear lead victory in 4 states including Benue, Kogi, Kwara and Niger state. We have also seen that, out of the 4,126,831 of the total votes cast, the PDP candidate Christian candidate had control of 1,715,818 votes, representing 42% of the total votes cast within the region, while the APC Muslim candidate had 2,411,013 votes, representing 58% of the total counted votes in the North-Central region.

If religious belonging is the necessary criteria for voting or electing a candidate into a political office in Nigeria, the analysis and discussion above has given us to understand that Nigerians are religiously sentimental in the execution of political affairs, that is why Hakeem (2012) argued that “Nigerians are more loyal to religion than the state”

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

Religion can bring about sustainable political development through the inculcation of high sense of morality, selfless service, public accountability, sense of duty, respect for human lives, sense of humanity, public education, love of one's neighbour, love for peace, contentment with what one can legitimately have, abhorrence

of violence, presence of justice on the citizens as well as the leaders among many others. If a religion fails to inculcate a sense of morality in the people, then it has failed in its creed and is not in a position to help bring about good governance and sustain political development in a country where it has failed to raise the moral standard of the people. (Omoregbe, 2003).

Compliance to religious tenets by the leaders and followers will greatly enrich political activity. Embedded in each religion are the beliefs, practices and ethics that serve as check for excesses in human behaviour. Since religion influences every aspect of human lives and serves as a basis for human existence, values in religion are viable mechanisms for political stability and development. In addition, religion can function as a unifying factor for political development.

The government should give more power to the National Religious Advisory Board and the Nigeria Inter-religious Council in promoting inter-religious dialogue and religious tolerance through organizing workshops and seminars for religious adherents, which will help in building sustainable political development. When interfaith dialogue is skillfully organized and pursued, it can encourage those who have personally involved in conflict to work together towards peace accommodation. (Haynes, 2009)

The government should stop using public

fund to sponsor people to pilgrimage. Instead, the fund apportion to it should be diverted to create employment for the teeming youth, improve our educational institution and to alleviate poverty in the society. Thus, making use of religion in Nigerian politics should be geared towards ensuring a harmonious and peaceful co-existence (of Christianity and Islam) and political development. The mixing of both religion and politics is not a problem, but the level of moral standard, patriotism towards the country and proper understanding of religion are the determining factor.

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AN APPRAISAL OF DEVELOPMENT AND DEMOCRACY IN NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT

There is an unconventional convergence in the writings on Africa that her development lags behind. This paper explores an appraisal of development and democracy in Nigeria. Arguing that the country's development and democracy lags behind than that of other states as a result of factors ranging from neo-colonialist activities such as unfavorable terms of trade, activities of multinational corporation and of course corruption among others. Nigeria has not score high when placed in the same matrix with countries heading towards democracy of empowerment. In attempting a discourse of this complex issue dependency approach propounded by scholars such as Samir Amir, Dos Santos, Fernando Cardoso and Celso Furtado among others has been adopted as a theoretical framework of the study which focuses on the unequal relation that exist between the centre and the periphery in the global context. The study is centered on the alternative paradigms for Nigeria development after many decades of poor performance of Breton woods prescription of liberal and Americanization style of development? This Paper further argues that the democracy and Nigeria development suffers as a result of her rentier political economy where the state officials and the agents of neo-colonialism such as MNC's conspire to extort oil revenue; and it conclude on the note that democracy and development needs to be homegrown, consolidated and centre on the material well-being of her citizenry.

Key words: dependency, development, democracy and neo-colonialism

INTRODUCTION

It's unconventionally agreed among African writers that Africa's development is far behind compared to other regions and clime. Nigeria's successful incorporation into the capitalist economy and the rise of independence flag, the country has been grappling with the challenges of underdevelopment. The political leaders are clearly preoccupied with the problem of poverty, unemployment and infrastructural decay, even though they are largely responsible for all the challenges. Lesser known is the substantial variance in development fortunes within Africa. Prevailing and existing theories and their prescriptions mostly sponsored by Breton woods institution {World Bank and IMF} has also partly failed to account for the intra-African disparities in terms of her development. {Englebert, 2000}.

There are compendium of theories and research literature making attempt to explain and prescribed solutions for this weak performance, from modernization school of thought that faulted the institutional structure and traditional ties, to its counter reactionary theory of dependency which rather stressed Africa's unequal insertion in the world capitalist economy {Rodney, 1973 samir, 1974} to rational choice theory which on the other hand faulted the politicians and bureaucrats who, in light of the reorganized peasantry, chose agricultural and industrial policies which served their benefits rather than the development of the country as a whole.

The later approach which led to the flourish of Eurocentric and Breton wood's prescriptions in 1980's towards the developmental issues with the introduction of structural adjustment program {SAP} with it conditionalities has rather than bringing, justifiable "accelerated development" has otherwise brought acute indebtedness and the continual dependency in foreign trade and it unequal tendency of exploitation. Accordingly, explanation for the multiple crises of development in the sub Sahara Africa focus on the debate regarding the necessity of following the capitalist market oriented policies as prescribed by World Bank and International Monetary Fund, the capacity of Africa states to manage either development or reform and the way in which Africa institutions reproduce societies that are resistant either to state- centered development or to market forces. {Luberck, 1992}.

The Nigerian experience shows the movement towards structural reform and popular democratic movement after years of military authoritarian without corresponding response to developmental question and issues. Although writers like Momoh, {2006} contest the trend of Nigerian democratization by noting that it's a western prescription for third world countries base on the stereotypical assumptions that the third world countries are incapable of institutionalizing democracy.

More important to the current debate on the question of Nigeria democracy as a means and tools facilitating development "and specially challenging for orthodox development theory, is the staggering fact, despite nearly decade {now two} of submission to structural adjustment program {SAP} administered by World Bank and IMF neither the promised "accelerated growth" nor market equilibrium, nor new foreign investment has been forthcoming" {Iuberck, 1992}.

In this light of dimensional approaches to Nigeria development issues and her democracy, some retrospective hypothesis became necessary for further research and alternative explanation. It's an empirical fact that despite the prescription of the Breton Wood institutions, the country lags behind in terms of both structural and human centered development. What then is the alternative paradigm towards her development? How faulty is the liberal democracy as define by World Bank and IMF in relation to Nigeria development? Do we embrace the liberal or democracy of empowerment?

In an attempt to address some of these hypothetical questions, a theoretical paradigm became imperative.

A THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE: DEPENDENCY APPROACH

In order to create an explicit insight and it operational values brought ford. We have to

ask; what is dependency? To borrow the logic and calculus of Sofiane, 2009 he contends that dependency is a condition in which element "A" is highly reliant on element "B". Even if both element are involved in an interdependent correlation element "B" is only weakly reliant on element "A" and is not severely constrained by this interdependency, whereas element "A" is powerless to surmount this asymmetrical situation, as it is 'more helplessly dependent. {Sofiane, 2009}.

In the same regards Dos Santos, sees dependency as "a situation in which the economy of certain countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy to which the former is subjected. The relation of interdependence between two or more economies, and between this and world trade, assumes the form of dependence when some countries {the dominant ones} can expand and can be self-sustaining, while other countries {the dependent ones} can do this only as a reflection of that expansion, which can have either a positive or a negative effect on their immediate development" {Dos Santos, cited in Sofiane,2009}

These though gave an insight into the meaning in terms of the conceptual clarification of the term 'dependency' however, by their attempt to conditioned this phenomenon of dependency as a "condition" project the definition with some structural weakness; for dependency in this

regards is rather a continua process where the dependent countries suffers perpetually in the world capitalist arrangement where the capitalist economies established and create the phenomenon of indebtedness rentier economy, neo colonialism in terms of the activities of the multinational corporation and in it recent form under the guise of revolution in information technology {globalization}.

In furtherance by all attempt made by this school to interpret and translate the process of development and underdevelopment, writers argues that immediately after the collapsed of the Berlin walls which started with the independence of some colonies in the 1940's led to creation of further bloc in addition to east and western bloc. This new bloc comprises of Africa, Latin America and Asia which together they inhabited about 75 of the world population. As the question to how these new emerging states contends with the issues of developmental paradigm led to the proliferation of writers some belonging to the modernization approach which faulted the traditional ties and structural differentiation of the continent and suggest the Americanization and Europeanization of the new emerging state in terms of their policies and structures of the economy. While others belonging to the dependency school argues however that these new emerging states are pan: of history and need to be understood in it global context. The proponent of this school operated within a north-south paradigm. Marxist economist such as Theotcnio Dos

Santos, Oswaldo Sunkel, Celso Furtado. Fernado Henrique Cardoso, James Petras, Andre Gunder frank, Samir Amin are considered to be among the major contributors to the dependency approach. They emphasized in terms of their area of convergence in the interpretation of the underdevelopment of third world; the gap between the "north" and the "South" is visibly widened which is the emphasis of the dependency theorist.

DEVELOPMENT: A CONCEPTUAL OVERVIEW

Is a complex issue with many different and sometimes contentious definitions, A basic perspective equates development with economic growth, It is imperative to conceptualize what development stands for. Development is often seen as the process of both political and socio-economic transformation of the society, In the conception of Torodo, 1970 it's a process through which there is "production of life necessities for the people in need and therefore providing them with sufficient amount of food to survive, physically, through providing shelter for people that have no other option than to live on the street and what is even more the ability and the readiness of health institutions to provide people with health care" {Torodo, 1970} this conception is human centered perspective focus on the percentage to which poverty is reduced and accessibility to basic necessity of life became a core value of the society.

In the same vein, development is seen as the sustained increase in the economic standard of living of the country's population normally accompanied by its stock of physical and human capital and also technological improvement. While in the words and documentation of World Bank; development is the process of improving the quality of life which involves high income, better education, higher standard of health and nutrition, less poverty, a cleaner environment and more equality of opportunities. {World Bank, 200J}

In almost a similar understanding, United Nations Development Program {UNDP} views development in a perspective in which there are resources and economic structure to facilitate 'living long and healthy lives, to be knowledgeable, to have access to resources needed for decent standard of living and to be able to participate in the life of the community'. Development is about empowerment, it is about local people taking control of their lives, expressing their own demands and finding solutions to their own problems. A process of economic and social transformation of the society. However, in the words of Walter Rodney in the first chapter of his insightful book on colonialism titled: How Europe underdeveloped Africa sees development as a many-sided process ranging from individual level-social group-to the societal level. I will quote him in extensor:

"Development in human society is a many-sided process. All the level

of individual it implies increased in skills and capacity. greater freedom, creativity, self discipline, responsibility and material well being.... the achievement of any of those aspect of personal development is very much tied in with the state of the society as a whole. At the level of social groups, therefore, development implies an increasing capacity to regulate both internal and external relationships, Development.. , meant the increase in the ability to guard the independence of the social group [state sovereignty} a society develops economically as its members jointly increase their capacity for dealing with the environment; which is dependent on the application of science and development technology"
{Rodney, 1973}

Rodney's conception captures most of the aspects touched by writers in an attempt to conceptualize the concept of development. But more summarily is the question raised by Dudley Seers as to what is happening to poverty, unemployment and inequality? In an attempt to answer topical questions over the developmental discourse of Nigeria state as to why amidst enormous natural and human resources the country's development lagged behind, health and nutrition problems are widespread, lack of

portable drinking water, lack of access to good medical health care, absence of qualitative education and under funding of nation's institutions, infrastructural decay, absence of industrialization and widespread inequality between the class of the rich and poor, and the crisis of unemployment among others. Many studies have suggested causes for these problems. But Claude Ake {1996} believes the political conditions are the greatest obstacle to development.

OBSTRUCTIVE FACTORS "AN OVERVIEW"

Many researchers in the field of political science have argued that the impediment to development involves factors both internal and external to Nigeria state. A neo liberal perspective tends to internalize the problem largely blaming corrupt and inefficient public policy. While the Marxist oriented scholars claim that the problem can be more accurately explain by the nature of the international economy. This scholars consider underdevelopment to have continue in the post colonial era, with the west still exploiting African economies especially economies endowed with crude oil like Nigeria and other natural resources through mechanism such as unfavorable 'terms of trade' and unequal exchange through the activities of multinational corporations MNC's.

To develop, all economies initially have to accumulate capital. This surplus capital is then invested back into the economy to

produce further profits which, in turn, can themselves be re-invested. The key to development then, argued by Thompson, therefore is the accumulation of surplus capital followed by its productive investment. If this cycle of economic surplus and productive investment continues, then prosperity is generated. {Thompson, 2000}.

The Nigerian state has grapple over the years with the crisis of primitive accumulation by her political elite which has left the hypothetical question of Dudley Seers on development unanswered. This activities of the accumulation has been link to the role of the multinational corporations which is serving as the agent of neo-colonialist by extracting the natural resources in conjunction with state conspiracy through the influence of public policy and governmental decision in respect to the regulation of their {MNC's} activities. Arguably, endemic immediately after the imposition of structural adjustment program {SAP} with her conditionalities of currency devaluation, staff retrenchments, market economy among others this has made it possible for multinationals and greedy political elite to extract surplus values through the neo- colonial rentier economy.

The development challenges has degenerate the state into deep crisis which allow the west to poach a good deal of economic sovereignty from Nigeria. Homayoun

contends that experience of four decades of foreign aid has made it obvious that it has not resulted but in the increase of debt volume of the borrowers, their hyphenated poverty and dependency. Foreign aid, under these circumstances and in its current form, is in character, a deterrent to the development of the recipient countries. {Homayoun, 1995} with the country's government forced to accept conditional lending, international monetary fund {IMF} succeeded in imposing their preferred neo liberal economic policies on the economy. Accordingly Nigeria politicians lost considerable control over setting their exchange rates establishing price controls, organizing budgets and determining what service should be offered to citizens. Decisions of public policy now had to be made in consultation with IMF officials {Thompson, 2000} which had led to policies such as national economic empowerment development strategy {NEEDS} which has the bi-product of new economic partnership for Africa development {NEPAD} and NEPAD an inactive of Britain woods institution. Homayoun {1995} further cited in regards to adverse effect of aid to development by quoting Mr. Fitzgerald who was in charge of United States foreign aid program from 1948 to 1961 stated that

"many assume that aid is provided towards the development of the recipient countries. This is certainly not the case ... the main motive for the disbursement of aid is to

counteract political crisis. Economic development, should it occur, is quite incidental and only a side effete"

in this context it should be added that "aid" is applied as an extremely powerful tool for foreign policy'.

In regards to the capital inflow to Nigeria especially in the reconstruction of the financial sector; Peter argues explicitly, that the financial sector, among the few areas of recent growth, is now in the midst of a systemic crisis. The banking industry, liberalized in the late 1980s, quickly became an arena for speculation and fraud. Widespread improprieties within financial institutions and a failure of public supervision have fostered extensive collapse. At least half the country's financial institutions are currently insolvent, and regulators lack a clear strategy for restructuring the industry. {Peter, 1999}

Again peter continues that, Nigeria *has* experienced a marked deterioration in key public institutions, with consequences for economic performance. Disarray and corruption have weakened the judiciary, the civil service, and key regulatory agencies. Major elements of public infrastructure- notably electricity, fuel supply, telecommunications, and transportation- have also declined. Business and affluent households have turned to self-provisioning, while other Nigerians must

manage as best they can. The virtual collapse of education and health services has seriously degraded Nigeria's human capital. The exodus of professionals and the decimation of the middle class is particularly worrisome, both from the perspective of economic recovery and democratic development. {Peter, 1999}.

The structural distortions of Nigeria's oil economy have worsened in the course of the last decade. The country remains dependent on a petroleum monoculture, since the sector provides more than 80 percent of government revenues and 95 percent of hard currency. Manufacturing constitutes less than 8 percent of gross domestic product, and output has declined since 1992, Agricultural exports, which contracted sharply during the oil boom, showed some signs of revival during the late 1980s, only to drop again in recent years. It is difficult to assess the development of food production, since much of it is not marketed or measured; however, food imports more than doubled {Peter, 1999} since 1980's after the imposition of structural adjustment program. The huge revenue from the oil boom had been so badly managed that after the peak of the boom in 1980 Nigeria went into continually increasing deficit. Ake {1981} observes that oil greatly increased Nigeria's dependence, both technologically and financially, particularly the former. The oil boom itself diverted attention away from some sectors of the economy, particularly agriculture. {Ake, 1981} Nigeria has grown

monumental incapable of feeding herself and dependent on food export from Europe and Asia over the years as a result of the abandonment of the agriculture.

The oil sector is the main sources of external earnings and revenue as such corruption in the sector rendered developmental enterprises meaningless. Momoh {2009} asserts that the activities of the oil multinational corporations especially under Mergers and Acquisition {M&S} are leading to the rapacious destruction of livelihood and livelihood opportunities.

Corruption is a relative term, and it occurs all over the continent of Africa but the syndrome of corruption is endemic in Nigeria. Officials requires bribe before they reach favorable decisions, public resources are misappropriated for private gains, individuals are employed and promoted basis of clientelism rather than merit; thereby living millions of Nigerians unemployed. In the words of Mahmud {2009}

"it is {corruption} worse in Nigeria and it has impacted ne`gatively on the country's development process. In Nigeria .corruption has been accepted as a way of life, and often a corrupt official or bureaucrat is hailed and respected by his community ... but the reality is that corruption is hindering the process of economic growth and development and is

also considered as an obstacle in the democratization process." {Mahmud, 2009}.

It is in this preference that Gavin (2003) argues on the bases that institutions designed to prevent corruption is used for partisan ends subject to allegation of racial, ethnic, or political bias. Formal procedures 'to investigate breeches of trust by office holders are costly and discourages public servant from making difficult decisions. The commercialization of public sphere has offered numerous opportunities to public servants to manipulate the system for private gains thereby subverting the idea of popular development through public services. Tracing it root to colonial legacies; Ake {1996} contends that "political independence brought some changes to the composition of the state managers, the character of the state remained much as it was in colonial era; it continue to be totalistic in scope, constituting a statist economy" {Ake, 1996} Mahmud continue explicitly in the context of Nigeria that

"the neo colonial rentier political economy shapes the nature and character of politics in the Country. The entire economy which depends on the rent generated from the sale of the abundant crude oil has imposed politics of graft. Corruption and accumulation, where the winner takes all and also control political space" {Mahmud, 2009}.

Again in the context of political power Ake {1996} observes that in context of development in the post-' colonial era the premium on power is exceptionally high and the institutional mechanism for moderating political competition are lacking. As a result, political competition tends to assume the character of warfare in that the quest for development is marginalized.

Finally, development is only important to man when it "addresses his material condition. Development therefore is the process through which the material wellbeing of the society assumes relevance in relation to poverty eradication, equal opportunities in regards to employment education, health facilities and fundamental human rights. In the words of Ake he asserts that if people are the end of development "then their well being is the supreme law of development. But the well-being of the people will only be the supreme law of development if they have some decision making power... but the only one way to ensure that social transformation is not disassociated from the well-being of the people is to institute democracy" {ake, 1996}.

EXPLORING DEMOCRACY, DEVELOPMENT NEXUS AND THEIR IMPEDIMENT IN NIGERIA

Amidst series of debate in the last decade over development in Nigeria, Scholars and politicians alike conceived returned to

democratic governance as a mechanism towards development and advancement of the society. Resurgence of democratic movement in Nigeria rekindles the lost hope for the brighter future. However, in the words of Aluaigba that after many years of experiencing democracy, the rising hope among Nigerians is gradually giving way to apprehension and despondency..... the expected dividend as highly anticipated are not forthcoming as a result of wide range of factors. {Aluaigba, 2007} thus: a system of government that enjoys wide range reception as its anticipation to address tropical issues of development such as poverty eradication and structural efficiency; but since the last decade of it experimentation, reverse is the case in term of it benefit to the generality the populace. The Nigeria democracy is that of the bourgeoisie democratic experiment where there is dictatorship of the minority.

In the conception of Lenin "the democratic system is a feature of bourgeoisie society, the most pure and perfect bourgeoisie feature, in which the utmost freedom, scope and clarity of the class struggle are combine with the utmost cunning, with ruses and subterfuges" {Lenin, collected works vol: 20} aimed at spreading primitive accumulation at the expense of developmental enterprises through electoral fraud. It is in this parlance that Oyovbaire contends that 'democracy is yet to be experience in the country' [cited in Bake, 2001] Bako itself continue in the assertion that Nigeria has only succeeded in

conducting a transition to civil rule and not to democracy. {Bake, 2001}. Although, no universal meaning can be accrued to democracy as a result of it several transformation in different society and also as a result of it different models. However, a scholar mostly tries to construct it meaning in the parlance of liberalism and or Marxism.

In the parlance of liberalism Aniforwase, sees democracy as a system of rule embracing ejected officials who represent the interest of it citizens and rule according to rule of law. {Aniforwase, 1999} while, Wakili also contends that, it's the placement of greater emphasis on the personal liberty, popular sovereignty and representative government which entrenched check and balances to reduce or to a greater extent eliminate arbitrariness. {Wakili& Jegga, 2005}. Till the same vain Oddih also view democracy as a system that embodies fundamental human rights such as freedom of expression, right to life, right to dignity of human person, right to personal liberty, right to fair hearing, right to freedom of thought, conscience, religion, press, peaceful assembly and association, movement, and political participation. {Oddih, 2007}.

From the foregoing conceptualization, democracy has been seen as more of the freedoms of life regulation than the advancement of development that is human centered and an again favors the institutional structures that has to do with

standard for political competition and expression rather than the material aspect of her citizenry.

In the other purview, Nzongola explicitly gave an explanation to what democracy constitute in terms of it fundamental advancement of equal distribution of and access to material benefit of the society. He argues that "democracy cannot be negotiated as a new bargain to developing nations, rather, it has to be richer than the liberal model, and should be capable of leading to a development strategy that is homegrown, people-centre and oriented towards eradicating poverty" {Nzongola, 2000} thus: democracy should be people's conception not exported ideology such as liberal model of democracy but a homegrown with peoples values and costumes imbedded in it tenet. As Aristotle rightly observes that democracy is associated with equality in which "the poor shall not be in no greater subjection than the rich; nor that the supreme power shall be lodged in either of these, but that both shall share it" {cited in Aluaigba,2009}this is to say democracy is about equal distribution of wealth of the nation.

Ake, posits that one of the major problem of the feasibility of democracy in Nigeria is that the paradigm of democracy itself is not home grown and we requires somewhat more than the crude variety of liberal democracy that is being foisted on us, and even more than the impoverished liberal

democracy that prevails ill the industrialized countries. {Ake, 1996}while in the other words Olukoshi argues that forces inhibiting the consolidation of democracy... include the low level of literacy, per capital income/gross domestic product; the alleged dearth of ideology; the preponderance of members of the old political and professional elite in the democratization process, the alleged absence of an independent commercial class and the persistence of neo-partrimonialism/rent seeking {Olukoshi: cited in Rasheed, 2009}. Rasheed {2009} construct the factor to the nature of finance of the political activities who assumes the status of godfathers and pursued only interest that constitute values to them. Accordingly, the challenges to democracy include lack of electoral pluralism, rule of law, popular participation and control of decision making at all levels. Above all, political finance and the emergence of transactional leaders constitute debilitating factor in the new democracies. And again, in the understanding of Nicholas {2001} that modernization may necessary cause conflicts {in new democracies}as economic and social change may accelerate and intensify group competition for scarce resources.

Arguing in the same parlance with kwaja {2009}, that the challenges facing democracy and democratic consolidation in Africa are enormous. They include entrenching constitutionalism, promoting

sustainable development, nurturing effective and responsive leadership. Whereas, previously, development had been regarded as a precondition of democracy, now democracy is seen as a requisite for development.

CONCLUSION AND WAY FORWARD

Irrespective of the nexus to which democracy is conceived; democracy is about empowerment. Provided people are not empowered, it's then said there is no democracy. It is in this purview that scholars like Bako {2001} argue that Nigeria has only been liberalizing not democratizing. It's the absence of democratization that is responsible for the worsening of the situation particularly in the national economy, law and order, harmonious coexistence between ethnic, communal and regional groupings, and the country's dangerous drift into subservience to American and western hegemony.

Democracy in itself is not faulty but its model and or process of its practices can be when truncated upon as the case of Nigeria; where democratic process particularly the electoral process has assumed the character of warfare since the last decade and in the process marginalize the idea of development. Democratic system of government as said elsewhere cannot be compromised and rejected but reappraised. Emphasis should be re-directed on a social democracy that will invest heavily in the improvement of people's health, education,

bridging the gap between the poor and the rich and addressing exclusively the unemployment crises. Democracy, with the dictatorship of the elected minority who return only to 'seek votes as the case of current dispensation should be dispelled and replaced with social and popular democracy for the interest of the electorate.

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**LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT:
AN EVALUATION OF THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF
BIDA LOCAL GOVERNMENT OF NIGER STATE TO
RURAL DEVELOPMENT, 2015-DATE**

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ABSTRACT

This study is an evaluation of the contributions of local governments to rural development in Nigeria using Bida local government of Niger state as case study. There are beliefs that proliferation of local governments would result in rural development because the local governments will embark on development projects that face-lift the rural areas . The statement of the problem therefore is whether or not these local governments do contribute meaningfully to rural development. The study used the instruments of interview and physical inspection (Observation) to gather its data. It was discovered that the local government, within the period under study had not embarked on reasonable development projects due largely to lack of funds. Part of the recommendations was for improved funding of local governments and increased community self-help development initiatives in the face of increased inability of the government to meet the development expectations of the people.

Introduction

Most of the developing countries such as Nigeria consist of a few pockets of partially visible modernized towns on the one hand and large areas of rural villages on the other hand. These rural areas in particular and the semi-urban areas exhibit visible features of abject poverty. About 95% of the people living in Sub-Saharan Africa are said to live in rural areas (Lele 1975)

The rural areas have two noticeable features: increasing population of the rural areas where family planning is not a priority, and a steady migration of the youths to cities in search of better life. In the rural areas, the population working on the available land has rapidly increased above available resources that if not for the regular rural-urban drift the rural areas would have worsened in socio-economic conditions.

In the relatively poor countries such as Nigeria there are political and socio-economic conditions that constitute obstacles to development and which cannot be easily erased because of many factors including lack of 'good governance' from the Centre. Despite repeated national development plans therefore, there has been the increasing need for specific focus on the rural areas because the more the urban centers experience face-lifts in terms of provision of social amenities the worse the situation of the rural areas relatively becomes due to continued neglect of the rural areas in the provision of social

infrastructure that would have enhanced living standard there.

Official statistics such as that published in 1976 by the Food and Agriculture (FAO) of the United Nations had reported that in Nigeria, 38% of the rural dwellers were living in absolute poverty level which means that they lacked basic necessities of life, the most obvious being good food, good shelter, education and good modern medical attention. In compliance with the international practices since the Second World War, Nigeria has begun to consciously plan for and encourage development of the rural areas.

The general picture of rural poverty at individual and community level however is said to show very sympathetic and unbelievable data (Ichima: 2000). Nigeria is said to have over 80 million people (64% of its population) living below poverty line (UNO Report: 2016) According to the Report, 37% of the children under 5 years old are stunted in growth, 18% are wasted, 29% underweight and only 10% of the children aged 6-23 months are fed appropriately based on recommended infant and children feeding practices.

The report which was made public during consultative meeting on the formulation of the UN Development Assistance Framework iv (UNDAF iv) in Awka in September 2016 stated that youth unemployment which stands at 46% in 2016

is considered very high, creating poverty, helplessness, despair and easy target for crime and terrorism. Over 10 million children of school age are said to be out of school with no skills or special knowledge to survive meaningfully. The report further stated that there are 3.3 million internally displaced persons in Nigeria which is Africa's largest, ranking behind Syria and Columbia on a global scale. (www.google.com.ng Poorest countries)

To complement the various development programmes from the state and federal governments and the efforts of the Non-Governmental Organizations to help develop the rural areas, there has been the proliferation of local government areas as a means of rapid improvement of the development efforts of the grassroots. If more local government councils are created, it was hoped the rural areas would benefit through infrastructural developments, political development of the citizens through citizen participation and resource harnessing that would lead to the development of the rural areas in particular and the nation in general.

Generally, creation of local governments is aimed at decentralizing the central government for effective governance, increasing special development, bringing developments closer to the grassroots and providing political training grounds for more citizen participation. In view of this

aim it has been the expectation that creation of local governments in Nigeria would transcend mere political exercise and be a means to rural development.

This paper therefore examines the role of the local governments in rural development in Nigeria, using the Bida local Government of Niger state as case study. The study used the interview and observation methods to collect needed data. It was discovered that though some capital projects were executed by the local government within the period under study, such projects did not make meaningful impact. Also, that in the last four years of the study there has been a deteriorating performance by the local government council as even salaries of workers were no longer regular due to financial problems. The paper recommended increased community self-help projects amongst others as means of stepping up rural development.

Statement of the Research Problem

The statement of the problem of this research is what role has local government councils been playing in the development of rural areas In Nigeria? Put differently, has creation of local government council areas been effective in ensuring rural development in Nigeria?

In pre-colonial administration in Nigeria it is known that rural areas engaged in community self-development through community projects. The joint construction

of pathways, village halls, bridges across streams etc were communally carried out.

During the colonial period the government used traditional rural institutions such as age-grades, titled chiefs, traditional rulers etc to assist the colonial government in mobilizing and executing rural development projects. But this method has become obsolete because the government can no longer force people to embark on community development as in colonial days.

Since independence, Nigerian successive governments have tried several agricultural programmes such as Operation Feed the nation (OFN), Green Revolution etc to improve rural development. But the results have been regrettably slower than expected. The low performance of these agricultural programmes have been attributed to reasons such as unproductive land tenure laws, unwillingness and financial incapacity of farmers to adjust to some more mechanized farming systems, inability of government to provide seedlings and fertilizers at prices affordable to farmers (Berko:2001) Over the years government agencies were set up to encourage rural development. The Mass Mobilization for Social and Economic Recovery (MAMSER), the National Orientation Agency (NOA) etc, have all tried to enlighten the rural populace on development. Not much results have been noticed except huge government expenditure that has not translated into development of the rural dwellers.

Non-Governmental Organizations sprang up to address the problem of rural poverty. The Better Life for Rural Women founded by Mrs Maryam Babangida, the Family Support Programme founded by Mrs Maryam Abacha, etc, were all directed at improving rural development. Again the rural areas have remained relatively the same because according to Gwartnen and Caleb (1985) funds meant for poverty alleviation through these Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) were not used for the purpose intended, the benefits of these programmes by these NGOs sponsored from the government houses were politically manipulated to benefit those close to the corridors of power and their families.

Since the 1970s there have been the creation of local government areas as a means of tackling rural development problems. But there are still demands for creation of more local governments because people feel the aim of the local governments are yet to be achieved by the existing 774 local government councils. Alfa (2004) argued that the agitations for more local government council areas, the inadequate funding of existing local governments and the apparent stagnation of rural local government councils attest to the fact that the existing local governments have not been successful in enhancing rural development. It is therefore becoming necessary to interrogate the idea of local governments being effective means of rural development in Nigeria.

Objective of the Study

The objective of this study is to assess the impact of the Bida local government of Niger state in rural development. Specifically, the study:

1. Investigated the quality and variety of development projects executed by the Bida local government, a relatively rural area of the state.
2. Assessed the relevance of these executed projects to the needs of the rural areas
3. Found out the problems militating against their performance
4. Recommended ways of improving the present situation

Significance of the Study

Bida local government is one of the oldest local governments in Niger state. It is the headquarters of the Nupe-speaking people of Nigeria. A study of the activities of such a local government is therefore significant because the area is significant in the state.

This study is significant because it will add to knowledge particularly as it will produce findings to support or counter the stand that local government plays significant role in rural development.

The topic of Local Government and rural development particularly in less developed countries is a current issue that is globally discussed and efforts made to address the issue. A study of this nature on such a current issue is therefore significant in that it

is not yet an over-researched field of study.

Development is an on-going effort and studies that try to examine aspects of development is relevant to developing countries. Other researchers and local Government Administrators will therefore benefit from this study.

LIMITATIONS AND SCOPE OF STUDY

There was initial unwillingness of respondents to grant interviews to the Researcher for fear of undercover financial crime investigation personnel. The Researcher had to use research assistants from the locality to create the atmosphere of trust.

The scope of this research is restricted to Bida Local Government in Niger state. This is to ensure adequate concentration to obtain accurate data. The researcher concentrated on the local government activities from 2015 to date when the All Progressive Congress (APC) Party government took leadership of the local government area. This will enable the researcher determine if change in political party in government house has affected performance of the local government council.

Conceptual Definitions

The central theme of this study is local government and rural development. The main concepts that feature in this study are:

1. Self-help-This is citizen participation in decision making on what is to be done in their community and how it is to be done. It includes the people living within the same area contributing resources to execute projects of common interest to them(Oni and Bello, 1987)
2. Rural-It is a term connoting human settlements of relatively low population density, low infrastructural facilities, high level of illiteracy and poverty(Seroka,1986)
3. Development-Here, the concept of development shall be used to refer to sustained improvements in the lives of the people or execution of projects that bear direct advantage to the majority of the people
4. Local Government-The U N office for public Administration as quoted in Ichima (2017) defines local government as

A political subdivision of a nation or (in a federal system) state, which is constituted by law and has substantial control of local affairs, including the powers to impose tax or to exert Labour for prescribed purposes. The governing body of such an entity is elected or otherwise locally selected.

Literature Review

Development of Local Government in Nigeria

The development of modern local government started in Nigeria with the introduction of Native Authority

administration by the British colonial administration. In the coastal areas of Lagos and the Riverine areas the British instituted the direct rule system after conquering the resistant African chiefs in the coastal areas. Leaders such as King Jaja of Opobo and King Awujale of Ijebu were said to have repelled the British attack but were later defeated.

At the coastal areas, the British influence was felt and so there was more of direct British rule. But going up north and Far East of the Niger area, there were some prevailing situations that made Britain to introduce what became known as the Indirect Rule. It was a system of local administration where the British used existing traditional rulers to rule their people on behalf of the British government. Where there were no existing traditional rulers such as in most eastern part of the Niger area, the British colonial master appointed Warrant Chiefs to rule the people.

The major aim of the indirect rule was to ensure maximum peace within the territories so that Britain could assume sovereignty over the territory's political and economic activities.

With constitutional development from the 1950s, the Native Authorities headed by the traditional rulers began to experience changes and reforms. It started with the chief-in-council system when the traditional or Warrant chiefs had veto powers over Native authority decisions.

Gradually, Nigeria moved to the Chief- and -council system where the traditional rulers were no more lords over Native authorities but had only influential contributions. By the 1976 reforms of the Nigeria Local Government system, there had been serious reforms on the uniformity and administrative conduct of the local governments. As at 2014, Nigeria has 774 local government areas including the municipal council areas of Abuja.

Rural/Community Development Efforts

Not much rural development efforts were made by the colonial government except that it tried to build roads into the hinterland with a view to evacuating cash crops from the rural areas to the coast lands for shipment to feed industries in the colonial country, Britain. But with the coming of independence various rural development projects began at regional and later state levels and at federal level

Of special importance was the Operation Feed the Nation (OFN) programme introduced by the Obasanjo military regime in 1975. It had the aim of bringing pride to farming as a profession, providing food for the expected increased Nigerian population and introduce income yielding activities in the rural areas that would keep the citizens in the villages rather than a continuous rural-urban drift.

The programme was less successful than expected because the military regime that

followed that of the Obasanjo regime did not take it as serious national policy. Also, the method of sending undergraduates to work in public farms was believed to be a use of too much of temporary staff for major public programme. When the students returned to their schools after the long vacations the farms became deserted. Even when some farm products recorded improved yields during the programme, it was observed that arrangements for the transportation and preservation of the farm yields were not properly made. Not enough silos were built. There were no processing industries to consume the farm products and so farm products particularly the perishable ones were lost.

Another major programme for rural development has been the creation and recreation of local government areas. There were a few Native Authority areas during the colonial rule but these have increased to 774 since 1999. Though the creation of local government areas had political undertone, its major aim has been to open up the rural areas for development. It was expected that as local government headquarters are created new infrastructural facilities would be provided thereby allowing for speedy rural transformation and reduction in rural--urban drift.

Good as the programme of proliferation of local government areas is, it has not succeeded in the development of rural areas. This is partly because most local

government councils have become channels for siphoning public funds into personal accounts of the politicians rather than providing rural infrastructures that would have led to rural development. Similarly scholars have argued that not enough revenue allocation is given to the local councils for development neither can most of them be able to be economically viable as to embark on sustainable development projects. To worsen the situation, the rural areas have been turned into battle grounds for political opponents trying to rig elections and this has compounded the problems of the rural areas.

The government has introduced local economic empowerment programmes ranging from Directorate of Foods and Rural Infrastructures (DFFRI) to Better Life for rural women dwellers where rural women are given loans or financial assistance to set up small scale business outfits so as to give them financial empowerment. Generally, the problem with these rural empowerment programmes has been that most times they become politicized. The beneficiaries take such gestures to be part of party largesse rather than meaningful rural development project.

Models for Rural Development

There are three major models for rural development: the Management model, the Mobilization model and the Transformation model.

In the management model for rural development the public service (bureaucracy) of the country is the main instrument. In Nigeria, the bureaucracies of the three tiers of government are involved. In this model it is expected that the various specialists in the arms of bureaucracy would be mobilized to formulate and execute projects and programmes that would result in rural development

In the mobilization model the drive is to ensure active participation of the rural populace in the development efforts of the area. It aims at sensitizing and encouraging the rural populace to participate in development of their area.

The Transformation model is more of the socialist ideology which prescribes total socio-economic transformation to erase economic inequalities among the people. It relies on fair distribution of wealth, social education and increased cooperative society movements to improve the rural areas and discourage rural-urban drift.

Theoretical Framework

This study will use the Diffusion of Innovation theory as the theoretical framework for analysis. This theory propounded by Rogers (1962) argues that development comes through gradual introduction of innovation in practice, beliefs and habits as such new ways are communicated to the people over time. The theory holds that communication channels,

innovation itself and the social system are variables relevant in the development process. This framework is ideal for this study because the local government system brings in projects and policies (innovation), communicates same to the people and have the innovation change the social system. It relies on use of the local government as the third tier of government for the development of the area. It is assumed that with the creation of more employment opportunities, infrastructural development arising from siting local government headquarter in some area, and the general revenue drive that will yield more funds, the rural areas will eventually become developed.

Sources Of Data Collection

There are two sources of data for this study. First is the secondary data which was obtained from libraries, newspapers and other acceptable documents like official circulars and publications of the Local Government. The secondary data gives us background history of the case study and other relevant information needed by the researcher to conduct the study. The second source of data collection was the primary data which was collected by the researcher from the field. Its main sources were the documentary evidence through direct inspection of completed or on-going projects and interviews with selected local government officials.

Instruments of Data Collection

The research instruments used in this study were:

- a) Interviews: There is the need for unstructured interviews with some of the workers .The researchers need to personally interview some of the workers. The aim of the interview is to clarify areas the researcher cannot personally confirm
- b) Observations/Inspections: The researcher visited project sites to ascertain the claims of respondents.

Sampling Method

The study uses judgmental sampling method to interview only those known to have adequate knowledge of the subject matter. The local government chairman, the secretary and the Director of Administration were therefore interviewed. Furthermore, fourteen of the Ward Heads were interviewed.

Report of Personal Interviews

Based on the interview with officials of the Council and Ward Heads within the local government the following were recorded:

1. In the last four years the local government has not executed any appreciable development project within the local government area
2. The payment of salaries of workers has in the last four years been difficult. For most of the time, the workers were being owed arrears of salaries.
3. No one outside the Local Government executive can categorically say if the local government actually had financial problems or it has been lack of good leadership.

4. The executive members of the council said the earnings of the local government including the statutory subventions are not able to fully pay the salaries of the local government workers and so there was no thinking of financing development projects
5. The local government has continued to encourage government institutions and wards to embark on self-help projects or community development projects.
6. Poor funding of the local governments is responsible for their not developing their rural areas.
7. Most internal road networks in Bida are no longer passable because of potholes and poor drainages\
8. Many Culverts and drainages that have been destroyed by use or rain have remained unrepaired.
9. No efforts are made to check gullies and erosion sites that are threatening to close some roads or endanger houses within Bida

Inspected Projects Executed within the Period under study

1. In Barki ward the local government provided ten no (10) sitting chairs and tables to the Sabon Gida primary school
2. Donation of five thousand naira each to thirty (30) female traders in Dokoza Ward to aid them in their business
3. Repair of a damaged drainage in Kyari wars

4. Donation of thirty sitting chairs and tables to beny primary school in Landzun ward
5. Donation of thirty sitting chairs and tables to the Umaru Sanda primary school in Nasarafu ward
6. Donation and installation of three no (3) submersible pumps to existing boreholes in Umaru magaji ward B
7. Fencing of an electrical transformer within Umaru Magaji ward A

Summary of Findings.

It is obvious that local governments are meant to develop their rural areas through provision of basic infrastructure, political education and introduction of economic activities that will elevate the rural areas. But most local government in Nigeria, and particularly the Bida local government has been unable to meet this requirement because of financial challenges. The expectations of the people therefore cannot be met because the local government does not have adequate financial capacity to shoulder development projects in their rural areas.

The payment of salaries of workers has in the last four years been difficult in Bida local government area. For most of the time, the workers were paid late.

No one outside the Local Government executive can categorically say if the local government actually had financial problems or it has been lack of good leadership that

slowed down development efforts. But because other local governments within the state have similar complaints of financial challenges, it is believed that it is more of inadequate finances than leadership problems or corruption.

Within the period under study, the presence of the local government in terms of project execution has been felt only in seven (7) of the fourteen (14) wards of the local government area.

The executive members of the council said the revenue of the local government including the statutory subventions are not able to fully pay the salaries of the local government workers and so there was no thinking of financing development projects

The local government has continued to encourage wards and corporate organizations to embark on self-help projects or community development projects.

Conclusions

This study has looked at one of the major roles expected of the local government institution in Nigeria, using Bida local government of Niger state as case study. The study has established that there is a difference between the expected and the reality as it relates to local governments being instruments for rural transformation in Nigeria. The financial position of the local governments has made them incapable of meeting people's expectations of developing

their rural area.

The expectation that local governments would continue to have positive impact in the development of the rural areas was proved wrong as the case study did not justify the assertion.

Recommendations

Based on the study the following recommendations are made:

1. The financial capacity of local governments must be improved if they are to function as tools for rural development. There are much sources of internal revenue that the local government can tap for improved funding but which have been under-assessed as a result of depending on financial subventions from the higher two tiers of government.
2. The federal government should reassess the distribution of powers/functions along with financial allocation from the federation account in favour of local governments. This is because most grassroots developments cannot be achieved without the local governments. And if the local governments do not have the financial muscle to engage in development efforts, the impact of the federal government in rural development will be negligent
3. All people live within one local government or the other. Development must therefore begin from the local

- governments if everyone is to be touched by development efforts.
4. The local governments must begin to improve on their internal revenue generation rather than depend on the federal and state allocations for survival. There are many areas the local governments can improve their revenue from. Such areas as taxation of income of artisans, entrepreneurs of various categories that are yet not taxed etc can form good grounds for improving local government revenue
 5. Self-help or community development efforts should continue to be encouraged as a way of developing the rural areas. If people are educated to understand that they are the ones that benefit from development projects and not the government, they will be more willing to contribute towards community development efforts.

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**AN ASSESSMENT OF THE ROLE OF CITIZENS'
PARTICIPATION IN ELECTORAL PROCESS IN NIGERIA: A
STUDY OF 2016 GOVERNORSHIP ELECTION IN EDO STATE**

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ABSTRACT:

This paper did an assessment of the role of citizens' participation in the electoral process in Nigeria with specific focus on the 2016 governorship election in Edo State. It demonstrated the application of content analysis as a methodological tool especially in data collection in social research. Three assumptions were formulated while a number of variables isolated to give direction to the data collection for the study. Data were collected from four Nigerian newspapers. The data were quantitatively analyzed by percentaging. Among our major findings are citizens' trust in political parties; provision of adequate security during elections; and power of incumbency as being prominent among the factors that influenced citizens' participation in the process of the 2016 governorship election in Edo State. It was recommended among other things that political parties should build trust in the electorate; parties should use their incumbency to implement people-friendly policies and programmes; and adequate security should be provided during election similar to what was experienced in the 2016 governorship election in Edo State.

Keywords: political stability, electoral process, citizens' participation, electoral violence, money inducement

Introduction

Research is a systematic inquiries which seeks to investigate, examine and analyze hypotheses, suggest new interpretations of data or text and expose new questions for future research to explore (Creswell 2003). Therefore, the path and functions of research inquiries in human endeavours cannot be underestimated. It, nevertheless, seeks to ask questions that nobody has asked before, finding answers and transferring and communicating knowledge acquired to a large audience. This has led to tremendous advancement in the scientific and the academic domain and creating new direction or pathway to doing and achieving ideas and things that are being found. The application of the terms or term explanation has been considered a mattered with other phenomena by means of general laws. General laws comprise the framework from which a particular explanation can be derived (Braithwaite 1960). Therefore, the relevance of a research inquiry in assessing the role of citizen participation in electoral process in Nigeria has its own research implications.

The political stability and development of any political system is a function of the awareness and positive involvement of the citizens in civic and political matters. One of the most crucial and yet least developed democratic institutions in Nigeria is the political party system. The performance of political parties in terms of articulation, aggregation, representation and

organization are crucial to political accountability, political communication, political stability and political participation (Ikelegbe, 2013). The central role played by political parties in the development and nurturing of a virile democracy and its consolidation cannot be overstated. It is a mechanism by which the ruling class consolidates its hold on the state power. However, the nature and the function of party systems tend to conform to the interests of the ruling class in the survival of its system of domination (Nnoli, 1999). In the attempts to consolidate its hold on state power, the ruling class and indeed the politicians tend to use political parties and party systems to maintain their grip on political powers at all cost.

This study also focuses on other aspects of Nigeria politics that have effect on political parties and the sustenance of citizens participation, one of such is electoral violence (The observer 2015: 9 &15). Voter apathy, the political apathy in Nigeria is based on the problems of ignorance and deliberate deception by some politicians. The consequence of this is the inability of the masses to have a link between their state of underdevelopment and their non participation in the electoral processes (The Nation 2015:8-10).

The activities of political parties and the sustenance of political participation by the citizenry within Nigeria's democracy form the fundamental aspect of this inquiry. The

focus of this paper shall be the 2016 governorship election in Edo State, with Godwin Nogheghase Obaseki of the All Progressive Congress (APC) and Ize Iyamu Osagie Andrew of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) as the major candidates. The role of political parties and the political participation of the citizenry cannot be discussed without making allusion to financial resources. The role of money in politics is a major concern for any nation that adheres to democratic tenets (Guardian 2016:18-22). This raises concern because wealth creates unequal opportunity for participation.

Those, who seek elective positions, search for a god father to nurture their candidacy. Therefore, political participation at various levels of electoral process becomes a mere illusion (The Compass 2016:22-32) It is the interest of this study to examine the activities of the political parties and their leaders in the 2016 governorship election and evaluate the impact on political participation of the voters of Edo State. In the 2016 governorship election, APC which is the ruling party at the federal level and also the ruling party at the state level and all the political parties, including the ruling and opposition parties employed various resources and activities to mobilize citizens to participate in the election to ensure that they won the election and took over political power in the state.

The content analysis methodological tool of data collection was demonstrated as the the

methodological tool in case of the Governorship election. The major processes involved in conducting a basic social science research were carried out beginning with the statement of the problem.

Statement of the Problem

The fundamental issue for Nigeria's democracy is the problem associated with the activities of political parties and its influences on citizens' participation in the political process. For the ordinary voters in an election, there is and has often been the issue of their opinion not counting since the electoral process is usually fraught with irregularities.

Such problems include the character of the political parties in the 2016 governorship election in Edo State; lack of confidence in the electoral processes; elites overwhelming dominance; electoral violence; voters' apathy and poverty; god fatherism; money inducement; security of lives and properties; and the power of incumbency.

Objective of the Study

The goal of this study is to conduct an assessment of the role of citizens participation in the electoral process in Nigeria with specific focus on the 2016 governorship election in Edo State using the analytical tool of content analysis in data gathering.

Basic Assumptions

The following basic assumptions were formulated to give direction to the data collection effort in the study.

Assumption I: The character of political parties in the 2016 governorship election impacted the outcome of the election results.

Assumption II: Lack of confidence in the electoral processes by the electorate influence the results of the election.

Assumption III: Elites overwhelming dominance in the political terrain further influenced the results of the election.

Number of referential/population: 84 (Observer – 24 and the Guardian – 35, Nation – 15, Compass – 10)

Literature Review

Literature review in a research work constitutes an integral part of any research. It shares with the reader the results of other studies that are closely related to the study being reported. It relates a study to the larger ongoing dialogue in the literature about a topic, filling in gaps and extending prior studies (Cooper, 1984; Marshall & Rossman, 1999). Literature review on the subject of context analysis has not been a major source of data collection (Jones, 1987:77). The emergence and the application of content analysis have generated series of controversies among social science scholars. This method gained general and greater popularity as well as a method of communication research (Wimmer & Dominick, 1994). It became useful in the explanation of “patterns of speech” of various

political actors and also in the analysis of thematic issues in public addresses and political statement e.t.c. Jones (1987: 78) went further to opine that one can find out a great deal about a society's value system by content analyzing text books. The usage and development of content analysis as a scientific tool can be associated to the growth of newspaper at the turn of the sixteenth century which led to a number of investigations as to their role and content which was extended later to all other mass media when they became evident- radio, movies and television. Interest in political symbols also added features to the analysis of public messages using the content analysis.

The Great Depression of (1930's). New social and political problems as well as the emergence of empirical methods of inquiries in the social science (Omoruyi, 1987:2), Lasswell (1965), did an important work in which he compared trends in the frequencies of national symbols using prestige papers of several countries. Content analysis, assumed a scholarly form when eminent social scientist entered the field likes of Mediarmid (1937), Holsti (1968), Klippendorff (1980) e.t.c., bring with them rich theoretical frameworks that eventually became part of the larger research efforts (Omoruyi, 1987:3).

1.5 Conceptual Clarification

Content analysis

Content analysis as a methodological tool in the social science is defined according to

Berelson (1952) as a technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication. Whilst, Kerlinger (1986) another renown scholar defines it as that method which is concerned with the studying and analyzing communication in a systematic, objective and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables. A careful analysis of these definitions centre on areas like system, objective, quantification, context with significant reference drawn from the communication content between the sender and the receiver of the message. Thus, content analysis is all about a method of observation rather than asking response or reply from people to a question. Instead, it takes what they have produced, question been asked and deductions are been answered at, newspapers, letters, radio and television as sources of information or materials.

Electoral Process:

Electoral process relates to the entire cycle ranging from the provision of voter's education to the dissolution of elections, by elections, and the National Assembly (Elekwa 2008:30). Electoral process involves the following stages or phases:

- i. Delimitation of boundaries.
- ii. Registration of voters.
- iii. Notifications of elections.
- iv. Nomination or selection of candidates.
- v. Elections, announcement of results and completion of tribunal sittings.

Electoral process is often times a complex process that involves the good intentions and undesirable outcome of election administration, particularly in emerging democracies where general elections are often marred by culturally hued electoral malpractices. In Nigeria, electoral process is immensely characterized by a culture of electoral malpractice. Electoral malpractices refer to illegalities committed by 60th government and party officials. Reynolds, et al (2005:5) describes electoral process or system as the basic of most basic level. Therefore, an electoral system translates the votes cast in a general election into seat won by parties and candidates.

Citizens' participation

Hardina (2008) defined citizens' participation as the process whereby those with least resources people on the margins of the society are involved in decision about the services they receive on the part of those that represent them. In practical however the concept of citizens' participation can be classified according to the degrees to which citizens are involved in decision making process, direction of information flow between participant or the status of those who have taken the initiative.

Research methodology and methodological tool

There are several methodological tools in social science researches. Some of these are; survey method, participant observation, sampling technique, etc among which is

content analysis (Zick 1981). Research can readily use content analysis as a technique for text analysis when statement of the problem, objective of the study and hypothesis or preposition is well defined and stated. Therefore, this research paper employs content analysis to analyse and

explain the role of citizens' participation in electoral process in Nigeria using Edo State 2016 September 28th Governorship Election as a reference point. Three basic assumptions were subsequently tested in the process using the content analysis procedure.

Section A: Style of Data Presentation and classification

Subject matter	The role of political parties and the sustenance of citizens participation in Edo State 2016 governorship election
Authority	Political parties and Edo State citizens
Standard of the subject matter/level of conflict	Poverty, electoral violence and voters' apathy or alienation.
Location	Edo state, Benin City
Aims of the subject	Political education, security of lives and properties. De-emphasizing monetization in elections. Political parties' re-orientation.
Subject of conflict	Elite's dominance, electoral violence poverty, god fatherism and money inducement.
Time of action	April, May, June, July, August and September, 2016
Direction of subject matters	Positive and favourable
Character of the people	Willingness for change

Section B

Form of communication	National newspaper
Form of statement of the problem	Activities of political parties and their influences on citizens participation in the political processes in Edo State
Device	Mass communication

Table I: Analysis of Variable I according to Assumption I: Character of political parties impacted the outcome of the election results

News papers	Money inducement by pol. Parties(A)	%	Elites dominance control of parties(B)	%	Citizens' trust in their parties (C)	%	Total Occurrences	Average%
Observer	10	32.3	8	34.8	10	23.3	28	30.1
Nation	8	25.8	4	17.4	6	13.9	18	19.0
Guardian	10	32.3	8	34.8	17	39.5	35	35.5
Compass	3	9.6	3	13.0	10	23.3	16	15.3
Total	31	100	23	100	43	100	97	100

Source: The four newspapers analyzed between April and September, 2016

From table I above, money inducement by political party's stalwarts accounts for 32.3% in the observer, 25.8% in the Nation Newspaper, 32.3% in the Guardian Newspaper whilst in the compass accounting for 9.6%. This is followed by Elites dominance control of parties accounting for 34.8% in the observer Newspaper, 34.8% in the Guardian Newspaper whilst in the compass Newspaper accounting for a total of 13.0%. Whilst citizens trust in their political parties accounting for 23.3% in the observer, 13.9% in the Nation Newspaper, 39.5% in the Guardian Newspaper and 23.3% in the Compass Newspaper.

Citizens Trust in their political parties has 43 occurrences in all the Newspapers accounting for 44.3% of the 97 occurrences of the three (3) variables under the analysis of the character of political parties. Elite's dominance and control of parties had 23 occurrences in all the Newspapers accounting for 23.7% of the 97 occurrences of the variables under the character of the political parties. Whilst, money inducement by political parties has 31 occurrences in all the Newspapers accounting for 31.9% of the 97 occurrences of the variables under the character of political parties imparting the outcome of the election results.

**Table 2: Analysis of variable 2 according to assumption 2
Theme II: Lack of confidence in the electoral processes influence the result of the election**

News papers	Participation of Electoral Violence by the electorate(A)	%	Security of lives and properties (B)	%	Poverty(C)	%	Total Occurrence	Average %
Observer	12	35.3	5	20	7	28	24	27.8
Nation	8	23.5	5	20	2	8	15	17.2
Guardian	11	32.4	13	52	11	44	35	42.8
Compass	13	8.8	2	8	5	20	20	12.2
Total	34	100	25	100	25	100	94	100

Source: The four newspapers analyzed between April and September, 2016

Table II from the above table, electoral violence by political parties accounts for 35.3% in the observer Newspaper, 23.5% in the Nation Newspaper 32.4% in the Guardian Newspaper and 8.8% in the compass Newspaper, followed by Security of lives & properties accounting for 20.0% in the Observer, 20.0% in the Nation Newspaper, 52.0% in the Guardian Newspaper and 8% in the Compass Newspaper, followed by Poverty accounting for 28% in the Observer, 8% in the Nation, 44% in the Guardian Newspaper and in the Compass Newspaper accounting for 20%.

34 occurrences in all the Newspaper accounting for a total of 40.5% of the 84 occurrences of the three (3) variables under the analysis of the lack of confidence in the Electoral Processes. Security of lives and properties has 25 occurrences in all the Newspapers accounting for a total of 29.8% of the 84 occurrences of the three (3) variables under the analysis of the lack of confidence in the Electoral process, followed by Poverty which has 25 occurrences in all the Newspapers accounting for a total of 29.8% of the 84 occurrences of the three (3) variables under the analysis of the lack of confidence in the Electoral processes influencing the results of the Election.

Electoral violence, by political parties has

Table III: Analysis of variable 3 according to assumption 3

Theme III: Elites overwhelming dominance in the political terrain further influences the result of the election

News papers	God fatherism (A)	%	Power of incumbency (B)	%	Voter apathy (C)	%	Total occurrences	Average %
Observer	8	29.6	9	22.5	7	28	24	26.7
Nation	7	25.9	10	25.0	2	8	19	19.6
Guardian	8	29.6	14	35.0	13	52	35	38.9
Compass	4	14.8	7	17.5	3	12	14	14.8
Total	27	100	40	100	25	100	92	100

Source: The four newspapers analysed between April and September, 2016

From the table above, god-fatherism accounts for 29.6% in the Observer, 25.9% in the Nation Newspaper, 29.6% in the Guardian Newspaper, 29.6% in the

Guardian Newspaper, 14.8% in the Compass Newspaper, followed by power of incumbency accounting for a total of 22.5% in the Observer Newspaper, 25.0% in the

Nation Newspaper, 35.0% in the Guardian and 17.5% in the Compass Newspaper whilst voter apathy accounts for 28% in the Observer Newspaper, 8% in the Nation, 52% in the Guardian Newspaper and 12% in the Compass Newspaper.

Power of incumbency has 40 occurrences in all the Newspapers accounting for a total of 43.5% of the 92 total occurrences of the three (3) variables under the analysis of the Elites overwhelming dominance in the political terrain; followed by godfatherism having a total of 27 occurrences in all the Newspapers, accounting for 29.3% of the 92 total occurrences of the three (3) variables under the analysis above, whilst voter's apathy has 25 occurrences in all the Newspapers, accounting for 27.2% of the 92 occurrences of the three (3) variables under the analysis of Elites overwhelming dominance control in the political terrain influencing the outcome of the Election results.

Discussion of Findings

The first assumption states that the “character of political parties impacted the outcome of the elections”. Under that, three variables notably “money inducement by political parties”,

“elite's dominance/ control of political parties” and “citizens' trust in the political parties” were isolated. The three variables have the frequency of occurrence of the variables as 31 which accounts for 31.9%; 23 which accounts for 23.7% and 43 which accounts

44.3% in that order. Though, there is the element of money inducement by the political parties as reported by the newspapers and there is the impact of party hierarchies influence on the electorate; but the overriding influence as far as assumption one (1) is concerned is citizens' trust in the political parties and the electoral process which eventually culminated in the result of the 2016 Governorship Election in Edo State.

The second assumption states that “lack of confidence in the electoral processes influenced the results of the elections”. Anticipation of electoral violence by the electorate is the first variable; “security of lives and properties” is the second while the third isolated variable is “poverty”. The first occurred 34 times which accounts for 36.2%; the second has 25 frequencies accounting for 26.6%; whilst the third has 25 frequencies accounting for 26.6%. The overriding variable in the second theme is “anticipation of electoral violence”.

For the third assumption, which is “elite overwhelming dominance in the political terrain influenced the result of the election”. The first variable is “godfatherism” with 27 frequencies accounting for 29.3%; “power of incumbency” has 40 frequencies accounting for 43.5% and “voters' apathy” with 20 frequencies accounting for 27.2%. With this assumption, “power of incumbency is most prominent of the three isolated variables.

It is observed that through the three assumptions, three variables notably “citizens' trust of parties”, “anticipation of electoral violence” and “power of incumbency” have highest prominence among other variables. This observation may not be ordinary coincidence. In the Nigerian politics where the contest or struggle for power is almost a “do or die” affair, violence between the supporters of major political parties in the contest is always anticipated. The “power of incumbency” is also a major factor hence its prominence in the data. The incumbency has a number of indices to its advantage: control of the security apparatus, the control of the government media houses, availability of state funds to finance campaign and above all, if the incumbent political party has a good record of performance, it could be a positive index that could earn the party “citizens' trust” which is the variable that has the greatest prominence among the nine (9) variable isolated in the three (3) themes.

With “poverty” so pervasive in our society, it is not unexpected that political parties will want to influence or induce voters with money, people will collect the money and still vote according to the trust they have in the party that, in their opinion, will serve them or perform better than the others.

In summary, the content analysis of the data collected from the four (4) newspapers points to the fact that the overriding index that had

influence on the result of the 2016 Governorship Election in Edo state is citizens' trust in their political parties. This is without prejudice to the other indices with varying degrees of prominence indicated by the frequencies of their occurrences in the data gathered.

Conclusion

Content analysis as a comparative tool of analysis with other methods of social science is unique, as it specifically gathers and draw inferences from information which might be recent or past, according to the rudiment of its contents. The methodology of content analysis has proven very useful in data collection with analysis that will eliminate the problem of bias that is associated with interview or questionnaires where the respondents can modify their responses. The analysis of the data arising from the 2016 Governorship Election in Edo state is a proof of the fact. The data showed the interconnectedness of the various variables that were isolated and how each of them might have influenced the results of the elections. The various degrees of impact of these variables became very clear and those with overriding influence are quite instructive and have didactic imports for political parties and power entrepreneurs that even though other factors may influence the electorate, the parties, when elections are won, must perform to the extent of securing citizens' trust to be able to win future elections.

Recommendations

Following from the conclusion drawn in this study, it is recommended that political parties should strive to build citizens' trust. There is little trust the people will have in a political party that refuses to perform in tenure of four years only to come out again when elections are around the corner to induce people with money or threaten them with violence as instruments to win elections. Those instruments are fast becoming outdated.

On the power of incumbency, an incumbent will only be powerful to the extent of winning further elections on account of good performance. Political parties should know that an incumbent with poor record of performance will be rejected at the polls. That is the essence of democracy. Parties should be faithful to their promises to the people. Projects and programmes that touch electorates positively should be carried out. Their policies should not alienate the masses from the proceeds of governance.

It is also recommended that provision of adequate security during elections would allay the fears of electoral violence and insecurity that always result in low turn-out of voters at elections. Adequate security would also ensure the credibility of the electoral process.

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PATHWAYS TO AFRICA'S DEVELOPMENT AND THE OPTION OF “DELINKING”: A THEORETICAL APPROACH

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ABSTRACT

Most African countries even after attaining political independence many years ago remain (underdeveloped) as they were under colonial rule, and are in constant search for the pathways to development. They have been driven by the two hitherto ideological blocs vis capitalist and socialist all in search for an ideal path to development. Their dissatisfaction with these two contending and often conflicting politico-economic prescription for development, led scholars, intellectuals, and analysts in the third world and Africa in particular to come up with the idea of “delinking” from the international capitalist system. This paper relied on secondary sources in generating data for the study. The paper is structured into different but interrelated compartments, and tries to extrapolate from the various explanations of both modernization and underdevelopment theories and find a workable and lasting solution to Africa's economic backwardness. The paper supports the idea of Africa delinking from the international capitalist economy as all efforts by African leaders in various strategies, blueprints and development plans failed due in part to external forces perpetuated by globalization and neo-liberal ideas. Africa should therefore look inward and re-organize its political as well as economic structures in a way that suits its internal composition.

Keywords: Development, Underdevelopment, Modernization, Delinking.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The post second world war era saw the emergence of new states from colonial rule mostly from Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Most of these countries at independence were poor economically and less developed, while their counterparts in Western Europe and North America were rich and developed. In order to explain this situation of development in one end, and underdevelopment in the other, two broad competing and contending theoretical perspectives emerged: the modernization theory, and underdevelopment and dependency theory.

Modernization theory originated from the ideas of German Sociologist Max Webber regarding the role of rationality and irrationality in the transition from tradition to modern society. The theory became prominent in the 1960s and was largely influenced by the writings of Talcott Parsons, WW. Rostow, Edward Shills, Lucian Pye, Gabriel Almond, Harold Lasswell, Samuel Huntington, David Easton, David Apter, Dean Tipps, Fred Riggs and a host of other prominent social scientists mostly of American origin. The theory however was a veritable tool of explaining the backwardness of the third world countries and as well as making modernization and/or westernization a solution or basis of development for third world countries.

However, a counter perspective arose and challenges the modernization school for

essentially attributing the woes of the new states to their internal configurations and ignoring external factors that contributed gravely to the underdevelopment of the underdeveloped countries. These factors as argued by some scholars from Africa and Latin America include, slavery, capitalism, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism (Rodney 1972), as well as unequal exchange and the lopsidedness of the international capitalists system which was, according to these scholars by default designed to favor the developed world at the expense of the new states. Consequently, the underdevelopment and dependency theories gain relevance especially within and among the less developed countries (LDCs). Prominent among scholars in these schools include, Walter Rodney, Andre Gunder Frank, Claude Ake, Paul Baran, Paul Sweezy, Samir Amin, Immanuel Wallerstein, Fernando H. Cardoso, Peter Evans among others. Some of these scholars prescribed the delinking option for the newly independent states. Essentially, delinking here means breaking away or removing this group of countries from the imbalanced international capitalist system in order to develop. While others opined that the new states should remain within the international capitalist system and seize the opportunities therein for their growth and development.

This paper therefore seeks to extrapolate these divergent views to see which of either delinking or not delinking will be an option

for Africa's economy to thrive and compete favorably with the highly industrialized world within the current international capitalist system, and place it (Africa) on the track of sustainable economic growth and development.

2.0 THE MODERNIZATION THEORY

The theory as said earlier was inspired by the ideas of Webber (1947) where he examines the relationship between bureaucracy and modernization. He attributed the rise of organizations to the expansion of markets, development in law, and especially to changes in the nature of authority. Identifying the institutional

structure of a new “rational-legal” authority, he observes that rights of control increasingly derived from expertise rather than lineage. He identified ways in which the new development he referred to as “rationalization” underlay the rise of a modern state.

Parsons (1951) examined the underlining character that defines and differentiate one society from another. He identified certain variables in both traditional and modern societies which according to him define social action. He therefore put forward the following pattern variables as found in both traditional and modern societies.

Table 1: Parsons Five Pattern Variables

	A: (Traditional society)	B: (Modern society)
1	Affectivity	Neutrality
2	Collective orientation	Self-orientation
3	Particularity	Universality
4	Ascription	Achievement
5	Diffussioness	Specific

Source: Parsons (1951).

In line with the above variables, traditional societies are characterized by “A” while modern societies are characterized by “B”. The development of the traditional societies is measured by the extent to which they have abandoned “A” in favor of “B” because there is no simultaneous occurrence of “A” and “B”.

Rostow (1960) on his own part coined and popularized the idea of *take off* into a self-sustainable economic growth as a key stage of development. He proposed five stages which all developing societies must pass through in order to attain economic development. The stages are the traditional stage, the transitional stage, the take off

stage, drive to maturity, and high mass consumption. Rostow's *Traditional society* which was the first stage in economic growth was pre-Newtonian and largely agrarian with limited productivity due in part to inaccessibility to modern science and its applications. Another character associated with this society was its value system where family and clan connections played large role in social organization. The second stage was *the pre-condition for take-off*; at this stage people begin to mobilize their savings and took risks in pursuit of profit, appearance of banks and other institutions for mobilizing capital, increase in investment notably in transport, communications and in raw materials in which other nations may have interest. The new highs attained in this stage were in part consequent to the Atlantic slave trade. At that period, African slaves were the best economic solution for plantation owners seeking cheap labor. The slave trade made significant impact on the economic development of Britain as Davis (1973) put succinctly "high differential tariffs on sugar preserved the large British markets". More so, slave trade as argued Williams (1944) played central role in the developments leading up to the industrial revolution which made European countries set out in search of markets for their product and also source of raw materials that led to balkanization and partitioning of Africa and other sections of the world making them colonies. Raw materials extracted from across Africa were feeding the ever growing industries in

Europe; these developments served as catalyst and provided rudiments for transition of European economies to the next stage. The third stage is *the take-off* where new industries expand rapidly, yielding profits in large proportion some of which are reinvested in new plants, new techniques spread in Agriculture and farmers accept new methods and revolutionary changes in agricultural productivity. Basic economic, social and political structures are transformed in a way that encourages sustainable growth. In Africa there was a new wave of economic policy where privatization became a key component of the structural reform and strategy for economic development. It was observed by White and Bhatia (1998) that by the end of 1996, all but five countries in Africa had divested some public enterprises within the framework of macroeconomic reform and liberalization. In this transition period, many African economies including Nigeria embarked on extensive privatization programs as a means of fostering economic growth, attaining macroeconomic stability, and reducing public sector borrowing requirements arising from corruption, subsidies and interventions to unprofitable state-owned enterprises (Jerome, 2008). The privatization policy adopted by most African states was in a bid to lessen government burden and encourage efficiency for economic growth. The *Drive to maturity* is the fourth stage, the make-up of the economy changes unceasingly as

technology improves, new industries emerged, and older ones phased out. The economy finds its place in international economy; goods that are formally imported are produced at home. Industry and technology has transformed into more refined and technologically complex processes. For instance, the shift in focus from coal, iron, and heavy engineering industries of railway phase to machine-tools, chemicals, and electrical equipment. At the final stage which was characterized by *high mass consumption*, two things happen; (i) real income per head rose to a point where a large number of persons gained a command over consumption which transcended basic food, shelter, and clothing, and (ii) the structure of the working force changed in ways which increased not only the proportion of urban to total population, but also the proportion of the population working in offices or in skilled factory jobs- aware of and anxious to acquire the consumption fruits of a mature economy.

Since attaining political independence, African states have articulated various plans, strategies and blueprints as pathways to Africa's development. These range from Kwameh Nkrumah's pan-African idea of a continental unity in the immediate post-independence era, to the Lagos Plan of Action for the Economic Development of Africa in early 1980s, to other strategies like Africa's Priority Program for Economic Recovery (APPER) in the mid-1980s and

more recently New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) in 2001. All these efforts were stunted due to international economic politics. The developed nations and their agencies especially the World Bank viewed many of these plans as radical choices that repudiate the logic of liberal economic theories, by focusing more on state control of natural resources as against the role of market and private entrepreneurs. Another factor as observed by Adejumobi (2003) was the festering economic crises in Africa where most countries were faced with debt burden, trade deficits, rising unemployment, industrial collapse, and social upheavals which coerced the states into seeking for support from the international financial institutions (IFIs). The conditionalities of the IFIs were at all times antithetical to the goals of Africa's plans, strategies and blueprints for development. These factors made it difficult for African countries to attain the third and fourth stages of economic development.

On his part, Shills (1960) stated that new states feel a pressing necessity of searching for policies which will make them join the circle of modernity. To him, to be modern is to be dynamic, and to be dynamic, the elites must show concern for people and must be equalitarian. The society on the other hand must be democratic, scientific, economically advanced, sovereign, and influential. He posited that Western Europe, North America and the English speaking dominions of the British Commonwealth

need not to aspire for modernity for they fulfill all or most of the criteria outlined. But their counterparts the new states are “*unmodern*” and have in them old societies and live in traditions which maintain the past in the present. Their machinery of government are new, weak and frail; their social structure and culture are highly traditional; there is in them preponderance of parochial loyalties which hinders the workings of the rule of law; the urban middle class is uneducated; there is disconnect between the cities and the countryside; there is incompetence in civil service and corruption in politics. These are the characteristics of the new states.

Similarly, Riggs (1964; 1973) in his analogy of agraria-industria societies within the context of administration and politics offers his fused-prismatic-defracted-model and contends that societies in the process of development move from a fused mode in which little or no differentiation exists, to a diffracted condition in which there is a high degree of functional specialization. In administrative terms, this means a change from a situation in which a few structures perform a variety of functions, as in very underdeveloped conditions, to one in which many specific structures perform specific functions, as in highly developed societies like the industrial societies of the west.

When the system begins to assign specific functions to specific structures, then it is evolving into a higher mode of differentiation. This phase is referred to as transitional to the ultimate position of a complete differentiation. Riggs began with a bipolar analytical framework known as the so-called agraria-industria model, which highlighted the contextual distinction of public administration between the traditional agrarian societies and modern industrial ones. While the agrarian is characterized by self-contained and agriculture-based economy, family or clan-based organization, divine authority source, and communalistic value; the industria possesses interdependent market economy, achievement-oriented organization, secular authority, individualistic value, and so on. Given such contextual variations, the administrative system in the agraria is characterized by politics-administrative fusion, lack of specialization, and ritualistic action; but in the industria, it is based on politics administration division, specialization, impersonal human relation, and functional action.

In his theory, Huntington (1971) compared the primitive societies with the modern societies. Drawing upon Sutton's characterization of the two societies, he outlined the following;

Table 2: Characterization of primitive and modern societies by Samuel P. Huntington

Primitive Society	Modern Society
1. Predominance of ascriptive, particularistic, diffuse patterns.	Predominance of universalistic, specific and achievement norms.
2. Stable local groups and limited spatial mobility.	High degree of social mobility (in general -not necessary “vertical”-sense)
3. Relatively simple and stable “occupational” differentiation.	Well-developed occupation system, insulated from other social structures.
4. A “deferential” stratification system of diffuse impact.	“Egalitarian” class system based on generalized patterns of occupational achievement.

Source: Huntington (1971).

Other modernization views expressed by Apter (1968) as well as World Bank (1981) and Sandbrook (1985) also argued that African societies have in them values that are against modernization and, therefore, in order to develop, they must drop their social values and embrace that of the West. So also, African political institutions, culture, and socialization are weak, and that the only way to strengthen these institutions is by embracing liberal democracy. The modernization theorists concluded that the best way to get their primitive societies to develop is by emulating and following the development pattern of the developed European economy. What the modernization theorists obviously failed to note is the fact that their comparism between the so-called traditional and modern societies only explains the inherent differences between the two distinct societies and this by no means depicts

superiority of one society over the other. Africans had varied ways of life under different kinds of governments, Kings ruled great empires like Mali and Songhai, some states had democratic rule while some groups had no central government. Some Africans lived in great cities like Timbuktu, while others lived in small villages deep in the forests. Some were nomadic hunters, and some were skilled artists who sculpted masks and statues of wood, gold, or bronze. More so, Rostow's theory only highlighted certain historical landmarks in Europe, but does not represent a model for any society to adopt and attain economic growth and development, even so ignored the role of slavery to the industrial revolution.

These and more lapses provoked another line of thought which represent a radical view that counter the modernization theory.

3.0 THE UNDERDEVELOPMENT AND DEPENDENCY THEORY

The underdevelopment and dependency theory rejects the central assumptions of modernization theory. In the 1960s, the advocates of dependency theory argued that former colonial nations were underdeveloped because of their dependence on western industrialized nations in the areas of foreign trade and investment. These relationships, rather than benefiting developing nations, stunted their development. Drawing upon various Marxist ideas, dependency theorists observed that economic development and underdevelopment were not simply different stages in the same linear march toward progress (Baran 1976) as posited by the modernization theorists. They argue that colonial domination had produced relationships between the developed and underdeveloped worlds that were inherently unequal (Amin 1974).

Dependency theorists believed that without a major restructuring of the international economy, the former colonial countries would find it virtually impossible to escape from their subordinate position and experience genuine growth and development.

However, within the underdevelopment and dependency theory two groups emerged; the radical or delinking group of theorists like Andre Gunder Frank

(1967), Walter Rodney (1972), Samir Amin (1974) etc and the reformist group of theorists like Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1979), Peter Evans (1979), Enzo Faletto (1979) etc

3.1 ASSUMPTIONS OF THE UDT

The following are some of the assumptions upon which the underdevelopment and dependency theories are built:

- i. The wealth or poverty of nations is as a result of global process of exploitation arising from the incorporation of the third world nations into the international capitalist system;
- ii. Surplus extraction had been a feature of the economic relationships between core and peripheral regions since the beginning of colonial era;
- iii. The underdeveloped nature of the third world nations was consequent to different historical circumstances which include slavery, colonialism, imperialism neo-colonialism and globalization;
- iv. Dependence upon foreign capital, technology and expertise impedes economic development of the third world nations; and
- v. Underdevelopment can be eliminated through a move towards socialist system of economy (Frank, 1967; Amin, 1974; Rodney, 1972 and Cardoso, 1979).

4.2 THE RADICAL OR DELINKING DEPENDENCY THEORISTS

4.2.1 ANDRE GUNDER FRANK

Frank coined the “metropole-satellite” model in his analysis of dependency and underdevelopment between the developed and underdeveloped societies. He presented an argument that is based on a global relation of economic domination and exploitation, or what he called the “metropole-satellite relations”. His primary points of reference are Latin American countries, which occupy a satellite position in relation to their colonial metropolises. He argued that underdevelopment arises out of the metropole-satellite relation because it is essentially a hierarchical relation of extraction and expropriation which then becomes generalized on a global scale. He examined this relation through the metaphor of vampirism where the metropole suck capital or economic surplus out of its own satellite and channel part of this surplus to the world metropole (Frank 1966).

Frank's metropole-satellite model debunks Rostow's view of underdevelopment which sees it as the result of both a country's relative isolation from capitalist relations and the residual existence of “traditional” socio-cultural practices that act as fetters to forces of modernization. Underdevelopment is not an effect of isolation and inertia, rather, as he argued, “was and still is generated by the very same historical process which also generated economic development: the development of capitalism itself” (Frank 1966). To him, the

same process that causes underdevelopment on the one end, promote development on the other as he posited that “development in metropole, leads to underdevelopment in satellites” (Frank 1966). This lopsided relationship is further intensified by globalization as aptly observed by Adejumobi (2003) that “the levels of spatial inequality income and wealth concentration and social injustice have continued to deepen under the spell of globalization”. This current world phenomenon called globalization is predicated on the ideology of neo-liberal free trade of capitalist expansionism, thereby intensifying the exploitative relationship which Africa remain at disadvantage. This position is buttressed by the World Bank (2000) that “Africa is the worst hit by the deepening crisis of survival under the orgy of globalization, with a per capita income averaging \$315 in 1997, more than its 600 million people live below the poverty line of \$1 per day. In many African countries, 200 out of every 1000 children die before the age of 5, and more than 250 million people lack access to safe water, while more than 200 million others have no access to health services. The metropole-satellite relations Frank tries to explain is aptly captured as thus “while Africa continues to record dismal performance on trade and economic development, the triad of United States, European Union and Japan are consolidating their grip on the global economy. This triad controls 80% of world trade, and a large chunk of foreign direct

investment (FDI). During 1998-2000, the triad accounted for three-quarter (3/4) of global FDI inflows and 85% of outflows, and was home to over 50,000 multinational corporations (MNCs) and over 100,000 foreign affiliates (UNCTAD, 2001). This relationship that greeted Africa at the dawn of the new millennium remain as it were more than a decade and half ago.

Frank therefore concludes that satellites can only develop when their links or ties to the metropole are relatively weakened. He suggested a radical breakaway and prescribed the mobilization of internal resources for the overall development of the society.

4.2.2 SAMIRAMIN

Amin is an Egyptian political economist, who argued that, Europe had underdeveloped large parts of Africa during the colonial era. This he argued, created a dependent peripheral economies characterized by weak capitalist sectors focused on a small elite luxury market, with little attention to manufacturing for mass consumption or to promoting links between agriculture and industry (Amin 1974).

He advanced the concept of unequal exchange where he posited that “economic surplus transferred from low wage (low profit producers in the periphery), to high wage (high wage producers in the core), is an international by-product of the capitalist world economy” (Amin 1974). He believed that global capitalism allows strong states to

enforce unequal exchange on weaker states thus causing underdevelopment in the third world while generating wealth in the industrialized nations.

Like Frank, he advocated for the severance of links or a radical break of the third world nations from the international capitalist system.

4.2.3 WALTER RODNEY

He observed that underdevelopment expresses a particular relationship of exploitation i.e. the exploitation of one country by another. That all third world nations were exploited by the advanced capitalist states, and underdevelopment is a product of capitalist, imperialist, and colonialist exploitation. He argued that Africa and Asian societies were developing independently until they were taken over directly or indirectly by the capitalist powers. Consequently, exploitation increased and the export of surplus ensued, depriving the societies of their natural resources and labor (Rodney 1972).

He denounces the global capitalist system by reinforcing the conclusion that:

African development is possible only on the basis of a radical break with the international capitalist system, which has been the principal agency of underdevelopment of Africa over the last five centuries (Rodney 1972).

Frank and his colleagues challenged the assumption that decolonization had truly liberated the newly independent nations in the Third World. They argued that, in fact, exploitation had intensified, both between nations and within Third World countries, and concluded that, Third World elites and their Western capitalist allies could bring nothing but underdevelopment and despair to the periphery. They called for revolutionary action to remove local political elites from power and to establish governments based on socialist ideals and structures. Only then would Third World nations be able to break their bonds of dependency, challenge global capitalist patterns of exploitation, and develop as autonomous, self-reliant nations. Some dependency scholars however do not agree with the conclusions of Frank, Rodney and Amin. They formed a moderate opinion; hence they are called moderate dependency theorists.

4.3 THE REFORMIST OR MODERATE DEPENDENCY THEORISTS

The reformist dependency thinking emerged to challenge the radical theorists' argument for the inevitability of underdevelopment within the capitalist system. In particular, the Brazilian sociologist Fernando Cardoso and his colleague; Enzo Faletto, while sympathetic to much of radical dependency thinking, rejected the assertion that peripheral underdevelopment was completely determined by the logic of capital

accumulation and exploitation and argued that Latin America economies can better understood by looking at “forms of local societies, reactions against imperialism, the political dynamics of local societies, and attempts at alternatives” (Cardoso and Faletto 1979). Dependency, to them, depended more on local dynamics and the maneuvers of politicians, particularly their willingness to be co-opted by foreign capital, than on the inevitable workings of the world capitalist system. Indeed, they rejected the notion of a world economy, positing instead a world of multiple capitalist systems, with each nation having its own specific social formation and style of capitalism.

Cardoso and Faletto also rejected the radical *theorists'* blanket hostility to the national bourgeoisie. Their focus on internal factors highlighted the importance of discovering which groups and classes were willing and able to push for national development. This could include the national bourgeoisie as well as labor, peasants, ethnic groups, and civil society. No class or group was inevitably seen as inclined to help or hinder national development.

Cardoso, in his earlier work posited three ways that nations in the Global South could attain development:

- I. Gaining political autonomy and using that power to industrialize;
- ii. Developing an export-oriented economy capable of accumulating enough capital to industrialize; and

- iii. Being assisted by multinational capital investments that would foster technology transfer and eventual industrialization (a dependent form of development, however) (Cardoso 1972).

Other scholars, such as American sociologist Peter Evans (1979), have gone even further than Cardoso in recognizing the importance of negotiations between governments in developing countries and governments and firms from industrialized nations. This analyst believes the way nations respond to dependence on foreign capital can be as important as the dependence itself. This position to dependency theory suggest the promise of new approaches to the problem of development, approaches that seriously take into account the role of politics and government-level negotiations in determining economic outcomes (Wendy, 2009).

However, while accepting the tendency toward dependent development rather than the independent development in the Global South, the reformist dependency theorists stake out a different position than their radical colleagues. For Cardoso and Faletto, genuine autonomous development can occur in the South if the correct alignment of internal forces, both structural and cultural/ideological, can be put in place.

5.0 AN EVALUATION OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT AND DEPENDENCY THEORY

This part of the paper seeks to test the relevance of the UDT in the international politics. The radical/delinking theorist concluded by recommending a socialist system as against the global capitalist system for the third world countries as a prerequisite for their development. Socialism however, has failed in many countries that practiced it. Here, the paper will look at Vietnam, China and Tanzania as case studies.

In Vietnam, as in other states ruled by communist parties, the government plays a guiding role in all matters, including the national economy. In 1976, after the reunion of northern and southern Vietnam, the economy performed poorly throughout the first decade. This was as a result of “excessive government controls, lack of managerial experience, limited capital resources, and absence of capital incentive economic activities” (Duiker 2009).

In 1986, the government launched a reform program called “*doi moi*” (economic renovation) to reduce government interference in the economy and develop a market- base approach to increase national productivity. In the second decade of *doi moi* reforms, Vietnam achieved one of the fastest growing economies, with annual growth rate exceeding 7 percent (Duiker 2009).

Similarly, China originally established a socialist state, and before a change in power, was self-reliant and separate from the global market economy dominated by capitalist industrialized states (Lin & Ho 2005). Whilst throughout history China had been less engaged with the outside world and this initially resulted in them falling behind (O'Brien & Williams 2010). In post-Mao era, China has experienced rapid economic growth and a shift of power to neoliberal leadership under Deng Xiaoping (Lin & Ho 2005). Xiaoping introduced a program of economic reform, abandoning the autarkic, Maoist economic system and implemented an internationalization approach in order to participate in the capitalist world economy and improve China's global position (Lin & Ho 2005). This led to restructuring of the internal policies including alterations in the organization of production, resource use and regional development to accommodate new external requirements.

The reformist/moderate theorists on the other hand, presented a less severe critique of capitalist world market and explain that limited development in the Third World is possible while depending on the West (Jackson & Søensen 2010). The economic development of China demonstrates a change from economic self-sufficiency and national economic independence to involvement in the global capitalist economy (Caporaso 1972). China has become a vast and growing market, the second largest economy in the world and a large overseas investor.

In Africa, Julius Nyerere the former Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) party leader and president of Tanzania introduced the idea of *Ujamaa* (family hood) in Tanzania based on African tradition. This ideology was in search for path to Africa's development away from both capitalist West and communist East using expressions such as "Exploitation of Man by Man" to characterize the former and "Inevitable Conflict between Man and Man" to mean the later. Nyerere was very critical of colonialism in all manners; to him *Ujamaa* was a consensus where he asserts that "the Tanzanian situation is one where the common struggle against a foreign enemy has created a party which represent the interests and aspirations of the whole nation" (Nyerere, 1973). The *Ujamaa* implies that state is an expanded family community where the political leader is a Pater Familias who can naturally speak on behalf of his family; the leader also guides his people as their "Mwalimo" (teacher) rather than a political office holder. The exemplar of the family in *Ujamaa* discourse suggests how the political process should be organized. Beyond that, it also states a substantial ideal of the good life and the good society. This socialist idea remains on paper as it was not fully institutionalized in Tanzania. Detailed analyses of social and political institutions in African societies were not highlighted; Burke (1964) observes that Nyerere's papers on democracy and one-party rule are considerably lengthier in analyzing the British system than the African one.

The rapid economic development experienced in China, Vietnam and other countries does not appear to be explained by the reformist theorists, and on the other hand the failure of *Ujamaa* in Tanzania only show that Nyerere was not able to form political, social and economic institutions to support his idea. Indeed African states can create ideas like the *Ujamaa* with strong institutions.

5.0 CRITIQUE

The following are criticism against UDT and Dependency theory put forward by some scholars.

- I. The Theory is criticized for concentrating more on external factors without much credence to internal factors such as poor leadership, bad governance, corruption, which in part contributed to the underdevelopment of the third world;
- ii. Ernesto Laclau (1971) condemned Frank for focusing on the market rather than class relations, despite his call for a class-based socialist revolution;
- iii. Bill Warren (1980) questioned the assumption that third world are inevitably caught in the circle of underdevelopment. He advocated for a more specific, historical and class-based analysis of global capitalist relations;
- iv. Colin Leys (1980) retracted the position of the dependency theorists that condemned national bourgeoisie and posited that national bourgeoisie

are potential instruments for escape from underdevelopment; and

- v. Gender and development analysts have been particularly disturbed by dependency theorists' failure to pay attention to cultural dimension of development. This is particularly problematic for those concerned with gender equality issues because cultural attitudes and practices clearly play a crucial role both in reinforcing and strengthening patriarchal power structures. The focus on structure rather than agency and culture are, thus, serious problems for feminists interested in utilizing the insights of dependency theory, whether radical or reformist.

6.0 CONCLUSION

There is no denying the fact that the long relationship between the new states of Africa and the industrialized states has been one of exploitation, subjugation, and domination. This is consequent to the historical realities of slavery, imperialism, colonialism, globalization, as well as the adoption of capitalist system of economy. However, the traditional societies of Africa as described by the modernization theorists (in defense of capitalism) were on the path to a sustainable economic growth and development. This is evident in the activities Africans engaged in, trade relationships that existed between and among the hitherto existing empires and kingdoms as well as the institutionalized

system of governance which clearly the modernization scholars chose to ignore in their theorization and rather only highlighted certain historical landmarks in Europe's march towards economic growth and development. The colonial experience which did not only took away Africa's independence, but also thwarted and disrupted the economic activities of the African communities and reduced the African states to mere appendages of their erstwhile colonial masters and also dependent on them (colonial masters) for prescription of economic and political systems. Therefore, the acceptance and adoption of liberal democracy and capitalism did not only stunted efforts of African leaders towards economic liberation, but also perpetuated the dependent relationship between the new states and the capitalist economies through foreign direct investment (FDI), grants, aids, and debt relief.

This paper believes that African don't stand a chance to fully experience economic growth and development within the current international capitalist system. Africa should therefore delink from the system that is obviously designed to favor only the western industrialized states. Africa should form their own type of political system that suits their traditions, values and ideologies, just like what Nyerere attempted in Tanzania. Institutions of government be strengthened to check corruption and any form of arbitrariness. Economically, Africa

should look inward and concentrate fully on those items they have comparative advantage over others. Industrialization should form the central theme of Africa's new economic policy.

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DO CARE GIVERS MATTER ON THE PHYSICAL HEALTH STATUS OF THE CHILDREN LEFT-BEHIND BY RURAL-URBAN MIGRANTS? EVIDENCE FROM NIGER STATE, NIGERIA

By

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ABSTRACT

Rural-urban migrants in Nigeria often leave their children behind in the hands of parents or non-parent caregivers, when migrating. Although, most of the migrants send remittances to enhance the lives of the children, little is known about the role of the caregivers in achieving this objective. Using a sample of 401 left-behind children from rural areas of Niger State, this study investigates the impacts of caregivers on the probability of the children being in the adequate, moderately malnourished or severely malnourished health status. The result shows that children under the care of mothers are more likely to be in the adequately nourished health category, and a year increase in the education of the caregivers increases the probability of the children being in the adequately nourished health status. It is suggested that mothers should provide the care, while fathers should migrate and health sensitization should be provided by the government to the caregivers of the left-behind children in the state.

Key words: Left-behind children, Caregivers, Education of the Caregivers, Physical Health

1. Introduction

Rural-urban migration, which is the movement of people from rural to urban centers, is the dominant form of internal migration in Nigeria, and is often associated with leaving children behind in the rural origin. It is reported that over 21% of the Nigerian children, who are non-orphans, lived with at least one of their biological parents away (Nigerian Demographic and Health Survey—NDHS, 2008). However, in the North Central Zone, where Niger State belongs, over 30% of the children live with at least one of their parents migrated (NDHS, 2004), a figure that is above the national average of 19%, which calls for concern.

Migrant parents might leave their children behind due to the cost or risk considerations of moving along with the family, or due to the altruistic decision to send remittances that might be used to improve the well being of the left-behind family, including children (Amuedo-Dorantes and Pozo, 2009; Anto'n, 2010; Carletto, Covarrubias & Maluccio, 2011; López-Cevallos and Chi, 2012; Amakon and Iheoma, 2014; Ofuoku, 2015)

Rural-urban migrants' remittances constitute the major share of the remittance flow to rural areas in Nigeria and it provides a poverty alleviation mechanism to the rural left-behind households (Chiwuzulum, Taiwo & Omonona, 2010). In the absence of formal insurance, migrants' remittances

also provide a substitute against agricultural and health risks, which is a common experience in the rural households of the country (Dillon et al., 2011; Gubert, 2002). However, whereas migrants may send remittances for the provision of health and nutritional demands of the children, the utilization of such remittances in the production of child health may depend on caregiver characteristics (Jayatissa and Wickramage, 2016).

Mothers are, for instance, normally more altruistic to the welfare of their children (Alger and Cox, 2013). Mothers also have child rearing endowments and are better at providing the emotional needs of their children (Peng and Wong, 2015). Since emotion affects feeding behavior (Benton, 2004), and maternal endowment affects child's health and nutrition (Barrera, 1990), remittances sent to the mothers' caregivers might be more beneficial to the nutritional and health status of the left-behind children than that sent to father or non-parent caregivers (Duflo and Udry, 2004).

On the other hand, empirical evidence has shown that when mothers make greater contribution to the household's income, and they spend more time in the labor markets (e.g as in the case of migrant mothers), fathers make more participation in the routine care of the children (Raley et al., 2012). However, the ability of the caregivers to utilize remittances in the production of the children's health may also

be affected by their level of education, which may determine their ability to utilize health and nutritional information, provide environmental sanitation and also seek the relevant medical care for their children in case of need (Babalola and Fatusi, 2009).

When the care of the left-behind children is, however, entrusted in the hands of the non-parent's caregiver, remittances may be enhanced due to the potential dual remitting of the mother and father, but the utilization of such remittances may be exposed to the vagaries of moral hazard, whereby the remittance may not be fully utilized in the production of the children's physical health (Fama, 1980; Ross, 2000). Conversely, in environments where there is norm of social parenthood like in Niger State, children under the care of non-parents' may benefit from proper care due to the cultural practice of child fostering, whereby relatives are used to caring for their non-biological children, regardless of migration (Abubakar et al., 2013; Encyclopedia of World Cultures Supplement, 2002; Shekwo, 1988). Therefore, the impact that different caregivers may have on the physical health of the left-behind children in this cultural context may be complex and requires empirical investigation.

Since child's health has implication for education, adulthood health and future economic opportunities (Case et al., 2005), understanding the impacts of caregivers on the physical health of the left-behind

children may benefit parents in making migration decision and in providing the proper guardianship of their children.

However, with the exception of Cebotari, Mazzucato and Siegel (2017), empirical studies that investigated the impacts of caregivers on the physical health of the left-behind children are limited. Although Cebotari et al (2017) have investigated the impacts of caregivers on the health of the left-behind children; their study uses self-rated reports of the children's health as a measure of their physical health. Self-rated report may be subjective to the worries and concerns of the children in the family (Donato and Duncan, 2011). Moreover, self-rated report is often gender and socio-economically biased. Women are more likely to report poorer health than men and more educated people and those within the upper income class are also more likely to report poorer health than less educated people and those within the lower income brackets (Tang, Zhao & Li, 2017). Anthropometric indicator (weight-for-age) was, therefore, used as a measure of the left-behind children's physical health in this study. This indicator is more suitable for infants and children; can screen children at risks, and can determine short-term changes in health and nutrition of the children (O'Donnell & Wagstaff, 2008). Therefore, this study makes two main contributions. First, it investigates the impacts of caregivers on the three categories of the children's health statuses (i.e. adequately

nourished, moderately malnourished and severely malnourished). Second, it determines how the education of the caregiver affects the three categories of the health statuses of the children. The article is, however, presented in six sections, which include the introduction, theoretical framework, methodology, results, discussions and conclusion.

Research Question

Do the caregivers of the left-behind children in rural areas of Niger State have impacts on their physical health statuses?

Does an increase in the education of the caregivers affect the physical health statuses of the left-behind children in rural areas of Niger State?

Research Objectives

To find out how the caregivers of the children left-behind by rural-urban migrants affect their physical health statuses.

To determine how increases in the education of the caregivers of the left-behind children in rural areas of Niger State impacts on the physical health statuses of the children.

Hypotheses

H_a: Left-behind children who are cared for by their mothers are expected to have better physical health status than those under the care of fathers or non-parent caregivers.

H_b: An increase in the education of the caregivers is expected to yield better health outcome for the left-behind children.

2. Theoretical framework

The health production function of Grossman (1972) is used as the underpinning theory of this study. The theory stipulates that each individual is a producer and consumer of health, and that health is a stock that degrades over time if investment in it is not made. Also, according to the theory, health is both a consumer good that gives direct utility and also an investment good that gives indirect satisfaction to the consumers through reduced sickness, increased productivity and higher wages. Therefore, parents maximize health investment by choosing the health inputs, such that the value of the gross health investment equals the marginal benefits. The production of child's health is, therefore, determined by the primary caregivers.

3. Methodology

3.1 Data and Sample

The data for this study was collected from a sample of 401 left-behind children aged 6-10 years in rural areas of Niger State, Nigeria. Stratified sampling technique was first adopted to select three local governments from the three geopolitical zones¹ of the state. In each of the three selected local governments, a random sample of 45 left-behind households were

¹The three geopolitical zones are Zone A, Zone B and Zone C.

selected, such that data on 405 left-behind children and their caregivers were obtained from the selected households. Four questionnaires had incomplete observations and were dropped, leaving a sample of 401 respondents. The sample consists of children within the age brackets of six to ten years, whose at least one parent has migrated for at least three months.

3.2 Dependent variable

The dependent variable is the physical health status of the left-behind children. The weight-for-age, which is one of the Anthropometric indicators of physical health status, and which is suitable for measuring the short term changes in the nutritional status of the children, was used as the measure of the physical health of the children. This measure is considered appropriate because parents may be engaged in a temporary form of migration, and thus left-behind children may experience temporary changes in their physical health due to the influence of care arrangement or remittance receipt. The weight-for-age was determined using z-scores. To derive the z-scores, the weights of the children was measured using a digital scale, and their ages in years and months as well as gender, were recorded. Each child's weight was compared with child of the same age and gender in the World Health Organizations (WHO) reference category. However, WHO's Anthropometry dedicated software (Anthro), was used to generate all the z-scores. All the z-scores were recorded

from 3-1 based on the WHO's specification. The z-scores that are in the range of, $-2 < Z < +2$, represents adequate nutritional health status, and were recorded as 3; the z-scores in the range of, $-3 < Z < -2$, represents moderately malnourished health status, and were recorded as 2, while the Z-score that are < -3 , represents severely malnourished health status, and were recorded as 1.

3.3 Independent variables

The key independent variables of interest in this study are the caregiver status, education of the caregiver and remittances. The values of 1, 2 and 3 were assigned to the mother, father and non-parent caregivers respectively. Education of the caregiver was measured as a continuous variable for the number of years of education of the caregiver. To provide anonymity, remittances were asked in range format and the average from each range choosing by the respondent represents a continuous value for the remittance received per month, by the left-behind household. However, child's physical health endowment, non-remittance family income, child's living condition, age and gender were added to the list of independent variables as controls. When a child has a history of poor physical health, e.g sickle cell anemia, before parents' migration, a value of 1 was assigned, while 0 otherwise. Non-remittance family income was measured in range, and the average of each range was used as a continuous measure of non-remittance family income. The child's living condition was measured

as the ratio of the total number of people living in the left-behind household to the total number of rooms in the households. Age was measured in years while gender was measured as 1 and 0 for male and female respectively.

3.4 Method of data analysis and model specification

The data for this study was analyzed using descriptive statistics. The parameters of the study's model was, however, estimated using the Ordered Logit regression model, due to the ordinal nature of the dependent variable (Cameron and Trivedi, 2005). The descriptive statistics provide some important information about the

$$Pr(PH_i) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 Cgvr_i + \beta_2 Ecgv_i + \beta_3 Rem_i + \beta_4 Cphe_i + \beta_5 Clct_i + \beta_6 Ficm_i + \beta_7 Age_i + \beta_8 Gender_i + \mu_i \dots \dots \dots (1)$$

where: cgvr, is the caregiver of the left-behind child; Ecgv, is the education of the caregiver; Rem, is remittance; Cphe, is the child's physical health endowment and Clct, is the child's living condition. Age and gender refers to the age and gender of the left-behind child.

parents' migration, only 1% of the children were having history of poor physical health while 99% were not. The percentage of the male left-behind children among the respondent was 49.88%, while the female was 50.12%.

4. Results

4.1 Descriptive analysis

As can be seen in Table 1, over 96.76% of the left-behind children under study were within the adequately nourished health status, 2.49% of them were moderately malnourished while only 0.75% of them were severely malnourished. Concerning the characteristics of the caregivers, 93.02% of them were mothers of the left-behind children, 1.25% of them were fathers while 5.74% of them were non-parent caregivers. On whether the left-behind children had any history of poor physical health before the

The average level of the education of the caregivers was 12 years with a minimum of 1year and maximum of 17years. The mean of the monthly remittances received by the left-behind households was N17, 987 (\$50), with a minimum of N7,501(\$21)² and a maximum of N27, 501(\$76). The average non-remittance monthly family income was N9,772 (\$27), with a minimum of N 2500 (\$9) and a maximum of N 42, 501(\$118). The mean age of the left-behind children was 8years with a minimum of 6years and a maximum of 10years.

²At the exchange rate of \$1= N 360

Table 1: Socio-demographic Profile of the Left-behind children and their Caregivers
 Table 1: Socio-demographic Profile of the Left-behind children and their Caregivers

Variables	Frequency	Percentage	Mean	Min	Max
Adequately Nourished	388	96.76			
Moderately Malnourished	10	2.49			
Severely Malnourished	3	0.75			
Caregivers					
Mother Caregivers	373	93.02			
Father Caregivers	5	1.25			
Non-parent Caregivers	23	5.74			
Child's P/Health Endowment					
History of Poor Physical Health Exists	4	1			
No History of Poor Physical Health	397	99			
Child's Gender					
Male	200	49.88			
Female	201	50.12			
Education of the Caregiver			12	1	17
Remittance			17987	7501	27501
Family Income			9772	2500	42501
Child's Age			8	6	10
Child's Living Condition			4	1	21

P/health, means physical health. Min, means minimum while max, means maximum

4.2 Ordered Logit regression result

The ordered Logit coefficients in Table 2 shows that the coefficients of the father's caregiver, education of the caregiver, remittances, child's physical health endowment and age were statistically significant at 1%, 10% 10%, 1%, and 1%, respectively. The coefficient of the father's caregiver was negative, and thus implies that compared to the left-behind children under the care of mothers (reference category), children under the care of fathers are less likely to be in the better (adequately nourished) health

category. This confirms the hypothesis H_a that left-behind children who are under the care of their mothers are expected to have better physical health than those under the care of their fathers or non-parent caregivers. The coefficient of the education of the caregivers was also positive, therefore indicating that, a one year increase in the education of the caregiver increases the probability that the left-behind child will be in the better (adequately nourished) health status. This also confirms the hypothesis

Table 2: Ordered Logit Regression Coefficients
 Dependent Variable: Physical Health Status of the Left-behind children

Variables	Coefficients	Robust Standard Errors	P-values
Father C/giver	-12.20963	0.8170264	0.000***
Non-Parent C/giver	-1.533333	1.033515	0.138
Education of the C/giver	0.1705411	0.0850649	0.045*
Remittances	2.47387	1.407243	0.079*
Child's Living Condition	-4.720089	1.279827	0.000***
Family's Income	-0.0665989	0.0898596	0.459
Child's Age	-1.021923	0.6625945	0.123
Child's Gender	0.9203663	0.2446457	0.000***
/cut1	-1.30327	0.9695062	0.179
/cut2	16.72377	9.502699	
	18.66236	9.715337	

Robust standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Where: C/giver, means caregiver; P/Health Edmnt, means physical health endowment.

The results in Table 3 show the average marginal effects of the ordered logit coefficients. The result shows that father caregiver was negative and statistically significant at 1% under the column of adequately nourished health status, but was positive and statistically significant at 5% under the column of moderately malnourished health category. This means that, left-behind children under the care of fathers are 2.7% less likely to be in the adequately nourished health status and 2% more likely to be in the moderately malnourished health status, as compared to their peers under the care of mothers (reference category).

Similarly, the education of the caregivers was positive and statistically significant at the

10% level under the column of adequately nourished health category, but negative and statistically significant at the 10% level under the column of moderately malnourished health status. This means that a one year increase in the education of the caregivers is associated with the probability that the left-behind child will be in the adequately nourished health category by 0.4% and reduces the probability that the left-behind child will be in the moderately malnourished health category by 0.3%. Also, remittance was positive and statistically significant at the 10% under the column of adequately nourished health category, which means that a one Naira increase in the remittance receipt increases the probability that the left-behind child will be in the adequately nourished health category by 6%.

Furthermore, the age of the left-behind child was positive and statistically significant at the 5% level under the column of adequately nourished, but was negative and statistically significant at the 5% level under the column of moderately malnourished health status. This implies that, a one year increase in the age of the left-behind child increases the probability that the child will be in the adequately nourished health category by 2% and reduces the probability that the child will be in the moderately malnourished health category by 1.5%.

However, the child's physical health endowment

was negative and statistically significant at the 5% level under the column of adequately nourished, but was positive and statistically significant at the 5% level under the column of moderately malnourished health status. This therefore means that, compared to the left-behind children who did not have a history of poor physical health (reference category), those who have a history of poor physical health before parents' migration are 10.7% less likely to be in the adequately nourished health status and 8% more likely to be in the moderately malnourished health category.

Table 3: Marginal Effects of the Ordered Logit Model for the Three Categories of Physical Health Status

Dependent Variable: Physical Health Status of the Left-behind children

Independent Variables	Adequately Nourished Health Status	Moderately Malnourished Health Status	Severely Malnourished Health Status
Father C/giver	-0.0270473*** (0.0073176)	0.0208393** (0.0067081)	0.006208 (0.003866)
Non-Parent C/giver	-0.0564033 (0.0558685)	0.0427458 (0.0394449)	0.0136575 (0.0179633)
Edu. of C/giver	0.0038593* (0.0020279)	-0.0029237* (0.0016858)	-0.0009355 (0.0006071)
Remittance	0.0559824* (0.03222)	-0.0424115 (0.0299047)	-0.0135709 (0.0089752)
Child P/H Endmnt	-0.1068132** (0.0350489)	0.0809203** (0.028361)	0.0258929 (0.0159908)
Child's Lving Cdtm	-0.0015071 (0.002065)	0.0011418 (0.0016256)	0.0003653 (0.0004806)
Family's Income	-0.0231256 (0.0163759)	0.0175196 (0.0136165)	0.0056059 (0.0039715)
Child's Age	0.0208274** (0.0075519)	-0.0157786** (0.0058361)	-0.0050488 (0.0033335)
Child's Gender	-0.0294923 (0.0224286)	0.022343 (0.0171794)	0.0071493 (0.0066273)

Robust standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Where: C/giver, means caregiver; Edu., means education; P/H Endmnt, means physical health endowment, while Lving Cdtm, means living condition.

4.3 Post estimation diagnostics

Table 4 of the appendix shows the result of the post estimation tests. The joint P-values of all the variables in the *Brant test*, was not statistically significant (0.133), which implies that parallel line assumption was not violated. The P-value of the χ^2 (0.125) in the Linktest, was also not statistically significant, thereby supporting the null hypothesis that the model is correctly specified. The Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) and the Tolerance values were less than 10 and close to 1 respectively, which implies that Multicollinearity does not exist among the covariates in the model. The goodness-of-fit of the model was tested using the BIC and AIC criterion. Two models were tested, the saved model and the current model. The saved model include two variables of interests, while the current model does not. The difference between the two models, as shown by the BIC is 7.02, which implies strong evidence that the saved model fits the data better (Raftery, 1995).

5. Discussion

Rural-urban migration is the most common form of internal migration in Nigeria. When parents migrate, their children are mostly left-behind in the rural areas, particularly due to the temporary migratory nature of some migrants, as well as the risks and costs consideration of moving along with the family. The academic community world over, has raised concern over the potential impacts of this form of migration on the health of the left-behind children.

However, with the exception of Cebotari et al (2017) who uses self-rated reports of children's health, most of the previous empirical evidence focused on the impacts of remittances on the health of the children. Whereas remittances might be one of the inputs in the children's health production function, caregivers are required to organize these inputs for the production of the children's health. Also, self-rated reports might be subjective (Donato and Duncan, 2011), and might not be suitable for children (O'Donnell & Wagstaff, 2008). Therefore, using the standard indicator of children's health, and collecting a cross-sectional data from Niger State, this study investigated the impacts of caregivers and the education of the caregivers on the physical health of the left-behind children.

The results of this study, first, show that left-behind children under the care of mothers are more likely to be adequately nourished than those under the care of fathers or non-parent caregivers. This result contradicts the previous finding that the health of the left-behind children under the care of non-parent caregivers does not suffer (Mazzucato and Schans, 2011). This might be because mothers are more altruistic to the welfare of their children than fathers and non-parent caregivers (Alger and Cox, 2013).

Secondly, a one year increase in the education of the caregivers increases the probability that the left-behind children will be in a higher health category (adequately

nourished) and reduces the probability that they will be in lower health status (moderately malnourished). This implies that, whereas being under the care of mother increases the probability of being in a better health category, only the education of the caregiver reduces the risk of being in a lower health status. This might be due to the importance of education in the utilization of health and nutritional information, providing environmental sanitation and seeking the relevant medical care supports in case of need (Babalola and Fatusi, 2009).

The results of the additional covariates in the study's model, that were found to be statistically significant include those of remittances, child's physical health endowment and age. A one Naira increase in remittance receipt was found to be associated with increasing the probability that the left-behind child will be in a better health category. This might be because remittances increase the ability of the left-behind households to providing nutrition and medication for their children (Amuedo-Dorantes and Pozo, 2009; López-Cevallos, 2012). A one year increase in the age of the left-behind child was also associated with the probability of making the left-behind child to be in a better health category and reduces the probability of the child being in a lower health status. Children who have a history of poor physical health before parents' migration were found to be less likely to be in better health category and more likely to be in a lower health status

than their peers without poor physical health history.

6. Conclusion

Contrary to the previous findings in the West-African context that the health of the left-behind children under the care of non-parent caregivers might be as good as that of the children under the care of their mothers, this study found that left-behind children under the care of their mothers are more likely to have better physical health than their peers under the care of non-parent or father caregivers. However, education of the caregivers not only increases the probability of the left-behind children having better physical health, but also reduces their probability of being in the lower physical health category.

Based on the findings of this study, it is therefore recommended that fathers should migrate and mothers wait and provide proper care for the children. Also, government should provide health and nutritional knowledge to the caregivers as a means of improving the health of children under their custody.

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Appendix:

Table 4:

Post Estimation Tests for the Ordered Logit Regression

Tests	Measures	
Parallel Line Assumption		
Brant Test	P-value	
All	0.133	
Caregiver	0.247	
Education of the Caregiver	0.460	
Remittance	0.129	
Child's P/health Edowment	0.192	
Child's Living Condition	0.376	
Family Income	0.172	
Age		0.753
Gender	0.511	
Model Specification Test		
Linktest		
_hat	0.210	
_hatsq	0.125	
Multicollinearity Test		
	Tolerance	
Caregiver	0.9922	
Education of the Caregiver	0.5266	
Remittance	0.4431	
Child's P/health Endowment	0.9886	
Child's Living Condition	0.9800	
Family Income	0.5639	
Age	0.9781	
Gender	0.9822	
Variance Inflation Factor (VIF)		
Caregiver	1.00	
Education of the Caregiver	1.38	
Remittance	1.50	
Child's P'health Endowment	1.01	
Child's Living Condition	1.01	
Family Income	1.33	
Age	1.01	
Gender	1.01	
Test for Goodness-of-fit		
Models		
	AIC	BIC
Current Model	106.142	138.054
Saved Model	105.226	145.115
Difference	0.916	-7.062

POLITICAL ENTREPRENEURS: THE BANE OF DEMOCRACY IN NIGERIA

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POLITICAL ENTREPRENEURS: THE BANE OF DEMOCRACY IN NIGERIA

ABSTRACT

This paper looks at the concept of political entrepreneurship, its features and impact on democracy in Nigeria. The problem statement is what effect political entrepreneurs have on efficient delivery of dividends of democracy in Nigeria. Much of politicking and party manifestoes abound during campaigns for political elections but not much of the dividends of democracy flow down to the average Nigerian after elections because of the activities of political entrepreneurs. The paper holds that most Nigerian politicians strive for elective positions and political appointments only for selfish economic benefits and those that sponsor them do so only for personal gains. Poverty and gullibility of both those aspiring to political elective or appointed positions and the electorate have been given as major reasons for the prevailing situation. The paper traces and links much of the inefficiency of democracy in Nigeria to the impact of these political entrepreneurs and ends with some recommendations such as legislatively restricting the amount of money political parties and their individual contestants can spend on electoral campaigns, ban of former Chief Executives of the three tiers of government from further contests into political positions and ban on internal and external financial sponsorship of political office aspirants as a way of sanitizing the political terrain. The paper concludes that except for political providence such suggestions as ban on certain category of political office holders would be a Herculean task, understandably as the same political elites who should be banned would be the ones to take the decisions on behalf of the citizenry.

Keywords: Political entrepreneurs, political kingmakers, political god-fatherism, political elites.

INTRODUCTION

Democracy involves running a government that by implication concedes to a social contract between the government as an institution and the citizenry. Such a contract implies that in the conduct of the affairs of government, the actors must primarily be interested in the protection of the society and the enthronement of justice in the political and social development of the component units. It is our point of departure in this paper therefore, to say that where, when and while a government as an institution or its actors or even those striving to be actors' de-emphasize the issue of societal security, justice and franchise for the people, the aims of democracy are compromised.

This paper holds that democracy as a system of politics and government in Nigeria has significantly changed from the pre-colonial traditional pattern and has continued to change since the Nigeria independence. A new and increasingly influential group has been introduced into politics and governance in Nigeria. They are the political entrepreneurs who have taken over the officiating and determination of the rules of the game of politics in Nigeria. What appears to be politicking, electioneering campaigns and executive decision-making from most government houses therefore are decisions of political entrepreneurs operating behind the scene.

An entrepreneur is a person who habitually creates and innovates to build something of

recognized value around perceived opportunities (Bolton and Thompson, 2000:5). The paper looks at a Political entrepreneur as one who has the habit of taking advantage of other people's potentials by picking those with some potentials, investing their resources on them and show-casing them up for political competitions and/or appointments

From 2003 to date, politics in Nigeria has witnessed series of clashes and expositions between political entrepreneurs and their lackeys. The Ngige episode in Anambra state when he was the state governor, the Saraki-Lawal case in Kwara state when Lawal was the state governor, and the Ladoja-Adedibu case in Oyo state are few of the examples of ventures by political entrepreneurs that backfired and became political ridicules. In some other cases the actors quickly mended their fence to avoid public notice. It is obvious that these mal-arrangements and political misadventures have negative effect on Nigerian polity and the democratic system.

This paper focuses on how political entrepreneurs have taken over politics in Nigeria, what has aided their victory and what obstacle this practice poses for democracy and political development of Nigeria or what is popularly referred to as dividends of democracy. We have made some suggestions such as ban on certain categories of politicians but we express reservations that such recommendations

would be opposed by the same political elites who would take the decision non behalf of the citizenry.

THE POLITICAL ENTREPRENEURS IN NIGERIAN POLITICS

With the rise of nationalism sweeping across colonies in the 1950s, it dawned on the British colonial masters that political independence was imminent from the late 50s. By 1960 when the independence was finally given to Nigeria, it was obvious that some geographical areas particularly within the northern Nigeria were not ready for the independence. Much of their fear was that though they were more politically developed from their experience in the indirect rule system during colonialism, they were educationally relatively backward compared to their counterparts in southern Nigeria with whom they were to contest politically. The first business of political entrepreneurship began as the North had to scout for the few educated elites of Northern origin, groom them and field them for elective and appointed political positions at both the regional and federal levels of government. The traditional rulers, finding themselves unsuitable for elective political positions by virtue of their exalted royal positions handpicked some educated elites, invested in them and had them elected to various political positions to represent the interest of the North. A similar thing could not be said of the likes of Chief Awolowo, Chief Azikiwe or Chief Akintola.

Soon after independence the cry for political and economic power sharing led to arguments concerning the intensive and extensive development at the grassroots levels. In a country with numerous ethnic groups, cries of discrimination, marginalization and neglect became louder by the day. To ensure fairness and justice, ethnic groups gathered to support and sometimes financially contributed to make political campaigns easier for their chosen ones. The expectation was that these representatives would bring home the needed political and economic benefits that would otherwise have been denied them. It was understandable then that many of those sponsored politicians neglected their expected national roles after attaining such positions and concentrated on regional or ethno-religious bloc-making that has become the foundation of political retrogression in Nigeria today.

From the oil boom days many businessmen, top bureaucrats and military top officers acquired wealth that could not be said to be totally legal. Some of these wealthy individuals, not possessing the requisite qualifications or adequate interest for political partisan elections or preferring to remain kingmakers have turned politics in Nigeria into candidate-sponsoring exercise. This redefinition of party politics to 'money-bag-politics' defined and regulated by the political entrepreneurs emphasized a particular brand of governance, one that prioritizes value for money, efficiency and

effectiveness of financial returns to themselves rather than to the citizenry. Of course this shift which has turned the dividends of democracy away from the majority in favor of the ruling class symbolized and controlled by the political entrepreneurs has fast eroded the basis for the much needed socio-political development of the country (Ichima:2014).

Meadowcroft (2001:22) was of the opinion that it is a feature of all modern democracies that party representatives are disproportionately selected from certain sections of the population: the elites. Generally, he said, rational self-interested individuals will only participate in activities where the personal benefits outweigh the personal costs. Candidate being offered sponsorship for elective positions are therefore drawn into the contest by prospects of socio-political gains of an elective or appointed position while the political god-fathers (political entrepreneurs) have their focus on the behind-the-scene benefits accruable from political appointments and protégés, payments for inflated and non-executed contracts, decisions as to locations of social infrastructures and general satisfaction from tele-guiding government decisions from their homes.

Domestic and sometimes foreign private financial donations to political parties or to individual contestants to help off-set campaign expenses are largely unregulated.

To worsen the situation, there are no strictly observed laws regulating the level of spending of political parties or political contestants during campaigns. But it is obvious that a well-financed political party or individual contestants that are financially adequately empowered are more likely to win more electoral fortunes at the polls than their opponents of lower financial resources. This is partly because the former will succeed more in spreading their manifestoes to the voters and in better positions to influence the rules of the electoral process in their favor. Besides, in Nigeria where mass poverty is a prevalent feature of most rural and urban dwellers the voters tend to be more attentive to 'copies of manifestoes wrapped in naira notes'. This is the politically inviting situation that political entrepreneurs usually take advantage of. The end result is that elected and appointed office holders are made to sacrifice political accountability and financial transparency in favor of the usually negative dictates of these political entrepreneurs.

FACTORS FAVOURING POLITICAL ENTREPRENEURS

Our national newspapers are inundated with reports of billions of naira found to have been illegally embezzled by past and serving government/political office holders. The celebrated cases of Andrew and Deziani (the ex-Chief Executive of the NNPC and the former Minister of Petroleum respectively) during the

President Jonathan's regime show that like in most less developed and capitalist-oriented economies there are only a numerically insignificant but financially powerful minority controlling the national economy. It is obvious that much of these accumulated wealth were from suspicious sources and sustained through not-so-legal means. But many responsible Nigerians do not have the funds to contest elections except they are backed by some rich and affluent people. Because many of those qualified for or interested in partisan politics do not have the financial wherewithal, they easily fall prey to political entrepreneurs masquerading as sympathetic supporters.

The level of political development in Nigeria is low. The masses are therefore hardly able to or interested in differentiating between party manifestoes. They understand more when their own 'sons-of-the-soil' are to be elected or telling them who to vote for. And this presents good opportunities for political entrepreneurs.

The masses, by virtue of their level of poverty, are willing to sell their votes now for some peanuts than be ready to vote on basis of future expectations of public good. The current pressing need to pay school fees for their children already driven away from school or to pay debt owed their neighbors is more demanding than all future promises of political gains. As stated above, many responsible Nigerians do not have the funds

to contest election except they are sponsored by some rich and affluent people. The political entrepreneur's cash in on such situations by giving voters cash gifts. And like the Shakespearean shylock, they bound the voters and those to be voted for by oaths so as to ensure their loyalty in voting and subservience after being sworn into power respectively.

The gullibility of the aspiring politicians is another added advantage to the entrepreneurs. Eager to become elected governors, member of one legislative house or the other, the unsuspecting and uncalculating political aspirants play into the waiting hands of political entrepreneurs who encourage them until they reach a stage when retreating becomes socially shameful and continuing, an economic suicide. The entrepreneur then, with all political and economic persuasiveness and ingenuity bounds the political aspirants to their political aprons by sponsoring their campaigns and backing them with all influence in exchange for conditionalities that make the political aspirant a little higher than a house boy of the entrepreneurs after victory.

Private funding of political campaigns is almost unregulated in Nigeria. It therefore becomes a game of who spends more to buy votes. To ensure an equal playing ground therefore political aspirants cannot but have political godfathers who would spit money for money on their behalf even when they do

not initially fully understand the unexpected consequence of their trade-off.

THE UNANTICIPATED CONSEQUENCES

With their ill-gotten wealth, the politicians buy thugs, equip them with sophisticated weapons and hard drugs and send them to cause havoc in the houses of political opponents and any one not sympathetic to their cause. Some are even alleged to pay government forces to kill, maim and rape opponents and their dependants. And of recent, reports in newspapers indicate that kidnapping of supporters and relations of political opponents has been introduced into the political arena. But political violence is self-perpetuating and has the capacity to persist and worsen in its intended and unintended consequences (Chenoy :2007). In Nigeria this practice has resulted in the alienation of and loss of potential good leaders as only the ruthless can survive the game.

The negative effect of violence is not only that which is caused by physical political clashes. It includes moral and psychological violence caused to the people when they lose their jobs and means of livelihood for not belonging to the ruling party. This induces the endless perpetuation of inequality around the people (Anyam: 2009). This is contrary to expected dividends of democracy

It is obvious that every investment is expected to yield profits. The millions of private funds spent on electoral

campaigns, vote purchases and physical sacrifice expended on the elections or appointment of political lackeys are expected to be scooped. The easy way out is for these political office holders to engage in various corrupt and illegal practices to satisfy their political godfathers: inflated contract prices, payments for contracts not executed, contract awards that do not follow due process and out-right looting of the treasury become the in-thing. In the celebrated case of Ngige, when he was the governor of Anambra state, some state government cheques were reported to have been signed in advance to the tune of millions of naira in favor of the governor's political father. The money that was meant for development projects was therefore given to an individual for sponsoring the governor to win the governorship election. Chief Adedibu of Ibadan was reported to have said the Oyo state governors are placed there by his efforts and so they had to share the security votes with him.

As part of dividends accruing to political entrepreneurs, appointments to sensitive and lucrative leadership positions in the government or public parastatals are to be first approved by them. The reported Oyo state episode between ex-Governor Ladoja and late Chief Adedibu illustrates the example of an insatiable political entrepreneur interested not only in the control of the state treasury but also in

deciding who occupies what post in the government offices. The end result is that, in agreement with Onifade and Ojukwu (2009), many top positions in our public and political offices are occupied by people with little or no capacities to run such offices except their excellence in subservience and sycophancy. The failures of most public organizations in meeting public expectations therefore need no further explanations. Perhaps, it is adequate to say that our leaders have failed to understand that their behavior has not resulted in the planned dividends of democracy. Or more appropriately, it is apt to agree that it is difficult to get a man to understand something when his survival depends on his not understanding it.

Pottie (2002) stated that many of the votes during elections to political offices are usually bought by aspiring politicians using cash or material gifts. The voters are therefore not in any advantageous position to make pressing demands on the political office holders for provision of social amenities promised during electioneering campaigns. Though the government policy prescribes provision of social services through grassroots participation therefore, this goal cannot be pursued because "the voters had eaten the sour grapes that had set their teeth on edge". It is therefore obvious that the three tiers of government in Nigeria are out of reach of the electorate and therefore indifferent to public opinion. There is apparently no link between the political practice and democracy.

There is an over-exaggerated political belief that the 'elected' representatives adequately represent the opinions of their constituencies and would bring in constituency projects to improve the lives of the people. This has become very far from the truth and can therefore be said to be the antithesis of dividends of democracy. The current attempt to recall a federal senator from Kogi state because he has apparently failed to represent his constituency is adequate testimony to the missing link between practical politics and democracy in Nigeria.

As the implicit political contract between the electorate and the government at the three tiers wanes to a fearful level of non-challance and resignation, it therefore becomes harder for government to address issues such as social security, staff welfare, constituency demands, employment generation or even pensions for those who spent their youthful age working honestly for the nation. All these testify to the uncertainty of democratic dividends in this uncertain political terrain.

For clearer dividends of democracy, there must be an appreciable level of capacity to agree among policy makers. This capacity has however become so lacking in an increasing manner in the face of alarming and unpredictable harsh political terrain inundated with political prostitution of dumping political parties upon which politicians were elected into offices (party

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cross carpeting). There are still no clear guidelines on when politicians can change political parties. We are still guided by

illegality shrouded in acclaimed individual rights to associations.

**POLITICAL PARTIES AND DEMOCRATIC GROWTH IN
NIGERIA: INSIGHTS FROM THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC
PARTY**

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ABSTRACT

While the constitutions of most democracies, developing and developed do not statutorily stipulate the functions and roles of political parties, political parties remain central and significant to the workings of any democratic polity. The centrality of political parties to democracy can be located in the critical roles and functions they perform in consolidating democracy. The extent to which they perform these functions however, particularly in nascent democracies has been a source of concern. The perception is that political parties may have not been performing these functions to expectation. This paper examines the role of political parties in a democracy. The major objectives of this paper are to undertake a critical evaluation of the nexus between political parties and democracy and review the roles of the Peoples Democratic Party in Nigeria's nascent democracy. Using secondary data analysed through the historical qualitative method it was discovered that Nigerian political are not adequately institutionalised in the country's political system. Thus, they have not impacted positively on the democratization process. It is however, recommended among others that there is the need for political parties to imbibe and observe democratic principles in governance process.

Key Words: Democracy, Political Parties, Democratic Consolidation, Peoples Democratic Party, Nigeria

Introduction

By virtue of the roles they play in democratic settings, political parties are crucial and important to the workings and development of any democratic society. However, despite the important functions political parties perform in democratic societies, there is a general notion that political parties have not really been performing these functions satisfactorily so as to deepen democracy. These have led to popular dissatisfaction of citizens with party politics (Webb, 2007:10). Public dissatisfaction of citizens with party politics is evident in the increasingly volatile electoral behaviour and widespread fall in electoral turnout since 1990 (Webb, 2007: 11) in Sub-Saharan Africa. It has also been observed that in some new democracies, citizens have experienced either minor or no tangible benefits from their new governments (NDI, 2013) formed by political parties in the aftermath of winning elections.

It was further lamented that in these new democracies poverty levels have remained the same, government services remain ineffective and citizens continue to feel disconnected from their governments (NDI, 2013). The continual disconnection between the citizens and the government formed by political parties remain a matter of concern. There is therefore, the need to review the roles and functions of political parties in democracy, particularly in developing democracy. It is against this

backdrop that this paper tends to examine the role of political parties vis-a-vis democratization process in Nigeria with focus on the people's Democratic Party (PDP).

The major objectives of this paper are in two folds. The first is to attempt a critical overview of the nexus between political parties and democracy. Second, the paper undertakes an in-depth review of the roles of the PDP in the democratization process in Nigeria. To achieve these, the paper is divided into various sections. Following the introduction the paper proceeds to conceptualizing political parties and democracy after which the emergence and structure of the PDP are discussed. This is followed by an examination of the critical nexus between political parties and democracy. After these, the paper proceeds to a review of the roles of the PDP in the democratization process in Nigeria. The last part however, concludes and suggests recommendations.

Political Parties and Democracy: An Attempt at Conceptualization

Political Parties

Political parties connote “any political group identified by an official label that presents at elections, and is capable of placing through election, candidates for public office” (Satori, 1976). According to Downs (1957) a political party is a team of men seeking to control the governing apparatus by gaining office in a duly

constituted election". In his own perception Schumpeter (1962:283) views political parties as "groups whose members propose to act in concert in the competitive struggle for political power". Schnattschneid (1942:35) views political parties as "an organized attempt to get power". Power in this regard means control of the government (Schnattschneid, 1942:35). In another perception, **LaPalombara (1974:509) perceive political party as "a formal organization whose self-conscious, primary purpose is to place and maintain in public office persons who will control, alone or in coalition, the machinery of government"**. **Even though these definitions may demonstrate some diverse perceptions of scholars about political parties, it is important to note that a common denominator to all these perspectives is the control of power. The sole aim of a political party is to capture public offices through competitive elections.** Hofmeister and Grabow (2011:11) asserted that all the definitions "emphasize the participation in elections and the interest to gain public offices and mandates". Hofmeister and Grabow (2011:11) further claimed that for an organization to be termed a political party it must satisfy some certain criteria. These include the following:

A party strives to influence the formation of political opinion and aims to have a general political impact. The active influence of political opinion-making is aimed at a

longer period of time as well as a wider region and should not be concentrated on a local level or a single issue. Secondly, a party is an association of citizens holding individual memberships, and shall have a minimum number of members, so that the seriousness of its targets and the prospects of success remain clear. Thirdly, a party has to demonstrate the will to consistently take part in the political representation of the people during elections. It, therefore, distinguishes itself from unions, non-governmental organisations and other initiatives that does not want to carry any political responsibilities for larger sectors but only try to have selective influence, and that do not participate in elections. Fourth, a party has to be an independent and permanent organisation; it shall not be formed only for one election and cease to exist afterwards. Fifth, a party must be willing to appear in public. Lastly, a party does not necessarily need to win elective seats, but should fulfil all the other criteria. This paper however, defines a political party as an organization which can be distinguished by an official label or logo and which has as its major aim capturing political power through presenting candidates for elective positions.

Democracy

Democracy in contemporary times has appeared to be a worldwide phenomenon. According to Isakhan (2012:4) democracy is becoming a widespread component of political life. Despite this, arriving at a

definitive conceptualization of democracy has proved both elusive and controversial (Isakhan, 2012: 4). This may have prompted Gills and Rocamora (1992:501) to describe democracy as a struggle which involve a major ideological battle. Despite the complexity, vagueness and varied opinions on the concept, one can still be able to make out some definitions of the concept of democracy. Isakhan and Slaughter (2014:3) opined that democracy can be conceptualized from two broad schools of thoughts. The first is the "liberal democratic view" while the second is the "civic republican tradition" (Isakhan and Slaughter, 2014:3). The "liberal democratic" view posits that democracy could be understood in the minimalist, elitist and aggregate terms. This definition conspicuously characterise model of government in contemporary times. In this regard, people participate in politics through elected representative where "Citizens engage in a trade-off in which they sacrifice direct and ongoing involvement in their government for the functionality and accountability of representative democracy (Isakhan and Slaughter, 2014:3).

Proponents of this school of thought includes: Rawls (1971) and Schumpeter (1947). The "civic republican tradition" defines democracy from the perspective of participatory, inclusive and deliberative form of government (Isakhan and Slaughter, 2014:3). The proponents of this school of thought view democracy as more

than mere representation arguing that citizens ought to be directly involved in their government (Isakhan and Slaughter, 2014:3). Democracy as a concept has also been described as including "the right of people to decide their own aspirations and programmes, not only in political life, but also in economic, cultural, religious and other aspects of life including the right of people to participate fully in decisions that affect their life" (Imam 1991:6). However, democracy irrespective of its perception and practice is based on possessing a consensual philosophical justification which is built on certain universal values and ideal, which include freedom, equity and justice (Nnoli 1986:166). Democracy can therefore, be seen as a continuous process and agitation for the achievement of these democratic values.

Political Parties and Democracy: An Examination of the Critical Nexus

While political parties perform the major function of recruiting men of integrity and leadership for elective positions (Goel, 2015), their emergence, development and the roles they play in democracies have always aroused curious debates in the study of democracy and democratization. This cannot be unconnected with the fact that the existence of political parties and the free competition between them is an indispensable pre-requisite for modern democracy (Simon, 2003:3). It has been observed that the analysis of the history of the debate on political parties is laced with

thrilling professional and ideological debates relating to the role played by political parties themselves in the democratic system as a whole (Burnell, 2005; Sartori, 2005; Ostrogorski, 1976). Political parties are indeed endemic to democracy. The endemicity of political parties to democracy may have prompted Schattschneider (1942) to state that "political parties created democracy and modern democracy is unthinkable save in terms of the parties".

Political parties occupy a central position in democratic governance. Thus, there exists a strong synergy between the two variables. The nexus between political parties and democracy can be located in the indispensability of the existence of political parties in a democratic polity. Indeed political parties form the cornerstone of a democratic society and serve as important political institution of a democratic polity. They have been seen as key and vital contributors to nation-building. Scholars over the years have stressed the increasing importance of political parties to the sustenance and consolidation of democracy. For instance, Burnell (2005) argued that "Political parties are crucial for long term political development in emerging democracies". In a similar vein, Menocal (2006) maintained that 'it is extremely difficult to imagine a democracy that can function without political parties'. Randall and Svasand (2002:1) analysed

political parties' contribution to democratization in terms of their functions. They categorised these functions to include: representation, integration into the democratic process, aggregating and channelling political interests, recruitment and (democratic) training of political leaders, making government accountable and organising opposition (Randall and Svasand, 2002:1).

On this basis political parties ensure the survival and consolidation of the democratic regime, in at least two broader respects. First, by "instilling appropriate attitudes and expectations in the public and by contriving through their own actions to give substance to constitutional rules and thus confirm and enlarge on the formal outcome of transition" (Pridham, 1990: 22) and second, "they bolster regime legitimacy, accumulating a reservoir of good will to help tide fragile new democracies over bad times" (Mainwaring and Scully, 1995). In another claim, Johnston (2005:1) posit that "any democracy needs strong and sustainable political parties with the capacity to represent citizens and provide policy choices that demonstrate their ability to govern for the public good". Thus, while strong and vibrant political parties are necessary pre-requisite to competitive democratic politics both in emerging democracies and consolidated ones, political parties provide a platform through which the society relates to the political process.

In addition, Schmitter (1992) argued that "in the effort to consolidate new or nascent democracy, parties remain dominant in structuring the electoral process, governing and even perhaps in the symbolic integration of citizens into the electoral process". In demonstrating the nexus between political parties and democracy Carothers (2006:56) pointed out that "efficacious democratic parties do not necessarily emerge out of repeated elections unless there are other factors present, such as mobilized mass public, civic organizations, funds and access to state resources". In his own perception, Reilly (2001:163) pointed out that aggregative parties have helped to consolidate democracy. He recalled how since the late 1990 majoritarian electoral systems have engineered the production of less fragmented party systems which have helped stabilize democracy in Asia (Reilly, 2001:163). According to Stokes (1999: 263) the direct relationship between political parties and democracy cannot be deemphasized. It was observed that "parties are makers of democracy, inevitable expressions of its advance, without being causally connected to all that is presumed well about democracy" (Stokes, 1999: 263). While recognizing the assumption that some contemporary model of political parties may reinforce the fears that political parties would stand as a stumbling block between "elected governments and the achievement of the public good" (Stokes, 1999: 263).

Lai and Melkonian-Hoover (2005) showed the importance of political parties in democratizing states that have not transitioned to democracy. They opined that the institution of political parties plays a fundamental role in democratization by serving as an intermediary between the state and the civil society. They further claimed that parties comprise of "a legitimate, stable procedural mechanism for the alternation of power and the representation of majority and minority interest" (Lai and Melkonian-Hoover, 2005). In their opinion, "party competition can reduce state limits on citizen dissent and lead to increased parity and access to government resources for parties and can also provide a democratic means of redress for the citizenry, and stimulate increased responsiveness on the part of the ruling party" (Lai and Melkonian-Hoover, 2005). Similarly, the ability of political parties to legitimately contest for power with the ruling party solidifies norms of peaceful transition of power from one political group to another. In this way, political parties thus convey and reinforce democratic norms, and help a state to democratize (Linz and Stepan 1996 cited in Lai and Melkonian-Hoover, 2005).

After democratization states which have transitioned to democracy have the responsibility of making its democracy strong thereby ensuring that such democratic arrangements do not relapse back to the initial autocratic regime. This is another sphere which demonstrates the

inextricable linkage between political parties and democracy. Linz and Stepan (1996) posited that "one domain in which the importance of political parties is generally acknowledged is in their positive contribution to the consolidation of democracy, the relevance of which has become especially pertinent with the recent expansion of democratic polities emerging out of the third wave". The most significant question as regards the study of the politics of democratic consolidation has been "what consolidates democracy and which institutions and agents matter most in consolidating democracy?". In this context, there is widespread consensus that political parties are the principal agents of democratic consolidation. This is not only because they are key strategic actors which shape the emergence of democracy (Capoccia and Ziblatt, 2010:941). In studying the process of democratic consolidation it is observed that "approaching parties as independent variables, and as institutions with significant bearings on how political systems works is crucial in explicating the quality of democracy and the progress towards democratic consolidation" (Mainwaring and Scully, 1995:3).

While presenting the requirements for consolidating democracy Przeworski (1991:10) affirmed that "democracy is consolidated when under given political and economic conditions a particular system of institutions becomes the only game in town,

when no one can imagine acting outside the democratic institutions" and "when compliance i.e. acting within the institutional framework constitutes the equilibrium of the decentralised strategies of all the relevant political forces.". One major part which forms the system of political institutions is the political parties. These political parties according to him make up the part of multiple democratic forces which compete for power in an institutional framework (Przeworski, 1991:10). Some inferences can however be drawn from these: political engagement is democratic only when it takes place within an institutional setting, non-compliance occurs not only when political actors in the formal institutional setting break the rules of the institutional game, but also when political engagement happens outside a prescribed political institutional framework. The practice of democracy within the institutional framework involves striving to set a balance between the party which organizes the government and the party which performs the functions of opposition. Indeed the existence of a legal opposition party strengthens democratic process.

Opposition parties according to Kiiza (2005) promote democratic governance through the various roles it performs in a democracy. Opposition parties promote "national conversation" and pushes democratic discussion to a higher level of political development and maturity through

encouraging responsible and reasoned debate". Second, they "maintain touch with the voter-citizen and demonstrating the relevance of politics to the ordinary people". Third, opposition parties hold the government responsible for their actions and inactions. Again, "they, present a viable alternative to the incumbent government by designing alternative ideas, principles and policies for governing society". In the eventuality of the incumbent government not living up to the expectation of the citizens, the "government-in-waiting" (the opposition party) takes over the reign of power through free and fair elections (Kiiza, 2005). In addition, opposition parties "strengthen the culture of democracy within the party and the political community in general by promoting open debate during delegates' conferences, promoting intra party democracy and ensuring accountable use of public funds". Lastly, opposition parties are the unpaid *but dedicated* principal researchers for the government in power (Kiiza, 2005).

Political parties through the practice of internal democracy contribute to the larger democratization process. One of the ways by which a party can exhibit the traits of internal democracy is through party primary elections. Internal democracy or intra-party democracy is a broad term describing a wide range of methods for including party members in intra-party deliberations and decision making. Nominating candidates for elections within a party is an important

task because the stability of a party largely depends on well established and institutionalized internal party structures. A political party stability can be examined through the manner in which it conducts the process of electing candidates for a general election. In essence, it is significant for political parties to strictly take to the ideals of internal party democracy. When candidates are elected through primary elections, it means that party structure and organization are participatory and inclusive which thus, results to the harmonious co-existence of members within the party. The conduct of free and fair primary election builds party discipline and cohesion.

A political party which uses internal democratic and transparent procedures in selecting candidates is likely to select more capable leaders. Thus, parties which make use of free and fair primary elections to select candidates for elective posts strengthens and stabilizes the party and strengthen democratic practices both within the party and the entire polity. According to Scarrow (2005:3) those who emphasize the participatory aspects of democracy place the most value on intra-party democracy as an end in itself. They see parties not primarily as intermediary but rather as incubators that nurture citizen's political competence. To fulfil this role parties decision making structure and process should provide opportunities for individual citizens to influence the choices that parties offer to voters. These opportunities will help

citizens expand their civil skills and the inclusive process can boost the legitimacy of the alternative they produce. In this regard, party institutions can perform useful educative function while transferring power to broader sector of the society. All these play crucial role in political party's quest for promoting party stability.

From the foregoing, it has been demonstrated that political parties are indispensable to democracy and democratization process. However, the effective performance of the functions of political parties in representative democracies particularly, in the new ones has come under intense criticism (Dalton and Wattenberg, 2000). While scholars have theoretically explicated the relationship between political parties and democracy based on the unique functions and roles they perform in a democratic society, some other scholars shared pessimistic views of the importance of political parties to democracy. It is believed that political parties may have not been performing these functions after all. For instance, Webb (2007:5) lamented that "in many of the world's democracies, there is disconnect, alienation and apathy" between democracy and political parties. It was claimed that the burden of the blame of this unfortunate state of affairs may be heaped on various targets which include, the political parties and the politicians, role of the mass media and the general public (Webb, 2007:5). It was however, observed that a considerable

blame could be placed at the doorstep of the debate that has long been in existence between the protagonist of the participatory and representative democracy (Webb, 2007:5).

While the advocates of the participatory democratic school hinge the blame on politicians and the entire system, the protagonist of the representative school indict the citizens and the media on which the citizens rely on for political information as responsible for the low esteem in which politics and its leading protagonist are presently held. However, (Webb, 2007:5) was quick in debunking the claims of these two schools of thought. According to him "radical participationists are unrealistic in their vision of a widespread popular capacity to engage with politics, and prone to stray uncomfortably close to the territory of shallow populism in their naive and unreasonable view of the job done by political elites". From the perspective of the participationists, it is believed that "their critics appeared to be apologists for an anachronistic elitist view of democracy, and take insufficient account of the cognitive revolution which has facilitated a far greater potential for popular political engagement" (Webb, 2007:5).

While bearing in mind, organising accountable and effective *government* as one of the major functions of political parties in representative democracy Webb, Farrell and Holliday (2002) lamented that

political parties in contemporary democracies have not been able to meet up with the performance of this functions as they have "often seemed to struggle to impose distinctive and effective policy solutions when in government". They however, advanced two reasons for this. Firstly, they believed that political parties "often find it difficult to 'make a difference' to policy outcomes given the legacies of previous incumbents in office". Secondly, they are of the opinion that "a variety of macro-social developments can seriously constrain party governments' scope for autonomous action, including technological changes, demographic and social trends, and economic cycles". These factors aids the understanding of why political parties have been on the receiving end of widespread opinion of policy ineffectiveness and the seeming ineffectiveness of government to resolve persistent national policy challenges (Webb, Farrell and Holliday, 2002).

Another aspect were political parties have been found wanting is in the performance of role of increasing political participation. According to Webb (2007:9) political parties' record in the performance of this function seems to be increasingly disappointing. It was observed by Mair and Biezen (2001:5) that "there is incontrovertible evidence of the decline of party memberships and activism in established democracies". This trend appeared to have spread to new

democracies. Webb (2007:9) observed that "new democracies seem to have moved to operate in a low-participation phase of democracy without ever passing through the mass party stage of development". Reasons for this decline may have been captured by Susan Scarrow. Scarrow (1996) offered a two-way explanation for this trend and can be summarized into the "supply side" and the "demand side". According to the "supply side" low political participation occur as a result of social changes which reduces citizens interest in joining political parties. The "demand side" on the other hand, bother on the organizational reasons why party bigwigs might no longer be interested in recruiting members (Scarrow, 1996). The supply side however, seems to be the most tenable since there are no sufficient evidence to demonstrate the fact that political parties are no longer interested in recruiting candidates. In addition, one of the ways to assess the strength and weaknesses of political parties is to look at their level of followership. While parties with more followership and members are regarded as strong, parties with relatively low number of members are considered weak.

The People's Democratic Party: Emergence, Structure and Objectives

The People's Democratic Party was formed out of a group of eminent people who opposed the transmutation of the late Head of State of Nigeria, General Sanni Abacha into a civilian Head of State and the People's

Democratic Movement on July 28, 1998. This group was named the G-34. At that time the country was at the peak of political crisis caused by the annulment of the June 12, 1993 presidential election, believed to have been won by Chief MKO Abiola. The G-34 at that time was a moral interventionist movement in the political affairs of Nigeria. Following the death of Gen. Sanni Abacha in 1998, the G-34 and the People's Democratic Movement transformed into a political party known as the Peoples Democratic Party.

The party has however, been described as a coalition of some of the nation's most powerful neo-patrimonial networks (Kew, 2010:501). The party is one of the nine provincially registered parties under the General Abdulsalam Abubakar administration based on its satisfactory performance in the December 5, 1998 local government elections in which the chairman and councillors were elected in all local government councils in Nigeria (Osumah & Ikelegbe, 2009). Political parties are institutions with many detailed parts that are combined in a particularly complex way. As such they possess both formal and informal structure (Alapiki, 2004). The structures and organs of political parties help them to effectively aggregate and process the societal demands. It is therefore, imperative that all parties should possess internal structures and organs with which they work with. The Peoples Democratic Party has a hierarchical

organizational structure organized in the Ward, Local Government Areas, States Zones and the National Cadre. The organs of the party are however spelled out in the constitution of the party.

It is generally argued that there is no universal pattern of the structure and organs of political parties and that all political parties like large organizations are inherently oligarchic (Osumah & Ikelegbe 2009). The oligarchic nature of political parties dwells on the fact that the leadership of any party like any other organization is conferred on a small proportion of people i.e. members. Political parties and other organizations are established to achieve some certain aims. Though the primary aim of any political party in a democratic setting is to sponsor candidates to attain political offices under the party label, there are other objectives which political parties wish to achieve. These objectives vary and largely depend on the ideology and the vision of such parties. Most objectives of political parties are largely derived from the factors which surround their establishment. Thus, the objectives of the People Democratic Party are clearly stated in the Constitution which established it. It has however, been observed that there is a linkage between the political development which led to the formation of the PDP and its set objectives. It is believed that the PDP emerged in response to the political developments especially to foster liberalism and political participation after prolonged years of

military maladministration with serious erosion of fundamental elements of democracy and good government (Osumah & Ikelegbe, 2009:191).

The Peoples' Democratic Party and Democratization in Nigeria: An Assessment

The present democratic dispensation is the Fourth since the attainment of independence in 1960. After close to seventeen years of military dictatorship (1983-1999) Nigeria returned to democracy in 1999 and ushered in the Fourth Republic. For sixteen years i.e. from 1999 to 2015 the PDP was at the helm of affairs of the country. However, the role of the party in the democratization process since it attained power in 1999 can be described as antithetical to democratic tenets and principles. An assessment of the roles of the PDP in the democratization process as against its objectives particularly those which involves sustenance of democracy and selection of capable candidates for political offices reveals that in actual sense the party's activities as regards these objectives has not been in tandem with its founding objectives of entrenchment of democracy. As stated in its constitution, it is the aim of the PDP to "ensure genuine restoration, permanent entrenchment and practice of democracy, the rule of law, equity and social justice". It was further stated that it is one of the aims of the party as well to "ensure that only competent, dedicated, patriotic and credible candidates

are sponsored for elective offices at all levels of governance" (Osumah & Ikelegbe, 1999:191). As noted earlier, the strict practice of internal democracy as it relates to the conduct of party primaries within political parties foster democratic norms and principles in a polity. Indeed, the record of the PDP in terms of the practice of internal democracy as it relates to the conduct of party primaries has not been encouraging to the democratization process. Some instances will suffice.

In preparation for the 2003 presidential election the People's Democratic Party held its primary to decide on the candidate who will fly the party's flag in the general election. After declaring his intention to contest the presidential primary, Atiku Abubakar after series of "consultations and internal party arrangement" resolved to be Obasanjo's running mate once again. The presidential ticket of the party was contested by Olusegun Obasanjo and Abubakar Rimi. It is important to note that there was no contestant from the south. This however was said to be connected to the "consensus" reached by the party not to present opposition to the ambition of the then incumbent President Olusegun Obasanjo. All party activities pointed to the fact that chief Olusegun Obasanjo was the favoured candidate of the party. According to Odey (2003) the 2003 presidential primary was conducted in favour of the then incumbent President Olusegun Obasanjo. With a controversial clause added in the

stage managed convention of the PDP before the party's national convention which made a good number of the president's political appointees automatic delegates to the convention smuggle into the party rule, the presidential primary became a mere ritual (Odey, 2003).

Atiku Abubakar who would have provided a formidable opposition was cajoled out of the way by a promise from the then incumbent president to support his presidential candidacy come 2007. A situation where all political appointees of the then incumbent president and governors were automatic delegates to the party congress that elected the party's presidential candidate made the election process structured in favour of the then incumbent president. The apparent and unprecedented nature of the non-transparent party primary and its resultant effect of politically motivated killings were amazingly worrisome (Garuba, 2005). Prior to the adoption of candidates by the Peoples Democratic Party, the effect of political assassination and attempted murder had appeared as an intra-party phenomenon because of the believe that winning at the primary level is as good as winning in the general elections. The pattern of politics with bitterness which had long characterized Nigerian politics was more horrifying during the period, particularly within the Peoples Democratic Party. From the beginning of the 2003 electoral process there were intra-party squabbles, protest,

complaints of intimidation and the influence of "ethnicity" and corruption within the party. The conduct of staged-managed' party primary elections in 2003 also manifested in state primary elections that were held to present the party's gubernatorial candidates. With the exception of few states, incumbent governors were given automatic tickets (Odeh, 2003).

In a similar vein, on the 4th December, 2006 the Peoples Democratic Party organized its gubernatorial primary election in order to present the parties flag bearer in the 2007 gubernatorial election in Imo state. Senator Ifeanyi Ararume, one of the 21 contestants, won the gubernatorial primary (Adejumobi & Kehinde, 2007:10) Ararume reportedly polled 2,061 votes, followed by Chief Hope Uzodima with 1,649 votes. Since both result fell below the parties requirement of 50 percent for a clean winner, it was expected that a run-off election would be organized. However disregarding the outcome, the party leadership in the state announced Chief Tony Ezenwa, who had come fifth in the primary election as the party's flag bearer (Adejumobi & kehinde, 2007:107). Having polled the highest number of votes the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) published Ararume's name as the party's flag bearer. Dramatically, the party substituted Ararume's name with that of Engineer Charles Ugwu through a letter sent to INEC dated 18th January, 2007. Charles Ugwu

reportedly poll 36 votes and was in the fourteen the position. Ugwu who was a former president of the Manufacturers Association Nigeria, had supported president Obasanjo's aborted third term bid. It was generally believed that the former president was rewarding a "loyalist" with the party's gubernatorial nomination. (Adejumobi & Kehinde, 2007:107). Ararume however, headed straight to the court to seek redress to what he viewed as injustice. His challenge to the party's decision was upheld by the Supreme Court which directed INEC to list him as the party's gubernatorial candidate. Complying with the Supreme Court decision INEC listed Ararume as the party's candidate, but the party worked against him to ensure his defeat at the polls (Adejumobi & Kehinde, 2007:107).

The lack of respect for the rules of the game in the party's primaries also manifested in the gubernatorial primary held in Rivers state to present the party's flag bearer for the 2007 gubernatorial election. In the primary election conducted in the state, Rotimi Amaechi emerged winner with the highest votes of 6,527 votes out of 6,575 total votes cast. Expectedly, Amaechi's name was forwarded to INEC as the party's candidate for state governorship election. However, in a letter forwarded to INEC dated 2nd February, 2007 the party sought to replace Amaechi's name with Celestine Omehia's name giving the reason that Amaechi's name was "submitted in error". Omehia

never contested the primaries in which the Amaechi emerged as winner. The party eventually won the gubernatorial election. Consequently, Amaechi headed straight to court. In October 2007 the Supreme Court ruled in favour of Amaechi and directed that he should be installed as the elected governor. The party accused Amaechi of working against the party. Based on this he was expelled from the political party.

The undemocratic conduct of party primary elections within the PDP definitely does no good to the democratization process. The undemocratic manner in which the PDP conducts its primaries was aptly described by Osumah and Ikelegbe (2009:192) when they asserted that "within the PDP there has been serious erosion of democratic values. Its primaries, conventions and congresses, which are the democratic institutions for nominating party candidates for elections and electing party officials, have little been regarded". The nature of the conduct of the primary elections in the PDP has been largely responsible for the occurrence of intra-party conflict within the party. At one point or the other intra-party squabbles have threatened the cooperative existence of the party. Omoruyi (2002:8) lamented that Nigerian political parties are not in conflict with one another but rather members of the same party are in conflict with one another. He said this in the following words "the so-called parties are not in competition with one another. They are in factions; these factions are more in competition with

themselves than with another party.” Osumah and Ikelegbe (2009:192) put it as thus: "since its first tenure the party (PDP) has become an academy of intrigues ridden by lack of coherence, cordiality, internal wrangling, squabble, divisions, schisms and factions.

The various levels of party hierarchy have been factionalized." It has been observed that the resultant conflicts which ensues as a result of the conduct of non-transparent primaries could have resulted in the incessant leadership problem facing the party which according to Katsina (2006:4) may have been orchestrated by the lack of coherent ideological principles. The fall in the dominance of the PDP as witnessed in the last presidential election when it relinquished power has been attributed to the absence of internal democracy especially in the process of nominating flag bearers (Katsina, 2006:8).

From 1999 through 2015 the Federal Government formed by the PDP conducted four different elections i.e. the 2003, 2007, 2011 and 2015 general elections. The 2003 and the 2007 general elections were described as the worst to be conducted in the electoral history of the country (EUEOM, 2007). The elections were characterised by monumental fraud and malpractices. These elections particularly the 2007 general elections were devoid of democratic principles and ethos (EUEOM, 2007). The nature and conduct of the general elections

were antithetical to democratization. The widespread condemnation which heralded the outcome of the elections attested to this. The elections were condemned in totality and were described as a step backward in the country's quest for a consolidated democracy and a stable political entity (Omotola, 2009:195). The elections were characterised by a high degree of electoral violence such that the elections were described as "garrisoned elections" (Omotola, 2009). Both local and international observers expressed their displeasure over the conduct of the elections. For instance, the European Union Election Observation Mission (2007:2) lamented that "the 2007 state and federal elections have fallen short of basic international and regional standards for democratic elections". (EUEOM, 2007:2).

The 2007 general elections portended great dangers to the country's democratic project. In the aftermath of the elections many wondered if the nation's democracy can survive. The elections were devoid of minimum democratic ethos. According to Omotola (2009:210) "the elections merely consolidated the PDP's hold on power". He thus, noticed that "one indisputable fact about the 2007 elections was that they helped to consolidate the emergence of a one party dominant state in Nigeria, with attendant implications for the decline and decay of opposition politics". The elections were far from being democratic and were in no way close to deepening the existing

democratization process which commenced in 1999.

Since losing power at the national level in the 2015 presidential election, the PDP have not lived up to the expectation of forming viable political opposition against the ruling party. The political party which held power from 1999-2015 is believed to have garnered prowess to establish itself as a formidable opposition party and be in a leading position to strengthen the country's democratization process. What is however, obtainable is that the former ruling party has failed to practically perform the functions of an opposition party. The failure of the party to perform the roles of a formidable opposition is detrimental to the country's democratization project. The inability of the party to stand as a viable opposition cannot be unconnected with the challenges facing the party. These challenges are however, derivable from the leadership crisis facing the party since it relinquished power. The party has been engulfed in a leadership crisis since the resignation in May 2015 of the former National Chairman of the party Alhaji Adamu Muazu. The crisis is worsened by the choice of the new Chairman between Sen. Ali-Modu Sherrif, who was claimed to have been sacked as the party's National Chairman at its May 21 National Convention and Sen. Ahmed Makarfi the Chairman of the constituted National Caretaker Committee. While some party bigwigs is of the opinion that Sen. Ali-Modu Sherrif has been sacked, Ali-Modu

Sherrif believes he remains the National Chairman of the Peoples Democratic Party until the court states otherwise (Vanguard News, August: 2016).

It was reported that "Sheriff has, on different occasions, rejected the Makarfi-led National Caretaker Committee which was constituted at the convention as an aberration, saying that there is no provision for such bodies in PDP's Constitution (Vanguard News, August: 2016). However, attempts at resolving the leadership crisis amicably and outside the court failed as both factions refused to "sheath their swords". This led to a legal tussle and on the 16th of February, 2017 the Court of Appeal sitting in Port Harcourt, Rivers State, on Thursday affirmed Sen Ali Modu Sheriff, as the authentic National Chairman of the party (Opejobi, 2017). The Markafi faction however, rejected the Appeal Court judgement claiming that Ali- Modu Sherrif cannot lead that party.

Opposition parties are necessary constituents of a democratization process. The contribution of opposition parties, civil society organizations as well as the citizens in scrutinising, critiquing, and protesting against ideas and policies of government is invaluablely critical to the strengthening of the democratic process and achievement of socio-economic development. Indeed, the centrality of opposition party to the development of democracy cannot be overemphasized. Democracy cannot

blossom in a situation where there is no opposition party or where the opposition is suppressed or weak. While democratic principles such as the conduct of free, fair and regular elections, respect for fundamental human rights of citizens, free press, independent judiciary, transparent and accountability are fundamental principles of democracy, "informed control of rulers by the electorate, and tolerance on the part of government of critical dissents in manners expected of a well-institutionalised opposition and responsible citizens are other fundamental principles that define a decent democratic culture" (Adesola, 2016). In this context, citizens and opposition parties are allowed to state their grievance and disagreement with actions and policies of the ruling party. They are also giving the room to differ and provide reasonable alternatives to issues affecting the country since their constructive dissents cannot be treated as treasonable acts (Adesola, 2016).

Considering the foregoing, it can be deduced that the Peoples' Democratic Party have not demonstrated considerable capability in fostering the nation's democratization process. The actions and character of the party are not in tandem with its founding objectives and mission statement. The ability of the PDP to serve as a viable agent of development and consolidation of democracy in Nigeria is retarded by its inability to imbibe and observe the fundamental principles of

internal party democracy. This have manifested within the party in the form of constant intra-party conflict and leadership crisis, inability to function as a viable opposition, lack of transparency and accountability, mutual distrust and mass defection and disregard for democratic ethos and principles. Owing to these, the PDP has not been able to perform credibly its functions as a political party. This has invariably led to the citizens' discontentment with the operations and character of the party when it held power and hence it was voted out of office. Signifying therefore, a democratic disconnect between the activities of the party and efforts at democratizing the polity. The political party which once boasted of holding on to power for more than sixty years before it was eased out of power through the 2015 presidential election had not exhibited the characteristics of a well institutionalised political party and according to Adesola (2016) the "PDP since losing power has continued to grope in the dark of divisiveness, illogicality, irresponsibility, and sheer vapidty".

The nature and character of the PDP can be located in the description which Morrison (2004:421) gave to African political parties. According to him after independence, African political parties "lost all importance as democratic institutions and became tools for authoritarian leaders who articulated the parties' priorities as well as governments' policies, and later on became only interested

in the inviolability of their monopoly on power (Morrison 2004:421). Rather than being developed as organizations, the political parties turned out as valuable vehicles for ambitious politicians. Consequently, the parties were not institutionalized as viable political institutions. The party leaders used the party structure to mobilize adequate support from the electorate so as to negotiate with the other party leaders for the distribution of public good (Rakner and Svasand, 2007:14). As a result, African political parties have weak roots in the society and possess an extremely low level of institutionalization. Thus, such parties find it "extremely difficult to emphasize politics of issues. Rather, their mobilization of popular forces have been largely driven by ethnicity and religion, as much as the influence of money politics" (Omotola, 200:62).

Conclusion

Political parties are integral and viable political institutions of democracy. When they are deeply rooted and adequately institutionalized as political organizations, political parties through the roles and functions they perform are capable of driving and consolidating democracy. By virtue of these functions and roles most democratic societies accord political parties a foremost position in its democratic system. Despite the importance of political parties to democracy, political parties most especially in new and developing

democracies have failed to adequately perform the roles and functions which they are designed to perform. Consequently, the standard of living of the citizens continues to deteriorate as a result of insensitivity of governments to perform its functions adequately. Using the Peoples' Democratic Party as a point of reference, it is discovered that political parties in Nigeria are weakly rooted in the society.

Therefore, they are characterised by low level of political institutionalization. Political parties in Nigeria lack internal party democracy, internal unity and discipline. These have been largely responsible for their inability to perform the functions of a well institutionalized political party so as to help drive the democratization process. For political parties to be able to achieve this, they must first and foremost imbibe and observe to the letter, the principles of internal party democracy. The process of selecting candidates for elective posts must be transparent and open to everyone who is qualified. Secondly, Nigerian political parties should be reformed in order to move them away from being agents of acquisition of power and medium of gaining unfettered access to the nations' treasury to viable political institutions capable of meeting the needs of the common man. Equally important is the fact that political parties, most especially the PDP should devise a means of settling its internal wrangling which is largely orchestrated by the leadership crisis the

party is presently facing. This will enable it to reorganise and reinvent itself to meet up with the challenges of fostering the democratization process as an opposition political party.

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THE EFFECT OF TRAINING AND DEVELOPMENT ON EMPLOYEES' PERFORMANCE: A STUDY OF IFELODUN LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA OF KWARA STATE

By

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the effect of Training and Development on employees' performance taken Ifelodun Local Government Area of Kwara State as a Case Study, to achieve this, the study employed both secondary and primary mode of data collection. The secondary materials used include textbooks, journals, seminar paper presentations and internet facilities while primary data were collected through a well-structured questionnaire and interview administered on both senior and junior selected staff of Ifelodun Local Government Area of Kwara State. The data generated from the field were presented and analyzed with descriptive statistics while the corresponding hypothesis was tested with the chi-square. The findings affirmed that there is relationship between regular training/development and the employees' performance. On this note, it is safe to recommend that continuous training and retraining of the staff of this local government will improve good governance and effective service delivery to the entire citizens of this local government.

Keywords: Training, Development, Employees' Performance and Ifelodun Local Government

1.0 Introduction

Training and development is the crucial area of human resource management, it is the fastest growing segment of personnel activities. Training which is referred to as a course of diet and exercise for developing the employees' effective, cognitive and psychomotor skills assist the organizations to have a crucial method of developing the employee towards enhancing his productivity (Ezeani&Oladele, 2013). Manpower training and development is one of the most important organizational dynamics. It constitutes the pivot in which organizational survival is run. The training process is one of the most pervasive methods for enhancing the productivity of individuals and communicating organizational goals to personnel (Ekaterini, 2009 cited in Obi-Anike and Ekwe, 2014 p. 66). Manpower is the basis of all resources and it is the indispensable means of converting other resources to man kind's use and benefits. So how well we develop and employ human resources skills is fundamental in deciding how much we will accomplish as a nation. Manpower is the pivot of every human institution. Even in the developed and industrial nations of the world where the use of machines and technology is at an advanced stage, manpower is still very essential (Comma, 2008). Training therefore holds the key to unlock the potential growth and development opportunities to achieve a competitive edge. In this context, organizations train and develop their

employees to the fullest advantage in order to enhance their effectiveness (Devi &Shaik, 2012). In a developing country like Nigeria, training and development of manpower resources is highly needed in virtually all public organizations for its effectiveness. Deficiencies in knowledge, skills, and ability among public personnel, particularly those of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, are remarkable (Bahal, Swanson, & Earner, 1992). Training is necessary to ensure an adequate supply of staff that is technically and socially competent and capable of career development into specialist departments or management positions. There is therefore a continual need for the process of staff development, and training to fulfill both organizational goals and staff fulfillment. Training should be viewed therefore as an integral part of the process of total quality management.

2.0 Statement of the Problem

Despite the increasing effects of training/development on employees' performance in organizations, there is still limited literature on human resource development issues in developing countries (Debrah and Ofori, 2006 p. 440). There is also an increasing concern from the citizens towards poor performance of local government council in Nigeria on effective services delivery. It is further worth noting that while much is known about the imperative of training/development in the developed world, studies of issues associated with training/development in

less-developed countries are scanty. The existing studies focus on human resources management (HRM) generally creating a gap on issues such as the effect of training/development on employee performance. This study will contribute in minimizing this gap in the literature by focusing on the effect of training and development on staff performance in Ifelodun Local Government Area of Kwara State, Nigeria.

3.0 Objectives of the Study

The general objective of this study is to examine the effect of training and development on staff performance in Ifelodun local government area of kwara state. While the specific objectives include:

- i. To explore the relationship between Training/development and employees' performance.
- ii. To identify the purpose of training and development of the employees
- iii. To identify how training and development needs of employees are determined.

4.0 Literature Review

Training and development has been a subject of many studies over the years. Raja *et al.* (2011) conducted a survey of 100 sample, they observed in their studies that there is a positive relationship between training design and organizational performance. Similarly Abeeha and Bariha (2012) in their studies carried out in

Pakistan, observed a positive correlation between employees' training and organizational competitive advantage. Abang, May, and Maw (2009) on the other hand, pointed out that Lynch and Black in their studies revealed that only off-the job (general) training improves organizational performance whereas on the job training does not. Training and development has been acknowledged to be a very important component of organizational performance (Eleve, n.d). However, it is not an end goal rather training is characterized as a means to an end – the end being productive, efficient work organizations, populated by informed workers who see themselves as significant stakeholders in their organizations' success (Byrne, 2009). Fewer than 5% of all training programs are assessed in terms of their financial benefits to the organization (Swanson in Herman and Kurt, 2009). Importance of training has been documented for variables other than organizational performance. However, many of these additional outcomes are related to performance indirectly. Training and development is basically directed at employee but its ultimate impact goes to organization, because the end user of its benefits is the organization itself (Raja *et al.*, 2011). Training will have the greatest impact when it is bundled together with other human resource management practices and these practices are also implemented following sound principles and practices based on empirical research (Abanget *al.*, 2009). Many studies have

garnered support for the benefits of training for organizations as a whole (Herman and Kurt, 2009). These benefits include improved organizational performance (e.g., profitability, effectiveness, productivity, operating revenue per employee) as well as other outcomes that relate directly (e.g., reduced costs, improved quality and quantity) or indirectly (e.g., employee turnover, organization's reputation, social capital) to performance (Herman and Kurt, 2009). It is interesting to note that information technology, employees training, and incentives showed a strong and significant relationship with organizational performance. This could be due to the fact that in most developing countries, the employees are not as highly paid as those workers in developed countries, thus the workers are more concerned with human resource practices which could subsequently increase their earnings (Abanget *al.*, 2009). Several interventions are effective at increasing the benefits of training to the organization (Herman and Kurt, 2009). First, organizations should conduct a needs assessment using experienced subject matter experts to make sure trainees are ready and motivated for training. Second, in terms of design, organizations should apply theory-based learning principles such as encouraging trainees to organize the training content, making sure trainees expend effort in the acquisition of new skills, and providing trainees with an opportunity to make errors together with explicit instructions to

encourage them to learn from these errors enhances the benefits of training. Third, in terms of training delivery, the benefits of using technology for training delivery can be enhanced by providing trainees with adaptive guidance (see Herman and Kurt, 2009). The model of measuring training effectiveness developed by Donald Kirkpatrick in the late 1950s can enhance the perceived benefits of training from the perspective of various stakeholders in the process, including those who participate in training, and those who fund it i.e organizations (Jeremic, Jovanovic, and Gasevic, 2009). Finally, research points to the importance of considering work environmental factors such as supervisory support and opportunity to perform as moderators of the relationship between training and transfer of training back to the work environment (Lisa and Holly, 2007) cited in (Gunueta *al.*, 2013 pp. 79-80).

4.1 Concepts of Training and Development

Training and Development basically deals with the acquisition of understanding, know-how, techniques and practices. In fact, training and development is one of the imperatives of human resource management as it can improve performance at individual, collegial and organizational levels. Put differently, training and development refer to the processes of acquiring new knowledge and skills for carrying out new responsibilities. They are undertaken by employees to produce

change in their performance ability. Training could be conceived as the ways through which specific knowledge and skills necessary to perform a specific job are taught and learnt. According to Daver, (1950) cited in Steve, (2007 p. 164) training's main goal is "to induce a suitable change in the individual concerned." For Carrel and Kuzmits (1982) cited in Steve (2007 p. 64) "training is the systematic process by which employees learn skills, information, or attitudes to further organizational and personal goals." It is no surprise that they therefore conclude that "every training system operates with a philosophy, set of beliefs concerning people, productivity and profit."

Development on the other hand is a long term educational process utilizing a systematic and organized procedure by which managerial personnel learn conceptual and theoretical knowledge for general purpose. Development could also be defined as the process of acquiring managerial and technical skills on the job by the manager. Such managerial skills are the areas of decision making, coordinating, leading, planning etc. Development in this context is broader and more embracing as an activity than training. ToObisi (1996), the concepts of training and development are used interchangeably. However, it can be differentiated from the other. Training is for specific job purpose while development goes beyond specifics development; it covers not only those activities which

improve job performance, but also those which bring about growth of personality. In training, you use one stone to kill one bird while in development you use one stone to kill two birds Mamoria, (1995). Steinmetz, (1996) noted that training was a short-term process, utilizing a systematic and organized procedure by which non-managerial personnel learn technical knowledge and skill for a definite purpose.

Thus, to straighten a distinction between the two terms, some scholars have referred to training as employee training and development as management development, or executive development while employee training refers to training given to employees in the areas of operations, technical and allied areas, management development refers to developing an employee in the areas of principles and techniques of management, administration, organization allied areas, (Scott *et al.*, 1977).

According to Cambell, (1971) training refers to instruction in technical and mechanical operations while development refers to philosophical and theoretical educational concept. Training is designed for non-managers while development involves managerial personnel. Training courses are typically designed for a short term, stated purpose, such as the operation of some piece (s) of machinery while development involves a broader education for long-term purpose. Training is for short-term while development is for long-term.

Training is for specific job related purpose while development is for general purpose.

4.1.1 Techniques of Training

According to Adeniji (2010) cited in Ekundayo (2015 pp. 39-40) there are two types of training; curative and preventive. Curative training is used to address problems that workers demonstrate at the present. This is more emphasized in Nigeria. Preventive training is a programme aimed at solving future problems that may occur. Other methods of training according to him are:

4.1.2 In-Service Training

Akinpelu (2002) defined in service training as an in-house programme for staff in many government and business enterprises. That is, continuing education for local government staff, state and federal civil servants, teachers etc. Banks and large industrial enterprises also use this as training schemes for their staff.

4.1.3 Apprenticeship

Redmond, (2007) describe apprenticeship as a system of learning a skill in the field of a craft or trade from experts in the field by working with them for a set period of time. This method is employed when extensive practice or technical knowledge is required. Such job like mechanics, hairdressers, plumbers, tailors, and so on.

4.1.4 On-the-Job Training

This kind of training includes cross-training

which moves the trainee from one department or unit to another. On-the-job training is normally handled by colleagues, supervisors, managers, mentors' to help employees adjust to their work and to equip them with appropriate job related skills. Armstrong (1995) argues that on-the- job training may consist of teaching or coaching by more experienced people or trainers at the desk or at the bench. It may also consist of individual or group assignment and projects and the use of team leaders and managers. According to Armstrong, on-the-job training is the only way to develop and practice the specific managerial, team leading, technical, selling, manual, and administrative skills needed by the organization and it has the advantages of actuality and immediacy as the individual works, learns and develops expertise at the same time.

Disadvantages of on-the-job training according to Armstrong are that the effectiveness of the learning is strongly influenced by the quality of the guidance and coaching provided on the job. Many managers and team leaders are unskilled at training and disinclined to carry it out or to encourage it. Furthermore, relying on fellow employees in "sit by me" training has obvious disadvantages as instruction may be inadequate and the trainees may perpetuate bad habits. Again, the learner may be distracted by the same environment and find it difficult to acquire basic skills quickly. To resolve these disadvantages,

train the trainers programme should be regularly embarked upon to sharpen the skills of supervisors and in-house trainers.

4.1.5 Off-the-job Training

According to Ejiogu (2000), off-the-job training includes lecture, vestibule training, role playing, case study, discussion and simulation. Armstrong (1995) listed group exercises, team building, distance learning, outdoor and workshops as part of off-the-job training. He further explains that off-the-job training may be provided by members of the training department, external education and training establishments, or training providers-training consultants or guest speakers. He encourages line managers to be closely involved to bring reality into the classroom, to ease the transfer of learning, and to make sure that those involved in off-the-job training are carefully selected, briefed and monitored so as to ensure that they make the right contribution.

4.1.6 University Training

Tertiary institutions in the country are expected to play a vital role in the provision of facilities for skill acquisition and development. They are set up to provide human resources for industry. In many of our academic institutions part-time and full-time courses of study and correspondence or distance learning programmes are offered. The programme ranges from intensive training in a specific aspect of professional practice to degree programmes

of several years, either in an academic discipline or a professional field.

4.1.7 Conference, Seminars and Workshops

These are centered on the management team or any other personnel that play a prominent role in an organization. Gutek (2007) and Ekundayo (2015) defined conferences, seminars and workshops as a meeting on specialised subject area and often held in a day or more to discuss a topic of interest relevant to the organization. Adeniji (2002) sees this method as one planned for a management team to discuss new techniques and concepts that are about to be introduced into an organization. Nigerian universities organise many national seminars, conferences, and workshops each year.

4.1.8 The Principles of training and development

For training to be effective, a number of principles are usually applied. The principles are: Positive Reinforcement, Learner Participation; Feedback Mechanism and Transferability of knowledge to job performance. These principles have been identified based on extensive research of (Anastasi, 1969) and (Flippo 1984). As observed by (Beach 1980) learning is really the core of the training process. Learning refers to the human process whereby skills, knowledge, habits and attitudes are acquired in such a way that behavior is modified. The more

highly motivated trainees are the quicker and more effectively they learn. Training must therefore, be related to trainees desires and needs such as job recognition, prestige and promotion. In effect, learning is most effective when the trainees realize that they can fulfill certain needs through training (Obisi 2001).

5.0 Theoretical Framework

This study is based on human capital theory proposed by Schultz in 1961 and developed by Becker in 1994. According to the theory, Human capital theory suggests that education or training raises the productivity of workers by imparting useful knowledge and skills, hence raising workers' future income by increasing their lifetime earnings (Becker, 1994). The human capital model suggests that an individual's decision to invest in training is based upon an examination of the net present value of the costs and benefits of such an investment. Individuals are assumed to invest in training during an initial period and receive returns to the investment in subsequent periods. In his view, human capital is similar to "physical means of production", e.g., factories and machines: one can invest in human capital (via education, training, medical treatment) and one's outputs depend partly on the rate of return on the human capital one owns. Thus, human capital is a means of production, into which additional investment yields additional output. Human capital is substitutable, but not transferable like land, labour, or fixed

capital. Olaniyan and Okemakinde (2008) in their studies titled 'Human Capital Theory: Implications for Educational Development' focused on the benefits of human capital to the nation as a whole. They pointed out the relationship between education and economic growth. According to Olaniyan and Okemakinde (2008) 'Many of the classical economists argued strongly for government's active support of education on the grounds of the positive externalities that society would gain from a more educated labour force and populace'. While formal education has expanded rapidly in many countries, a large portion of human capital accumulation in the forms of on-the-job training and other modes for working adults actually take place both inside and outside the workplace (Jin, 2001). Some human capital advocates suggest that these great increases in learning efforts have not led to commensurate economic gains because of the declining quality of education. For example over the years, most research have been showing drastic fall in standard of education in Nigeria. The biggest challenge to human capital theory as pointed out by Livingstone (1997) is underemployment of credentialed knowledge i.e a large number of people who have invested many years of their lives in acquiring advanced formal educational qualifications, are unable to obtain commensurate jobs. Such situation is prevalent in most of the underdeveloped countries like Nigeria. Another short coming of human capital theory is that in

countries like Nigeria, more emphasis is given to paper qualification rather than employee's personal skills and talents (Gunu, *et al*, 2013 pp. 79-81).

6.0 Effect of Training on Employees' Performance

In the real world, organizational growth and development is affected by a number of factors. In light with the present research during the development of organizations, employee training plays a vital role in improving performance as well as increasing productivity. This in turn leads to placing organizations in the better positions to face competition and stay at the top. This therefore implies an existence of a significant difference between the organizations that train their employees and organizations that do not. Existing literature presents evidence of an existence of obvious effects of training and development on employee performance. Some studies have proceeded by looking at performance in terms of employee performance in particular (Purcell, Kinnie and Hutchinson 2003; Harrison 2000) while others have extended to a general outlook of organizational performance (Guest 1997; Swart *et al*. 2005). In one way or another, the two are related in the sense that employee performance is a function of organizational performance since employee performance influences general organizational performance. In relation to the above, Wright and Geroy (2001) noted that employee competencies change through

effective training programs. It therefore not only improves the overall performance of the employees to effectively perform their current jobs but also enhances the knowledge, skills an attitude of the workers necessary for the future job, thus contributing to superior organizational performance.

The branch of earlier research on training and employee performance has discovered interesting findings regarding this relationship. Training has been proved to generate performance improvement related benefits for the employee as well as for the organization by positively influencing employee performance through the development of employee knowledge, skills, ability, competencies and behavior (Appiah 2010; Harrison 2000; Guest 1997). Moreover, other studies for example one by Swart *et al*. (2005) elaborate on training as a means of dealing with skill deficits and performance gaps as a way of improving employee performance. According to Swart *et al*., (2005), bridging the performance gap refers to implementing a relevant training intervention for the sake of developing particular skills and abilities of the employees and enhancing employee performance. He further elaborate the concept by stating that training facilitate organization to recognize that its workers are not performing well and a thus their knowledge, skills and attitudes needs to be molded according to the firm needs. It is always so that employees possess a certain

amount of knowledge related to different jobs. However, it is important to note that this is not enough and employees need to constantly adapt to new requirements of job performance. In other words, organizations need to have continuous policies of training and retaining of employees and thus not to wait for occurrences of skill and performance gaps.

According to Wright and Geroy (2001), employee competencies change through effective training programs. It not only improves the overall performance of the employees to effectively perform the current job but also enhance the knowledge, skills and attitude of the workers necessary for the future job, thus contributing to superior organizational performance. Through training the employee competencies are developed and enable them to implement the job related work efficiently, and achieve firm objectives in a competitive manner. Further still, dissatisfaction complaints, absenteeism and turnover can be greatly reduced when employees are so well trained that can experience the direct satisfaction associated with the sense of achievement and knowledge that they are developing their inherent capabilities (Pigors and Myers, 1989).

Most of the benefits derived from training are easily attained when training is planned. This means that the organization, trainers and trainees are prepared for the training well in advance. According to Kenney and

Reid (1986), planned training is the deliberate intervention aimed at achieving the learning necessary for improved job performance. Planned training according to Kenney and Reid consists of the following steps:

Identify and define training needs; define the learning required in terms of what skills and knowledge have to be learnt and what attitudes need to be changed; define the objectives of the training; plan training programs to meet the needs and objectives by using right combination for training techniques and locations; decide who provides the training; evaluate training and amend and extend training as necessary.

6.1 Purpose of Training and Development

In summary the training and development enhance the performance of the employees for the actualization of organizational goals. Every good training or development programme must have well stated specific objectives which serve three main purposes :

- i. to determine appropriate training or development technique or method;
- ii. to determine its outcome for both the trainer and the trainees; and
- iii. to determine its evaluation.

According to Carrel and Kuzmits (1982), the following general objectives of training and development were identified:

- i. to improve performance and achieve effectiveness;
- ii. to update employees' skills and avoid managerial obsolescence;
- iii. to promote job competency;
- iv. to solve problems;
- v. to prepare for promotion
- vi. to orient new employees
- vii. to satisfy the personal growth needs of staff

7.0 Research Methodology

The study adopted survey method. The population of study is made up of the staff of the Ifelodun Local government Area of Kwara State. The sources of data were both

primary and secondary. The primary data were collected through questionnaire administration supported by personal interview while secondary data were obtained from journals, textbooks and internet. The questionnaire was designed in a 5-point Likert scale format. A sample/population size was 100. Hundred (100) copies of the questionnaire were administered. Eighty-six (86) were duly completed and returned while the remaining fourteen were not retrievable. The data generated from the field were presented and analyzed with descriptive statistics while the corresponding hypothesis was tested with the chi-square at 0.05 alpha

Table 1: Questionnaire Results

S/No	Questionnaire Items	S.A/A		S.D/D		UD		Total
		Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	
1	Most employees of Local Government have participated in training and development programmes in the last five years.	55	64	26	30	5	6	86
2	Employees that participated regularly in training and development programmes have improved in their performance.	65	76	15	17	6	7	86
3	Lack of employee training triggers low employee performance	70	82	14	16	2	2	86
4	There is a relationship between training, employee commitment and effective service delivery in the Local Government	61	71	22	26	3	3	86
5	The content of training and development programmes in the Local Government is relevant to the work schedule of the employees (trainees).	64	74	16	19	6	7	86
6	Principal officers in the Local Government observe that training has improved effectiveness and efficiency on the job	64	74	17	20	5	6	86
7	There is a relationship between training and	75	87	9	11	2	2	86

Source: (Authors' field survey, 2015)

Figure 1

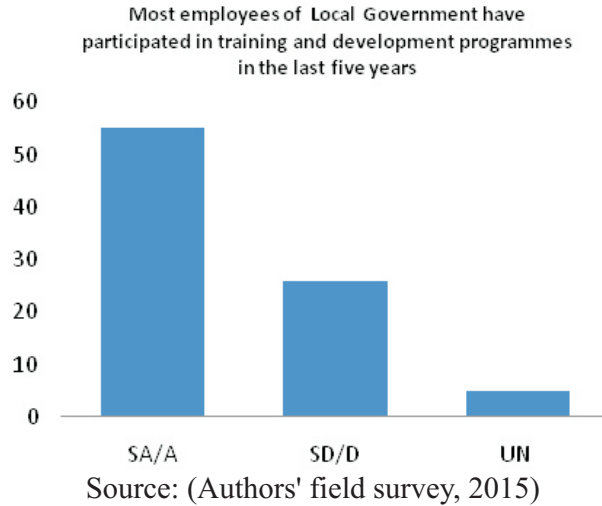


Figure 1: Bar chart of respondents views on whethermost of the employees in the Local Government have participated in training and development programmes in the last five years. The figure 1 represents the levels of response from respondents as

stated on the table 1. It is observed that 55 respondents representing 64% strongly agreed/agreed while 26 respondents representing 30% strongly disagreed/disagreed and 5 respondents representing 6% were undecided.

Figure 2

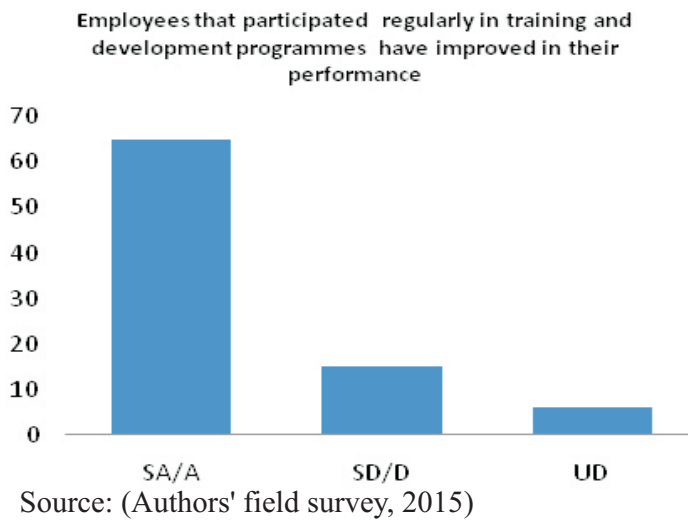
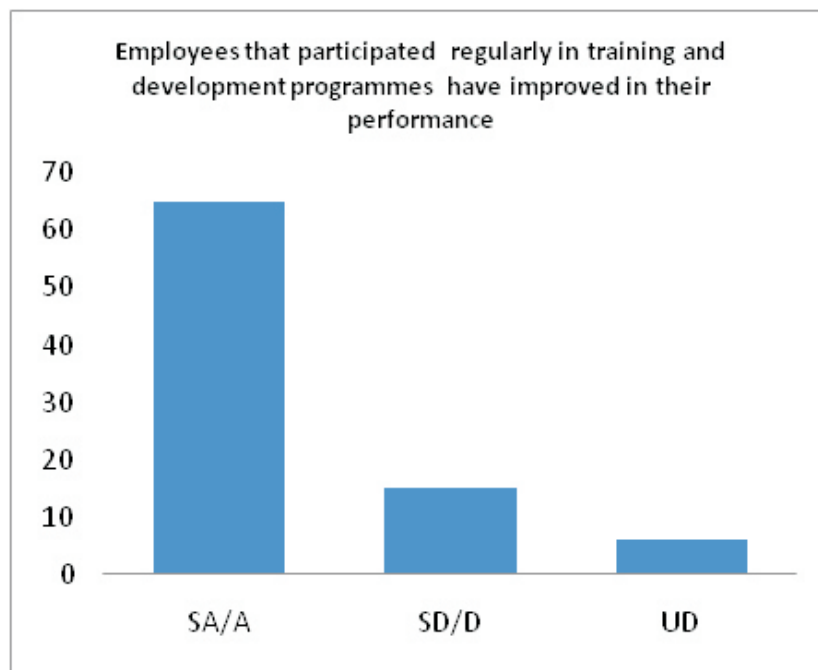


Figure 2: Bar chart of respondents views on whether employees that participated regularly in training and development programmes have improved in their performance. The figure 2 represents the levels of response from respondents as

stated on the table 1. It is observed that 65 respondents representing 76% strongly agreed/agreed while 15 respondents representing 17% strongly disagreed/disagreed and 6 respondents representing 7% were undecided.

Figure 2

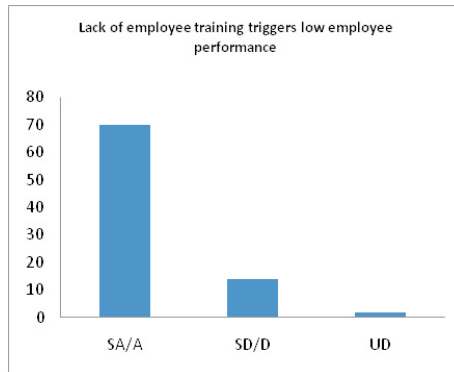


Source: (Authors' field survey, 2015)

Figure 2: Bar chart of respondents views on whether employees that participated regularly in training and development programmes have improved in their performance. The figure 2 represents the levels of response from respondents as

stated on the table 1. It is observed that 65 respondents representing 76% strongly agreed/agreed while 15 respondents representing 17% strongly disagreed/disagreed and 6 respondents representing 7% were undecided.

Figure 3



Source: (Authors' field survey, 2015)

Figure 3: Bar chart of respondents view on whether lack of training triggers low employee performance

The figure 3 represents the levels of response from respondents as stated on the table 1. It is observed that the highest number of respondents strongly agreed/agreed that lack of training triggers

low employee performance. 70 out of 86 respondents representing 82% strongly agreed/agreed while 14 respondents representing 16% strongly disagreed/disagreed and 2 respondents representing 2% were undecided. It can therefore be observed from the above result that lack of employee training triggers low employee performance.

Figure 4



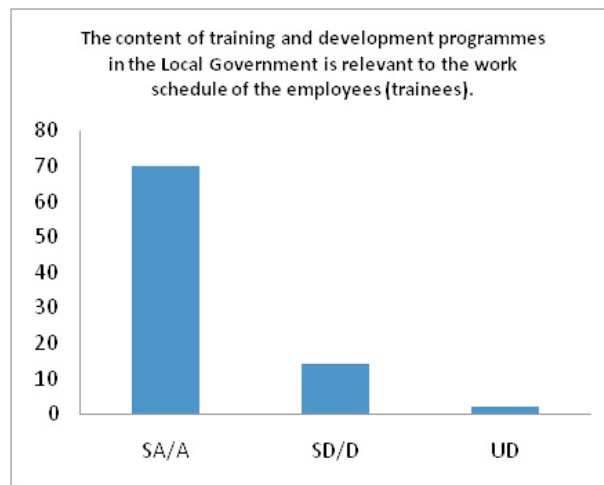
Source: (Authors' field survey, 2015)

Figure 4: Bar chart of respondents view on whether there is a relationship between training, employee commitment and effective service delivery in the Local Government.

The figure 4 represents the levels of response from respondents as stated on the

table 1. It is observed that 61 respondents representing 71% strongly agreed/agreed while 22 respondents representing 26% and 3 respondents representing 3% were undecided. It implies that there is a relationship between training, employee commitment and effective service delivery in the local government.

Figure 5



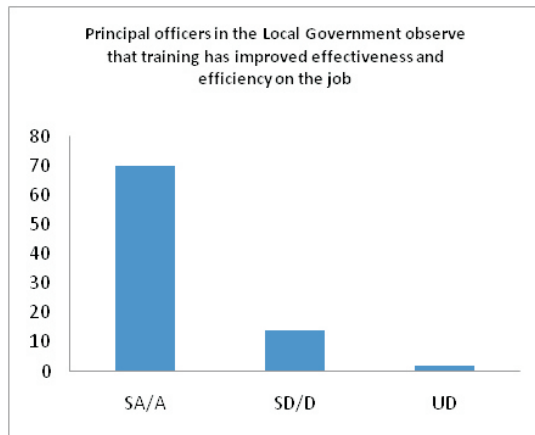
Source: (Authors' field survey, 2015)

Figure 5: Bar chart of respondents view on whether the content of training and development programmes in the Local Government is relevant to the work schedule of the employees (trainees).

The figure 5 represents the levels of response from respondents as stated on the

table 1. It is observed that 64 respondents representing 74% strongly agreed/agreed while 16 respondents representing 19% and 6 respondents representing 7% were undecided. It means that the content of training and development programmes in the local government is relevant to the work schedule of the employees.

Figure 6



Source: (Authors' field survey, 2015)

Figure 6: Bar chart of respondents views on whether the principal officers in the Local Government observed that training has improved effectiveness and efficiency on the job.

The figure 6 represents the levels of

response from respondents as stated on the table 1. It is observed that 64 respondents representing 74% strongly agreed/agreed while 17 respondents representing 20% strongly disagreed/disagreed and 5 respondents representing 6% were undecided

Figure 7



Source: (Authors' field survey, 2015)

Figure 7: Bar chart of respondents views on whether there is relationship between training and employees' performance. The figure 7 represents the levels of response from respondents as stated on the table 1. It is observed that 75 respondents representing 87% strongly agreed/agreed while 9 respondents representing 11% strongly disagreed/disagreed and 2 respondents representing 2% were undecided

7.1 Hypothesis Testing

The chi-square test is used to determine whether there is a relationship between training/development and employees' performance using the senior staff and junior staff responses to the Q. item 2 in the table 1. Does the regular staff training have any significant effect on staff performance? The null hypothesis in this research paper states that

H₀: There is no relationship between training/development and employees' performance

The level of significance is set at $\alpha = 0.05$
The chi-square formula used on these data is

$$: \chi^2 = \sum \frac{(O_i - E_i)^2}{E_i}$$

where O_i is the Observed Frequency in each category and E_i is the Expected Frequency in the corresponding category The observed (O_i) and expected (E_i) values are presented in the table 2 and Table 3 below:

Table 2

Respondents	SA/A	SD/D	UN	Total
Senior staff	^a 26	^b 4	^c 1	31
Junior staff	^d 39	^e 11	^f 5	55
Total	65	15	6	86

To get the expected values (E_i)

	Row total x Column total			
(Grand total)				
Cell a =	$\frac{31 \times 65}{86}$	=	$\frac{2015}{86}$	= 23.4
Cell b =	$\frac{31 \times 15}{86}$	=	$\frac{465}{86}$	= 5.4
Cell c =	$\frac{31 \times 6}{86}$	=	$\frac{186}{86}$	= 2.2
Cell d =	$\frac{55 \times 65}{86}$	=	$\frac{3575}{86}$	= 41.6
Cell e =	$\frac{55 \times 15}{86}$	=	$\frac{825}{86}$	= 9.6
Cell f =	$\frac{55 \times 6}{86}$	=	$\frac{330}{86}$	= 3.8

Table 3

Respondents	SA/A	SD/D	UN	Total
Senior staff	O=26 E=23.4	O=4 E=5.4	O=1 E=2.2	31
Junior staff	O=39 E=41.6	O=11 E=9.6	O=5 E=3.8	55
Total	65	15	6	86

$$: \chi^2 = \sum \frac{(O_i - E_i)^2}{E_i}$$

$$X^2 = \frac{(26-23.4)^2}{23.4} + \frac{(4-5.4)^2}{5.4} + \frac{(1-2.2)^2}{2.2} + \frac{(39-41.6)^2}{41.6} + \frac{(11-9.6)^2}{9.6} + \frac{(5-3.8)^2}{3.8}$$

$$X^2 = \frac{(1.11)^2}{23.4} + \frac{(-1.4)^2}{5.4} + \frac{(-1.2)^2}{2.2} + \frac{(-2.6)^2}{41.6} + \frac{(1.4)^2}{9.6} + \frac{(1.2)^2}{3.8}$$

$$X^2 = 0.1 + 0.36 + 0.66 + 0.16 + 0.2 + 0.63$$

$$X^2 = 2.11$$

Testing the Null Hypothesis

H₀= there is no relationship between regular training/development and employees' performance

H₁= H₀ is false

α= 0.05

df= (r-1)(c-1) (2-1)(3-1) 1x2 = 2

CV =0.051

X²=2.11

Interpretation

Where x²>c. v, reject H₀

X²<c. v, accept H₀

Since x²>c. v

Therefore, we reject H_0 : hypothesis that, there is no relationship between regular training/development and employees' performance and we accept H_1 : hypothesis that, there is relationship between regular training/development and employees' performance.

Recommendation: it is recommended that Ifelodun Local Government Area of Kwara state should embark on regular training of their staff with a view of improving their performance in service delivery to the entire citizens of that community.

Summary of Findings

This study revealed some important facts that are not limited to the case study alone but also apply to many public institutions in Nigeria. These include:

- a. Training and development enhances employee's efficiency, skill and knowledge which are required for improved performance of any public or private institutions in Nigeria.
- b. Training and Development also help employees to get to the climax of their career, like promotion and attainment of higher status.
- c. Well trained employees performed better than ill- trained or untrained employees and because of the desire to excel, training and development bring out the best in them.

d. It was also discovered that there is improvements in the attitude of both the senior and junior staff of this local government through regular training, workshop and seminar.

Conclusion

It is revealed in this study that regular training and development have effect on employees' performance. This result is in tandem with the findings of various relevant literatures reviewed in this work. Most of the relevant literatures that were reviewed as could be seen above agreed that an effective training is regarded as the major key factor to be in place for improved performance, as it can enhance the level of employee and institutions performance. It supports this by filling the gap between what performance is required and what performance is happening, that is, the gap between desired performance and actual employee performance. Training needs refer to any shortage in performance, which can be relieved by appropriate training programmes. There are different methods of overcoming deficiencies in employee performance and training/development is one of them.

Generally, training develops skills, competency, and ability and ultimately improves employee performance and organizational productivity. Training programs are the stimulant that workers require to improve their performance and capabilities, which consequently increase

institutional performance. Therefore, training should be designed on the basis of institution specific needs and objectives. Effective training is the thoughtful intervention designed towards attaining the learning necessary for upgrading employee performance. The research affirmed the proposition that regular training/development has relationship with employees' performance.

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