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## Buhari Civilian Regime, Change Mantra and Nigeria's Foreign Policy: a Mid-term Assessment

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### Abstract

The election of President Muhammadu Buhari (PMB) in April 2015 and the inauguration of his administration in May 2015 was seen by both local and international communities as a turning point in Nigeria's history. This is against the background of his reputation for discipline and integrity on one hand, and the All Progressive Congress (APC)'s promise of positive change in all spheres of national life on the other. On external relations, the President not only promised to reinvigorate Nigeria's foreign policy to ensure that the country regains its traditional vibrancy, vigour and commitment but also strike the right balance between the domestic reality and external environment. It is on the premise of this promise that this paper assesses PMB's conduct of foreign policy within the first two years of his civilian administration, using historical-descriptive-content analysis methodology. The analysis shows that there has been an improvement in the conduct of foreign policy, particularly in the areas of securing cooperation of neighbouring states and commitment of the global community toward fighting Boko Haram insurgency and corruption. However, the President's promise of change in terms of strengthening Nigeria's leadership position in Africa and linking her foreign policy with domestic socio-economic realities still remains a tall ambition. It is therefore concluded that PMB's civilian administration has not fundamentally altered the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy as promised; it has indeed been a two-year foreign policy of change in continuity. Given the fact that the actualization of a country's foreign policy objectives is partly a function of its domestic socio-economic stability, PMB's international prowess and respect should be exploited to build a strong economy at home through a national interest propelled foreign policy. Doing this will enable Nigeria to close the gap between her domestic realities and her sub-regional, regional and global ambitions.

**Keywords:** Change mantra, National interest, Global system, Shuttle diplomacy, Domestic reality, Regional leadership, Afrocentricism.

### Introduction

President Muhammadu Buhari was sworn in on May 29, 2015 as the 8<sup>th</sup> democratically elected president of Nigeria since independence, after his party's (the APC) historical defeat of the incumbent ruling People's Democratic party (PDP). APC's victory during the 2015 general elections was greeted with high hope and expectations given the deplorable state of things during the PDP-led administration. Majority of Nigerians were of the belief that a new dawn (change) had eventually arrived in the country that would bring into reality the long desired positive transformation in all spheres of life and overall development of Nigeria. The high optimism and encomium that greeted the victory of PMB could therefore be situated within the framework of the precarious socio-politico-economic situations in the country and the attendant frustrating experiences which Nigerians have had to contend with since the return of democracy in 1999. The precarious security situation across the country, the nose-dived economy, corruption at an

unprecedented proportion, Nigeria's loss of prestige among the comity of nations, among others were some of the notable features of Nigeria towards the tail end of President Goodluck Jonathan's administration. The high hope and expectations were also informed by the credible personality of PMB. Given his past record of incorruptibility and his avowed stand on fierce crusade against corruption that has pervaded all parts of national life, Nigerians strongly believed in his capacity to turn things for better both domestically and internationally.

As such, the election of PMB was seen as a turning point in Nigeria's history. The President was inaugurated amidst massive hope and expectations at home and abroad, that Nigeria now has a leader who would stop the slide and lead the country to progress, development and the realization of her destiny. This was more so as the APC's campaign was centered on the idea of 'change' in all spheres of national life. On foreign relations, inspired by the goodwill of winning election as an opposition candidate, PMB entered the international system with this party's 'change' mantra, which encapsulates the ideology of his administration (Akwaya, 2016). Though his foreign policy has not been tagged with any nomenclature, he has consistently promised to reinvigorate Nigeria's foreign policy to ensure that the country regain its traditional vibrancy, vigour and reclaim her leadership position in African affairs. With the 'change' agenda, he promised a foreign policy that would strike the right balance between the domestic scene that was (and is still) characterized by countless challenges or internal paradoxes and an external environment that is competitive, dynamic, fluid and volatile. Most remarkably, he promised to break away from the culture of national-interest-negligence in the conduct of foreign policy and diplomacy by ensuring that Nigeria and her citizens' interests constitute the primary determinant of his foreign policy.

These promises conveyed a message of change from the past, most especially, the promise of a national-interest-based foreign policy. Since 1960 when Nigeria got her independence from Britain, most foreign policy actions were not geared towards the improvement of the well-being of Nigerians and meeting domestic needs. However, national interests should guide her foreign actions as a nation's foreign policy is not only a direct continuation of its domestic policy, but also a reflection of its way of life (Aron, 2003). In essence, PMB and his party promised to bring about positive change in the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy. More than two years of his administration, one could ask 'to what extent has the President and his party brought about the promised change?' In other words, 'how far has Nigeria's and Nigerians' interests determined the foreign decisions taken so far by the President?' Or 'is there any difference between PMB / APC regime's foreign policy approach and that of previous administrations since 1999?' Providing insights into these questions represents the main thrust of this paper. Though two years may be insufficient to assess the value of the President's foreign policy, but it is sufficient enough to gain insights on his policy trajectory and determine if the conduct is bringing or capable of bringing the professed change. The remainder of the paper is divided into four sections. The first is a review of the dominant themes in Nigeria's foreign policy since independence in 1960. The second gives a brief account of the state of Nigeria's foreign policy shortly before May 29, 2015. The third is the analysis of PMB's conduct of foreign policy within the perspective of the professed 'change' mantra while the last section is conclusion and recommendations. The method of analysis adopted is historical-descriptive-content analysis

### **Revisiting the Dominant Theme in Nigeria's Foreign Policy since Independence**

The theme of Africa as the centerpiece of Nigeria's foreign policy remains the most enduring theme that runs through her foreign policy since independence. Although, a deep reflection on the objectives of Nigeria's foreign policy would depict what is described as 'concentric circle' (Amuwo, 2016: 9) of paramount importance on Nigeria's interest, African interest and global interest, her foreign activities since independence shows that an overwhelming and significance emphasis has been placed on African issues and problems. Africa has remained the centerpiece of Nigeria's foreign policy. Her major concerns

in Africa, as identified by Ashaver (2014: 287) include the promotion of peace, prosperity, stability and development in Africa; promotion of political goodwill and understanding among African countries; the promotion of rapid socio-economic development in Africa through regional economic integration; the strengthening of sub-regional economic institutions and the reduction of economic dependence on extra-continental powers; the development of cultural cooperation as a means of strengthening political ties with all African countries; and eradication of all forms of colonialism and racism in Africa.

Thus, driven by Afrocentricism, Nigeria had deeply committed herself to African issues and problems. Her roles in the decolonization of some African countries, such as Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Namibia; crusade against apartheid policy in South Africa; promotion of African unity and self-reliance through the formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and its transformation to African Union (AU); promotion of intra-African economic cooperation (ECOWAS, New Partnership for African Development [NEPAD] etc); settling intra and interstate crises, supporting developmental projects and providing reliefs for disaster prone African states are well captured in literature (Jega and Farris, 2010; Fage, 2002; Agwu, 2013; Akinboye, 2013; Adetula, 2014). In sum, it is well recognized that Nigeria has served as the arrowhead of many continental and regional initiatives and institutions. However, the country is believed by many not to have benefited from her enormous sacrifices in Africa (Agwu, 2013; Mailafia, 2010; Adebayo, 2008; Amuwo, 2016). In specific, it is criticized that Nigeria's Africa centerpiece foreign policy is not linked to her domestic interest. As poignantly puts by Amuwo (2016: 18), literature speaks to a Nigerian "continental policy driven by altruism and morality than by rationality".

Being the springboard of foreign policy, national interest should determine steps taken by a country in the international scene. Africa centerpiece was justified as at the time Nigeria adopted it (even now) based on the theory of harmony of interest. Harmony of interest suggests that by promoting the interest of other African states, Nigeria is also promoting her national interest at the same time. This is more so giving the internal dynamic, location and population of the country. Foreign policies are a function of domestic configurations; as the domestic policy goes, so goes foreign policy. In Nigeria's case, foreign policy has largely been determined by the need to maintain national unity and stability and the right to exercise a leadership role in Africa. However, Sinclair (1983: 12) observed that it is paradoxical that "the more imperiled is domestic stability the greater the need for assertive external action...and consequently, the more forceful the projection of Nigerian [African] leadership". Sinclair view is in consonant with that of Mustapha (2008) who opines that due to the fractious nature of Nigeria as a state, the formulation of the state's foreign policy has been adversely affected by the absence of a single dominant and coherent nationalist movement capable of establishing a hegemonic hold on national imagination.

The internal dynamics of the Nigerian state are therefore fundamental to her pursuit of Africa centerpiece and overall foreign policy at large. Due greatly to these dynamics, after gaining independence from Britain in 1960, Nigerian leaders were primarily concerned with internal solidification as the country represented a contrived federal balance between three ethnically and politically divided regions (Ibeanu, 2010). Consequently, in formulating foreign policy, the political elite had to grapple with the dilemma of internal dynamics and a patently unstable federal structure. In an attempt to bridge the cleavage between this internal polarization and the wider notion of 'Nigerianism' the political elite sought to project Nigeria's foreign objectives into a wider pan-Africanist framework (Sinclair, 1983: 1). This, to a large extent, explains why Nigeria's foreign policy statements are vague and unspecific as to her aspired role in the external environment and clothed in the notion of 'national interest' which, although persistently referred to as the sole parameter of Nigerian external interaction, remained undefined and intangible. Given this dynamics, Sinclair (1983: 12) asserts that "as long as domestic tranquility prevails, the Nigerian government will seek to play an active and constructive role in African politics, while seeking to advance

Nigerian plans for economic development". Sinclair, however, seems to over-emphasise the dynamics. In as much as domestic division might explain Nigeria's resolve for African Centerpiece foreign policy, other factors such as geographical location and human and material endowment also account for the decision of the country to play leadership role in Africa.

As rightly observed by Adetula (2014), geographical location of a state plays a crucial role in defining the behaviour of such a state in the international system. Regionally, as of the year of independence, Nigeria was overshadowed by Ghana under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah, who was suspected of organizing externally motivated radicalization capable of flaming up centrifugal forces in Nigeria (Ibeanu, 2010). Nigeria was also resisting French encroachment as all her immediate neighbours are former France colonies which were strongly being 'protected' by France. Nigeria's size, natural resources, and maritime coastline also make it imperative for it to play a significant role in Africa. Her efforts to reconcile with her geographical neighbours and achieve regional leadership position were facilitated by the oil boom of the 1970s. By 1973, Nigeria was the world's ninth largest oil exporter and the United States' second largest international oil supplier (Gambari, 1975). As Nigerian economic prosperity (based on the fortunes of crude oil) increased, the country sought to assert itself economically and to consolidate African economic cooperation. Regional economic integration was therefore used by Nigeria as a means of advancing its leadership and reducing local French influence. This was in addition to providing financial assistance to its neighbours with the aim of weaning them off dependence on France. It is within this geographical framework that one can adequately understand the Africa centerpiece of Nigerian foreign policy.

What can be deduced from the above is that, whatever the rationale, Africa has been the cornerstone of Nigeria's foreign policy since independence, and that given her geographical and demographic advantages in Africa, the continent will continue to be accorded paramount consideration in her foreign policy. Despite the fact that most Nigerians would like their country to play considerable role in the regional and global affairs, they would as well want this role to be rooted in a clearly articulated vision of national interest. However, the current reality is that, Nigeria's foreign policy is seemingly lacking a well-articulated national interest. More so, the promotion and protection of national interest is not only about defense of territory and sovereignty. It is much more about elimination of poverty, inequality, and contestation and agitations. With persistent problem of human insecurity, economic stagnation and high poverty rate, it is irrational to focus on African unity and global peace. This is the key area where Nigerians are expecting Buhari civilian regime to launch its change mantra by initiating concrete steps towards harmonizing Nigerian's national interests with Nigeria's foreign policy, particularly the domestic interest of economic development.

#### **The State of Nigeria's Foreign Policy from May 1999 to May 2015**

Since May 1999, when Nigeria transited from military rule to civil rule, a number of trends are clearly discernible in Nigeria's foreign policy. The most remarkable of these trends is the frantic effort of the successive administrations to redeem the battered image of the country in the international community through establishing friendships with global powers and multilateral organizations and the emerging powers in the global political system. Alao (2011: 6) identified six major ambitions that have shaped Nigeria's foreign policy since 1999. These include:

- i. removing the near-pariah status that the country attained during the last phases of military rule;
- ii. remaining a key player in regional and continental politics, particularly in light of the increasing importance of the Gulf of Guinea;

- iii. ensuring that the external relations assist in domestic economic development, especially through strategic co-operation with traditional and emerging global economic actors;
- iv. bringing about debt relief;
- v. obtaining assistance to consolidate democracy; and
- vi. improving the image of the country affected by negative press on the illegal activities of some of its nationals in Diaspora.

What is discernible from these intentions is that Nigeria's foreign policy since 1999 has been a cautious balance of devotion to traditional obligations towards Africa issues, and the desire to ensure that external relations also assist in domestic concerns.

In specific term, Nigeria has struggled since the return of democracy in May 1999 to regain her 1970s assertive, dynamic and activist position in global politics as well as her leadership role in Africa. The early years of the Fourth Republic (1999-2007) witnessed some improvements in this regard, but afterwards (2009-2015), the country began to slide back to pre-May 1999 status. The retrogression, as rightly observed by Amuwo (2016: 5) was due to:

*a chaotic ... domestic political economy, worsened, since 2009, by the Boko Haram Islamist or terrorist group's activities in the country's north-east region; a docile, self-centred and venal ruling elite, ... bereft of the moral courage to critically interrogate and proffer solutions to Nigeria's vexed national question; and seemingly weak and incompetent presidents ...who have done precious little, beyond grandiose public grandstanding, to realize the goals of ECOWAS and the AU.*

As such, the inability of the political elite to positively transform the domestic socio-economic conditions of Nigerians and stem the tide of ethno-religious agitations have led to the failure of transition to democracy to bring about the expected improvement in Nigeria's foreign policy, most especially as concerned her role in regional and sub-regional affairs.

Most notably, towards the tail end of President Goodluck Jonathan's administration, foreign policy took a dismal dimension. Under this administration, Nigeria further lost her strategic hold in AU and ECOWAS. For example, President Jonathan was absent at the crucial 19<sup>th</sup> AU summit held in Addis Ababa in July 2012 where Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma of South Africa was elected as the Chairperson of the AU Commission in a contest in which Nigeria had shown her support for the incumbent Gabonese Jean Ping who had no known pro-Nigerian sentiment. With this election, South Africa's challenge to Nigeria's 'primus inter pares' (Amuwo, 2016: 19) position in Africa became manifest. South Africa's ascendancy in the continent was becoming noticeable not only on account of her stronger and more functional economic and diplomatic system, but also on account of stronger politics and military. President Jonathan was also absent at the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the creation of OAU (now AU) and in the continental effort to find lasting peace in the Central African Republic, Sudan and Congo. Nigeria also failed to play the expected leading role in helping the people of Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea in the height of their Ebola epidemic. The country also 'betrayed' the people of Palestine by abstaining from voting in the United Nations in December 2014, in the organization's effort to determine Palestine's statehood (Toyo, 2015).

As shown in the preceding section, Nigeria hitherto enjoyed relative advantage in Africa's foreign policy realm. Regrettably shortly before 2015, the country seemed to be taking a back seat in the continental diplomacy. During the decolonization and anti-apartheid struggle, Nigeria was the arch-defender of Africa's sovereignty. However, in the new post-decolonization, post-apartheid era, Nigeria was no longer in charge. This was mainly due to the poor governance quality at home, as there is a direct relationship between domestic politics and foreign policy. The failure of the Nigerian elite to positively transform the socio-economic conditions of Nigerians is negatively impacting on Nigeria's foreign policy. This is due to the fact that only by being strong at home can a country effectively contribute to

solving problems abroad; a country at war with itself cannot project power abroad; and a country that is not valued at home cannot be valued abroad. As succinctly puts by an editorial, “nothing symbolizes the poor governance quality in Nigeria than the bewildering irony of a polity that is awash with cash, yet rich only in misery” (The Nation, July 17, 2014). This is mainly due to the kleptomaniac disposition of the ruling elites in general and the political elite in particular.

A country that is inflicted with cankerworm of corruption cannot parade itself as an influential actor in the contemporary global system. Though no regime is completely immune of the virus of corruption in Nigeria history since independence, it notched up to an unprecedented level during President Jonathan's administration, with \$7.92 billion lost to corruption in one year; a multibillion naira oil subsidy scam; fire arms procurement scandal among other mind-boggling cases of loot, resulting into galloping poverty and the perennial insecurity across the country, manifested by Boko Haram insurgency in the North; pastoralist and farmer clash across the northern region; settler vs indigene crisis in Plateau and Kaduna; militancy in the Niger Delta; and kidnapping for ritual (in the South) and for ransom in almost all parts of the country (Hassan, 2014; Vanguard, May 29, 2015).

Perhaps, the most threatening was the Boko Haram insurgency. However, the way and manner President Jonathan handled the insurgency portrayed him as an inert, inept and insensitive leader. In spite of the destructive activities of the sect, the issue was politicized based on the assumed conspiracy of the North against the President. In consequence, the government did not resolutely act to nip the issue in the bud before it escalated to a monstrous phenomenon, taking over territories with ease thereby accentuating Nigerian's worries about the rapidly diminishing capacity of a once internationally recognized military, strong and economically capable of maintaining the country's territorial integrity and national security. The recent revelations from the 'Dasukigate' i.e. fire-arms-procurement scandal, where money meant for the purchase of arms and ammunition for military operations against Boko Haram was shared to finance the re-election bid of President Jonathan in 2015, is a clear testimony to the inept and insensitivity of the regime. The 'back-to-back, cash-for-cash' scandal totaling \$15 million, exposed in September 2014, involving high-profile Nigerian state officials and prominent politically exposed personalities, further showcased the derogatory level of Nigeria's diplomatic sagacity. This foreign policy 'faux pas', according to Amuwo (2016: 20), “betrays a ruling elite that sets little store by national image, branding and packaging. It also evinces an Africa policy, under Jonathan's watch, bereft of public morality, coherence and focus”.

The inability of the Nigerian state to quickly rescue the school girls who were kidnapped on April 14, 2014 in Chibok, Borno State by the Boko Haram insurgents was also attributable to the non-challant attitude and incapacity of the Jonathan's regime to the deleterious activities of the insurgents. Instead of taking quick action to rescue the girls, the President was of the opinion that there was no abduction in the first place; that it was a propagandist scheme from the 'enemies' of his administration with the motive of painting him incompetent, heartless and indifferent (Hassan, 2014). This explains the reason why it took the President more than two weeks to speak publicly on the abduction.

*As argued by a columnist, President Jonathan did not show the mental alertness and sure-footedness his office demands in handling [the] many crises that have rocked his administration. But the Chibok abduction and his manner of dealing with it has exposed his inadequacies as never before and not just to his compatriots who always had their doubts. Now, the whole world has a good idea of the leader of Africa's most populous country and largest economy, home to the largest aggregation of black humanity (Dare, 2014; Quoted in Amuwo, 2016: 15).*

Though in an attempt to defeat the insurgents and rescue the girls, the regime entered into bilateral and multilateral partnership with Nigeria's immediate neighbours - Benin Republic, Cameroon, Chad and Niger - and formed MNJTF against the sect but the fact that these partnerships were arranged only after a push by France during a summit held in Paris in May 2014, demonstrated the low ebb of Nigeria's status in both West African sub-region and Africa region. In consequence, the capacity of Nigeria to spearhead dominant issues at both continental and global levels was greatly downgraded.

The foregoing background shows that, PMB, not only inherited a nosedived economy, dwindling foreign reserves and crashing oil prices but also inherited a much-diminished foreign policy capacity and credibility, coupled with the fact that Nigeria's diplomacy cannot be operated in a vacuum; but in the economic, political and institutional environment (Obaze, 2016). The President was not oblivious of the high stakes. During his campaign in 2015, he repeatedly reiterated his resolve to bring his party's change mantra to bear in Nigeria's foreign policy if elected. In its manifesto on foreign relations, the All Progressive Congress (APC) promised to:

- i. make the Nigerian national interest the overriding factor in its foreign policy and international relations;
- ii. work to reform global governance in multilateral institutions and agencies;
- iii. work to strengthen the AU to become a more effective organization on global affairs;
- iv. engage the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) countries on the basis of equality; and
- v. play a leadership role to develop a MINT (Mexico, India, Nigeria, and Turkey) as a counterforce to BRICS (Fashola, 2016).

It is however paradoxical that MINT will counter BRICS when India is a member of both. The extent by which President Muhammadu Buhari's administration has been able to bring about its promised change mantra in Nigeria's foreign policy is examined in the subsequent section.

President Muhammadu Buhari's Conduct of Foreign Policy and the Change Agenda: Matters Arising.

From the above, it is revealing that PMB's administration ab initio faced enormous challenges due to the failure of the preceding regimes to positively transform Nigeria and nip in bud, the centrifugal forces threatening the survival of the country; leading to low ebb recognition in regional and global system. Thus, the onus of reinvigorating and reawakening Nigeria's active and articulate role in sub-regional, regional and global system lies on the new administration. In his inaugural speech, PMB indicated his preparedness to regain Nigeria's lost glory in international politics by asserting that:

*Our neighbours in the sub-region and our African brethren should rest assure that Nigeria under our administration will be ready to play any leadership role that Africa expects of it... I also wish to assure the wider international community of our readiness to cooperate and help combat threats of cross-border terrorism, sea piracy, refugees and boat people, financial crime, cyber crime, climatic change, the spread of communicable diseases and other challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century (Vanguard, May 29, 2015).*

The salient point of this assurance is the urgent need to establish a strong domestic base, particularly as concerned defeating Boko Haram insurgents and revamping the economy. In his determined effort to tackle Boko Haram menace head on, the President relocated the Command and Control Centre of the operation against Boko Haram from Abuja to Maiduguri (Borno State capital) the stronghold of Boko Haram. Given the dispersed modis operandi of the insurgents across neighbouring states, the Presidency built on and strengthened the existing regional mechanism for fighting Boko Haram. In the first two months of his presidency, PMB visited Nigeria's neighbours - Niger, Chad, Cameroon and Benin - to strengthen sub-regional force against the insurgents. Being a retired General, the President was quick to recognize that regional coordination is the key to defeating the insurgents. In addition to trips to these countries, the President hosted Cameroonian Defence Minister and the Presidents of other three countries in Abuja to strategize against Boko Haram. As these countries are Francophone countries, he

also paid a state visit to the former President of France, Francois Hollande who, as stated above, had already gotten involved in the fight against the terrorists, to further work out the modalities of defeating them. With these efforts Nigeria was able to get full support of these countries and AU and by coming together in the Multi-National Joint Task Force (MNJTF) under a central command in N'Djamena (Chad's capital) inflicted serious damage to the insurgents. Today, Boko Haram has been drastically incapacitated to hold and occupy territories. In addition, government has successfully 'negotiated' the release of most of the abducted Chibok girls. This indeed is a major accomplishment of the PMB-led administration in courting cooperation with neighbouring states.

It must be stressed that cooperation between Nigeria and her immediate neighbours has always occupied a central place in the consideration of Nigeria's national security and external relations. Thus, these countries had always tried to work together against security threat. For instance they had been working together in small Multi-National Joint Task Force (MNJTF) to fight criminality in the Lake Chad region since 1998. Though this force was, however, poorly organized and was quickly overrun by the Boko Haramists. In addition, cooperation between the five countries has been characterized by mistrust and suspicion. For instance, despite several bilateral initiatives for cooperation between Nigeria and Chad, serious hostilities were witnessed between both states in 1983 when the latter invaded part of Borno State (Adetula, 2014). Nigeria's relations with Cameroon have also been laden with suspicion and lack of trust. Both countries have a long accumulated distrust over numerous border crises and, most significantly, the disputed Bakassi Peninsula. This lack of trust undermined the collective fight against Boko Haram as both states refused to share intelligence on the terrorists. This is why the visit of PMB to Cameroon was significant in the success recorded by the MNJTF against Boko Haram. During the visit President Buhari laid to rest the Bakassi issue, reiterating the resolve of Nigeria to abide by the 2002 International Court of Justice ruling on the territory contradicting his electioneering promise of rejecting the ruling if elected. The President's regional approach is however commendable. Allowing the Boko Haram to exploit the porous borders and limited information exchange between these countries earlier made defeating it not only harder, but almost near impossible.

Just as President Obasanjo, after his inauguration, PMB immediately assumed the 'Chief Foreign Policy Officer' of his administration. Months before he appointed his ministers and ambassadors, he personally conducted his foreign policy using career diplomats as advisers. Within 18 months in office, President Buhari embarked on shuttle diplomacy and made 36 foreign trips (Adebowale, 2016) and allegedly spent ₦5.5 billion on foreign travels within 11 months of his presidency (Obaze, 2016). This has attracted a lot of criticisms. The critics objected to the frequent trips on a number of reasons. Prominent among these reasons include: the conviction that the President needed to stay at home to address the mirage of domestic challenges ranging from socio-economic to security; the argument that the trips constitute a serious drain on Nigeria's lean purse given the cost associated with running the presidential aircrafts, retinue of presidential staff and other delegates; the need to quickly constitute and make use of diplomats in delegated capacity; and the failure to see the immediate and long-term gains of these trips, thereby creating the impression of a jamboree tourism (Abati, 2016; Emeozor, 2016). Contrarily these trips, according to government officials, were intended to harness international support for the actualization of the three cardinal programmes of PMB's administration which include the fight against terrorism; crusade against corruption and the repatriation of the country's stolen assets; and diversification of the economy (Akwaya, 2016; Fashola, 2016; Obaze, 2016).

While the reasons adduced by the critics against the President's trips may seem understandable most especially as concerned the need to cut costs, but this does not mean that the trips were of no benefit to Nigeria. For instance, the President's visit to the neighbouring countries (as stated above) led to the reinvigoration of the Multi-National Joint Task Force (MNJTF) that led to the near defeat of Boko Haram. The 2<sup>nd</sup> Regional Security Conference held in Nigeria in May 2016 was a direct fall out of his visit to France. His visit to US was used to secure commitments from President Barak Obama to help in tackling security problems faced by the country as well as the fight against corruption. His visit to China also

brought about secured commitments for investments worth \$6 billion from Chinese government and private companies. His United Arab Emirate's visit was also significant as it led to the signing of bilateral agreements on elimination of double taxation, extradition of wanted persons and the seizure of stolen assets. However, the occasional faux pas displayed by the President during most of these trips, as demonstrated by his ignorance of Germany's Chancellor during the G-7 Summit and his response to former UK Prime Minister, David Cameron's allegation that Nigeria was "fantastically corrupt" during the UK Anti-corruption Summit, revealed that he has long been disconnected from international politics and his low level of mastery of international diplomacy. It was also observed that most intending domestic issues were often pronounced during these trips, leading to a situation whereby Nigerians heard more from their president when he travelled abroad than while at home. Ideally, foreign pronouncements should be a reminiscent of domestic decision as foreign policy is an offshoot of domestic policy.

It is pertinent to also note that the capability of these trips to bring short and long term benefits was threatened by the absence of minister of foreign affairs and substantive ambassadors to follow up most of the decisions taken and memoranda of understanding (MoU) signed. In July 2015, PMB sacked the country's political ambassadors from their diplomatic posts while his list of ambassadors was only approved by the Senate in March 2017 after series of rejections. The initial absence of foreign affairs minister and ambassadors, who should constantly interface with their hosting countries and explain the direction of government policies at home constituted a set-back to the ability of Nigeria to exploit the benefits inherent in these trips. Thus, PMB's delay in appointing minister of foreign affairs and diplomatic ambassadors set the scene to a President-led approach to foreign policy. From the onset, the President has been driving foreign policy personally. His current ill-health has, however, hindered his ability to travel and this may adversely affect the regime's ability to bring about the promised change in Nigeria's foreign policy. Most especially, given the fact that in the contemporary international system, personal diplomacy (face-to-face) with other presidents and heads of government is more effective than the traditional diplomacy of relying on diplomats.

Another major concern is that these trips do not in any way differ from the ones made by PMB's predecessors since 1999. This paints a picture of every president embarking on the same trip to the same location for the same reasons accompanied by the same large retinue. This is a fall out of non-national-interest-inclined nature of Nigeria's foreign policy. While foreign policy objective talks about national interest, what constitutes that interest has been blurry and chameleonic since independence and usually determined by serving presidents. What is noticeable is that national interests has been replaced by personal interests thereby creating poverty and crisis of incrementalism in foreign relations framework, as every president wants to make his own mark in both domestic and foreign terrains. Having known this, states that are determined in the pursuit of their own interests do strive to meet a new Nigerian president; given the fact that the president can cancel or suspend existing agreements or contracts being executed by their nationals. Thus, the uncertainty that prevails in Nigeria is so certain that any gains recorded by an administration (both locally and internationally) are not necessarily institutionalized.

President Buhari has also tried to rekindle Nigeria's active role in Africa. Nigeria's support to the general elections in Guinea Conakry, Burkina Faso, Benin Republic, Chad and Gambia indicates the country's struggle to take its rightful place in Africa. Of particular note was Nigeria's role in 2016 Gambian election. President Buhari was part of the ECOWAS / AU mediation delegation which tried to persuade President Yahya Jammeh to concede defeat and handover political power to Adama Barrow. After several meetings with Jammeh yielded no positive result, Nigeria contributed militarily to the ECOWAS's 'Operation Restore Democracy' in Gambia hosted by Senegal in January 2017. With this operation, President Jammeh was 'compelled' to accept defeat after 22 years in power and sought asylum in Equatorial Guinea. Meanwhile, the Nigerian House of Representatives had on January 12, 2017 voted to grant him political asylum if he concedes defeat. It must however be stated that the decisive action and leadership on Gambian election did not come from President Buhari; rather from Liberian President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf and Senegalese President Macky Sall. Though, Senegal's proximity to Gambia makes it a natural key player but the previous sites of Nigerian foreign policy triumphs - Sierra Leone, Liberia, Cote

D'Ivoire and Mali - are not Nigeria's immediate neighbours. Like the situation during Nigeria's previous interventions, President Buhari could have diplomatically ensured that the Nigerian Justice who served as the Chief Justice of Gambia presided over a constitutional resolution of the crisis. It was also believed that a preemptive Nigerian diplomacy and pressure could have averted the eventual ECOWAS occupation and hastened the resolution of the crisis (Afolabi, 2017).

Nigeria's struggle for leadership in Africa also recorded a set-back with her loss at the 2017 AU Commission's election. AU is led by a Commission composed of commissioners that handle specific portfolios. Member states always strive to have their representatives serve in strategic commissions. Nigeria, since the creation of AU in 2002, has always produced the Commissioner for Political Affairs, a post that is considered strategic within the union. During the 2017 election, Nigeria neither returned the incumbent commissioner nor another candidate for the post. Instead, the country ran for and lost the position of Commissioner for Peace and Security. The implication of this is that, for the first time, since the AU was formed, there will be no Nigerian voice at the highest level of African diplomacy. This is a major set-back given the fact that whether or not Nigeria has a vibrant foreign policy depends on her ability to exert influence in Africa, particularly in diplomatic corridor in multilateral organizations.

At the global level, PMB's personality has gone to a large extent in renewing Nigeria's friendship with super powers, thereby taking the country to the centre stage in international politics. Within his first two years in office, the President attended and addressed the UN General Assembly, the AU Heads of States and Government, the ECOWAS Heads of States and Government, the Commonwealth Heads of Government, the COP 21 Climate Change Summit in France, the China-Africa Conference in South Africa, the Nuclear Security Summit in Washington, DC among others. Given his record of discipline and integrity, PMB earned the respect and trust of the international community. His invitation to attend the G-7 Summit in Germany by Chancellor Angela Merkel in June 2015 even before he was sworn in as president testified to the confidence that the group of the world's most powerful states have on the personality of the president. Indeed, the President was with the commodity of trust; a commodity that is in short supply in most African states. His election in 2015 attested to the trust that the overwhelming Nigerians have in him. This has resonated globally as affirmed by President Obama's remark during the G-7 Summit that "Nigeria has elected a president that brings a reputation of scrupulous integrity to the table" (Fashola, 2016). As such, PMB's international prowess, respect and acceptability have once again brought Nigeria to the lime-light of international politics.

It is however pertinent to state that this international prowess and acceptability was not effectively harnessed to strengthen Nigeria's domestic base, most especially as concerned the improvement of the inherited comatose economy. This is against the optimism of Nigerians that PBM's election would ignite the inherited fading economy by aggressive diversification as promised by the APC's manifesto. However, little success has been recorded in this regard. The President has been unable to capitalize on the massive domestic and international goodwill he enjoyed at the onset of his administration to push through decisive economic policies. His inability to quickly appoint ministers, until six months after his inauguration, partly explains the current economic recession that the country is experiencing. By not setting up cabinet until 166 days in office, the President allowed the management of the economy to be put on hold for six months during which uncertainty prevailed, thereby accelerated capital flight and weakling confidence. Though, the President initially rejected the International Monetary Fund and World Bank's suggestion for the adoption of a market-based exchange rate vehemently, this was later tactically adopted. As such, the CBN's foreign exchange control policy, adopted with the tacit approval of the President, further weakened the naira and put increased strain on local and foreign businesses. In real sense, there is no difference between President Buhari's economic policies and the IMF / World Bank neoliberalism. Ideally, neoliberalism was designed as a mechanism that is predicated on competition and efficiency in the allocation of resources. However, the uncritical and wholesale acceptance of orthodox market reforms, in various guises and disguises, since the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) era has compounded the economic woes of average Nigerians. This has led to the diminished support being enjoyed by PMB's led administration.

### **Conclusion and Recommendations**

What is discernible from the foregoing analysis is that, under PMB's civilian administration, there has been an improvement in Nigeria's foreign policy (compared to the situation during his immediate predecessor), particularly in the areas of cooperation with neighbouring states that led to the near defeat of Boko Haram insurgency and earning the trust of the global community thereby putting the country at the centre stage of international politics. This is not unconnected with the fact that PMB came to power with a lot of goodwill within and outside Nigeria and a reputation for integrity which helped in changing the perception of the international community on Nigeria. However, the President's promise of change, in terms of ensuring that Nigeria reclaims her leadership position in Africa and links her foreign policy with domestic socio-economic development, is yet to be put on the road of actualization. Meanwhile, given his reputation, both local and international communities were of the belief that his election would actually 'change' Nigeria for better. With regard to foreign policy, most people were convinced (from the campaign promises of the APC) that the primary motivation for Nigeria's foreign policy would be the furtherance of domestic development. The experience within the two years of the President administration, however, tends one to say that the administration's change mantra only centres on the idea of change as an event, as opposed to the reality of change as a social process.

Consequently, the main conclusion from this assessment is that PMB's civilian administration has not fundamentally altered the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy particularly as regard to its formulation, administration and delivery. It has indeed been a two-year foreign policy of change in continuity. The basic characters of Nigeria's foreign policy, as have been determined since independence in 1960, still, to a large extent, remain unchanged. What has changed is the style and manner of execution; while continuity has been the name of the game, regime idiosyncrasies have the regulating rule. Thus, the structural process of changing the course of Nigeria's foreign policy to reflect domestic realities and at the same time occupy a leadership position in African affairs seem very evasive in the current narratives of the happenings in the country. Given the fact that a country's foreign policy is a direct continuation of its domestic policy, Nigeria needs to step up effort to strike the right balance between the domestic scene, characterized by myriad of challenges, and an external environment that is competitive, dynamic, fluid and volatile at the same time. To achieve this, the country requires a disciplined, honest and firm leadership that will build a strong economy at home and a national interest propelled foreign policy. During his tenure as Head of State in the 1980s, President Buhari built a reputation for these qualities. It was on the basis of this antecedent that Nigerians believed in his professed change mantra. The experience within the last two years however revealed that the young energetic General Buhari of 1984 is not the same as today's PMB in his '70s. His ill-health and the need to comply with democratic rules and restraints have made it impossible for him to enforce order and discipline required for bringing about the needed change particularly in the area of foreign policy.

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## An Assessment of Power Relations Between State and Local Governments in Kwara State: The Prospect and Way Forward

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### Abstract

The expectation of the people from any level of government is to receive service delivery but this is not realized as expected due the distance government at the center cum the state brought about the establishment of the local governments and to ensure quality service delivery at the local government in Nigeria, there is need for inter-tier relations between the state and the local governments. However, the local government failed in the area of the quality healthcare service delivery which is the main focus of the work over the years. Consequently, the study examined the impact of power relations between the state and local government as regard to the policy issue of joint account and project on healthcare service delivery in the three selected local governments of Kwara State. The methodology adopted was both qualitative and quantitative methods. The study found out that the power relations between the state and local governments on the issue of joint account and project majorly the provision of healthcare facilities like buildings, drugs and laboratory equipment were responsible for the inability of the local government to perform to the expectation of the people in the state. The study however suggests that there is need to amend the constitution of the federal republic in order to promote first-line-charge of statutory allocation directly to the account of the local governments.

**Keywords:** Local Government, Power Relations and Joint Account/project on healthcare delivery system

### Introduction

The power relations between state and the local governments is a contending issue that affecting the socio-political economic development of the country. It is generally believed that the local government in a modern day life is responsible for the delivery of basic services to its local communities in a faster, easier and more efficient manner. Service delivery refers to the provision of social or public goods that will promote the socio-economic well-being of the citizens. Public services offered by government are numerous and may include the provision of public utilities, security, economic development projects, and the enforcement of the law and so on. The delivery of public goods and services at the local government level or the grass root is aimed at moving the standard of living of the populace to the next level (Angahar, 2013). However, various strategies and approaches have been adopted by the government for the purpose of good governance and in their efforts at distributing the state resources to reach the people at the grass root. Decentralization of power is one of the strategies adopted and it constitutes the basic principle for the establishment of local government.

But it has been observed that local governments in Nigeria performed below the expectation of the people most especially in the area of the healthcare service delivery. Hitherto, A well-functioning healthcare system requires a robust financing mechanism; a well-trained and adequately-paid workforce; reliable information on which to base decisions and policies; and well maintained facilities and logistics to deliver quality medicines and technologies (World Health Organization, 2012). It is on this note that Alenoghena (2014) sees that inadequate funding affect the efficacy of the healthcare services delivery to the grassroots inhabitant. The World Health Organization (WHO 2012) recommends that at least 5% of GNP should be set aside for health. While the developed nations spend as much as 10% of their GNP on health, developing countries generally spend 1.5 to 4% (Olise, 2007). Inadequate finance and

overdependence of the LGA on federal, state and international agencies for support, because the meager internally generated revenue of the LGA cannot sustain the healthcare services. The financing of (but not the responsibility for) public health is tied to the flow of funds from the federation account. Funds are shared between levels of government according to an allocation formula that keeps about half at the federal level, allocates a quarter to the 36 states, and gives the other quarter to the LGs (Abimbola, 2012; Budget Office of the Federation, 2014).

### **The Problem Statement**

Governments at all levels exist primarily to provide services that will make life worth living for the people. More importantly, local governments as the third tier of government are created to bring government closer to the people at the grassroots and reach them through a satisfactory and high-quality healthcare service delivery that is timely, effective and adequately provided.

However, it is sadden that Nigerian local governments generally have not been up and doing in terms of efficient and effective social service delivery to the grassroots which is evident from poor and deteriorating public school buildings, poor market facilities and above all is the dilapidated healthcare centers ranging from basic modern equipment, basic infrastructural facilities, hygienic environment and up to lack of sufficient number of personnel nurses, doctors and lab attendants that could attend to the needs of people (Agba, 2006, Olusola, 2011). Thus, the provision of basic social service of this nature in terms of quality healthcare delivery in the local government is now both a myth and mirage (Agba, 2006). As a result of this abysmal failure of local governments in providing quality healthcare service delivery, the citizens at the local levels are beginning to lose interest and trust in the existence of the local government councils in Nigeria (Adeyemi, 2013). Hence, the hope for effective and high quality of healthcare services delivery in the local governments has been a big problem and mirage as successive local councils have grossly underperformed in their assigned responsibilities towards the people at the grassroots (Ibok, 2014).

The problem of poor services delivery, particularly the quality of healthcare services to the people in the local government can be routed to a number of factors. Previous researchers have attributed this abysmal failure of local governments in performing its primary role to the issues of corrupt behaviours of those in authorities, leadership problems, administrative efficiency, unskilled workers, nonchalant attitudes of staff and inadequate and/or poor budgetary allocations, politico-administrative problems and lack of funds or financial constraints (Bello-Imam and Roberts, 2001; Eboh&Diejomaoh, 2010; Adeyemi, 2013; Agba, Akwara, &Idu, 2013; Ibok, 2014; Bolatito& Ibrahim, 2014; Chukwuemeka et al., 2014).

While the present study acknowledges the little contributions from the earlier researchers to pinpoint and establish the root-causes (as highlighted above) for poor healthcare services delivery and the likes of the local governments, a new dimension and direction such as power-relations between states and local governments has cut attention of this work to be a fundamental factor. This has been left out in the literature as the primary gap for the poor quality of the healthcare service delivery system in the local governments. Power-relation between states and local governments are in three-fold: namely autonomy, joint account-project, and constitutional bandage. As a matter of fact, the constitution of the federal republic of Nigeria has put the local government under the control of the state in terms of the level of autonomy to freely discharge its primary responsibilities especially in the area of healthcare service delivery.

### **Research Question**

To what extent does the joint account and joint project affect local governments' health care service delivery in Kwara State?

### **Research Objective**

The study examines the effect of joint account and joint project on health care services delivered in the local government areas of Kwara State.

### **Significance of the Study**

The study analyses the constitutional responsibility of power distribution among the tiers of government, efforts are put in place by the study to address the lacuna in the constitution as regards state/local power relations and healthcare services delivery.

This study will be a resource material for public policy practitioners, academics, students and researchers in politics and governance issues.

### **Scope of the Study**

The study is aimed at assessing the impact of state-local government councils' power relations on the quality healthcare service delivery, efforts are on some selected local governments, cut across the three senatorial districts, such as North (Moro), Central (Ilorin West) and South (Oyun) in Kwara state between 2014 to 2017.

## **Literature Review**

### **Local Government**

This is often referred to as smallest government created to take care of all local action that requires government attention. It is the government closer to the grassroots and purposely for grassroots development. The local Government is simply the government that is responsible for the management of the public affairs of the people of a locality. The word locality means a restricted area like a group of villages, towns or a city. A government at this level is permitted by law to take charge of local services such as maintenance of law and order, municipal services, provision of basic social and economic infrastructure among others. Agboko (2004:2) says the local government is "a political administrative unit that is empowered by law to administer a specific locality", while Awofeso (2005:98) adds that it is "the governing body of such an entity elected or otherwise selected to take care of the local affairs and needs of their locality". The inclusiveness of the people in the administration of local governments is stressed by Akpan (1967:50) when he says, "a Local Government implies the breaking down of a country into small units or localities for the purpose of administration in which the inhabitants of the different units or localities concerned play a direct and full part through their elected representatives". Thus the local government is a tier of government with assigned legislative and executive powers to execute and make policies covering a particular local government area. This implies the existence of a relationship between this and other tiers of government since the same people that live in council areas inhabit states and the federation. The constitution of Nigeria clearly spells out such relationships, assigns responsibilities and fiscal powers to each tier of government, and recognises the local government as a third tier of government in the country.

Inyang&Bassey (2014) contended that to 'manage inter-tier relations', effort should be on variety of political and administrative mechanisms as well as the judicial process. The prominent political mechanism is the constitution, which spells out the legislative powers conferred on each of the tiers of government. Inter-tier relations are nothing but interaction among the various levels of government within a political space. This, according to Ojo (2014) is meant to ensure that the government policies and programmes are well implemented and to ensure that government policies and programmes are carried out without failure. Although the opinion of Ojo is not accurate as far as Nigerian political structure is concerned, the state governments are using local governments to syphon both external and internal revenue, such as grants, loans among others.

**Joint Account**

The Joint Account System was reintroduced into the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria in 1999. Section 162 (5) of the constitution provides inter-alia. “The amount standing to the credit of Local Government Councils in the Federal Account shall also be allocated to the State for the benefit of their Local Government councils, on such terms and in such manner as may be prescribed by the National Assembly”. Also, section 162(6) provides as follows. “Each state shall maintain a specific account to be called “State Joint Local Government Account” into which shall be paid all allocations to the Local Government Councils of the State from the Federation Account and from the Government of the State”. These sections of the constitution proscribed direct allocation to the councils and put it under the supervision of every State Government. Due from that, direct allocation to the councils was no longer possible as money allocated to the local authorities and now paid into the State Joint Account.

**Methodology**

The method adopted by this study is quantitative and qualitative methods. It is designed to analyze the outcome of questionnaire and interview conducted from the selected local governments of Kwara State. Questionnaire survey was carried out in order to identify the impact of power relation on healthcare service delivery by the healthcare centres under reporting and to establish a framework of critical causes for successful implementation of healthcare policy. Thirdly, interview sessions were carried out in order to identify obstacles and barriers in the way of implanting healthcare delivery. Thus in this chapter, the hypothesis states that There is no significant relationship between the Joint Account /Joint project and local government healthcare services delivery. And the research question of the thesis is elaborated. Furthermore, the research methodology used to fulfill the stated research aims and objectives is explained and justified.

**Unit of Analysis**

Since this study involves people, the unit of analysis is the individual employee of some cottage hospitals, the clients, Ministry of Local Government and Chieftaincy Affairs, Ex-local Government Councilors and Chairmen, Local Government Service Commission, Civil Society Organization and Local Government staff member be focused on the selected personnel of health division under the local governments (Ilorin West, Oyun and Moro). The division or specific sectors are not mentioned in this study due to the strict request from the director for anonymity.

**Sample Size**

The sample size of the respondents (*n*) for the purpose of this study is approximately 250, which comprise nearly some personnel of the organizations involved, such as Local Government Councils, Ministry of Local Government and Chieftaincy affairs, community Healthcare Centres and some Civil Societies from the three selected Local Governments in the regions of Kwara State. According to Isreal's model for determine sample size

**Table 1 The Target Respondents**

S/N	Institutions	Number of Questionnaire Distributed	Job Duty
1.	Ilorin West Local Government	100	Current & Former Chairmen, Admin Officers, Health Officers and member of Civil Societies
2	Moro Local Government	75	Current & Former Chairmen, Admin Officers, Health Officers and member of Civil Societies
3	Oyun Local Government	75	Current & former Chairmen, Admin Officers, Health Officers and member of Civil Societies

Source: from the filed study 2017

**Data Presentation and Analysis**

**Introduction**

This chapter presents the results of the statistical analysis which were carried out in the field. The chapter is divided into four (4) main sections. The first section would basically discuss the sample demographic profile and presents the frequency count and percentage distribution of the respondents. The second section preceded to the normality test results. The final section provides the findings of the study in relation to its respective research objectives and hypotheses.

**Demographic Profiles of Respondents based on the selected local governments**

Respondents of this study comprise the staff members of local government councils, ministry of local government and chieftaincy affairs and some healthcare centres which cut across the local government areas of the study, NULGE, ALGON, the patients and were the civil society. 250 questionnaires were distributed to the targeted audience, but only 180 were returned the questionnaire during collection, amount to 72% response rate. The demographic variables of the respondents are namely gender, age, highest education level, job position, years of service.

**Analysis and Findings**

**Gender of the Respondents by the selected local governments in Kwara State**

**Table 2 Gender of Respondents**

Local government	Male	Female	Total
Ilorin west	41 (55.4%)	33 (44.6%)	74 (100%)
Moro	30 (52.6%)	48 (47.4%)	57 (100%)
Oyun	29 (59.2%)	35 (40.8%)	49 (100%)

The table reflected that out of one hundred and eighty copies returned from the field, seventy four from Ilorin west indicates that 41 represent (55.4% respondents) were male while 33 respondents represent 44.6% were female. While it also reflected that out of fifty seven copies from Moro, where thirty with 52.6% were male while forty eight with 47.4% were female and lastly the forty nine copies from the Oyun, 29 represent (59.2% respondents) were male while 33 respondents represent 44.6% were female.

**Age of the Respondents by the Selected Local Governments in Kwara State**

**Table 3 Age of the Respondents**

Local government	18-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	Total
Ilorin west	17(23%)	21 (28.4%)	23 (31%)	12 (16.2%)	1 (1.4%)	74 (100%)
Moro	24(42%)	22 (38.6%)	7 (12.3%)	3 (5.3%)	1 (1.8%)	57 (100%)
Oyun	19(38.8%)	15 (30.6%)	14 (28.6)	1 (2%)	-	49 (100%)

The table above showed that out of one hundred and eighty copies returned from the field seventy-four (74) copies from Ilorin west, 23% (17) were between the age 18-29, 28.4% of (21) were between the age of 30-39, 31% (23) were between the age 40-49, 16.2% of (12) were between the age of 50-59 1.4% (1) was between the age 60-69. It also showed that fifty-seven copies (57) returned from the Moro, 42% (24) were

between the ages 18-29, 38.6% of (22) were between the ages of 30-39, 12.3% (7) were between the ages 40-49, 5.3% of (3) were between the ages of 50-59 no respondent was between the ages of 60-69. Lastly, the table also indicated that forty nine (49) returned from the Oyun, 38.8% (19) were between the age 18-29, 30.6% of (15) were between the age of 30-39, 28.6% (14) were between the age 40-49, 2.0% of (1) were between the age of 50-59.

**Level of Education of the Respondents in the selected Local Governments in Kwara State**

**Table 4 Level of Education of the Respondents**

Local government	Primary	Secondary	Polytechnic	Postgraduate	First degree	Other	Total
Ilorin west	45(60.8%)	22 (29.7%)	6 (8.1%)	-	1 (1.4%)		74(100%)
Moro	47(82.4%)	6 (10.5%)	2 (3.5%)	-	1(1.8%)	1(1.8%)	57(100%)
Oyun	41(83.7%)	5 (10.2%)	3 (6.1%)	-	-	-	49(100%)

The table above reflected that out of one hundred and eighty (180) copies returned from the field, Ilorin west recorded seventy four copies (74) with 60.8% (45) respondents were primary holders, 29.7% of (22) respondents were the secondary school holders, 8.1% (6) respondents were the polytechnic graduates and 1.4% (1) respondent, were the holder of first degree. The table also reflected that Moro recorded fifty-seven copies with 82.4% (47) respondents were primary holders, 10.5% of (6) respondents were the secondary school holders, 3.5% (2) respondents were the polytechnic graduates and 1.8% (1) respondents, was the holder of first degree and 1.8% (1) respondents did not specified. The table also showed that Oyun recorded fourth- nine (49) copies with 83.7% (41) respondents were primary holders, 10.2% of (5) respondents were the secondary school holders and 6.1% (3) respondents were the polytechnic graduates

**Do you agree that the Joint Account Refrain Direct Statutory Allocation to the Local Government by the State Government?**

**Table 5 Joint Account and Local Government Statutory Allocation**

Local government	Yes	No	Total
Ilorin west	51 (68.9%)	23 (31.1%)	74 (100%)
Moro	30 (52.6%)	27 (47.4%)	57 (100%)
Oyun	14 (28.6%)	35 (71.4%)	49 (100%)

The table 5.2.24 showed that in Ilorin west 68.9% (51) respondents testified to the fact that local governments in Kwara State access the statutory allocations from the state government but 31.1% (23)

respondents indicated that local governments in Kwara State do not enjoy the disbursement of the statutory allocation from the state government through the policy of Joint Account Allocation. However in Moro, the table showed that 52.6% (30) respondents testified to the fact that local governments in Kwara State access the statutory allocations from the state government but 47.4% (27) respondents indicated that local governments in Kwara State do not enjoy the disbursement of the statutory allocation from the state government through the policy of Joint Account Allocation. Also in Oyun the record showed that 28.6% (14) respondents testified to the fact that local governments in Kwara State access the statutory allocations from the state government but 71.4% (35) respondents indicated that local governments in Kwara State do not enjoy the disbursement of the statutory allocation from the state government through the policy of Joint Account Allocation.

*The Respondent A<sub>29</sub> said that I am very much agree that joint account refrain the statutory allocation of the local government, It will be of great help to the local government its allocation could come directly from the federation account, this will make local government to plan well on any local projects. Respondent B<sub>29</sub> said that state government dictates the projects to be executed from the allocation allotted to them from federation account. Respondent C<sub>26</sub> responded that local government should independently collect their statutory allocation from the federation account so that it will refrain the state government from illegal deduction (Fieldwork, 2017).*

Sequel to the respondents' opinions, it is apparent that the joint account policy is one of the hydra headed monster difficult to tame and endangered service delivery in local government as the state government seized the opportunity of joint account policy to overarch on local government account and the respondents expressed their opinions through which local government can best restored if the local government is empowered with financial autonomy.

**Does the Joint Account Policy Subservient Financial Autonomy of the Local Government to the State Government**

**Table 6 Joint Account Policy Programme and Subservient Financial Autonomy**

Local government	Yes	No	Total
Ilorin west	42 (56.8%)	32 (43.2%)	74 (100%)
Moro	43 (75.4%)	14 (24.6%)	57 (100%)
Oyun	33 (67.3%)	16 (32.7%)	49 (100%)

The table 5.2.25 showed that in Ilorin west 56.8% (42) respondents stated that joint account policy subservient local governments financial autonomy in Kwara State the whereas 43.2 (32) respondents indicated that joint account policy did subservient the local governments the financial autonomy in Kwara State and in Moro the table showed that 75.4% (43) respondents stated that joint account policy subservient local governments financial autonomy in Kwara State the whereas 24.6% (14) respondents indicated that joint account policy did not subservient the local governments the financial autonomy in Kwara State. The table also revealed that in Oyun 67.3% (33) respondents stated that joint account policy subservient local governments financial autonomy in Kwara State the whereas 32.7% (16) respondents indicated that joint account policy did not subservient the local governments the financial autonomy in Kwara State.

*The respondent A<sub>30</sub> said that the policy gives the state government to have full control and access the local government statutory allocation. The same respondent also said that it responsible for the delayed in the disbursement of fund to the local government. The respondent B<sub>30</sub> and C<sub>27</sub> said that allocation supposed to have been sent directly to the local government account for better services delivery but the state government has taken the advantage of the joint account to diverted the local government funds either internal or external sources (Fieldwork, 2017).*

Consequent upon the people opinions from the field, there is no debating the fact that the responsibility of the setback in local government activities should be centered on the confinement that is placed on local government from the policy of state joint account, the statutory allocation of local government which is under the full access and control of the state remains one of the major factors contributing to the inefficient attributes of the local government, they have to remain subjected to the states in the management of their finance, thus the state always take this opportunity as mean of exploiting the local government, in order to stabilize the efficiency of local government in Kwara state, financial autonomy of this tier becomes so imperative.

**Do you agree that the Joint Account between State and Local Governments Encourages Illegal Deduction from the Local Government Account by the State Government?**

**Table 7 Illegal Deduction from the Local Government Account**

Local government	Yes	No	Total
Ilorin west	53 (71.6%)	21 (28.4%)	74 (100%)
Moro	39 (68.4%)	18 (31.6%)	57 (100%)
Oyun	27 (55.1%)	22 (44.9%)	49 (100%)

The table above showed that in Ilorin west 71.6% (53) respondents stated that joint account policy encourages illegal deduction from the local governments account in Kwara State whereas 28.4% (21) respondents indicated that joint account policy did not responsible for the illegal deduction from the local governments account in Kwara State, while in Moro the table indicated that 68.4% (39) respondents stated that joint account policy encourages illegal deduction from the local governments account in Kwara State whereas 31.6% (18) respondents expressed that joint account policy did not responsible for the illegal deduction from the local governments account in Kwara State and finally the table also showed that 55.1% (27) respondents stated that joint account policy encourages illegal deduction from the local governments account in Kwara State whereas 44.9% (22) respondents indicated that joint account policy did responsible for the illegal deduction from the local governments account in Kwara State.

*The respondent A<sub>31</sub> said that joint account gave room for corruption and mismanagement of funds meant for the development of local government and rural development by the state government. It is also responsible for the illegal deduction of fund from the local account by the state. Respondent B<sub>31</sub> said that infact, it is the mechanism for money making by the state government at the expense of the local government. The policy makes the Kwara State Government to used local government account as collateral for taken loan from the World Bank. Respondent C<sub>28</sub> the system serves as a means of making unnecessary deduction from revenue accruing to the local government (Fieldwork, 2017).*

A cursory observation on the comments of the respondents reveals that it not a doubt that that the financial relationship between the state and local government is actually enhancing corruption and

mismanagement of funds at local level. Corruption in Kwara state is becoming greatest bane of local government administration this has been canonically accommodated, entertained, and celebrated within the system and from the people's opinion at the field, it is believed that the state joint account policy is also one of the factors contributing to this corrupt act as it has given the state the highest priority on the local government finance through which unnecessary deduction are enhanced and make it easy for the state government to mismanage funds which ought to be used for the development of local government.

**Do you believe that the Joint Account Policies are Responsible for the delayed in the Implementation of the Local Governments' Statutory Responsibilities?**

**Table 8 Delayed the Local Governments' Statutory Responsibilities**

Local government	Yes	No	Total
Ilorin west	54 (73%)	20 (27%)	74 (100%)
Moro	45 (78.9%)	12 (21.1%)	57 (100%)
Oyun	43 (87.8%)	6 (12.2%)	49 (100%)

The table above showed that in Ilorin west 73% (54) respondents stated that the joint account policy encourages delay in implementation of local government statutory responsibility in Kwara State, whereas 27% (20) respondents expressed that the joint account policy is not responsible for the delay in implementation of the local governments' statutory responsibility in Kwara State. On the other hand, the table showed that in Moro 78.9% (45) respondents stated that the joint account policy encourages delay in implementation of local government statutory responsibility in Kwara State whereas 21.1% (12) respondents indicated that the joint account policy is not responsible for the delay in implementation of the local governments' statutory responsibility in Kwara State. In Oyun the table revealed that 87.8% (43) respondents stated that the joint account policy encourages delay in implementation of local government statutory responsibility in Kwara State whereas 12.2% (6) respondents indicated that the joint account policy is not responsible for the delay in implementation of the local governments' statutory responsibility in Kwara State.

*The respondent A<sub>32</sub>, had it been the local government is receiving its statutory allocation directly from the federation account, there would not be any delayed in the discharge of its responsibilities. Respondent B<sub>32</sub>, the policy has given the state government the full control of the statutory allocation to the local government and also encourages illegal deduction from the local government account which makes it difficult for the local government to meet up its financial responsibilities. Respondent C<sub>30</sub> responded that the state government used this advantage to delayed, deduct and encroaches the local government finance and also discourage the state government to given 10% generated by the state to the local governments (Fieldwork, 2017).*

The creation of the State Joint Account policy by section 162 of the 1999 constitution of Nigeria was meant for rural development of the local communities through effective supervision of distribution and efficient management of revenue accruing to the local government councils from the federation account but however from the respondents' comment it so dishearten to realize that the major aim of this policy in Kwara state is being bastardized by the state governments and rather for the policy to have been a vehicle that will drive rural development the state joint account has served as a mean of making unnecessary deduction from the revenue accruing to the local government councils from the federation account to the coffers of the state government in Kwara state and this makes the needs for straight disbursement of allocations to local governments to becomes much imperative.

**Do you Subscribe to the fact that the Joint Account Programme Promotes Diversion of the Local Governments' Statutory Allocation?**

**Table 9 Promotion of Diversion of Local Government Statutory Allocation**

Local government	Yes	No	Total
Ilorin west	63 (85.1%)	11 (14.9%)	74 (100%)
Moro	44 (77.2%)	13 (22.8%)	57 (100%)
Oyun	43 (87.8%)	6 (12.2%)	49 (100%)

The table 5.27 showed that the respondents from Ilorin west with 85.1% (63) respondents stated that the joint account policy encourages illegal diversion of local governments' statutory allocations in Kwara State whereas 14.9% (11) respondents indicated that the joint account policy is not responsible for the illegal diversion of the local governments' statutory allocations in Kwara State, while in Moro the respondents with 77.2% (44) respondents stated that the joint account policy encourages illegal diversion of local governments' statutory allocations in Kwara State whereas 22.8% (13) respondents indicated that the joint account policy is not responsible for the illegal diversion of the local governments' statutory allocations in Kwara State and in Oyun the table indicated that the respondents with 87.8% (43) respondents stated that the joint account policy encourages illegal diversion of local governments statutory allocations in Kwara State whereas 12.2% (6) respondents indicated that the joint account policy is not responsible for the illegal diversion of the local governments' statutory allocations in Kwara State.

*The respondent A<sub>33</sub> said that the policy helps the state government to properly monitoring and manages the financial activities of the local governments. Respondent B<sub>33</sub> said that the joint account programme promotes diversion of the local governments' statutory allocation. Respondent C<sub>31</sub> said that joint account is nothing but a funnel of corruption by the state government and its surrogate local governments' executives (Fieldwork, 2017).*

In consideration of respondents' opinions, the perspectives of people toward the effectiveness of curbing illegal diversion of local government funds is more of contradictory as some set of people opined that it has actually enhanced proper management of local government funds and others posited that's it is a major tool contributing to illegal diversion of funds. However with their contradictory opinion the fact will still remain the same the only way through which local government can be more effective and corrupted free from the state interference is when the local governments are granted financial autonomy.

**Hypothesis 1**

*There is no significant relationship between the Joint Account /Joint project and local government healthcare services delivery.*

**Table 10 Variable in the Equation**

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% CI for EXP (B)	
							LOWER	UPPER
Step1 <sup>a</sup> Joint Account	1.044	.433	.8204	1	.016	.839	1.216	6.628
Constant	-569	.387	2.168	1	.141	.566	-	-

**a. variable entered on step 1: Joint Account**

The table 5.44 showed that the contributions of each independent variable to the model and its statistical significance. Joint account and joint project positively related to healthcare services delivery in Kwara State. The result showed that there is a significant relationship between the two variables as showed in the table where sig (0.16). Consequently, the null hypothesis stated that there is no significant relationship between the Joint Account /Joint project and local government healthcare services delivery. The result of the Binomial Logistic regression test indicates 1.004 Beta value at the associated significant level of 0.16 which is greater than the conventional significant level of 0.05, with Cox & snell R Square value of .070 indicating that about 0.070% of variation in the 1999 constitution will be accounted for the failure the selected local governments to deliver healthcare services.

**Decision:** Hypothesis 3 is accepted and therefore there is no significant relationship between the Joint Account /Joint project and local government healthcare services delivery.

**Conclusion and Recommendations**

Nwaka (2006:20) argued that “The provision of 20% for Local Governments in the revenue allocation formula of the federations account remains a tragic reminder of the lack of political will to appropriately address the problem of local representations and effective delivery of Services. As the Government that has the most direct and immediate impact on the people, it stands to reason that adequate funding should ordinarily be guaranteed for this tier of Government”. “Many Local Governments are rural based and naturally has limited capacity for internally generated revenue. The study expects that Local Governments should actually be the engine of growth for Local economics regrettably the hegemonic central of the revenue from the federation account by the State Government and Federal Government is not indicating the genuine desire to strengthen the Local Government to meet the high expectation of the mass of our people”. It is evident that 20% percent from federation account subject some local government to solely depend on external source of revenue generation. However, the establishment of joint projects that follows the constitutional responsibility of joint account does not really assist the local governments' healthcare services delivery in Kwara State as it makes local government management to relax on only external revenue and see the internal revenue as a means to enrich their families.

**Recommendations**

There should be autonomy for the local governments in Kwara State to generate revenue internally without intervention of the state according to the forth-schedule of the 1999 constitution but reverse is the case as most of the local governments in Kwara State rely much on external sources of revenue. This resulted into the inability to stand economically independent not to talk on how to improve the welfare of people. The study hereby recommends that the constitution should device a mechanism to check the activities of the local governments as regard revenue utilization and empowered them to access the external revenue generated without full participation of the state government in order to promote healthcare services delivery at the local health centre in the local communities of Kwara State.

There is need to strengthening the functions of Auditor General for the local government to publish the activities of the local government as regard their expenditure and revenue monthly or yearly to enable the inhabitants of the local governments have first class knowledge about the financial capability of the local governments. If accountability is enhanced, there is every possibility that local healthcare services will be delivered at the local governments.

The constitution should be reviewed to restrict the ability of the state to directly involving in controlling of statutory account of the local governments and to empower local government to generate revenue internally and control it on the required services.

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## The Politics of Opposition in Nigeria: Lessons and Challenges Beyond The 2015 General Elections

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### Abstract

The prevalence of a vibrant and strong opposition parties is profound in building an effective competitive politics. More than one and half decade of the country return to multiparty politics in 1999, People Democratic Party (PDP) has been in control of power, at least, at the national level, making the country almost a *de-facto* single party political system. This remains until when it was defeated in the 2015 general elections. The decomposition and recombination of some opposition political parties, which have given rise to a strong opposition party and consequently defeat of the incumbent party for the first term, have brought a new trail in the history of the Nigerian political development. Thus, the emergence of APC in 2013 has made the politics of opposition vibrant since the inception of the present democratic dispensation. With the defeat of the PDP in the last general elections, there has been increasing culture of defection and switching from one political party to the other, particularly from the PDP - as an opposition party to the ruling party – APC. This situation has raised a serious concern about the place of ideology in Nigerian politics and dynamic of competitive multiparty politics. Thus, the inability of politicians to appreciate the fact that the existing of a strong opposition party is a key for effective competitive politics is informed by self centred interest. This is evidenced looking at the unending leadership tussle in PDP especially after it defeat in the 2015 general elections, in addition to the failure of APC to perform credibly. This article examines the dynamic of opposition politics in particular with the emergence of APC, first, as opposition and, then, as ruling party in Nigeria.

**Key words:** Political Party, Election, Democracy, Multi-party politics

### Introduction

The prevalence of a vibrant and strong opposition parties is profound in building an effective competitive politics. The dynamism of politics under multi-party system is determine by the present of viable opposition parties which perform three basic traditional roles include "...voice of voiceless, alternative to the ruling government, and official opposition" (Naanen, 2015: 2). The sixteen years of PDP rule corresponds with the rising crisis of legitimacy as evidenced by the collapse of socio-economic infrastructure, rising insecurity, and above all, corruption among government officials, The misruled of the country for past sixteen years under the ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP) could have been challenged, if for instance there was a present of strong opposition party in the country. Many attempts were made by some of the existence political parties to come into alliances to oust PDP from power. But because of the inability of the Nigerian politicians to seal their individual differences and divergence view over sharing of positions, this especially within the context of ethnic, regional and religious divides made these attempts at forming a formidable opposition alliance a dismal failure (Ibrahim and Hassan, 2014).

The rising internal crisis within PDP with the decision took by the party not to shift power to North and the emergence of President Goodluck Ebelle Jonathan as its presidential flag bearer in the 2015 general elections, coincidently occurred at a time when three major opposition parties in Nigeria have accepted to decompose and merge into a single political party called the All Progressive Congress (APC). The emergence of APC as the first strong opposition party since the inception of the present political dispensation has significantly affected the dynamic of party politics in Nigeria. While this was seen as development for the country competitive multiparty politics, however, the waves of political defection

that have been witnessed after the defeat of PDP in the 2015 general elections, particularly in states where APC wield more power, in addition with the rising internal party conflict that rampage PDP for almost three years and subsequently pushed it to the point of collapsing, have give rise to another concern over the dynamic of politics of opposition in Nigeria. Appreciably, the verdict of the country Apex Court on July, 2017 has resuscitated the hope of coming back of the PDP to political lifeline. But with the eruption of fresh leadership tussle after it national convention in December 2017, thing becomes more hard for the PDP again doubting the possibility of coming back stronger and perform as a viable opposition party in Nigeria. Also, given the limited performance of APC in the area of uplifting the living standard of Nigerians since coming to office in 2015, what would be the faith of APC in 2019 general elections?

This study interrogates the dynamic of opposition politics in Nigeria with the view to bring about some of the challenges and lessons to be learned since the emergence of APC as opposition and later ruling party in Nigeria. The article is structured into six parts. The first part is the introduction followed by discuss on the trends in party and electoral alliances in Nigeria. Part three discusses on socio-economic of the Nigerian Fourth Republic. Part four deals with the issues towards the 2015 general elections and the emergence of All Progressive Congress (APC). Part five discusses on the lessons and challenges with regard to dynamic of politics of opposition in Nigeria beyond the 2015 general elections, and lastly part six is the concluding remarks.

### **Trends in Party and Electoral Alliances in Nigeria**

The formation of political parties in Nigeria can be traced as far back as 1920s which the birth of the first political party – the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) founded by Herbert Macaulay. This development is followed the introduction of elective representation by Clifford Constitution of 1922. By 1934, the Nigeria Youth Movement (NYM) was formed, challenging the political influence of NNDP. This followed the failure of NNDP to radicalise the political space especially in dealing with the colonial obnoxious policies.

By 1950s, Nigeria witnesses the proliferation of political parties and associations. Most of these parties and associations were emerged in line of ethnic or regional divides for the purpose of protecting the interests of ethnic or regions they are inclined with. Some of these political parties included: the Northern People's Congress (NPC) inclined to the people of the north, the Action Group (AG) to the west and the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) to the East. Others are: the Niger Delta Congress (NDC) for the people of Niger-Delta region of Nigeria, Mid-West Democratic Front (NDF) for the people of Edo and other minorities' ethnic groups of the mid-west region, United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC) for the people Benue and River Benue axis and a lot of others.

The first political alliances started sometimes before the 1964 general elections. The main reason for this alliance was to improve the chance of acquiring political power. Ibrahim and Hassan (2014) argued that when the country operated parliamentary system of government, the existing political parties were divided into government party and opposition parties. While the government party was trying to maintain its political power, the opposition parties were on the other hand planning on how to outs the government party from power. Towards the 1964 general elections, there were move to form an alliances. The ruling party - NPC with the Niger Delta Congress (NDC), the faction of Action Group - the New Nigerian Democratic Party (NNDP) and the Mid-West Democratic Front (NDF) formed the Nigerian National Alliance (NNA). On the other hand, the opposition parties – Action Group (AG), the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC), and the United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC) with some minor parties also formed along ethnic divides, made United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA).

Before the election, there were accusations and counter accusations, particularly in the Western Region. This led to the boycott of the election by many of the UPGA candidates. Ibrahim and Hassan

(2014) stated that the reason for this boycott was as result of the poor conducive atmosphere for the opposition alliance to campaign as the incumbent ruling party made it difficult for most of the APGA candidates; in some places opposition candidates were not given nomination forms living the NNA to swept most of the seats. They further argue that in the second republic, the establishment of splinter groups within most of the opposition parties fuelling by the ruling party – NPN, made it difficult for them to come into alliance that could challenge it political supremacy especially at the centre.

The Nigerian Fourth Republic comes into being on May 29, 1999. As a multi-party politics, three political parties were first got register. These are: the People's Democratic Party (PDP), the All Progressive Party (APP), later All Nigerian People's Party (ANPP), and Alliance for Democracy (AD). Osinakachukwu and Jawan (2011) argued that, even though the three political parties were registered, the presidential election of 1999 was contested by an alliance of APP and AD, filled in Chief Olu Falae of AD as it presidential flag bearer Alhaji Umar Shinkafi of APP served as his running mate, while the PDP on the other hand filled in Chief Olusegun Obasanjo. In spite of that, the APP-AD alliance failed to win the presidential election. Like any other elections held previously, the 1999 electoral process in Nigeria was flawed, the results were rigged as ballot boxes were snuffed and many people were disenfranchised.

Towards the 2003 general elections the rulings PDP entered into 'temporary arrangement' that look like alliance with AD, at that time controlling most part of the states in the South-West. This pact was purportedly to have entered to help Obasanjo to secure victory for a second term. Under this alliance or what could be term as temporary political ethnic alliance, it was agreed that the AD would not field any presidential candidate in solidarity with Obasanjo being also from the South-West and, in exchange for the AD governors to have smooth sail in their re-election bid (Ibrahim and Hassan, 2014). While AD have respected the agreement for not fielded a candidate to contest for the office of Mr. president with Obasanjo, on the other hand PDP was very fast for not only fielded its candidates to contest in the gubernatorial election in 2003 along with those seeking for re-election under AD, but also ensure that it won five out of the six states under the control of AD prior to the election. With "...only the Lagos State who rejected the alliance retained his seat". These states included, Ondo, Osun, Ogun, Oyo and Ekiti States.

Furthermore, in 2007 general elections, attempt was made to form an alliance between AD, ANPP and the faction of PDP championed by the former Vice President Atiku Abubakar. The proposed alliance failed because of the inability of the opposition parties to reach an agreement on who will be the presidential flag bearer. This arose due to individual differences, particularly between the Muhammadu Buhari, a former Military Governor and minister as well as one time Nigerian military Head of State and Atiku Abubakar. This further weakens the possibility of forming a formidable opposition party that could muzzle power with PDP. Worsen the situation further, the formation of Action Congress (AC) and the emergence of different candidates under the platform of different political parties to contest for the 2007 presidential election, for example, AD - Pere Ajuwa, AC - Atiku Abubakar, ANPP - Muhammadu Buhari has not only weaken the capacity of the opposition parties in Nigeria but further strengthen the political influence of PDP. Attempt is also made to form alliance in 2011 among the opposition parties but just like the previous ones, this attempt failed again. As opposition parties continue to achieve very minimal in forming a formidable opposition party, the political power of PDP continue to deepen, particularly at the centre.

Most of the pacts, alliances and attempted alliances in the Nigerian political history was mostly entered by various parties are for the purpose to win electoral contests. No wonder Ibrahim and Hassan (2014) argued that the consistence failure of the opposition party to thrive over the year in the history of the Nigerian political development is due to the antagonistic in the sharing of political post. This is so profound when assessing this within the context of ethnic, religious and regional divides, especially with the increasing important of state in the distribution of petro-revenue based resources.

### **The Socio-economic of the Nigerian Fourth Republic**

At a time when Nigeria returned to civil rule in 1999, the per capita stood around US \$270, the capacity utilisation of the manufacturing industries was 35 per cent and the incidence of poverty was up to 67 per cent. The exchange rate for the naira to one US Dollar was put at around N90. In 2002, the capacity utilisation remained at high as 35% but the incidence of poverty rose to 70 per cent and the value of the Naira to one US Dollar also rose to N 125 (Jega, 2004:8).

In spite of significant economic growth due to the propelling positive price of crude oil at the international market especially from 2005 to late 2011. There is increase in the rate of unemployment, in particular among the youth, as the trend in the unemployment rose from 12.3 percent in 2006 to 23.9 percent in 2011 (Olowonomi and Audu, 2012: 432). This trend significantly jumped to 24.3 percent in 2012 and to 28.5 percent in 2013 (Innocent, 2014:110). It was estimated around 90 percent of youth graduate totally about 1,430,000 from the Nigerian tertiary institutions between 2004 and 2014 roam the streets in search for jobs (David and Manu, 2015:159).

Also, poverty has become too close to the comfort of the majority. The percentage of those categorised as extreme poor rose from 6.2 percent in 1980 to 38.7 percent in 2010 (Olowonomi and Audu, 2012: 433). Adesina (2012: 8) argues that the income share between those considered at the top and down is continuously widening in Nigeria. For instance, the share income of the lowest 10 per cent of the people in 1986 was around 2.47 per cent, 28.21 per cent for the top 10 per cent and that of top 20 per cent in the same year was estimated to be 45.01 per cent. By 2010, the percentage of income share among these categories of people drastically changed with sharp decline among the lowest 10 per cent to about 1.75 per cent. There was remarkably increased of income share among the top 10 and 20 per cents from 28.21 and 45.01 per cents recorded in 1986 to 38.23 and 54.01 per cents, respectively, in 2010.

There is evidenced of rising insecurity across the country from the Boko Haram crisis in the North-East to youth restiveness in Niger-Delta and famers-herdsmen conflict in Benue, Ekiti and other states across the country. The unfolding situation coupled with increasing corruption especially among elected officials brought public disenchantment in many quarters and the call for change in the political leadership in the country.

### **Towards the 2015 General Elections and Emergence of All Progressive Congress (APC) as Opposition Party in Nigeria**

Prior to the emergence of APC in 2013, the political terrain in Nigeria has been dominated by PDP with some political parties forming opposition. Ibrahim and Hassan (2014) contend that most of the opposition parties that exist during the fourteen years of PDP political domination - the All Nigerian People's Party (ANPP), Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN), Congress for Progressive Change (CPC), All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA), Labour Party (LP), Progressive People's Alliance (PPA) have regional representation. On this fact most of these parties have weak capacity to oust PDP from power, giving more opportunity to continued consolidating its strength by winning majority in every election, especially at the central level. This is evident as report of African Elections Database (undated: 3-4) shown that PDP won the presidential election that held in 2003 with about 24, 456, 140 votes or 61.94% of 42, 018, 735 total valid votes cast. The report also shows that PDP won 76 seats out of 109 in the Senate and 223 seats out of 360 in the House of Representatives in comparison with other political parties that contested with PDP in the 2003 election into the National Assembly (see Table 1). table

**Table 1: Showing 2003 Senate and House of Representatives Election Result**

Parties	Senate			House of Representatives		
	No. of vote	% of vote	No. of seats (109)	No. of vote	% of vote	No. of seats (360)
PDP	15,585,538	53.69%	76	15,927,87	54.49%	223
ANPP	8, 091,783	27.87%	27	8,021,531	27.44%	96
AD	2,828,082	9.74%	6	2, 711,972	9.28%	34
UNPP	789, 705	2.72%	-	803,432	2.75%	2
NDP	459, 462	1.58%	-	561,161	1.92%	1
APGA	429, 073	1.48%	-	397, 147	1.36%	2
PRP	2004, 929	0.71%	-	222,938	0.76%	1
Others	641, 535	2.21	-	587,082	2.01%	-
Vacant	-	-	-	-	-	1

Source: African Election Data Base at <http://africanelections.tripod.com/ng.html>

In 2007, twenty-five candidates were contested for the April 21 presidential election. Out of the 35,397,517 valid votes cast PDP had 69.60% followed by ANPP with 18.66%. PDP also won 87 out of 109 seats in the Senate and 263 out 360 seats in the House of Representatives. This dramatically dropped to 45 seats in the Senate and 123 seats in the House of Representatives in 2011 election (African Election Database, undated: 4). The PDP was in control of 23 out of the 36 states in 2011, in spite of the fact that it had lost six states in the South-West to Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN), which before 2011 general elections was in control of only Lagos. Similarly, the party presidential flag bearer - Goodluck E. Jonathan was also declared to have won the 2011 Presidential election by 58.89% of the total votes cast, living his closest political rival – Muhammadu Buhari of the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) with 31.98% of the valid vote cast (see Table 2).

Candidate	Party	Number of Votes	% of Votes
Goodluck E. Jonathan	PDP	22, 495, 187	58.89%
Muhammadu Buhari	CPC	12, 214, 853	31.98%
Nuhu Ribadu	CAN	2, 079, 151	5.41%
Ibrahim Shekarau	ANPP	917, 012	2.40%
Mahmud Waziri	PDC	82, 243	0.21%
Nwadike Chikezie	PMP	56, 248	0.15%
Lawson Aroh	PPP	54, 203	0.14%
Peter Nwangwu	ADC	51, 682	0.14%
Iheanyichukwu Nnaji	BNPP	47, 272	0.12%
Christopher Okotie	FP	34, 331	0.09%
Dele Momodu	NCP	26, 376	0.07%
Solomon Akpona	NMDP	25, 938	0.07%
Lawrence Adedoyin	APS	23, 740	0.06%
Abiti Ndok	UNPD	21, 203	0.06%
John Dara	NTP	19, 744	0.05%
Rashid Shitta – Bey	MPPP	16, 492	0.04%
Yahaya Ndu	ARP	12, 264	0.03%
Ambrose Owuru	HDP	12, 023	0.03%
Patrick Utomi	SDMP	11, 544	0.03%
Chris Nwakobia	LDPN	8, 472	0.02%

Source: African Election Data Base at <http://africanelections.tripod.com/ng.html>.

Looking at the number of seats both in the Senate and House of Representatives won by the PDP during the 2011 general elections, one could note that PDP's majority diminished. This resulted from the dissatisfaction of the party's members over nomination process and absence of internal party democracy. Under this condition candidates were forced on the party members and in some cases party primaries were not held or being manipulated to suit some powerful political godfathers. In fact, these undemocratic nature of selecting candidate to contest in an election within the party and the increasing impunity had made stakeholders within the party to believed that once one emerge as a party flag bearer after primaries he or she will definitely emerge victorious during the general electoral contest. Lack of internal party democracy in PDP cleared way for opposition parties such as ACN to gain more ground especially in the South-West. The defeat of PDP by ACN corresponds also with the dwindling fortune of All Nigerian People's Party (ANPP) in the North because of its leadership crisis.

In the midst of this development three of the opposition parties decided to merger. This came after many fruitless attempts previously by the opposition parties to come together and challenge the political dominance of PDP. This come in terms with Ibrahim and Hassan (2014) position who contend that the determination of the Nigerians opposition parties to wrestle power from the ruling PDP's led to the

emergence of All Progressive Congress (APC) as a result of merger of three opposition parties, namely: the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN), All Nigerian People's Party (ANPP), Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) and the faction of the All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA). Its emergence followed the approval giving by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) after meeting the required statutory for the merger. Having emerged as a single political party, the certificates of the three applicants political parties merged were withdrew by INEC (Global Security, undated).

While APC was busy trying to gain a political ground in preparation towards 2015 general elections, this coincidentally come with the rising tension within PDP, especially from the decision made by President Goodluck Jonathan to contest the 2015 presidential election. The continued deepening of this crisis led to the split of the party into two factions – the 'New PDP' and 'Old PDP'. As this crisis worsen, not few than 37 members of House of Representatives from PDP with some serving governors and Senators, as well as thousands of their supporters have decamped to APC.

### **Dynamic of Opposition Politics in the Nigerian Fourth Republic: Lessons and Challenges**

Among the lessons to be learned with the emergence of APC is that democracy hardly attained without existence of a strong and effective opposition party that can checkmate the activities of party in power. Sixteen years, PDP has not been able to transform the dreams of many into reality despite hopes and expectations raised with the returned of the country into civil democratic rule. Sixteen years of PDP rule to many could be described as the unfortunate, if not disastrous in the history of Nigerian political development. Within these years the country has been confronting with many challenges in the area of security, ranging from armed robbery, kidnapping, oil bunkering to the problem of Boko Haram insurgency and the spate of ethno-religious crisis.

There was obvious decrease in the human development index, in spite, rising economic growth of an estimated 7.75 percent, poverty remained too close to the comfort of many household of about 69 percent. The rate of unemployment get increased, while majority of the infrastructural facilities were on their last legs and life became difficult due to decrease in the human development index (Ibrahim and Hassan, 2014: 10). In the midst of these problems, few individual in the corridor of power continued to live in affluence and derive much benefit through corrupt means with impunity. The emergence of APC as opposition party, thus, provides an alternative for the electorate to choose between the contending programmes, vision and personalities during electoral contest (Naanen, 2015). For the first time this brought changed in the politics of opposition in Nigeria since 1999. It also rekindled the Nigerians' hope on democracy as the only alternative form of government they can think of.

The emergence of APC from the opposition later ruling party has further remind the Nigeria politicians the need to imbibe the culture of tolerance and respect of opposition, and above all, have faith in the ballot box. Prior to the elections many Nigerian politicians hardly believe that one could work for and actually earn votes in an election based on one's vision and appeal (Omoruyi, 2006). The victory of APC in 2015 general elections has proof this wrong. APC was able to mobilised electorate massive despite the unhealthy political condition to ensure that it emerges victorious in the 2015 general elections. It should be recall that towards the 2015 general elections, the anaemic political behaviour and mounting politics of intimidation had made it difficult for APC and its stalwarts to operate. Social network and the state coercion institutions such as police were used to harass members of APC by the then ruling party - PDP. The political victory of APC as an opposition party has raised a fundamental issue that for any political party to emerge victorious in an election it needs to be opened and associated itself with the urgent needs of the generality of the people such as security, poverty, unemployment and so on. Politics generally is all about serving the interests of and empowering the people. For democracy to thrives people

must be empowered and their needs must be aggregated and articulated properly by the political parties, hence the need for strong and viable opposition parties that will help in checkmating the excesses of the ruling party become necessary.

There is no doubt that the emergence of APC as an opposition party is a welcome development, at least if not for anything, it provides an avenue in limiting an abuse of power by PDP. But could not have been without some challenges and one of such is the inability of the politicians to learn from their mistakes and appreciates the fact that strong and viable opposition is an important ingredient that capable of engendering an enduring democracy. In recent time, the desire to achieve political interests has led to the disappearing of ideology in politics. Because of this, particularly with the dramatic political victory of APC in the March-April 2015 general elections, the widespread culture of defection among the politicians intensified, worsen ever since the emergence of the present political dispensation, especially in the states where APC emerges victorious. It is agreed that politics is a matter of interest yet in Nigeria today desire to accumulate seemed more significant in determining where ones belongs. The defection from one party to the other is help in ensuring that one acquires political post as this remains an avenue where state resources can be accessed for the purpose of primitive accumulation. No wonder many of the politicians because of this cannot withstand the prolonged period out of power as this means starvation. Therefore, every opportunity that can provide access to political posts tends to be pursuing diligently.

The in-rush entering of some of the defectors into APC has raise a serious concern, particularly among its stalwarts that have contributed towards it formation, as to whether there is conspiracy to destabilise the party. This could be linked especially with the rising internal leadership crisis that engulfed the party soon after the defection of the PDP faction – the New PDP into APC. This defection forced many of the APC architectures and supporters like Attahiru Dalhatu Bafarawa and Ibrahim Shekarau, formed governors of Sokoto and Kano respectively to decamp to PDP. This political uproar can significantly weaken the strength of any opposition party, luckily for the APC, it was able to put its strength and challenge the PDP by identified itself with the desire of many Nigerians for change, emphasising on fighting corruption, tackling security challenge and reducing unemployment, especially among youth. The massive defection witnessed with the resounding defeat of PDP in the 2015 general elections have inundated party politics, further killed politics of ideology and stalled the development of viable political opposition that can challenge the actions or inactions of ruling party APC, making sure that whatever government intended to do, it does it for the interests of Nigeria and Nigerians. This becomes paramount in building viable democratic governance. It is important to note that the massive defection from PDP with the emergence of APC, coupled with the incisive unresolved internal crisis that factionalised the PDP have weaken its strength as an opposition party, indeed, if not signal "... an impression of a party on the brink of collapse" (Naanen, 2015: 5).

The pertinent question remains is whether PDP have what it takes to be called opposition party looking at the mistakes and blunders it made for sixteen years of its ruling. This is because credible opposition party most have ability not just to criticise, but also to demonstrate that it is capable of providing credible proposals and actions. The recklessness governance experience from 1999-2015 left many people disappointed for voting PDP into power. Indeed, for PDP to rely provide effective and vigorous politics of opposition there is the need for the party to put it house in order. But this seem to be difficult as some of the aggrieved members from the Senator Ali Madu Sharif faction are yet to accept defeat from the landmark judgement of the Supreme Court that ended the lingering leadership tussle in the party. In addition, the rising fresh leadership crisis after emergence of Prince Uche Secondus as a party National Chairman during it national convention in Abuja on December 2017, on the allegation of misconduct has further get the situation worsen in doubting the capability of the PDP to challenge the ruling APC in the 2019 general election elections as the party is now split further into more camps with the

emergence of 'Fresh PDP' camp. This remains a challenge for the dynamic of politics of opposition in Nigeria.

APC was able to associate itself with the aspirations of many Nigerians in its electioneering campaigns for the 2015 general elections, but it has failed to change the dreams of many Nigerians into reality after winning the elections. Despite APC-led government effort in fighting corruption and ability to reduce the terror attack from the Boko Haram, more need to be done in the area of human security – reducing poverty, unemployment especially among the youth, illiteracy and improving on the living conditions of many Nigerians. Since the APC formed government in 2015, there is growing concern about worsen of living conditions of many Nigerians, as many hardly afford daily three square meals and others are without job. The economic condition of the country get worsen as many small businesses find it difficult to progress particularly during the economic recession and with the fluctuating exchange of Naira to Dollar. There is deteriorating condition of road networks, health centres, schools as many of these socio-economic infrastructures are continued to remain in the state of utter dilapidation, making the dream of many Nigerians unrealistic.

There is a dwindling incidence of ethno-religious conflicts in recent time, however, the manifestation and the growing communal and sectarian strife as well as spate of youth restiveness in some parts of Nigeria, for instance, Niger-Delta, farmers-herdsmen conflicts in the states like Benue, Taraba and Ekiti, rampant kidnapping across the states, the fresh threat from Nnamdi Kanu for the actualisation of the sovereign state of Biafra, have continued engaging the state under the APC-led administration. Though the effort of APC-led administration in fighting corruption is highly acknowledged, however, the inability of APC government to expand this fight by investigating some corrupt cases that affect some of its members and government officials or prosecute some of the government officials found wanting such as Babachir Lawal, the former secretary of government, have continued casting doubt on sincerity of the APC-led administration in fighting corruption. This situation has clearly shown that the APC as a ruling party since 2015 has failed to learn from the mistakes of the PDP and these can serve as determining factors for the success or otherwise of the APC under any viable opposition politics. Given this situation, it is a right time for the opposition parties in Nigeria to put their houses in order by re-organising themselves to challenge the actions or inactions of the APC-led administration. As opposition politics goes beyond ability to muster strength with, but if possible, to defeat the ruling party and contribute towards peaceful and effective competitive politics that would usher in good and responsible government.

### **Concluding Remarks**

The present of opposition party is inevitable, indeed necessary for the development of multi-party politics. Where sound opposition polity thrives it promotes democracy and responsiveness in governance. The emergence of APC as an opposition party has ushered in new phase in competitive politics for the first term in Nigeria since the emergence of the present political dispensation. However, its inability as a ruling party to prove that it is capable of handling all the misfortunes and challenges facing the country, particularly its failure to improve on the living conditions of Nigerians since assume office in May 29, 2015, has shown that the decision of some of the politicians to accept and form an opposition party - APC in 2013, in addition to massive defection witnessed especially with the defeat of PDP in the 2015 general elections rest on high values placed upon the need to access political power for the purpose of making self rich and for upward social status rather than group interests. Essentially, what is required for the existing political parties in Nigeria is to accept the fact that the survival of the democratic polity in Nigeria depends on the presence of strong, viable and true opposition party that will serve as voice of voiceless, promote good governance, justice, and above all, bring change to the fortune of Nigerians when given an opportunity to rule.

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## Impact of Capital Flight On Economic Growth In Nigeria

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### Abstract

The phenomenon of capital flight has become a trending macroeconomic issue in Nigeria. This study therefore examines the impacts of capital flight on economic growth in Nigeria. The real interest rates differential has been identified as a major determinant of capital flight in an economy. The study employs the vector error correction mechanism and granger causality test to examine the relationship between capital flight, interest rates differential, political instability and economic growth; using available data between 1980 and 2014. The results show a negative relationship exists between capital flight and economic growth in Nigeria. The results also show a positive and significant relationship between capital flight and interest rates differential, explaining that the higher risk-adjusted returns abroad influence domestic capital flight. The granger causality test explains the existence of bi-directional relationships between political instability and capital flight; interest rates differential and capital flight; political instability and economic growth; interest rates differential and economic growth; and interest rates differential and political instability. There is, however, a uni-directional relationship between capital flight and economic growth.

**Keywords:** *Capital flight, interest rate differential, economic growth, vector error correction.*

### Introduction

Over the years, the issue of capital flight from developing countries including Nigeria has create a huge problem in the economic growth of the countries and has receive attention from researcher. Scholars have expresses concern over the magnitudes, grounds and penalties of this net flow. Investors from developed countries are seen as reacting to investment opportunities while investors from developing countries are said to be absconding the high risks they perceive at home (Ajayi, 1997).

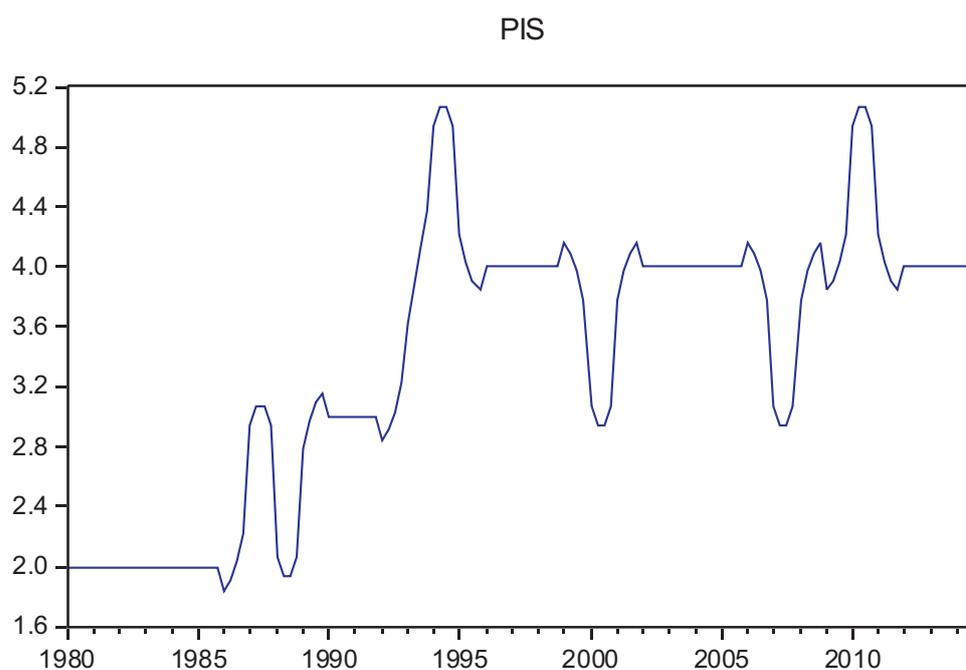
Given that a country attains a sustainable level of development if it is able to sufficiently mobilize and retain resources so as to raise the welfare standard in the domestic economy, capital flight poses a serious concern to sustainable development of any nation as it creates inefficiency in the workings of the economy, reduces per capita income and investment in the domestic economy and worsen the problem of income inequality (Ajayi, 2014; Nkurunziza, 2014).

Ndikumana (2010) defines capital flight as the residual difference between capital inflows and the foreign exchange outflows. Thus, any inflow which neither offsets the deficits in the current account nor adds to reserves is termed capital flight. This is usually in response to economic and political uncertainties in a country where an investor tries to avoid the risks in the domestic economy and seeks to gain from higher yields abroad by investing in short-term securities. In the works of Akanbi (2015), capital flight connotes the migration of financial capital from one investment destination to another, so as to avoid risks (such as political instability, expected devaluation or depreciation of domestic currency, and hyperinflation) which holders perceive to be country-specific, or in search of higher returns on capital. Similarly, the failure of government may encourage capital flight. This is because poor governance manifests in corruption, unstable macroeconomic environment, trade mix-invoicing, smuggling, and poor regulatory frameworks; all of which encourage capital flight (Boyce and Ndikumana, 2012).

As part of unstable economic environment, Victor (2008) opines that capital flight could be directly stimulated by war, or through the fears of war, which heighten political risks; or indirectly through such means as inflation and public debts, thereby inducing capital flight. Capital flight has been modeled as outflows relating to asymmetric risks on domestic assets in relation to foreign ones. Assets may face relatively higher risk as a result of currency devaluation or depreciation, inflation, and financial instability in the domestic markets (Dornbusch, 1985) as well as some risks of expropriation (Kant, 2002; Khan and Haque, 1985). Usually an investor would prefer and consider holding wealth abroad if the risk-adjusted returns to investment are lower at home than abroad. This is premised on the real interest rates differential between the domestic economy and the rest of the world.

An unstable political environment may lead to loss of private wealth through expropriation or destruction in the case of violence. Lawson (2007) emphasizes that Political instability distorts economic system and expected incentives since a wealth holder may be influenced by the current political climate in deciding the proportion of his wealth to invest domestically. This, including corrupt practices, explains the non-economic cause of capital flight (Lawson, 2007). Nigeria is currently being faced with security challenges, including militancy, kidnapping and other terrorist attacks which have been frustrating investment, especially in the country's oil and gas sector (Premium Times, 2016). Below is the graphical illustration of the rate of political instability in the country from the period 1980-2014.

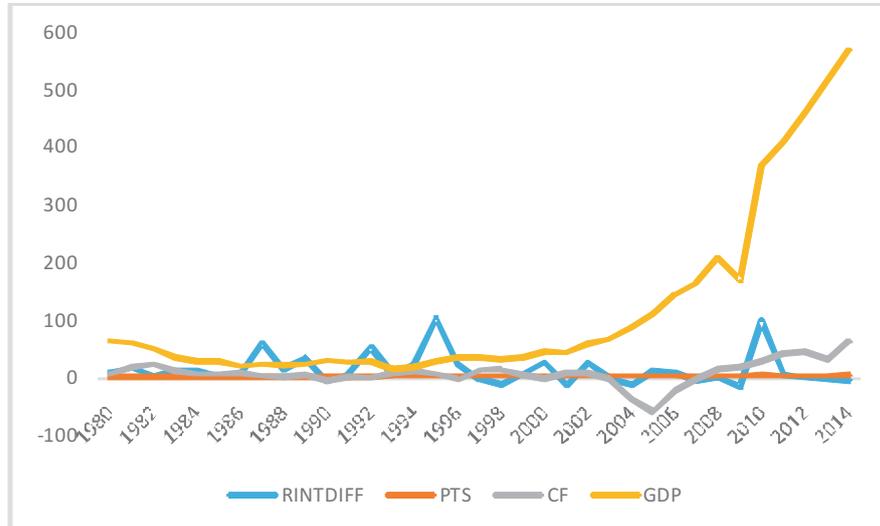
**Figure 1: political instability index of Nigeria, 1980- 2014**



Source: world development data indicator

political stability as seen in figure 1 has been at an 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 recent political crisis in the country since 2006 is the Boko Haram, an Islamic extremist group based in northeastern Nigeria and other various violence caused by religion and political reasons which has led to loss of life in places like Maiduguri, Jos, Kaduna, Kano, Taraba etc in the country.

**Figure 2: Capital flight, interest differential, political instability and Economic Growth**



\*Data used in plotting this diagram were sourced from the World Bank and IMF official databases

Given the diagram in Figure 2, it can be observed that the fluctuations of political environment (PTS) figures are not really widespread, and as such more parallel to the horizontal axis.

As shown in figure 1 the values of the real interest rates differential (RINTDIFF) keep fluctuating over time; rises to the optimum in 1995, fluctuates between other years, almost in the same manner as capital flight (CF) and also hovers around the optimum in 2010 after which it falls.

The widespread of capital flight in Nigeria has risen significantly in recent years, with the country losing about \$2 billion annually as a result of weak educational policies alone; and an estimate of about \$22 billion has also been lost to trade mix-invoicing and other anomalies in the petroleum sector between 2002 and 2011 (This Day newspaper, 2016; Vanguard newspaper, 2014). Isabella (2014) identifies underdeveloped financial markets and large presence of foreign banks, weak banking regulations and supervision; capital control; financial derivatives; hedge and private equity funds as some of the factors that enhance capital flight and other illicit financial flows.

In Nigeria one of the vague and disturbing macroeconomic problems for the past two decades is the growing rate of capital flight. Furthermore, the recent global financial crisis generates problems of massive movement of funds out of the country coupled with the problem of political instability in the country, has undoubtedly contributed to the regeneration of growth of capital flight. According to Sanusi, over 22b left the country from 2008-2009 as a result of capital flight (vanguard newspaper, 29 August, 2009) this can cause a slowdown in the economic growth rate. Capital flight has a destructive effect on the country through hesitation of the foreign sectors to invest, causing weak investment performances in the country, high rate of unemployment as well as pronounced regressive effects on the distribution of wealth in the country and also threatening the development of the banking sub- sector. Based on these problems coupled with an attempt to improve upon the previous researches carried out on the effects of capital flight, the study tests the empirical relationship between capital flight and political instability in Nigeria, using available data, since much work has not been done on this aspect even though many studies have examined the theoretical relationship. The study therefore undertaken to fill in the gap of examine the impact of capital flight in the Nigeria economic given the rate of political instability.

The study will be group into five sections, section one comprises of the introductions and aims of the study. Section two includes review of relevant literatures and theoretical framework, section three

contains the methodology used to achieve the research objectives, Section four is concern with data analysis of the empirical results. Lastly, section five includes summary conclusion and recommendation.

### **Empirical Review of Literature**

Several studies have been carried out to examine the impacts of capital flight on different economies. (see for example, Ajayi (1997) Ndikumana (2008), and Akanbi (2015). In the work of Victor (2008) on capital flight and war- using ordinary and generalized least squares, he obtained both positive and negative coefficients for war (dummy); which is similar to the results obtained by Akanbi (2015) and Ndikumana (2008) who used inflation differential as a measurement of economic environment that influences capital flight. Ndikumana (2008), using Panel OLS, established a negative relationship between capital flight and economic growth; which is similar to that obtained by Nkurunziza (2012), and Akanbi (2015) who obtained a negative coefficient for investment. This postulates that for most of the studies, empirical analysis explains that capital flight reduces growth potentials.

Akanbi (2015) obtained a negative coefficient for the real interest rates differential in his regression analysis, using Engel Granger two-step procedure of estimation to capture the long- and short-run dynamics of capital flight, he estimated that interest rates differential and investment affect capital flight (at 5%) of (2.45846) and (4.53176) standard errors, respectively in the long-run. He therefore posits that capital flight creates long term economic growth challenge, while also reducing capital for investment in infrastructures. The result is similar to that obtained by Ndikumana et al. (2016). However, positive coefficient was obtained for the same variable in the analysis of capital flight by Ndikumana (2008), Ajayi (1992) and Lawson (2007). Also, Ndikumana et al. (2014) established that the coefficient of lagged capital flight is positive. This connotes that capital flight in the current period is influenced by the previous period capital flight. Lawson (2007) and Ndikumana et al (2016) also obtained a positive coefficient for lagged capital flight. The results obtained by Noor Azryani (2016) shows that Capital flight significantly contributes to variations of macroeconomic variables; to which innovations in capital flight turn out to influence the gross domestic products and exchange rate; with more than 46% of the GDP forecast error variance and 34% of exchange rate forecast error variance. The movements in CPI and interest rate are predominantly driven by their own shocks, which are more than 34 and 29 percent, respectively. These results suggest that capital flight incorporates its own information and the information of exchange rate. The significant impact of capital flight on GDP and exchange rate may also suggest that the growth or recession of economy and appreciation or depreciation of exchange rate could be due to their reactions to changes in capital flight. While analyzing the impacts of capital flight on economic growth and other macroeconomic variables in Nigeria, using the residual method of estimation, Ajilore (2010) obtained that for most of the periods, capital flight estimates had positive sign which indicates that residents persistency engage in capital flight. Thus, he identifies trade misinvoicing as a means by which residents illegally transfer capital abroad.

### **Theoretical framework**

#### **The investment diversion theory**

This theory claim that due to the macroeconomic and political uncertainty in developing countries and the synchronized existences of better investment openings in developed countries like high foreign interest rate, wide array of financial instruments, as well as political and economic stability. Our leaders and bureaucrats in developing countries usually tap resources from their countries to developed countries. These funds are therefore not available for investment at home, generating problems like decline in investment, low economic growth are and lack of employment opportunities. These negatives macroeconomic effect on the country sometimes persuades the necessity to borrow from abroad to re-energize the domestic economic, which is further drain off thereby enacting external dependency and indebtedness. The investment diversion theory shows a positive relationship between political instability and capital flight which creates a negative relationship to economic growth of a country.

**Methodology and Data Sources**

The research methodology used in this study comprises of empirical literature derived from existing studies on capital flight. Thus, the study adopts the Vector Error Correction Mechanism (VECM), going by the following procedures;

Unit Root Test

The first step in econometric techniques is totest for stationarity sequence such that the null hypothesis ( $\rho=1$ : not stationary) is tested against the alternative hypothesis ( $\rho<1$ : stationary). For VECM, it is expected that the null hypothesis may be rejected, implying that the data is stationary only after the first-difference.

There are many tests for establishing the stationary or otherwise of a series. Unit root can be tested using: Dickey-Fuller (DF) test, Augmented Dickey-Fuller (ADF) test, Phillips-Perron test and Kwiatkowski *et al.* test.

The Augmented Dickey-Fuller (ADF) (1979) regression tests for the existence of unit root

The extension of DF test (Augmented Dickey-Fuller test, ADF) allows for possibility that the error term is autocorrelated. The ADF test refers to the *t* statistics of coefficient on the following regression:

$$\text{Case 1: no constant no trend: } \Delta Y_t = \gamma Y_{t-1} + \sum_{i=1}^k \beta_i \Delta Y_{t-i} + \varepsilon_t$$

$$\text{Case 2: with constant but no trend: } \Delta Y_t = \alpha + \gamma Y_{t-1} + \sum_{i=1}^k \beta_i \Delta Y_{t-i} + \varepsilon_t$$

$$\text{Case 3: with constant and trend: } \Delta Y_t = \alpha + \lambda t + \gamma Y_{t-1} + \sum_{i=1}^k \beta_i \Delta Y_{t-i} + \varepsilon_t$$

Cointegration Test

The cointegration among the variables will be tested, when stationary is established after the first-difference. Johansen cointegration technique is therefore employed to examine the long-run relationship among the variables. Hence, the properties of the regression residuals for stationary is such that if error term ( $\varepsilon_t$ ) is stationary, then the series are cointegrated. Thus, the long run relationship will be estimated using  $Y_t = \beta_1 + \beta_2 X_t + \varepsilon_t$ ; and the order of integration of the residuals will be tested using the ADF test:

Vector Error Correction Mechanism

If the series are found to have one or more cointegrating vectors, then the Vector Error Correction Mechanism (VECM) will be a suitable tool of analysis. According to Sim (1980), if there is simultaneity among the series, there should be no distinction between the endogenous and exogenous variables and all should be treated as endogenous.

The VECM captures the short-run disequilibrium situation and the long-run equilibrium adjustment among the variables; while treating all the variables as endogenous. It examines the speed of convergence to equilibrium, and how much change in dependent variable is due to changes in the explanatory variables.

The general VECM specification is given by:  $\Delta Y_t = \alpha_1 + \lambda ECT_{t-1} + \beta \Delta X_t + \varepsilon_t$ ; where:  $\beta$  is the impact multiplier (the short-run effect) which measures the immediate impact that a current change in  $X_t$  will have on a change in  $Y_t$ ;  $\lambda$  is the feedback (adjustment) effect, which shows the speed of adjustment, i.e how much of the disequilibrium is being corrected ( $\lambda < 1$  to ensure stability).

**Step 4: Causality Test**

This refers to the ability of one variable to predict (and cause) another variable. According to Granger (1969), a variable, say  $Y_t$  is said to Granger-cause another variable, say  $X_t$ , if  $X_t$  can be predicted with greater accuracy, using the past values of the  $Y_t$ , other terms remaining constant. Hence;

$$Y_t = \alpha_1 + \sum_{i=1}^N \beta_i X_{t-i} + \sum_{j=1}^M \gamma_j Y_{t-j} + \pi_1 ECT_{t-1} + \varepsilon_{1t} \text{ and}$$

$$X_t = \alpha_2 + \sum_{i=1}^N \theta_i X_{t-i} + \sum_{j=1}^M \phi_j Y_{t-j} + \pi_2 ECT_{t-1} + \varepsilon_{2t}$$

Annual time-series data spanning thirty four (35) years- between 1980 and 2014- were obtained for estimations. Capital flight is calculated (following Boyce and Ndikumana (2011) who adopt the World Bank (1985) estimates, with adjustment for trade misinvoicing) by summing up the change in external debts stock, net inflow of FDI, and Trade Misinvoicing, and subtracting change in reserves and current account balances from the results. Therefore, data on all these variables, including that on Nigeria’s GDP and domestic deposit rates, as well as inflation

In line with this portfolio analysis and following Ndikumana et al. (2014), Victor (2008), Nkuruziza (2012) and Collier et al (2004), the relationship between capital flight, real interest rates differentials, political instability and economic growth is hereby expressed as shown below;

$$CF_t = f(RINTDIFF_t, PTS_t, GDP_t) \dots \dots \dots (1),$$

where:

- CF = Capital flight;
- RINTDIFF = Real Interest Rates Differential;
- PTS = Political Instability;
- GDP = Economic Growth.

The functional relationship between these variables (expressed in equation 1) is therefore simplified in linear equation form as:

$$CF_t = \beta_0 + \beta_1 RINTDIFF_t + \beta_2 PTS_t + \beta_3 GDP_t + \varepsilon_t \dots \dots \dots (2);$$

where:

$\beta_0$  is the intercept;  $\beta_1$ ,  $\beta_2$  and  $\beta_3$  represent the coefficients of the variables, and  $\varepsilon_t$  is the white-noise error term.

In line with existing literatures, such as Boyce and Ndikumana (2011), Nkurunziza (2012; 2014), Ajayi (1995; 1997; 2014), among others, the coefficient of GDP is expected to be negative, indicating that capital flight reduces the level of growth. Also, the coefficient of the real interest rate differentials may be positive (in the direction of the domestic market) or negative (as expected, so as to conform to the portfolio theory). Similarly, the coefficients of political instability index and that of capital flight are expected to be positive each; negative capital flight indicates reverse capital flight.

**Data Analysis and Interpretation**

The results of the data analysis are summarized and explained below.

**Figure 2: Unit Root Tests**

Variable	ADF Statistic/ PP Statistic		Remark
	T-Statistic	Critical Value	
CF	-4.286574	-2.954021	I(1)**
INTDIFF	-5.422305*	-2.954021	I(1)**
GDP	-7.158150	-2.957110	I(1)**
PTS	-8.518861	-2.954021	I(1)**

\*indicates stationarity using the PP Test \*\*indicates significance at 0.05

The table (figure 2) summarizes the results of the Augmented Dickey Fuller and Philip Perrontests for unit root. As denoted by I(1), the series are non-stationary at level (but stationary after the first difference). This is evident from the fact that the t-statistics is less than the critical value and the probability value is less than 0.05, for each of the series. The series are therefore modelled using first difference.

Hence, the long-run relationship will be tested using the Johansen cointegration test.

**Figure 3 : Unrestricted Cointegration Rank**

Test (Trace)

Hypothesized No. of CE(s)	Eigenvalue	Trace Statistic	0.05 Critical Value	Prob.**
None *	0.493981	49.78057	40.17493	0.0041
At most 1 *	0.427514	27.30160	24.27596	0.0202
At most 2	0.234897	8.895256	12.32090	0.1753
At most 3	0.001806	0.059658	4.129906	0.8413

Trace test indicates 2 cointegrating eqn(s) at the 0.05 level \*denotes rejection of the hypothesis at the 0.05 level\*\* Mackinnon -Hang-Michelis(1999) p-values -

In the results in figure 3, trace statistic indicates two cointegrating equations (None and At most 1) since the values of the trace statistic are greater than critical values, for each level, and it is significant at 0.05 level. Thus the series, as shown by the results, are cointegrated and therefore there is long-run relationship among the series.

Therefore, the Vector Error Correction Mechanism (VECM) will be used to obtain the speed of adjustment for convergence to equilibrium; and to examine the short-run disequilibrium situations as well as the long-runequilibrium adjustments between variables. The choice of VECM is informed based on the stationarity of the series after the first difference, and their cointegration.

**Figure 4: Vector Error Correction Mechanism**

Variable	Coefficient	Standard Error	T-Statistic
C	6.868333	3.25916	2.10739
ECT	-0.280135	0.08740	-3.20511
D(CF(-1))	0.458908	0.19445	2.36002
D(CF(-2))	-0.300885	0.18303	-1.64389
D(RINTDIFF(-1))	0.043751	0.08334	0.52496
D(RINTDIFF(-2))	0.159806	0.07193	2.22183
D(PTS(-1))	-1.512039	4.37139	-0.34589
D(PTS(-2))	2.071255	4.27062	0.48500
D(GDP(-1))	-0.186875	0.10784	-1.73288
D(GDP(-1))	-0.224634	0.11589	-1.93829
Coefficient of Determination ( $R^2$ )			0.47
F-Statistic			2.18
Akaike Information Criterion			8.10
Schwarz Information Criterion			8.56

The table above (Figure 4) summarizes the results of the VECM. From the results, it is observed that the coefficient of error correction term (ECT) is negative and less than one, since VECM treats all variables as endogenous. Thus, this explains that the rate of adjustment back to equilibrium is 2.8%. Similarly, the coefficient of capital flight (lagged 1) is positive and significant. This explains that current year capital flight is being influenced by the previous year capital flight. This is in line with the studies conducted by Ndikumana (2014); Lawanson (2007). Real Interest rates differential (lagged 2) is also positive and significant. This explains that investors are averse to domestic risks and opt for foreign investment if the interest rate is higher in the foreign market. This is similar to the results obtained by Ndikumana (2008); and may be considered the other side of findings by Ndikumana et al (2016), using the US treasury bills rate as a proxy for world interest rate to test the validity of portfolio theory. They obtained a negative and significant coefficient for interest rate differential, and explained in the direction of the domestic market (that higher interest rate in the domestic market discourages capital flight).

The coefficient of political instability is both negative and positive (for lagged 1 and 2 respectively), but not significant. This is in line with the studies conducted by Victor (2008). This may imply that political situation and terrorism in some parts of the country has not really affected the operations of investors. This may not also be unconnected with the present war against terrorist groups in Nigeria, which may have raised investors' confidence.

Finally, the coefficient of GDP (for the lagged periods 1 & 2) is negative and significant. This is in line with the studies conducted by Lawson (2007), and Nkurunziza (2012) on Capital flight and poverty in Africa. This confirms the 'apriori' expectations that capital flight reduces the level of economic growth in a country.

**Figure 5: Granger Causality Test**

Null Hypothesis:	Obs	F-Statistic	Prob.
GDP does not Granger Cause CF	33	4.53013	0.0197
CF does not Granger Cause GDP		0.39342	0.6784
PTS does not Granger Cause CF	33	0.28305	0.7556
CF does not Granger Cause PTS		0.24387	0.7852
RINTDIFF does not Granger Cause CF	33	0.15762	0.8549
CF does not Granger Cause RINTDIFF		0.08113	0.9223
PTS does not Granger Cause GDP	33	1.96045	0.1596
GDP does not Granger Cause PTS		2.30296	0.1186
RINTDIFF does not Granger Cause GDP	33	0.37708	0.6893
GDP does not Granger Cause RINTDIFF		2.05297	0.1472
RINTDIFF does not Granger Cause PTS	33	1.08474	0.3518
PTS does not Granger Cause RINTDIFF		0.19559	0.8235

The Granger-Causality test was conducted, as shown by Table 5 (above), to examine the interrelationship among the variables of the model. From the table, it is observed that there are no causal relationships between political instability (PTS) and capital flight (CF); real interest rates differential (RINTDIFF) and capital flight (CF); political instability (PTS) and economic growth (GDP); real interest rates differential (RINTDIFF) and economic growth (GDP); and real interest rates differential (RINTDIFF) and political instability (PTS). However, there is a causal relationship between economic growth (GDP) through capital flight (CF), but without feedback.

**Figure 6: Heteroskedasticity Test**

Chi-Sq	df	Prob.
198.6080	180	0.1626

The results of the heteroskedasticity test is as shown (in figure 6) above. Since the probability value is greater than 0.05, null hypothesis may be rejected. In other words, it may be ascertained that there is no heteroskedasticity problem.

**Figure 8: Serial Correlation LM Tests**

Lags	LM-Stat	Prob
1	10.23358	0.8541
2	20.55230	0.1964
3	13.25884	0.6537

The table above (figure 8) summarises the results of the serial correlation LM test. It can be observed that the probability values for each of the lags is greater than 0.05. Hence, the null hypothesis may not be rejected. In other words, it can be confirmed that the series are free from serial correlation.

### **Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations**

The study analyses the impacts of capital flight on economic growth in Nigeria. Empirical analysis of political instability as a factor inducing capital flight, using available data, was also considered; which previously has not been found in recent literatures.

The study found a (significant) negative relationship between capital flight and economic growth showing that an increase from lag 1 in capital flight will decrease economic growth by 18% percentage, which explains that the prevalence of capital flight reduces growth potentials. World Bank estimates were adopted in measuring capital flight. For most of the periods covered (1980-2014), the estimates of capital flight is positive, signifying that investors and residents periodically transfer capital abroad. Similarly, capital flight was identified as a consequence of economic and political instabilities. Thus, interest rates differential was found to be a major reason investors consider repatriating capital abroad, since the coefficient was found to be positive and significant as seen in table 4. showing an increase in capital flight increases interest rate differentiate by 15% The coefficient of the index of political instability, however, was found to insignificantly influence capital flight. This may be the result of the current war on terrorism, which may have been restoring investors' confidence in Nigeria. However, political instability has a bi-directional relationship with GDP; this explains that political environment still induces capital flight. Reduction in political unrest in Nigeria, however, attracts foreign investors and restores investors' confidence.

Bas ed on the findings of the study, it is hereby recommended as follows;

Real interest rates differential has been ascertained as a major factor inducing capital flight in Nigeria. A relatively stable macroeconomic environment should therefore be pursued by policy-makers. An economic environment with lower inflation rate tends to increase investors' real returns from investment and discourage flight capital. A contractionary policy is hereby recommended so as to reduce inflation and increase investors' real returns, thereby encouraging the retainment of private capital in the domestic economy.

It is also recommended that efforts towards improving the domestic economic performance, with lower Debts-to-GDP-ratio, should be doubled and re-doubled, so that investors would have confidence in the continuous working of the economy and reverse the phenomenon of capital flight.

Reduction in political unrest created by terrorism and political class will induce confidence towards increased investment, and therefore reduces capital flight. Government should therefore take its war against terrorism to the next level so as to increase domestic capital for investment and encourage the reverse capital flight.

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## Geography of Corruption in Nigeria's Democratic Institutions and its Implications for Socio-Economic Development

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### Abstract

This study examines the geography of corruption in Nigeria's democratic institutions and its implications for socio-economic development with particular reference to the three arms of the government. The study utilizes documentary research method where the data used for analysis in the piece were collected from government's documents and relevant literature. It reveals that the level of corruption in Nigeria over the years has had negative impacts on the socio-economic and political development of the nation. The study argues that there can never be development in a society where there is high level of corruption owing to the fact that development is only achievable in a society devoid of corruption where there is good governance through responsible leadership. It concludes that the rampancy of corruption in Nigeria signposts failure of good governance, lack of transparency and accountability. It recommends among others that Nigerian government should as a matter of serious concern attack corruption in all ramifications to see that it has no base in Nigeria, adding that if Nigeria fails or refuses to combat corruption, the image of the country will continue to remain dented and will consequently emerge as a quasi-state in the comity of nations.

**Keywords:** Corruption, Socio-economic, Development, Causes, Implications

### Introduction

Corruption which exists at all levels of government in Nigeria is perceived in many quotas as the major cause of poverty in the country. It is a disease that has eaten deep into the fabrics of the Nigerian society. The issue of corruption in Nigeria has continued to generate passionate commentaries and scholarly debate due to the high degree of its practice in the country. Corruption has created challenges in Nigeria such as poverty, unemployment, lack of quality and affordable education, standard health care facilities and a host of others. In the words of Chinua Achebe (1983), Keeping an average Nigerian from being corrupt is like keeping a goat from eating Yam.

Nigeria is one of the world's most endowed nations with abundant human and natural resources. There is practically every vital mineral deposit in all the states of the federation; from crude oil to gold, cocoa to coal, uranium to gypsum, palm oil to rubber, coffee to timber, and cattle to fish, all in commercial quantities. Conversely, Nigeria remains one of the developing but under-industrialized nations of the world (Ajibewa, 2008:261).

Nigeria being a developing country recommenced another democratic governance in May, 1999 after a prolonged military rule which was a result of the corrupt nature of those at the helm of the nation's affairs (public office holders), who had mishandled the various sectors of the nation's economy for private gains. This made Ogundiya cited in Adamu (2017:71) to admit that the impact of corruption on Nigeria's democracy is undoubtedly more severe and devastating with weak economic base, fragile political institutions and inadequate control mechanisms. He further stated that the country faces severe crisis in its economic, social and political development that is not unconnected with the problem of endemic corruption. This therefore, retards the socio-economic and political development of Nigeria.

However, a number of factors have been blamed or responsible for corruption while looking at greed and stupendous lifestyle as the main cause of corruption in the world and Nigeria is not an exception to this fact. This is to say that some societies who have flair for luxurious lifestyle are bound to delve into

corrupt practices so as to live the lifestyle and to also welcome the style of public sleaze and lack of decorum. Another factor responsible for corruption is sometimes caused by ethnicity and pressures on public officials from family and friends who always see holding public office as an avenue to loot or milk public treasury dry. No wonder (Mundt and Aborishade, 2004:7) stressed that the Nigerian public is highly ambivalent about the corruption problem, frequently complaining about it and condemning it, but generally resigned to its pervasive presence. Supporting the above assertion, (Adesina, 2011:56) opined that in Nigeria it is not only that the officials are corrupt but that corruption is official.

It is regrettable to note that the phenomenon of poverty in Nigeria appears to be assuming a worsening dimension due to the peoples urge to get rich quick. It is against the foregoing that this paper examines the interface between corruption and socio-economic development in Nigeria with keen emphasis on the three arms of the government- the Executive, Legislature and the Judiciary.

### **Conceptual Clarifications**

This section thematically focuses on the conceptualization of the basic concepts which this study sets out to interrogate i.e. corruption and development.

**Corruption:** the word corruption originates from the Latin verb *rumpere* which means to break. From the above therefore, corruption means breaking of a certain code of conduct for the personal benefits of the perpetrators. Meanwhile, there are many definitions of corruption given by different scholars from different perspectives. For instance, Sen cited in Aluko, (2009:2) defines corruption as the violation of established rules for personal gain and profit. Corruption is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon with multiple causes and effects, as it takes on various forms and functions in different contexts, (Andrig and Fjeldstad, 2001:4).

In another development, ICPC Act section 2, states that corruption includes vices like bribery, fraud and other related offences. It also sees corruption as the abuse of power or position of trust for personal or group benefit – monetary or otherwise. Garner (2004) defines corruption as the “Act of doing something with an intent to give some advantages inconsistent with official duty and the right of others, a fiduciary's official's use of a station or office to procure some benefits either personally or for someone else contrary to the right of others”.

According to Ayoola cited in Adamu (2017:72), “the commonest form of corruption in Nigeria used to be bribery but in recent years this has overtaken in level of prevalence by embezzlement and theft from public funds, extortion, abuse of discretion, abuse of public power for private gain, favouritism and nepotism, conflict of interest, extortion and illegal political party financing”. From the above definitions, it is crystal clear that corruption includes financial crimes, immoral behaviour, election malpractices, disobedient to the rule of law and so on.

**Development:** There are different definitions of development as there are different scholars and writers. For the purpose of this study however, we shall limit our conceptions to the opinion of Rodney (1974:1), who viewed development in human society as a many sided process. At the level of the individual, it implies increased skill and capacity, greater freedom, creativity, self-discipline, responsibility and material well-being. Some of these are virtually moral categories and are very difficult to evaluate depending on how they do on the age in which one lives, one's class, origins and one's personal code of what is right and what is wrong. While at the level of social groups, therefore, development implies an increasing capacity to regulate both internal and external relationships. Much of human history has been a fight for survival against natural hazards and against real imagined human enemies. To some, Development is the increase in wealth of the social group and indeed to infringe upon the freedom of others irrespective of the will of the people within the society involved. Development from the Rodney's (1974) perspective signifies that, it exist when people have the freedom to make decision, capacity to use the available resources for survival, creativity in the sense of initiating ideas and alternative of providing prompt solution to emerging problems, general discipline to respects formal regulations and informal societal values, norms, culture and moral behaviours.

### **Theoretical Framework**

There exist a number of theoretical assumptions on why people engage in corrupt practices especially in the public sector. But for the purpose of this study, corrupt behavior will be explained using the socio-cultural perspective from stand point of Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of needs theory.

In the opinion of Olayiwola (2007), on the socio-cultural perspective, the theory focuses on the impact of people and social forces within the environment on individuals. It is mainly designed to identify the relationship between individuals and the environment. This is to say that the causes of corruption may go beyond an individual, other people, community and culture to a large extent, contribute to such behavior. To Jatau (1992), the role of the society in bringing about corruption is what we refer to as societal pressure which induces officials to be corrupt.

The above is followed by human needs theory put forward by Maslow (1954). This theory contends that human needs are numerous and as such, cannot be satisfied at a time. According to Garba, (2005) these needs are psychological needs which he categorized into five different levels viz: food, shelter, clothing, sex, etc., security and safety needs, belongingness and love needs, esteem needs and self-actualization needs. However, once a particular level of need is achieved such need no longer motivates them. Such a person would turn to another level of needs to seek satisfaction (Durosaro 2000 and Maslow 1954). This is to say that the strength and potency of the needs may also vary in different situation. As a result of humanist theory, it is believed that people are inherently good and responsible because of pressure and standards set by the society, many who are unable to meet such standards experience or exhibits psychological problems, conflicts and pressures, (Olayiwola 2007).

The relevance of this theory to the study finds expression in the fact that a person attempts to satisfy basic needs before directing behavior towards satisfying upper-level needs. And this to an extent, affects their behavior.

### **Causes of Corruption in Nigeria**

Many reasons have been given as causes of corruption in Nigeria, one of which is sudden disappearance of good morals and ethical values. Nwaobi (2004) stated that Nigeria is one of the very few countries in the world where a man's source of wealth is of no concern to his neighbours, the public or the government. This is because wealthy people who are known to be corrupt are regularly courted and honoured by communities, religious bodies, social clubs and private organizations.

Another fundamental reason is the weak enforcement mechanism (lack of legislative, executive and judicial independence, etc) as another major cause of corruption in Nigeria. For instance, the anti-corruption agencies' such as the ICPC, EFCC, Code of Conduct Tribunal etc which are authorized by the FGN to deter corruption are often weak as some, if not most, of the law enforcement agencies are themselves corrupt even though recent events proves that there us a little improvement in the fight against corruption by the EFCC essentially under the current leadership of Ibrahim Magu. In the past, the EFCC made no real attempt to investigate credible allegations that officials in the presidency attempted to bribe members of the National Assembly into voting in favour of former president Olusegun Obasanjo's abortive attempt at changing the constitution to allow himself a third term in office, Ogundiya in Adamu (2017:73). Also, by virtue of Sections 80 and 81 of the 1999 constitution, it is the National Assembly that gives authorization to the President for all expenditures from the Consolidated Revenue Fund (CRF), thus, affording the representative body an opportunity to rigorously debate and rationalize the budget.

In the opinion of Oyelowo (2007:21) the performance of the legislature has fallen woefully below expectation, as the National Assembly members have been, sometimes, involved in bribery and corruption as an incentive to pass appropriation bills. In addition, rulers, politicians and civil servants are highly corrupt, and professional organizations may be incapable of sanctioning their members. Maduegbuna quoted in Sowunmi, Raufu, Oketokun, Salako, and Usifoh, (2009:11) argued that the benefits of corruption are greater than the consequences of being caught and disciplined.

Another cause of corruption in Nigeria could be linked to high risk of insecurity and the fear that characterized the Nigerian state which can be attributed to a number of reasons apart from the break-down of law and order. Political insatiability, conflicts, hostile national environment, high level of criminality, etc are the correlates here (Okeshola, 2009:342). There have been reports from the International Police (Interpol) and Crime Intelligent Unit of America (CIA) regarding the money siphoned by gullible personalities such as former governor of Bayelsa State, late Depreiye Alamesigha, former governor of Plateau State and now a senator, Joshua Dariye of capital flight in Nigeria to foreign banks abroad and many others who have been on trial.

The money siphoned was meant to develop their states by providing necessary facilities for their citizens in order to improve their standard of living. Regrettably, instead of using the money judiciously, it was rather diverted into personal accounts and lodged in foreign banks abroad. One of the most unfortunate scenarios in Nigeria is that most leaders want to acquire wealth/property through quick syndrome motive-corruption. They seek public office in order to acquire wealth illegally, to compete among themselves in building mansions, buying expensive cars and taking their children abroad to study thereby paying little or no attention to improve the various sectors of the nation's economy, such as health, education, housing, transport etc.

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Another cause of corruption in Nigeria is the traditional values of gifts giving and tributes to leaders often lead to what Brownsberger (1983) describes as polite corruption, the extent of such corruption is relatively small. According to Dandago (2008), traditional chieftaincy titles and membership of board of directors of government-owned corporations are only for the influential individuals in the society who has made it economically or politically.

One of the worrisome situations in the words of Sowunmi et al, (2009) is that, honest and dedicated public servants who have not accumulated dirty wealth do not command much respect from the society. These attitudes serve to encourage a new-breed of public servants who engage in corrupt practices.

Again, the National Bureau of Statistics in 2005 attributed the high rate of poverty as one of the causes of corruption in Nigeria. The 54.1% high level of poverty put by the Bureau contributed in no small amount to the desperation of Nigerians to acquire wealth through any means. While the few employed receives low wages, unemployment is high. The unemployed are mostly youths, engaged in anti-social activities such as cyber crime, drug peddling, prostitution, political thuggery, paid assassins, oil bunkering, kidnapping, militancy (Niger Delta), Boko Haram (Northern parts), among others.

### **Geography of Corruption in the three Arms of Government in Nigeria**

**The Executive:** Since the return to democratic governance in Nigeria in 1999, a number of corrupt practices have taken place within the executive arm of the government at all the levels. Corruption in the executive arm of the government includes but not limited to embezzlement, mismanagement and misappropriation of public funds, diversion of public funds into personal pockets, award and inflation of contracts, employment into the public service illegally and many more.

Example of corrupt practices carried out at the state level by many former governors who were at the helm of affairs in their various states between 1999 and 2007 as alleged by the Economic Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) for financial recklessness includes Saminu Turaki of Jigawa state, Peter

Odili of Rivers state, Lucky Igbinedion of Edo state, Orji Uzor Kalu of Abia state, Ayo Fayose of Ekiti state, Chimaroke Nnamani of Enugu state, James Ibori of Delta state, Rev. Jolly Nyame of Taraba state, Late Diepreye of Bayelsa state etc.

For instance, Saminu Turaki of Jigawa state allegedly spent N36 million of public funds to acquire oil block from the federal government; Orji Uzor Kalu of Abia state was arraigned on a 191 count charge of money laundry, criminal diversion of public funds, official corruption to the tune of N5.2 billion (Tell, 2012) and was also accused of using his stolen money of N3.1 billion to fund SLOK Airline and two banks in the Gambia and Sierra Leone in addition to owning houses in London and US (Kofarmata, 2005); James Ibori was arraigned on a 170 count charge (Tell, 2012) of money laundering to the tune of over N9.1 billion, (Kofarmata, 2005); Rev. Jolly Nyame of Taraba state was charged with stealing N1.6 billion belonging to the state; and Chimaroke Nnamani of Enugu state has been standing trial for his alleged illegal diversion of public funds to the tune of N5.6 billion alongside two of his commissioners- Peter Mba and Sam Ejiofor and some companies linked to him; and the late Diepreye Alamiyeseigha of Bayelsa state was arrested on a 40 count of corruption and money laundering. In July, 2006, British Authorities returned about 1 million pounds (USD1.9 million) of the alleged illicit gains that he stashed in British banks, (Kofarmata, 2005).

It is noteworthy that most of the governors who served between 2007 and 2015 are currently facing trials over corruption allegation especially in the area of misappropriation of public funds. Prominent among them are the former governors of Adamawa state- Murtala Nyako, Bauchi state-Isah Yuguda, Benue state- Gabriel Suswam, Katsina state-Ibrahim Shehu Shema, Niger state-Muazu Babangida Aliyu and many others.

At the federal executive arm of the government, the noticeable corrupt practices since the rebirth of democracy has been in the areas of award of contracts especially road contracts across the six geo-political zones of the country. Different governments at different times in Nigeria have awarded contracts in huge sums and most of the road contracts have not been completed. The report of the Central Bank of Nigeria on the survey of the Federal Highways in Nigeria reveals the total number of federal roads to be constructed throughout the six geo-political zones of the country between 1999 and 2001 but was not properly constructed as a result of outright embezzlement. The report revealed that less than 10% of the funding request made by the Federal Ministry Works and Housing for roads maintenance was appropriated. It revealed further that despite the funds released to that effect across the country between the period which were N509.29 million, N742.72 million and N779.84 million respectively, yet, most of the roads across the zones were in very bad conditions, (CBN Report, 2003).

It was equally revealed that no fewer than 37 contracts were awarded by the Federal government for the construction and rehabilitation of roads between 2002 and 2010 through the Federal Ministry of Works valued at N131.13 billion but were yet to be completed. Details of the contracts as contained in a document titled "Completed and Substantially Completed Projects and Projects awarded under Appropriation reveals that 11 road projects valued at N131.13 billion were awarded between 2002 and 2009, while 26 projects with the total of N176.6 billion were awarded in 2010. Some of these projects includes the N36.3 billion Benin-Shagamu road project; N42.3 billion expansion of Abuja-Abaji road contract awarded to three different contractors in 2006; N15 billion contract for the construction of the Kano Western bypass awarded in 2007 and the N30.85 billion contract for its expansion into dual lanes of the Onitsha-Owerri expressway and Onitsha Eastern Bypass awarded in 2002 (The Punch, Tuesday August 2, 2012).

**The Legislative:** The process of governance of any democratic nation cannot be successful without the positive input of the country's legislative body. Thus, effectiveness and efficiency of this body plays pivotal role in the nature of governance that particular country will possess and how the society can be governed.

The legislative arm of the government that should serve as checks on the abuse of power by the executive and the recklessness of the opportunistic politicians is also inefficient and ineffective. Effective legislature contributes greatly to the governance of a country. This is done by the legislative arm of

government through the performing of oversight functions on the implementation of government policies and programmes to ensure that the nation's annual budget is implemented appropriately. It is also important to note that the responsibilities of legislature in a democratic society have gone beyond the mere law making and representation. The legislative arm of government is equally saddled with the responsibilities of keeping close watch and control over the executive arm of government and the control of public expenditures and taxation. A legislative arm must not only be capable of making laws for the safety and general wellbeing of the people, but must also be able to manage funds in order to provide good life for the entire citizenry (Ogundiya, 2010).

Relating the above assertions in the discussion of corruption in the Nigerian legislature, as a Nigerian, one will not hesitate to agree that the process and the practice of legislations are highly antithetical when we talk of effective and efficient legislature. Nigerian legislators have paralysed the capacities of the body due to their insatiable appetites to loot the nation's treasury in the name of making laws.

A virile legislature is more likely to manage the available resources and funds to achieve the objectives of the state with minimum or no wastages and this engenders transparency, openness, accountability which represents the tripod of good governance. The failure of the legislature to perform this important function in Nigeria has denied people the gains of democratic governance. Rather than enhancing good governance through equity in the distribution of resources, legislators in Nigeria have been preoccupied with how to amass wealth to themselves at the detriment of majority of the populace. The case of 2009 budgetary allocation is a typical example. A breakdown of the 2009 national budget shows that the members of the National Assembly and the personnel of a part of presidency will be paid 47.8 billion naira as emoluments during the year. The 360 members of the House of Representatives were to receive 26.67 billion naira while the 109 senators were to get 16.3 billion naira. When the provisions for the legislative aids, the National Assembly Service Commission and the National Assembly offices are factors in the total allocation to federal legislature which stood at 61.6 billion naira. This is so because, the forces behind these was that, Nigeria's legislators are not qualitatively appointed and elected through competitive, fair, free and credible elections (Ogundiya, 2010).

It is imperative to note that when the procedures are manipulated, the outcome cannot be free from manipulation. The level of corruption in Nigeria provides an atmosphere vulnerable to all forms of menace capable of rendering the nation incapacitated in providing for her citizens the basic needs of life and the lawmakers only make laws for their selfish and primitive accumulations of wealth. This situation made Ogban cited in Ogundiya (2010) to posit that; when a few people control the governance of a polity and have the preponderance force to continue to maintain such a control, a National Assembly that emerges from the dictation of such a group, is more likely to be corrupt and subversive of democracy and democratization than the one that emerges from the dictate of the popular forces.

It is incontrovertible that the States and the Federal Houses of Assembly in Nigeria are products of corruption and undemocratic procedures and processes. Thus, it is not surprising that their activities subverts rather than promotes democracy and good governance. These are how implication of corruption in the legislature marred the country's attempt in the developmental processes.

**The Judiciary:** One of the unhealthy implications of corruption in Nigeria is its change in the value and integrity of the judicial arm of the government. The judicial arm as an indispensable component of good governance is also corrupt. In the Nigerian context, it is a known fact that the notion of the judiciary as *primus inter pares* (first among equals) is one that is yet to be fully imbibed by the political elites irrespective of the judgements on gubernatorial elections in Edo, Imo and Rivers, Akwa-Ibom, Cross-River and Taraba states. Judiciary in Nigeria has to a large extent been subjected to whims and caprices of the executive arm. This is so because, democracy is not only financially dependent on executive but has also been excessively politicised. The upshot of this state of affairs has been the corruption of the judiciary. While judicial corruption relates to unprofessional or infamous conduct by judicial officers, it is

also taken to mean attempt by extraneous bodies to undermine the judiciary either inducement, cajoling, intimidation or some other means, (Oyebode cited in Ogundiya, 2010). Worthy of note is that when the judicial officers are constituted by corrupt and manipulated procedures, its tendency to be incapable is highly inevitable. One of the alleged evidences of corruption in the Nigerian judiciary is the judgements in Nigeria on Akwa Ibom, Cross-River, Rivers and Taraba states 2015 governorship elections. After the Election Petition Tribunals had earlier nullified those elections on the ground of irregularities that marred the conducts, the Court of Appeal equally upheld the judgements of the tribunals but the Supreme Court ruled contrary to the two lower courts which later favoured the governors that allegedly rigged elections in their various states for their political parties. This has to a large extent discouraged many Nigerians from having confidence in the Nigerian Judiciary by looking at that arm of the government as the last hope of the common man.

Consequently, when Nigerian masses ought to perceive the Judiciary as “the last hope of the common man”, the political elites have sought to humiliate and exploit the judiciary to their own advantage. The situation is compounded by the country's economic wretchedness which makes an individual susceptible to corruption. In a society bedevilled with social insecurity, political instability and economic woes, it “requires near human superhuman guts to be upright and stand firm on the side of judicial integrity, independence, due process of the law and kindred virtues of democratic polity” (Oyebode cited in Ogundiya 2010). Thus, the rule of law becomes the rule of the jungle and good governance is jeopardized.

The issue of corruption in the Nigerian Judiciary is worrisome as it plays between the accused persons and the trial judges. To the accused, nothing is impossible in Nigeria, justice must be bought and he starts making the necessary contacts including frustrating court process to get as many adjournments as possible. If you are fortunate to be a high ranking politician then consider yourself lucky, on every court appearance you are not going only with army of Senior Advocates, your fellow colleagues are there with you in the spirit of solidarity including paid agents who pose as your supporters. To our judges, most of them have thrown the ethics of their profession at the behest of their higher bidder which has tarnished the image and ethics of the law profession in Nigeria and the judicial system in general.

In all attempts by government, there is nothing which should be more jealously maintained than the spirit of obedience to law. In the world over, the rule of law is inseparable from good governance, it invariably points to government establishment by the will of the people; one where there are laid down procedures for the settling of conflicts etc. Therefore, a free and independent judiciary is a *sin qua non* for good governance. This is currently a mirage in Nigeria (Udo, 2003). The current Nigeria's judiciary situation is totally unacceptable and unhealthy for development and good governance. Judiciary in Nigerian context is currently used to witch-hunt perceived political opponents, inconclusive verdict, contradictions of constitutional interpretations by the judiciary, improper and late judgement delivery and personalization of the core benefits of the constitution and the laws.

### **Implications of Corruption on the Socio-Economic Development of Nigeria**

Corruption has been a destructive element to the development of Nigeria economically and politically. This explains why the Transparency Initiative (TI) (2008) rated Nigeria as one of the most corrupt nations in the world. Thus, according to Maduegbuna (2005), effects of corruption in Nigeria includes loss of government revenue, negative natural image, poor governance, brain drain, electoral malpractices, poor investment climate, business failure, removal of subsidies on goods and services, unemployment and poverty.

Suleiman (2011:14) opined that corruption is believed to be the bane of development in Nigeria. It has been largely responsible for the stunted economic growth of the country and for the mass poverty that reigns in the land (Nigeria). The quality of public infrastructure and services has continued to be low as a

result of corruption. Nigerians have long suffered from bad roads, epileptic power supply and lack of potable water and affordable housing. Avoidable accidents happen on the highways daily largely due to bad roads, many factories and businesses have closed shop/shut down due to rising overhead costs as a result of poor power supply from the Power Holding Company of Nigeria (PHCN). Most of the country's cosmopolitan cities and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) have been turned into glorified slums because there are no housing schemes for the masses to live in.

In another development, Ribadu (2006) argued that corruption is responsible for perpetual collapse of infrastructure and institutions; it is the cause of the endemic poverty in Africa, it is behind the underdevelopment and cyclical failure of democracy to take root in Africa. Corruption is worse than terrorism. Public officials who are corrupt should receive worse treatment than that reserved for terrorists.

The effects of corruption on any nation, according to Ogundiya (2009a:152), are socially, economically and politically damaging. In Nigeria, corruption has been responsible for gross social and political instability which had bedeviled the country since her independent nationhood in 1960. Ogundiya (2009a) further stressed that in Nigeria, politics is money and money is politics. The 'outside elites' are always determined to force the 'inside elites' out of the corridor of power, while the later are also obstinate in retaining power by force. For this reason, contract killing or political assassinations have become part and parcel of Nigeria's political culture. Above all, corruption has been used by many scholars as potent explanation for Nigeria's development tragedy/backwardness. Infrastructural decay, widespread poverty, preventable waterborne and airborne epidemics and diseases, slums, rural and urban violence, acute low standards of living are consequences of corruption.

The causes and implications of corruption in Nigeria lead to a growing gap between the rich and the poor and deeper poverty by enriching a few at the expense of fellow citizens under a corrupt system. There is a concentration of wealth in the hands of the minority over the majority. Resultantly, income distribution becomes highly skewed, closely associated with the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few-who are not ready to inject it into the country's economy for others to benefit, and a distorted consumption pattern aimed at meeting the luxurious lifestyle of the urban elites emerges. These causes and implications make governments to embark on various anti-corruption reforms/measures to tackle and combat corruption in Nigeria.

### **Conclusion and Recommendation**

It is fundamental to note that the rampancy of corruption in Nigeria signposts failure of good governance, lack of transparency and accountability thereby preventing Nigeria's development in all spheres. Corruption in Nigeria has totally changed from how other countries of the world see and manage it. Corruption is threatening every aspects of the country development and that is why the country is still at the existing state which ordinarily she should have been at the desired state.

Worthy of note is that the grand corruption that is springing up daily in Nigeria has indicted many prominent Nigerians and verbal songfest that emanates afterwards from paid agents of those indicted absolving their principals of corruption leaves a lot to the imagination. Pertinent questions that deserve answers in the issue of corruption allegation in Nigeria are: are there institutions or sectors that could be absolved of corruption in Nigeria? Is it the policeman who the only guaranteed way to remain at the check point is by making returns to his superiors? Or our judges, most of them have thrown the ethics of their profession at the behest of their higher bidder? Not forgetting our teeming unemployed youths who have resorted to crime as a means to an end. Corruption has turned Nigeria into a Frankenstein's monster that is now threatening our collective existence as a nation and even in the era of progressive politics no one among the country's political class is yet convicted of corruption.

It should be noted that there can never be development in a society where there is high level of corruption owing to the fact that development is only achievable in a corrupt free society where there is good governance through responsible and responsive leadership. Nigerian leaders have been unable to

fight corruption since the birth of the country due to the fact that she is yet to produce responsible leaders. The country has been producing rulers who have been masquerading as leaders and they have not been able to make life meaningful and comfortable for majority of the populace.

Finally, Nigeria has what it takes to build a strong and virile economy, reduce poverty to a minimal level, build qualitative and affordable academic institutions and provide quality healthcare facilities. But the only and surest way to achieve these is to fight corruption to a halt. Nigeria should as a matter of serious concern attack corruption in all ramifications to see that it has no base in Nigeria. It should be noted that if Nigeria fails or refuses to combat corruption, the image of the country will continue to remain dented and will emerge as a quasi-state in the comity of nations.

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## Implications of Daba Politics on Democratic Process in Kano State (1999-2015)

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### Abstract

*Daba* Politics is the political pattern by use of political vanguards (*Yan Banga*) in order to give political support and protection to their party officials and their political aspirants especially during campaigns and other political process. It has become a common feature of party politics in Kano since 1950's during the First Republic through the second republic and in the fourth republic. However, the resurgence of *daba* politics in Kano state characterized by the deliberate use of violence and terror especially against political opponents and general electorates in the fourth republic has posed negative threats to the democratic process in the state, thereby infringing upon the political and constitutional rights of the legitimate voters and decent political aspirants in the state. This paper attempts an empirical explanation of the factors behind the persistence of *daba* politics and the ways by which it affects the democratic process in the state. A survey technique was adopted as methodology of the paper. The paper discovers that poverty and unemployment coupled with illiteracy are the major factors that directly influence *daba* politics in Kano. In essence these factors nurture, reinforce and sustain the persistence of the menace. The paper also discovers that under the current fourth republic politics in Kano state has been conceived by political thugs (*Yan Daba*) as an opportunity for material and financial gain, as well as means of establishing connection with people in high position like governors, local government chairmen, and commissioners, among others. Thus, *daba* politics has become independent profession of its own in Kano state, through which patron/client relationship is established between the politicians and *Yan Daba*, where the latter offer service in form of violence and the former purchase through exchange for material and financial resources. Thus, the paper advances the argument that the higher the financial expectation attached to the service of *Yan Daba* especially during election, the higher the level of political violence in the state. Hence, concludes that *daba* politics has posed a very serious negative threat to the entire democratic process in the state. Thus, the paper recommends that there should be a wider employment generation programme, through which *Daba politics* will be substituted with the decent jobs and employment. There should also be a law that will strictly ban thuggery and *daba* politics in Kano state. There should be provision for alternative security guards for political aspirants, through involvement of the private security company.

**Keywords: Thuggery, Democracy, Violence, Daba politics.**

### 1- Introduction

Democracy is a system which offers a lot of opportunities for conflict resolution, resource allocation, and realization of human needs by vesting power of decision making over societal matters on the majority members in the state. Thus, it has become a value cherished and aspired for throughout the entire globe. It is also a strategy of government based upon the gamble that the potential for participation and responsiveness if offers could make possible a resolution of conflict resolution without violence. Because, where large scale violence or coercion does appear, democracy is fundamentally threatened (Powell, 1982:154). The inherent nature of democracy as a system is that of competition and contestation between various political forces in the state which more often resulted in intense rivalry and animosity. Therefore, the political atmosphere under any democratic dispensation bears the character of political competition, the difference lies in an attempt to accommodate and resolve contradiction. In Nigeria, the

perception of the political class about democratic politics explains their behaviour during electoral competitions, which is characterized by do or die affair. Thus, democratic politics becomes warfare, where competition is reduced to a battle predicated on zero sum game, where winner wins all and loser losses all, and competitors are regarded as enemies to be eliminated at all cost (Marietu, 2009). This proves violence as a potential weapon in achieving designed political objectives.

In Nigeria, electoral process under democratic dispensation revolves around the use of violence as tool for bargaining among other important instruments in the political process. Hence, the Guardian Newspaper (cited in Adeniyi, 2003:352) describes politics in Nigeria to be a profitable business, the contest of which initiates acrimony and violence. The huge amount of wealth credited to Nigerian leaders in both local and foreign banks reveal the relationship, and why aspirants are desperate to win election. Little wonders then that aspirants use any method available to get elected. In all the conditions mentioned, contestants can coerce voters, blackmail the opponents, appeal to sentiments, bribe voters, and inflate figures. The primary target is political power. Hence, work for the defeat of opponents, so much such that if all other methods fail, resort to intimidation and violence. In achieving these aspirants employ the service of some less fortunate members of the society, refers to as political thugs “*Yan daba*” (Adeniyi, 2003:352). This explains the current trend in Nigerian democratic dispensation in which political office seekers utilize particularly uneducated and unemployed youths to unleash terror and create an atmosphere of violence which paved way for mass electoral rigging and malpractices, which in most cases characterized by new pattern of violence and bloodshed. These have posed a very serious threat to the entire democratic process.

It is against this backdrop this paper raises the following questions: What are the causes of resurgence of *daba* politics under the current democratic dispensation (fourth republic) in Kano state? What are the effects of *daba* politics on the democratic process and people in the fourth republic in Kano state? In view of these questions, the paper examines the pattern of relationship between the democratic process and *daba* politics in Kano state, and investigates the force(s) that sustains and reinforces *daba* politics in Kano state, and finally its assesses the impact(s) of *daba* politics on democratic process and the people in Kano state. Survey method is adopted as a methodology of the paper through which data was generated through interview and focus group discussion with some selected thugs drawn from various parts of the state and some security personnel.

## **2.0- Conceptual Clarification**

### **2.1- Democracy**

Democracy is one of the ambiguous concepts in social sciences; this is due to its value-loaded orientation. In general sense, as Dahl (2000:3) observed democracy means “different things to different people at different times and places”, because, it has taken a number of forms, both in theory and practice.

In view of these differences, Schraeder and Hippler, (1995:50) argued that democracy represents a wide competition between organised groups striving for numerous opportunities for popular participation in government through elections that are regularly and fairly contested. Hence, democracy is a politics which is concerned with institutions and processes of governance.

These institutions and procedures of governance tend to foster consensus whilst simultaneously promoting and sustaining respect for the ideology of democracy, (Onoja, 2008: 21). In contrast, Powell (1982) observed that democracy is a strategy of government based on the gamble that the potential for participation and responsiveness if offers will make possible a resolution of conflict without violence. In a similar vein, Abaje (as cited in Enemuo and Anifowose, 1999: 193) argued that democracy exists where the principal leaders of a political system are selected by competitive elections in which the bulk of the population have the opportunity to participate.

According to Mabogunje and Obasanjo (cited in Onoja,2008) democracy is the philosophy of governance, which set a high premium on the basic freedom or fundamental human rights of citizen, the

rule of law, the rights to property, the free flow of information and the right of choice between alternative political positions. This informs that democracy as a system of governance allows for popular participation and the respect for popular demands and interests in contesting as well as in running the political system. In essence, it is evident from the above explanation that democracy is a system of governance that represents in both forms the desires of the ruled (Parenti, 1983).

Essentially, most of the contemporary discourses on democracy have been focused on liberal form of democracy, which is a form of representative democracy in which the ability of the elected representatives to exercise decision-making power is subject to the rule of law, and usually moderated by a constitution that emphasizes the protection of the rights and freedoms of individuals, and which places constraints on the leaders and on the extent to which the will of the majority can be exercised against the rights of minorities.

### **3.0- Theoretical Framework**

This paper uses relative deprivation theory expounded in 1970 by Ted Robert Gurr. It is concerned with the question and conditions under which various forms of violence against political institutions, such as riots, conspiracies, revolutions, thuggery among others occur. It describes the rise of expectations and the consequential disappointment in a given society as a trigger for conflicts. The major assumption behind the theory of relative deprivations is that personal disappointment and angers in those individuals who feel their expectation has proven to be unsubstantial or unrealized can eventually lead to violent conflicts, and this is much more pronounce where there are group of unemployed youth who can be used readily by politicians to achieved their nefarious ends. This can especially be observed when the respective state suffers low social and economic development. In such states, people hope for employment, poverty reduction, better infrastructure, and higher incomes.

According to Gurr (1970: 13) relative deprivation is a perceived discrepancy between men's value expectations and their value capabilities. Value expectations are the goods and conditions of life to which people believe they are rightfully entitled. Value capabilities are the goods and conditions they think they are capable of attaining or maintaining, given the social means available to them. Hence, Gurr (1970: 13) explains which conditions favour violent conflicts after frustrations, by describing factors that amplify the intensity of deprivation that raise the probability of violent reactions at individual, and also other factors that influence the use of violence after collective frustrations. He identifies these mainly in the socio-psychological background of the respective individuals. Even though violence is negatively connotative in such situations, it is still seen as an effective way to achieve collective interests. The potential for violence strongly varies with the intensity and popularity of the perspectives for success that violence has. Basically, this factor deals with the utilitarian question if the use of violence will lead to a satisfying result for the deprived and if it can contribute to the fulfillment of their wishes and hopes. As noted before, both factors strongly correlate, because if someone has simple normative justifications for the use of violence, it is also possible that this mean is seen as an effective way to reach ends (Gurr: 156-160). Apart from the socio-psychological background of the people, also the social environment is an important factor. The use of violence becomes more probable, when the source for their deprivation is not clear to identify because of the complexity of political and economic contexts.

This theory has some weaknesses: for instance it composes of prepositions that are too general, hence difficult for application to specific problems. Even though, the research for causes of violent conflicts has shifted its focus to factor like identity (ethnicity or religion), economic marginalization or institutional repression, the notion of Gurr remains important. However, in erecting this theoretical structure, Gurr has paved the way for understanding of the most intractable problems in the urban scene. Therefore, going by the theoretical postulation above aggression among individual or group is not just undertaken as anatural reaction or rather instinct, but that it is the outcome of frustration, and that in a situation where the legitimate desire of an individual or group is denied either directly or by the indirect

consequence of the way society is structured, the feeling of disappointment may lead such a person to express his anger through violence, which will be directed against those he holds responsible or people who are directly or indirectly related to them, and indeed the society at large.

In essence, this theory is relevant to this study because mostly *Yan Daba* are by-product of poverty resulting from poor family background and unemployment. They feel marginalized by the social system and of course by the political system, they feel they are deprived of their distinctive existence. The deprivation they seek to address through violence. Hence, they confront the society in search of their basic needs in violent manner, and in this process violence is unleashed on the society on both sides. Thus, they become potential weapon in the hand of politicians who perceive politics as do or die affair characterized by violence and bloodshed, in order to capture political power and position.

#### **4.0- The Politics of Thuggery (*Daba Politics*) in Kano State**

One of the major features of Nigerian politics is that all major political issues including these issues that are considered fundamental to the existence and legitimacy of the state such as control of the state power and resource allocation are pursued through exclusively winner takes all strategies. These have transformed the Nigerian politics into one involving mutual antagonism (Olarinmoye, 2007:21). This trend in particular depicts the Nigerian politics as politics of rivalry and antagonism, as well as the use of violence as a means of gaining advantage over political opponents.

The violence which characterizes the Nigerian politics may not be unconnected with the perception of the Nigerian political class, about the politics as demonstrated by their behaviour especially during elections and electoral competition. Thus, politics becomes warfare, where competition is reduced to zero sum game, and competitors are regarded as enemies to be eliminated by all means (Marietu, 2009). Similarly, the extensive rivalry and competition, as well as bitter struggle revolve around the belief that political offices in Nigeria serve as avenues for accumulating private wealth. Thus, elections are ferociously contested, rigged and manipulated by hook and crook, particularly by the incumbent administration (Joseph, 1987). No wonder, the former President Olusegun Obasanjo (2002:50-51) pointed out that in Nigerian politics we fight, and sometime shed blood to achieve and retain political power, because for us in Nigeria, the political kingdom has for too long been the gateway to the economic kingdom. In essence, the relationship between political power and offices, and that of material accumulation is obvious in Nigerian democratic politics. Thus, the power, position, money, influence and affluence vested in political leadership underscore why people extensively struggle for a political post by whatever means possible. Electoral process in Nigeria has been premised on the threat of the use of violence as an effective tool for political bargaining, in order to coerce, intimidate and deter opponents.

The primary target of the political class is power and they are desperate about it, and as such whenever legitimate method of its acquisition fails. Violence and intimidation are used as a last resort, by mobilizing the services of the political thugs (*Yan daba*) to unleash terror and the society is worse for it (The Guardian Newspaper, cited in Adeniyi, 2003:352).

According to Ojudu and Zorro (1998), it is the politics of do or die affair; of not accepting defeat, of winner wins all, and indeed hostile and violence that characterised the political process in Kano state that breeds thuggery (*daba*) (cited in Ya'u, 2000:186). Thuggery's philosophy of thug characterizes by the use of violence, intimidation and brutality in order to achieve a nefarious end. As an activity thuggery is connected with stealing, killing, kidnapping, rudeness, victimization, intimidation and harassment. This manner affects peace, harmony and mutual co-existence among groups in their respective communities and by large developmental processes in general. If politics is criminalized through thuggery, right people who are the observers of good values tend to be scared and keep away from political processes. Through these nefarious activities thugs are used to create an atmosphere of fear and violence, intimidate, brutalize and harass voters and opponents in order to cause electoral malpractices and achieve a given political objectives.

This obviously implies act of thuggery in relations to the political process. Thus political thuggery can be defined as any act of intimidation, violence, hooliganism and brutality, whether leading to death or not, calculated to pose a threat or scale political opponent or perceived political opponents before, during or after elections and aimed at achieving an undue political result or advantage. Political thuggery, especially during elections may range from such acts as inciting or causing others to act in a disorderly manner, being in illegal possession of or usage of offensive weapon/s with the aim to scare or intimidate voters, snatching or destruction of election materials, acts resulting into undue influence as by compelling any person to vote or refrain from voting against his/her will, ballot stuffing etc. This illegal interference with the electoral process no doubt is electoral fraud, is criminal and has severe consequences on democratic stability in general and national security in particular. The politics of thuggery is the use of violence and terrorism perpetrated by political thugs to mobilize political support, to give personal protection and political patronage, to intimidate and threaten the political opponents, and also, to harass and coerce voters in ensuring the success of a particular political party or an aspirant. This has become the dominant feature of Kano politics since pre independence era. Thugs “*Yan daba*” is a gang of unemployed youths who reject the poor conditions to which their background has relegated them, and by taking refuge in group criminal and violent activities. For most of the time they live in secluded places called “*Daba*,” spending much of their time in petty hunting and experimentations with different drugs, only interacting with wider society for their food and other requirements, often in a violent way (Ya’u, 2000:179).

*Yan daba* live in secluded places, market places, uncompleted buildings, around ponds, deserted areas around the city wall, and in the outskirts of town and bushy areas. They mainly come from poor parents as Dan Asabe's survey (cited in Ya’u, 2000:185) concludes that most of the *Yan daba* have a poor background and their parents are butchers, petty traders, donkey transporters, leather workers, firewood sellers etc. Similarly, Madaki (cited in Mohammed and Madaki, 2008:03) observed that *daba* is a deviant institution, like any other institution with subculture and proscriptive norms governing the behaviour of members. The group normally composed of male and female, young and adult. Ya’u (2000:183) rightly noted that sex barriers have been broken down allowing female to integrate into the gang, and also, the age bracket has expanded both ways including boys as age as eight years old and adults of thirty five years and above with families of their own.

He further noted that there are even instances of the son and father being both active at the time in the *daba* gang. *Yan daba* engage in petty hunting and also in theft and sometime armed robbery, as well as looting in addition to their ulterior motive of violence and blood thirsty, which is directed toward the society in general with no specific target, as whoever happens to be around the scenario of the violence can become a potential target; men /women, young/old, knowingly or unknowingly. In similar vein, Ya’u (2000:194) noted that the nature of violence perpetrated by *Yan Daba* has both material and utilitarian motives, and is characteristically apolitical. It can be bought by some people who can meet their basic needs, and directed selectively to a particular target.

#### **5.0- The Origin of *Daba* Politics (The Politics of Thuggery)**

The origin of *daba* politics in Kano state may not be unconnected with the formation of political parties prior to the Nigerian independence. This linked up with the transformation of the *Yan Tauri* and *Yan Banga* through their incorporation into the political terrain of Kano, in order to give protection to and defence (body guard) to political leaders of NEPU (Northern Elements Progressive Union), and since that time politicians invariably use them to achieve their political ambition (Mohammed and Madaki, 2008).

Mallam Lawan Dambazau one of the NEPU's founding father noted that the phenomenon of *daba* politics can be traced to the transformation of the *Yan Tauri* and *Yan Banga* (militias) through their incorporation into the political terrain of Kano city. This closely related to the dynamics of Kano politics

right from the struggle for independence, when the ruling party Northern People Congress (NPC) launched a repressive campaign against NEPU using Native Authority (NA) Policemen and *dogarai* (Local Policemen). Consequently, NEPU leaders were routinely arrested, detained, imprisoned, tortured and subjected to other forms of harassment, all in an attempt to curb the influence of the organisation among the masses. However, that measure proved abortive because as more repressive the Native Authority had become, the more the influence and acceptability of NEPU spread among the masses, who saw in the party the promise of liberation from the exploitative and oppressive system of NPC and its Native Authority police.

When the Native Authority police failed to achieve the desired objective the NPC had to look elsewhere to extend its repressive machinery. It was in this context that it cultivated a core of political thugs to terrorize NEPU members and supporters. These political thugs were later to acquire the name of *Yan Banga* (a Hausa adoption of the English word 'Vanguard'). In this early period, *Yan Banga* were mainly recruited from *Yan Tauri* (people who specialize in using traditional medicine and charm to get immune from iron and metallic objects) (Ya'u, 2000:188).

Later, in the politics of the second republic they acquired the name of '*Yan daba*', and since that particular time they have become vital component of the political process in Kano state, Because, politicians use them for protection and also to harass and intimidate their opponents, the trend which has been a source of frequent violent and sometime bloody clashes between the supporters of one political aspirant and another, or one political party and another.

#### **6.0- *Yan Daba* as Political Force in Kano Politics**

Since pre-independence period particularly in the late 1950's *Yan Daba* have become political forces in Kano politics and political process. Certainly, they are political factor in the potential configuration in Kano politics. They are used by the political class toward achieving political plan (Dan Asabe cited in Mohammed and Madaki, 2008). The poor background and poverty resulting from unemployment which characterized the living condition of thugs dispels them to confront the society in search of means of sustenance. In the process violence is unleashed against the society. This is in particular make them into a force of manipulation by any person who can fulfil and meet their material and basic needs. This in particular was the main reason which has brought *Yan Daba* into direct contact with the political class.

Ya'u (2000) rightly observed that the link between the political class and *Yan Daba* is perhaps obvious and operate at two levels: At one level *Yan Daba* gang provides a recruiting ground for political thugs, who have been accepted as part and parcel of the political party structure in Kano politics. And their general functions in this context are to harass and intimidate political opponents of their patrons, terrorize constituencies during elections; where their patrons have no support or acceptability in order to create confusion; and cause delay of or even stop elections, when their sponsor cannot win either cleanly or through rigging. At second level, *Yan Daba* provide an army of mobilizers for campaign and rallies. They also provide the retinue of paid voters on Election Day, a common phenomenon in a political situation in which lack of faith and confidence in the processes creates apathy among voters. The people are generally not keen on coming out to vote, leaving the politicians to look for hired voters.

#### **7.0- *Yan Daba* in the Current Democratic Dispensation 1999-2015**

The transition to democratic rule on 29<sup>th</sup> May, 1999 has become an important milestone in understanding the contemporary trend of politics of thuggery in Kano politics. This is because; the trend has currently assumed new pattern and dimension as thuggery has now become a profession of its own. *Yan Daba* have now enjoyed financial privileges as employees with clear allowances and other material benefits attached from some politicians in the state. Additionally, *Yan Daba* believe that they are an integral component of the politics, hence, very vital to the sustenance of the political system. As the political system

in the generally lacks provision for security and safety of the political office seekers and aspirants, they resort to the use of *Yan Daba* as the only alternative source of protection especially during the campaign and rally. Thus, *Yan Daba* believe that the politician cannot do without them. Beside, in the current democratic dispensation *Yan Daba* are secure from the wrath of the law, this is why they perpetrate and commit all sort of violent atrocities against their fellow thug, ordinary citizens, and of course opponents with impunity, because their political masters always guarantee them backing and protection against security agencies. In line with this negative development Mohammed and Madaki (2008) observed that the politicians give them (*Yan Daba*) all necessary support and encouragement to minimize case of arrest and apprehension by the law enforcement agents. Hence, they further argued that political activities influence and facilitate *daba* activities in Kano, and this is even why the deviant attitude tends to be higher during party politics than any other time.

### **8.0- Implications of Daba Politics on Democratic Process in Kano State**

This segment is presented according to the questions asked during the survey study and the hypothesis generated in the study.

Occupational status of the sampled respondents. Sixty seven point fifty percent (61.50%) indicated that they are outrightly jobless with nothing to do to sustain them, while thirty two point five percent (32.50%) indicated that they engage in petty occupation which cannot cater for their basic and material needs, they are mainly blacksmithers, butchers, labourers, fuel hawkers, substance and drug sellers, *okada* riders, and those who sold second hand goods or damaged goods thrown away at refuse disposal places and garbage (Survey, January, 2015).

The perception of *Yan Daba* on politics, eighty five percent (85%) of the respondents opined that they perceived politics as an opportunity for employment and material benefits, while, fifteen percent (15%) consider politics to be a civic duty (Survey, January, 2015). This in essence represents the fact that opportunities exist in Kano politics for *Yan Daba*, in terms of employment and source of earning means of livelihood.

Whether Nigerian politics is a dirty game, ninety percent (90%) of the sampled respondents agreed that Yes Nigerian politics is indeed characterized by violence. This was also agreed by majority of the interviewees (Interview, 7<sup>th</sup> February, 2015). Hence, as perpetrators of violence and other criminal activities politicians found them relevant in using them to achieve their nefarious political motives.

The nature of their political participation, majority of the respondents by eighty seven and a half percent (87.50%) opined that they participate in politics mainly as party members. This involves membership of the political party and participation in all party activities; campaign, rally, election and so on. This indicates the fact that majority of *Yan daba* actively participate in political process at different level: as card carrying members, voters, vanguard of the party in question and also as personal body guards to political aspirants. In addition, they are used for fermenting trouble against political opponents through financial inducement.

The relationship between political class and *Yan Daba*, ninety percent (90%) of the sampled respondent opined that there exist a very strong cordial relationship between the political class or politicians and *Yan Daba*. This is as the majority of the sampled respondent maintained that their role is child of necessity and hence an integral component of the politics in the state. They further maintained that “the politics cannot go without us; we contribute immensely, particularly during elections. The politicians depend on us to achieve their interests, and we are the only force available that guarantee them protection” (Survey, January, 2015). It was opined that the kind of relationship that exists between the politicians and *Yan Daba* is a sort of Master/servant relationship, in which politicians used thugs as his own gang to scare away opponents and rig elections (Interview, Monday 12<sup>th</sup> March, 2015). In contrast, it was opined that the kind of relationship that exist between politicians and *Yan Daba* is a patron/client relation, through which

an alliance is entered in form of contract, where the service of *Yan Daba* in form of violence is offered for sale and purchased by the highest bidder politicians for his own personal gain and interests. In fact *daba* politics has become independent profession in Kano politics (Interview, 7<sup>th</sup> February, 2015). This indicates a strong relationship between political thuggery and democratic processes and *daba* politics in Kano state.

The nature of service *Yan Daba* offer to the politicians, eighty two percent (82%) of the sampled respondents opined that the nature of the service they offer depends upon the condition or circumstances, or rather the political request surrounding the service. Thus, it can be positive or negative, or both (Survey January, 2015). Positively, *Yan Daba* partake in politicking especially membership of the party, campaign, rally, pasting posters of the party and its political candidates or aspirants, safeguarding electoral boxes against possible irregularities, etc. They also provide protection and security for political aspirants at their respective houses and during campaign and rally (Interview, 8<sup>th</sup> April, 2015).

Negatively, *Yan Daba* partake and involved in political and electoral violence in order to ensure the success of their party and political boss through: engaging in multiple registration and voting, stealing and breaking electoral boxes; where they lost confidence and hope of winning the election, supplying illegal voters, rigging. They also kill, wound, kidnap, injure, maim political opponents, and dealt with any obstacle by whatever means possible that stand the way of their master to winning. Additionally, they intimidate and posed a threat to legitimate voters by creating unfriendly atmosphere at polling station, they are also hired to disorganize and destabilize electoral process where they assured that their aspirant cannot win (Group Discussion, Wednesday 7<sup>th</sup> – 12<sup>th</sup> February, 2015).

The kind of benefits enjoyed by *Yan Daba* from the political politicians, seventy four percent (74%) of the sampled respondents noted that they benefit a lot from the politicians, especially when their boss succeeded in capturing political power and position. It includes the following:

a- Appointment into political post like sub-committees, as youth leader, special assistants, personal body guards to excellencies, employment as securities in public institutions; classroom teachers especially at local government level, and also as revenue collectors at motor parks and other places (Group Discussion, Wednesday 7<sup>th</sup> – 12<sup>th</sup> February, 2015).

b- Allocation of resources especially money whenever demanded, or when there is any case of emergency like execution of special assignments, and sometimes they enjoy payment of monthly allowances, medical bills especially when there is a case of accident during campaign or inter-thugs clashes (even though there is an incidences of betrayal and negligence sometime), payment of rent, dowry, invitation card during wedding ceremonies of particular thug, and in addition, given of money for prayer during condolence visitation to any of the thug that lost his parent or relative, issuing of plot of land, allocation of fertilizer, foodstuff, ram, clothes etc during Ramadan and Sallah festivities, award of minor contract and direct labour like painting, reconstruction of feeder roads, maintaining of drainage and cemeteries, and supply of goods and commodities, procurement of bicycles, motorcycles and car, allocation of seats for pilgrimage (Group Discussion, Wednesday 7<sup>th</sup> - 12<sup>th</sup> March, 2015).

c- Guaranteeing protection against security agencies through bailout and during arrest.

d- Construction of hamlet at the outskirts of town where they live daily and it serves as their headquarters or base.

e- The procurement of drugs and weapons during operations.

In essence, these material benefits attached to the politics of thuggery, and which enjoyed by *Yan Daba* is the factor which reinforces the trend and becomes brain behind the persistence of the menace. This has confirmed the first hypothesis which states that the higher the expectation for material gain in the political process, the higher the risk of political thuggery in Kano state of Nigeria.

The impact of the roles/benefits of politics of thuggery (*Daba* politics), sixty seven point fifty seven percent (67.50%) of the sampled respondents opined that even though these roles have negative consequences on the people and democratic experiment, yet, it engaged them with employment and offers

them an opportunity to meet their financial and material needs, and also provide them with opportunity to have contact with people at high places, thus as they claimed *daba* politics indeed pays them a lots (Survey, January, 2015).

Possibility of abandoning *Daba* politics should there be an alternative decent job or employment. Eighty seven and a half percent (87.50%) of the sampled respondents opined that certainly unemployment and poverty are the major reason behind their involvement in *Daba* life and hence of *Daba* politics, and they have no alternative, even they dislike it. They maintained that should there be an alternative job there is no way they will be trooping to party and local government secretariats, branch offices, ministries, or moving across the houses of the politicians, because it involved a lot of humiliations and sometime even risk, (Survey, January, 2015). This is true from thenature of their means of livelihood, which involved joblessness and petty occupation. This is in line with what has been observed that poverty and illiteracy are the major factors behind *Daba* politics in Kano state, and as such once employment is generated, there is possibility to control the problem (Group Discussion Wednesday 7<sup>th</sup> - 12<sup>th</sup> March, 2015).

Obviously, the politics of thuggery (*daba* politics) has become a vital component of Kano politics as hardly any politician can survive the system of politics in the state without recruiting the thugs even for his own security and protection. Yet, it poses direct threats to the entire democratic process, and this has been manifested in various forms and patterns as follow:

It develops political apathy among legitimate electorates thereby denies them active participation in the political process, and in turn violates their constitutional rights.

It creates violent and unfriendly political atmosphere, characterized by a lot of uncertainties. This involves intimidation, harassment, threats, injuries, and bloodshed of the innocent citizens.

It leads to electoral malpractices, multi-votes, stealing of electoral boxes, and other irregularities.

It leads to political kidnapping and intimidating of political opponents, which renders the political seats hard to contest by decent and popular contestants.

It breeds corruption and mismanagement of public funds as huge amounts of resources meant for public expenditures are diverted for the services and expenses of the political thugs *Yan daba*, and this implies the collapse of the social services in the state.

### **9.0- Findings**

This study comes up with the following findings:

The conception of politics in Kano state is that of do or die affair, in which majority of the political office seekers and holders primarily calculate the game of politics in terms of winner wins all and loser losses all.

Politics in Kano state has been conceived by political thugs (*Yan Daba*) as an opportunity for material and financial gain, as well as means of establishing connection with people in high position like governors, local government chairmen, commissioners, etc.

Political thuggery has become independent profession of its own in Kano state, through which patron/client relationship is established between the politicians and *Yan Daba* , where the latter offer service in form of violence and the former purchase through exchange for material and financial resources. Thus, the higher the financial expectation attached to the service of *Yan Daba* especially during election, the higher the level of political violence in the state.

Poverty and unemployment coupled with illiteracy or low level of education are forces that directly influence *daba* politics in Kano. This in essence nurtured, reinforced and sustained the persistence of the menace.

Political violence especially during election is directly associated with the *daba* politics breeds electoral malpractices in Kano, which in turn negatively affects the general democratic process in the state.

## 10.0 Conclusion

*Daba* politics has become part and parcel of political process in the Kano state for the past six decades, however the trends has in the contemporary dispensations assume new pattern and shape, as it graduated from the provision of security and protection in the late 1950's, to profession of violence in the current democratic dispensation, especially 1999 through to 2015 and this posed a very serious negative and direct threat to the entire democratic process in the state. Thus, it can be established that in as much as the true spirit of democracy is to be maintain and the problem of electoral violence be curbed in the state, a very decisive measures of action has to be taken by the government, community, parents and stakeholders in general, against *daba* politics.

## 11.0- Recommendations

There should be re-orientation and enlightenment campaign in order to enlighten the society about the dangers of *Daba* politics in the state.

There should also be mass campaign for the political office seekers/holders to disabuse their minds from their erroneous conception of politics as dirty and also refrain from using *Yan Daba* in the political process.

There should be a wider employment generation programme, through which *Daba politics* will be substituted with the decent jobs and employment. Because, the major perception of most of the thugs is that *daba* politics is legal profession and it pays.

There should be a law that will strictly ban thuggery and *daba* politics in Kano state. This should be enacted as the edict of the state.

A law should be introduced by the government and INEC in particular banning the use of *Yan Daba* in the political process. This law shall make provision for penalty against any convicted candidate by disqualification from the political contest.

There should be provision for alternative security guards for political aspirants, through involvement of the private security company.

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## A Theoretical Explanation of Power and Regime in Maritime Resource Security in the Gulf of Guinea

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### Abstract

This paper explores the place of theories in analysing threats to maritime resource security in the Gulf of Guinea. Three theories are discussed to explain how to curb the challenges of maritime resource security in the maritime borders of Nigeria, Angola, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Ghana, Sao Tome and Principe and Central African Republic. The overall objective of the paper is to assess the appropriateness of these theories in analysing the extent of threats in the Exclusive Economic Zone of these contiguous countries. The paper adopts content analysis as its methodology. The analysis of the theories shows that the use of realist theory will best explain the activities of external powers in the oil rich maritime domain. This study recommends that the Nigerian government along with other oil producing countries of the Gulf of Guinea have to move beyond ordinary joint naval exercises to upgrade their naval capabilities by building ships and conducting jointly sponsored research on and security projects on how to secure the region from the control of external powers whose interest are solely for the oil and gas expected to power their industries

**Key words:** Maritime resource security, Realism, Regime, National interest, Gulf of Guinea.

### Introduction

Theories are tools for explaining a given phenomenon in a systematic way. They could be proven right or wrong with a follow up study. The assumption of a given theory will help in projecting the way a phenomenon is conceived explained and conclusions could be drawn with the probability of precision. Three theories will be explained to analyse the challenges to maritime resource security in the maritime borders of Nigeria, Angola, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Sao Tome and Principe and Central African Republic. This will help to assess the appropriateness of these theories on how the governments of these littoral countries could take decision on how to jointly make effort to protect their Exclusive Economic Zone in the Gulf of Guinea which is under the threat of criminals and most importantly external powers. This paper investigates challenges maritime resource security in the Gulf of Guinea. The paper is divided into five sections. After this introduction section two is centred on definition of major concepts. Theoretical issue are discussed in section three. The national interests of oil consuming external powers are discussed in section four. Section five is preoccupied with concluding remarks and recommendation.

### Definition of Concepts

#### Maritime security

Maritime security belongs to the terrestrial/aquatic realm. It is a state in which a country's territorial integrity, maritime assets, maritime practices, and coastal peace and order are conserved, protected, and enhanced. Many Countries conceive maritime security as a defence concept, while others equate it with the idea of sound management of the ocean resources and environment, employing the capabilities used in the defense of the state to carry out maritime security activities.

Maritime security relates to the prevention of unlawful acts in a maritime domain, whether they directly impact the country or region in question, or perpetrators in transit. The issue of unlawful acts in a maritime domain of a country and how to prevent those acts is part of maritime security (Gilpin, 2007:2). To broaden our understanding of the concept the United Nations convention on the law of the sea of 1982 states that:

*The maritime domain may be described as “all areas and things of, on, under, relating to, adjacent to, or bordering on a sea, ocean, or other navigable water way, including all maritime related activities, infrastructure, people, cargo and vessels and other convergences”. In geographical scope, the maritime domain could be defined as (a) territorial waters, 12 nautical miles from the coast; (b) contiguous zone or coastal waters, 24 nautical miles from the coast; and (c) the Exclusive Economic Zone or EEZ, 200 nautical miles from the coast.*

The exclusive economic zone of a country can only be protected by a national navy if the country has the capability to do so as such Gilpin's allusion to the zone exclude the countries of the Gulf of Guinea because their navies do not have the sea power to police their maritime domain within the 200 nautical miles.

Maritime security is an issue classified under maritime security operations. It is all about the security of marine activities. It is seen in a restrictive scope and ambition because most writers associate it with economic activities, illegal immigration, pollution at sea and coastal risks within and around the boundary of a nation-state. Maritime security is the promotion and maintenance of security of the global maritime tradition De Danville (2007). It is a critical element that could guarantee a nation's economic wealth over a long period. It therefore addresses threats of individuals, groups or states that seek to jeopardize or disrupt the security of a maritime domain. On the other hand, an external power could want to pursue an interest in a maritime domain and in this sense it will want its interest to prevail. The guarantee that maritime resource security will be protected by a national navy only applies to a nation that has the same or similar capability with the external power that is competing for influence in her domain.

#### **National interests of external powers**

National interest is an omnibus concept that has varied interpretations. Given the liberal versus Marxist debate the concept has about five strands. The liberal school has the objectivists, the subjectivists and the decision makers; while the Marxists school has instrumental and structural strands. We shall not go into the argument of these schools but we shall point out some of their assumptions. The objectivists in which, Morgenthau belongs assert that the relative power of a state and her perception of herself influences her interest which is reflected in the peculiar circumstances of culture, ideology, history, economic and military capability, hopes and aspirations of the people of a country. The subjectivist see it as preference of the moment which is influenced by what a state wants to achieve while the decision makers see it as parochial interest of foreign policy decision makers. Instrumentalists Marxists see it as the preference of the executive committee of the bourgeoisie; while structural Marxists see it as coincidence of the objective of the bourgeoisie and the ruling class (Chander 1990). Classes of national interests determine the way a state will act or react to issues international politics. Issues that fall into core interest are given utmost attention. They are national security, welfare of the state, and national prestige. Oil and gas needed by the external powers in the Gulf of Guinea falls under their primary interests. This is exemplified by their classification of energy into national security problem. For instance Lubeck, Watts and Lipschutz (2007: 10) posit that America's: “Fears that China is gaining control over African energy resources ...are important to the new emphasis on securitization of energy policy, as well as bureaucratic competition for control over resources among the regional commands of the US military”.

#### **Importance of the Gulf of Guinea**

The Gulf of Guinea maritime domain is resource rich maritime border of Nigeria, Angola, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Sao Tome and Principe and Central African Republic on the Atlantic Ocean. Oil and gas which are major maritime resources needed for the growth and sustainable development of industrialized and industrializing nations abound in the Gulf of Guinea Region. These resources have made the United States of America Europeans powers, China and India to struggle for access to these resources. This is responsible for the economic and military competitions between the countries mentioned. The Gulf of Guinea serves as alternative to oil supply sources for industrialized nation in the event of face-off

between the East and the West which climaxed in the September 11 terrorist attack in the United States of America. Another advantage that the Gulf of Guinea has is that it is an international shipping route as such the problem of passing through territorial waters of unfriendly countries will not be there. Again the countries of the Gulf of Guinea are yet to claim their Exclusive Economic Zones as a result of this the routes are relatively free of encumbrances. There are no narrow shipping maritime lanes (choke points) that expose oil tankers/vessels to pirate attack, shipping accidents or blockades. These are of comparative advantage to nations who would want to invest in oil and gas in the region (Mane 2005).

### **Explaining the theories**

The assumptions and exponents of neoliberal-institutional, regime and realist theories will be discussed to arrive at a decision on which will better suit the analysis of the activities of criminals and external powers in the Gulf Of Guinea Maritime domain.

### **Neoliberal Institutional Theory**

The first theory to be discussed is the Neo-liberal institutional approach. The exponents of this school emphasise the use of soft power. Soft power is simply getting others to do what you want. The school holds that economic, social and other means other than military should be used to command obedience from a weaker nation. Diplomatic pressure, aid and the media should be used to exert force on recipient country. The school is of the opinion that the state is a rational actor that has concern for international economic system in terms of its management. In this sense, the evolution of global governance in terms of regimes and institutions will help state cooperate and benefit mutually from it (Halabi, 2004: 25). The countries in the Gulf of Guinea are being dominated through the use of soft power. They have signed several conventions of the United Nation which binds them.

The Neoliberal institutionalist school agrees to the centrality of the state in international politics. They argue that the realist school's preoccupation with anarchy and power relations has distracted it from conceiving the role of the state in the pursuit of wealth among other functions that the state perform, as such they fail to come to terms with the influence of capitalism which is a mechanism that has helped their countries pursue wealth.

Although, neo-liberal institutional approach is not of the power theory school but it complements the power theory in an effort to look at power from a different perspective other than its display in a raw form. Thus scholars of International Relations use the assumptions of the approach as tool to explain the use of soft power in International politics. For instance it advocates that states should adjust their foreign trade policy in order to meet the demands of other states and those states too should reciprocate. Most often, it is the stronger nations that mostly benefit from this kind of arrangement.

The neo-liberal approach upholds that mutual adjustment enhances success in cooperation. Halabi, (2004: 26-27) argues further about the merit of neo-liberal institutionalism. According to him

*... mutual adjustments allows successful cooperation to take place as technological innovations and competitions create pressure for the elimination of outdated internal institutions and the movement toward convergence, bypassing the laborious process of dealing directly with change in domestic institution. Mutual adjustment is a goal-oriented strategy in which successful cooperation is based on the existence of both common interest and rules.*

Neoliberal Institutional school, espouse ideas on aspects of soft power. Nye's, (1990:171) basic assumption is that you get others to 'do what you want'. This is a form of 'cooperative power which translates to recruitment' and that:

*Co-optive power is the ability of a country to structure a situation so that other countries develop preferences or define their interests in ways consistent with its own. This power tends to arise from such resources as cultural and ideological attraction as well as rules and institutions of*

*international regimes. The United States has more co-optive power than other countries. Institutions governing the international economy, such as the International Monetary Fund and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, tend to embody liberal, free-market principles that coincide in large measure with American society and ideology. Multinational corporations are another source of co-optive power than other countries.*

In furthering the interpretation of power as espoused by neo-liberal institutional school on how states behave, Wagner (2005:3) expands the horizon, “Concepts of hard and soft power can be regarded as two poles on a continuum of power. They also imply different ideas, interaction, and institution, for foreign policy when looking at the fields of politics, security and economy”. She explains further that:

*Ideally, hard power strategies focus on military intervention, coercive diplomacy and economic sanctions in order to enforce national interest resulting in confrontational policies vis-à-vis neighbouring countries. In contrast to this, soft power strategies emphasis common political values, peaceful means for conflict management, and economic cooperation in order to achieve common solutions (Wagner, 2005:10).*

A great power could influence political and military intervention in a weaker country if it wants to exact its influence. This is a practical example of the use of hard power. On the other hand, it could use intergovernmental relations in form of bilateral or multilateral cooperation in the economic or political sphere. This is also a typical use of soft power for influencing the behaviour of neighbours or other states (Wagner, 2005).

The soft power assumptions observed by the Neo-liberal institutional school include ideology, culture and the institution of international regimes. This theory is well espoused with the comparism that it makes but it cannot capture well the analysis on how the Nigerian Navy is challenged by national interest of external powers and other threats to resource security in the Gulf of Guinea. Advocates of soft power fail to note that the possession of structural power could facilitate the use of soft power in world politics as such the strength of soft power is not easily quantified. To look at power from another perspective, regime theory will also be reviewed to see how structural power as embedded in regime theory could pose threat to resource exploitation in the Gulf of Guinea.

### **Regime theory**

The second theory to be reviewed is regime theory. Maritime regime building is an important element in maritime security. Maritime regimes are instituted to take care of threats like crimes, piracy and oil theft that are of international dimension. Valencia, defines regimes as

*...Sets of implicit or explicit principles (beliefs of fact, causation, and rectitude), norms (strands of behaviour defined in terms of rights and obligations), rules (prevailing practices for making and implementing collective choice) around which actor expectations converge. A more applied definition treats regimes as multilateral agreements among states that aim to regulate national actions within an issue area (Valencia, 2000: 223)*

The significance of Valencia's definition is that it sees a regime as a phenomenon that should be initiated and be allowed to evolve over time. This is for the collective good of all the states involved. It will help in solving common problems, create conducive environment lawful for business among actors in the maritime industry.

To understand the foundation of regime theory, we shall look briefly at the origin:

*Regimes originate through a combination of imposition, spontaneous processes, or negotiation. There are four main theories as to why regimes develop and change; structural, functional, game-theoretic, and cognitive. Each captures important features of reality but none offers a satisfactory explanation for the full range of observable phenomenon (Valencia, 2000: 227).*

Since regimes are arrangements for seeking compliance to collective decision on challenges facing a region, Valencia's explanation is a combination of several types that could help in taking decision on how a regime could be built from the scratch.

Due to the maritime problems that resources always tend to pose and in order to record greater percentage of compliance, coercion, bargaining and unilateral actions are the common process through which choices are arrived at in resources and environment regimes.

Valencia however, said that the implementation of regime policy is sometimes not only restricted to the problem of compliance, but also of moral issues that include public exposure for non compliance, binding international laws, scientific facts, and normative persuasion. Other mild issues are scientific assistance, financial and technical aid. As a system of governing arrangements, a regime should bring together collection of formal and informal institutions to implement the arrangement in a marine region or a given social structure. This involves structures, functions, objectives, processes and programmes. Valencia's explanation on how regimes are built and operated is relevant to the study of regime arrangements like Gulf of Guinea Coast Guard and Gulf of Guinea Commission which aim at achieving resource security in the Gulf of Guinea maritime domain. However he did not look at the conflictual relationship that regimes tend to perpetrate.

The importance of cooperation as against conflictual relationship is explained by Ghosh (:2004:1). This is to encourage the entrenchment of regimes. He advocates that:

*...It is essential that the existing cold war mindset of 'preparing for war in order to ensure peace' be revised to 'if you want peace prepare to cooperate' as a guideline for both military and non-military maritime interaction. It is through cooperation that the challenges to the existing maritime order can be addressed.*

Ghosh opines that contiguous littoral states must have a convergence of interest on issues that border on security in order to protect their sea lines of communication (SLOC), minimise or totally prevent piracy, maritime terrorism, curb narcotics inclined-terrorism and terror-crime nexus, gun-running, maritime pollution and oil-related environmental disaster and enhance security against mining. This is because the sea is a platform for the exploitation and transportation of resources. It is influencing the geo-political strategies of nation-states in contemporary time as it has done in the past. Ghosh is preoccupied with only crimes and other illegal activities in the maritime domain, he fails to look at external forces like industrialized oil consuming nations who would want to secure oil supplies to their countries at all cost.

Bulkeley (2004) advocates maritime regime as solution to the challenges to security in maritime domains. The writer is of the opinion that multilateralism through naval cooperation and counter terrorism effort is one of the ways of securing maritime domain. For instance he advocates that "In the private sector, companies such as Marine Risk Management have introduced improved ship-tracking devices that link ships at sea to law enforcement agencies in different countries" (Bulkeley 2004:7). Again, he suggests that "bilateral measures such as mutual visits of patrol vessels, joint training, and coordinated national patrols, but few states are willing to engage in joint patrols that truly unite members of different national navies in patrolling missions" (Bulkeley 2004:8). In addition, "joint patrolling efforts could easily evolve into broader talks on naval cooperation throughout the region" (Bulkeley 2004:13). This author argues that maritime cooperation was supposed to culminate in a full maritime regime. It is advocated that regime building is the solution to maritime and resource security challenge. Bulkeley concentrates on challenges that emanated within a region and external factors are not considered. This is because he was writing about challenges different from that of resource security in the Gulf of Guinea. The peculiarity of the Gulf of Guinea is in the competition by external powers for resources in the region.

Gilpin (2007) has reviewed the challenges to maritime security in the Gulf of Guinea. He looks at the regional and international efforts at proffering solutions to the challenges based on maritime governance approach. This focuses on the need for the governments of contiguous littoral nations to come together and act against threats and vulnerabilities in their maritime domain. He advocates for a "fourfold

framework that include increased operational efficiency, demonstrable political commitment, heightened public awareness and transparent regulatory systems as strategies for collaboration against challenges in the maritime domain” (Gilpin 2007:6). The fact that he worked on the Gulf of Guinea made his work relevant to this study but he did not see beyond immediate problems in the domain. He fails to see the divergent interest of oil consuming nations as threat to resource security in a maritime domain of the Gulf of Guinea. He wrote from the background of an external power's interest which sees the weaknesses of the oil producing states in the region but does not see how the confrontational competition between external powers constitute impediment to resource security.

Generally regime theory concentrates more on the internal dynamics of a region leaving out the external environment which also has its greater influence on regime building and its success when in operation. Due to the weaknesses of regime theory, realist theory which considers both internal dynamics and the influence of external forces on the behavior of states will be discussed.

### **Realist theory**

The third theory to be reviewed is realist approach. Realism as a theory evolved from the ideas espoused by realist writers like Thucydides and Machiavelli and scholars like Morgenthau and Herz who see power as central to the pursuit of national interest. They reduced political power to pure power struggle. The capacity to control and wield violence is central to their postulations.

Power is seen as ability of a state to influence the behaviour of another state Morgenthau (1948). States seen as regional power mostly dictate the direction of events in their region and even beyond. The way the United States of America dominates the Americas (along with her western allies) through her control of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation shows that power is an important factor in International politics, and a pointer to ways in which states interact with themselves. The advocates of power theory see power in terms of economic domination due to access to resources and military capabilities which are equated with a nation state's ability to influence others. “Neo-realism emphasizes 'hard power capabilities of state, especially their military capabilities and economic strength'. This enables a state to protect herself from interference from another state; apart from exacting influence in her region. This could also translate to global dominance (Wagner, 2005:2).

Realists espouse ideas on the notion that states act on their perceived national interest which is in terms of military security. Therefore, relative gains and power relations control their agenda. They assume that the world is incapable of forming global governance, in the midst of sovereign states. This is because if it is formed, the institution will want to 'prescribe behaviour to states and constraint their manoeuvrability under conditions of state sovereignty and international anarchy'. Even with their position, they still agree that states could cooperate in common spheres such as inter-state trade and investments which require obligation that could bind them. But they affirm that states cannot still escape from anarchy that prevails in the international system (Halabi, 2004:25).

The assumptions by realists that anarchy prevails in the international system inspired Stephen Walt to propound balance of threat theory which serves as tool for predicting how one state could pose threat to another. Aggregate power, proximate power, offensive capability and offensive intentions are indices for measuring the degree of threat that a state poses (Nere, 2009).

Nere explains four determinants that could make one state to constitute threat to another. In the essay he explained that aggregate power

*... is indeed a state's capability to potentially threaten a state; in fact, aggregate power include population, technology, and industrial and military capability. Proximate power is a state's geographical location relative to other states, for a states' power wanes over distance, hence, a state that is in close proximity to another state, has the ability to menace a particular states more than a state that is far away. Offensive power is indeed defined as a states' salient offensive capability, which provokes alliances. What is more, a state that appears aggressive may provoke other states to balance against them based on offensive intentions.*

Realists uphold military component of power as a resource needed for the pursuit of national interest. For this reason they always advocate that power must be acquired to sustain national economic prosperity and maintain stability in the world. Morgenthau (1948) saw the way fellow realists viewed the assumptions of the approach and as such cautioned them against dangerous interpretations of events which can create more problems than solving them.

The realist theory asserts that states are always not immune from threat of violence or avarice arising from other states because of high competition. The fact that, there are no reliable constraints imposed by a legitimate authority on states in world politics, powerful states try to secure their territory and in the event pursue goals of influence, wealth and more territory. The realist theory best describes the ways states try to seek security for themselves through struggle for crude oil in the Gulf of Guinea.

The Nigerian navy is challenged by the problem of resource security in the midst of great and emergent powers scrambling for oil resource in the maritime domain of the Gulf of Guinea where it is the most formidable navy; even though it has just 35% capacity to police the Exclusive Economic Zone of the Gulf of Guinea. The Nigerian Navy's capability that is 60% to 65% 12nm territorial waters cannot be matched with great naval powers that are scrambling for its oil in the Gulf of Guinea maritime domain. That means about 188nm of 200nm is left to external maritime powers to secure and with this they justify their presence in the international waters of Gulf of Guinea (Ogunbumi and Oloko 2006).

#### **National Interests of Oil Consuming External Powers**

National Interests of oil consuming external powers is a major threat to resource security in the region. This is evident in the ways foreign powers have shown interest in the region through the presence of their military. France for instance has portrayed her interest in the region by her domineering presence. Gbanite (2004:31) points out that:

*To protect the interest of France, it has stationed a rapid deployment force approximately to be a Division strength positioned from Senegal to Equatorial Guinea. Most Francophone countries within West Africa have a French Forward Operational Base (FOB) or Home Port Base (HPB) for the French Navy, Airforce and Infantry; all to protect France's interest and that of the ruling party but not necessarily that of the host nations suffering citizens.*

In addition, Forest and Sousa point out that there are about fifteen French military training schools in West Africa and Central Africa. They are in Porto-Novo and Quidah, Benin Republic; Attecoube, Cote d'Ivoire; Koulikoro, Mali; Senegal; Ouakam Senegal; Lome Togo; Oaugadougou, Bulkina Faso; Garoua and Awae, Cameroon; Libreville, Gabon and Niamey, Niger. Forest and Sousa (2006:204) explain further that "In addition to these French-sponsored schools, there are French advisors permanently placed in many other national military schools across Franchophone Africa".

The aggregate power of France in the Gulf of Guinea is seen in her advanced technology, military power and industrialization. Her control is directly or indirectly responsible for the inability of the two regional grouping (ECOWAS and CEMAC) to integrate fast for their mutual benefit. Because France has defence pact with its former colonies (as ealier stated); it is feeding fat on the selfish nature of those in power thereby posing threat to resource security in the Gulf of Guinea. The sit tight syndrome of leaders like Paul Biya and others who are stooges in her former colonies.explains why France is still holding sway in her former colonies. Again the military pact makes the leaders in those countries to become toys in the hands of their colonial fathers because they will no longer be protected if they refuse to dance to their tune. This explains the aggregate and proximate power possessed by France against coastal states in the Gulf of Guinea who are not her former colonies. Again, France has offensive capabilities and intentions against even its former colonies that may want to block its access to oil and gas supplies from the Gulf of Guinea.

Portugal is another European power that poses threat to resource security in the Gulf of Guinea. It has been reported that Portugal has Marine and Patrol Vessels in Sao Tome and Principe (Gbanite 2004). This is not unconnected with the presence of Crude oil in this small country which is part of Gulf of Guinea.

The Joint Development Zone between Nigeria and Sao Tome and Principe could be the interest of Portugal and heritary presence is a threat to the National Security of both countries because of its aggregate power which could be used to distort exploration activities. The marine and patrol vessels could be source of nightmare to the two countries because, they are likely to be collecting intelligence report using the military equipment with advanced technology that is beyond that of the countries of the Gulf of Guinea. Portugal is also supplying Sao Tome and Principe with military equipment/logistics. Moreover, as Portugal scrambles for space in the Gulf of Guinea so also are other European Powers portraying their aggregate power in this region and in case of clash of interest the region will be crisis ridden like the Persian Gulf and different factions will be raised in coastal communities and supported to make the place ungovernable.

Russia, Taiwan and Ukarian are competing to supply Angola, Sao Tome and Principe and Equatorial Guinea with military logistics (Gbanite 2004). These countries being supplied military logistics are at the heart of the Gulf of Guinea. The scramble for oil is also the major reason for this and this kind of competition will just fuel crisis which will in turn make the region unsuitable for investment. Furthermore, Libya too portrays her threat to resource security in the Gulf of Guinea through the donation of highly equipped training patrol boats to Sao Tome and Principe. These uncoordinated military aid could set the region ablaze if not controlled.

China and the United States are the countries presently competing for supply of oil to their industries. They have both employed military components as strategy for pursuing their energy security policy which to them is a national security matter. In case of China Gbanite (2004:31) reports that "China is also known to have increased its presence and activities in Cameroon and Equatorial Guinea by gradually taking over the complete training and weapons supply of both countries Armed Forces and Navy". Furthermore, Pan (2006) reports that the Peoples Republic of China provided military training and heavy military equipment to Equatorial Guinea, because of her oil reserve. Chau (2007:39) reports that

*In October 2005, the PRC donated \$2 million worth of military equipment to the Nigerian Armed Forces. A team of 21 Chinese was expected to train Nigerian personnel in Nigeria in the use of equipment such as Computers, Airfield Sweeper vehicles, Emergency navigational and light vehicles, and deep sea diving equipment.*

Furthermore, China's approach to energy security in Nigeria came up because according to Chau (2007:42-43) 'In early 2006, Nigeria Security source said the PRC (Peoples Republic of China) was becoming one of Nigeria main supplier of military hard ware. They said new supply of military hardware would include dozens of patrol boats to secure the swamps and energy in Niger Delta.' The partnership between Nigeria and China is a strategy for securing oil supplies to China and she perceives this as an effective plan against perceived threats from the United States and other industrialized nations in Europe. However, the hazard is that most of the aid is just handed over to Nigeria or other Nations in the Gulf of Guinea without having an understanding of how aid could benefit them in the long run, as such they constitute threat to resources security in the region. The Chinese Government also donated a ship christened NNS Centenary to the Nigeria Navy. The ship will be received by the Nigerian Navy in July 2014 (Nwosu 2014).

Consequently if China continues to train the Nigerian armed forces personnel, the country is not likely to develop its own capacity in the military because it will rely on the nation's giving it support. Again, in terms of military equipment she might not develop her capacity to produce them as such dependence on the foreign military procurement will continue to pose threat to resources security in the Gulf of Guinea. Again, China has been accused of clandestine activities in the Gulf Guinea. Winstone, Boltan and Gore (2007:23) report that "China was the target of criticism for its activities in Gabon, when it was revealed that its oil company, Sinopec had been prospecting illegally for oil, and dynamiting and clearing large tracts of land". This is the kind of illegal activities carried out by industrialized or industrializing oil consuming nations in the Gulf of Guinea but very few cases are being uncovered. Aagreements signed by China in the

oil and Gas sector in Africa (Gulf of Guinea in particular) are time bombs waiting to explode. This is because Richard Heinberg (n.d) argues that:

*American Strategists would prefer to avoid direct confrontation as China's increase share of the global economy and its massive productions of export goods for the US market ensure that open conflict would inevitably harm both sides. Nevertheless, since China is capable of absorbing a quickly growing share of the available global oil export, economic and possibly military conflict with the US is likely sooner or later.*

Heinberg's Warning is a foresight due to the hindsight of what happened during the Cold War. Proxy wars will be fought within and among the countries of the Gulf of Guinea and warring factions will be supported by either the US or China in the nearest future if their confrontation heightens. The evidence to this build up could be observed in China's naval modernization and aircraft carrier development program which is likely to take off between 2015 and 2020 (Johnston, 2008:60-61).

Threats to resource security posed by China in the Gulf of Guinea could be predicted in a short and long term from the foregoing explanation. All multilateral arrangements made by countries in the Gulf of Guinea may not succeed if the sources of these threats are not attended to.

The perceived threat to energy security of the US is responsible for her employment of military component in order to guarantee security of supplies to her industries. Given this dominant interest of the US, Lubeck, Watts and Lipschutz (2007: 10) posit that

*After 9/11, American energy security was overtaken by and slowly merged with the amorphous, borderless GWOT. Active counter terrorism displaced earlier emphasis on training for peacekeeping and human rights. Fears that China is gaining control over African energy resources e.g. Angola are important to the new emphasis on securitization of energy policy, as well as bureaucratic competition for control over resources among the regional commands of the US military.*

The combat commands of the United States which were product of the cold war began to scramble for the control of African as their sphere of influence due to their search for relevance in terms of the commodity needed by their country to survive. The European Command (EUCOM) with its headquarters in Stuttgart (Germany) shifted its attention to counter-terrorism in Africa. This is because of American's shift to global war on terror which is a reaction to the September 11 terrorist attack on the US. Donald Rumsfeld (former defense secretary of the US) designed a strategic doctrine tagged force transformation. The doctrine based its emphasis on "mobile, lean, flexible forces rotating through a network of lilly pads, located close to conflict centre..." (Lubeck, Watts and Lipschutz, 2007:10). The US Defense Department, Pentagon designed several initiatives for her engagement in the Gulf of Guinea in order to guarantee the supply of oil to her industries. They are:

- (a) Gulf of Guinea Coast Guard
- (b) Pan-Sahel Initiative
- (c) Trans-Sahara Counter Terrorism Initiative and
- (d) Gulf of Guinea Energy Security Strategy

All these initiatives are pursued by the US Military in the Gulf of Guinea to secure sources of energy as observed by Lubeck, Watts and Lipschuez, (2007:15):

*...US military involvement in West Africa has only mushroomed since 2001, focusing on three broad goals: (i) getting U.S. Forces on the ground in order to advise and upgrade the regions militaries in support of the GWOT (ii) Establishing marine dominance in the Gulf in order to secure offshore oil installations and, if necessary, unilaterally defending American energy assets; and (iii) Bridging or subcontracting access to new air and Naval bases, to provide both forward supplies, surveillance and air cover capabilities. As EUCOM's General Jones recently told the Wall Street Journal, "Africa Plays an increased strategic role militarily, economically and politically..." for his command, which now spend '70% percent of its time and energy on Africa...up from nearly none when he took it over three-plus years ago.*

Since Nigeria has about 60% of oil deposit in the Gulf of Guinea, General Jones claimed that the US directed its policy on the prevention of terrorists from extending to Nigeria from the North. Lubeck, Watts and Lipschutz (2007:17) report that

.Nigeria with international Islamic Terrorism.

Contrary to the claims made by the Defense Department of the US, Lubeck, Watts and Lipschueuz (2001:13) report that

*Maya Rockeyamoore of Trans Africa forum argues that 'the United States is creating this (military) build-up under the guise of counter-terrorism. The reality is they're protecting the oil resources from encroachment of other nations that are also interested in the oil, such as China. But a naked oil security strategy is too cynical, even for politicians and generals to defend overtly. Hence, the public relations face put on the GWOT's dispatch of Marine and Special Forces to train and advise local armies to police these vast "ungoverned spaces" is rationalized by the claim that terrorists affiliated with Al- Qaeda are threatening American Strategic Interests in Northwest and West Africa.*

Again, the glaring threat to resource security in the Gulf of Guinea due to United State posture of self help is evident in the report by Lubeck, Watts and Lipschutz (2007:15)

*And local hostility to US base in countries like Nigeria has, thus far, prevented EUCOM from establishing a "Forward Operation Base" in West Africa as they have established in Djibouti. Given these constraints, EUCOM has pursued intervention through, training equipping and activity advising West African Militaries all in the name of the GWOT. This also allows the command to put private contractors, special forces operatives, intelligence agent and support troops on the ground, ostensibly for training, but also for gathering human intelligence, building "interoperability" with local army units as well as for providing cover for clandestine missions.*

Before hostilities of indigenous people in the oil providing communities in the Gulf of Guinea against American's Operation of Naval Forward base and the response by the European Command Lubeck, Watts and Lipschutz (2007:16) again argue that:

*Even while the Navy laments a shortage of ships and resources, the American Naval Presence in the Gulf has continued to grow. According to Navy Captain Thomas Summer Rowden, head of a 6<sup>th</sup> Fleet Task Forces on the Gulf of Guinea, US Military activity in the Gulf increased exponentially "from almost no activity in 2004 to 130 'ship days in 2005" with more planned for in 2006. His forces have worked with navies of Sierra Leone, Congo, Cameroon, Angola, Equatorial Guinea, Benin, Sao Tome and Principe, Liberia, Gabon, Cape Verde, Senegal and Ghana.*

Given the trend of US manoeuvres in the pursuit of her interest in the Gulf of Guinea the US Marine Corps also designed a programme which was also supposed to step up US dominance in the region, Lubert, Watts and Lipschutz further report that:

*The Marine Corps is also gearing up for growth in its Africa Deployment. In January 2006, the Marine research centre at Quantico sponsored a conference attended by over 130 participants on "The 21<sup>st</sup> Century Marine in West and Central Africa". The conference report reads like a recruitment proposal or "jobs fair" detailing the specializations required in Africa. Not to be missed, either is an informative conference presentation entitled "marines in Africa-now and in the future "which provides mandate but nitty- gritty information about job opportunities prior deployments, upcoming trainings, joint task forces, and overall goals for fighting terrorism in West Africa.*

In 2007 the US government set up the African Command and restricted the European command to the European Continent. AFRICOM commenced with 1200 to 1500 range of military personnel and \$51 million was budgeted for the 2007 financial year. About \$75.1 million was budgeted for the 2008 financial year. The American Navy is more active in the idea of AFRICOM because the command's major aim was the security of energy resources in the Gulf of Guinea. This is why the Global Fleet station was formed to begin the implementation of the unified defence policy plan.

Mills, McNamee, Lorenzo and Uttley (2007), outline the focus of the US on AFRICOM regarding security of energy expected to flow to its domestic industries:

- a. Border security and control. This involves naval patrol capabilities and technology to regulate movement of people as well as flow of trade.
- b. African Contingency Operation Training and Assistance. \$40-50million annual peace keeping training programme has trained over 92,000 military personnel in Africa.
- c. Excess Defence Article Programme: The programme involves ad hoc transfer of military equipment to countries in Africa. For instance the transfer of coastal patrol vessels to Nigeria and other equipment to some other African countries.
- d. Foreign Military Finance Programme: The programme is about bilateral equipment purchase. About \$ 20-30 million is usually available for bilateral equipment purchase including maintenance and training
- e. National Guard State Partnership. This is a military-to-military training partnership. National Guard Units of the US are paired with those of African countries. For instance Nigeria paired with California, Ghana with North-Dakota, and South Africa with New York.
- f. Gulf of Guinea Program: the US budgeted \$30 million in 2007 to establish regional naval capabilities.
- g. Trans-Sahara Counter-Terrorism Program: an initiative for capacity and cooperation against terrorism. About \$150 million was spent in 2005 and about \$ 300 million will be spent up to the end of 2010.

Prior to the creation of AFRICOM, a bipartisan task force report titled: *The Geopolitics of Energy* published in November 2000 by the Washington-based Center for Strategic and International Studies pointed out that “the United States, as the world's only superpower, must accept its special responsibilities for preserving access to worldwide energy supply” (Klare 2007:3). The mind-set exhibited in this situation was induced by President Jimmy Carter in January 1980 when he declared that “any means necessary, including military force” will be used to overcome any hostile power that tried to block the flow of oil in the global market (Klare 2007: 3). This is what is known today as Carter Doctrine.

In line with the foregoing thought, President George Bush in 2007 extended the Carter Doctrine to West Africa. In the face of unrest in the Niger Delta of Nigeria, there were disruptions to oil production and that led to the drop in number of barrels produced per day. To address this problem, the Department of Defence in the US provided the “Nigerian military and internal security forces with substantial arms and equipment with the intention that it will quell unrest in the Delta Region (Klare 2007:3). For instance the United States Coast Guard vessel tagged Cutter Chase was donated to the Nigerian Navy and re-commissioned to NNS Thunder after refurbishment in February 2012 (Ukeje and Ela 2013). This donation is not without interest in access to oil in Nigeria.

Again, contrary to the idea of helping Nigeria to control the activities of criminal elements in the Niger Delta, Foster (2007:3) argues that the step taken is a grand strategy of the United States to control resources. He argues that:

*It is now widely acknowledged that the world is undergoing a global economic transformation. Not only is the growth rate of the world economy as a whole slowing, but the relative economic strength of the United States is continuing to weaken. In 1950 the United States accounted for about half of world GDP, falling to a little over a fifth by 2003. Likewise it accounted for almost half of the world's stock of global foreign direct investment in 1960, compared to a little over 20 percent at the beginning of this century. According to projections of Goldman Sachs, China could overtake the United States as the world's largest economy by 2039. This growing threat to U.S. power is fueling Washington's obsession with laying the groundwork for a “New American Century.” Its current interventionism is aimed at taking advantage of its present short-term economic and military primacy to secure strategic assets that will provide long-term guarantees of global supremacy. The goal is to extend U.S. power directly while depriving potential competitors of those vital strategic assets that might allow them eventually to challenge it globally or even within particular regions.*

Based on the position of Foster, threats to resources security in the Gulf of Guinea could be traced to the externally fuelled centrifugal forces that indirectly control various military and security organizations in oil producing states of the region.

### Conclusion

The notion that states act on their perceived national interest in terms of military security has exposed the oil producing countries of the Gulf of Guinea to power relations and control by external powers like the United States of America and China. These external powers assume that countries in the region are incapable of forming regimes to secure their oil resources as such cannot escape from anarchy that prevails in the international system. This is against the background that oil is a resource that they all need to sustain their economy through industrial activities. Moral restraint is far from it because it is needed for continuous existence of these oil consuming nations.

Furthermore, the strongest navy in the Gulf of Guinea is the Nigerian Navy. It is challenged by the problem of resource security in the midst of great and emergent powers scrambling for oil resource in the maritime domain of the Gulf of Guinea. This is because it has just 35% capacity to police the Exclusive Economic Zone of the Gulf of Guinea. This translates to 60% to 65% 12nm territorial waters and about 188nm of 200nm is left to external maritime powers to secure. In the assumption that anarchy prevails where there is no central authority that commands obedience, the external powers justify their presence in the international waters of Gulf of Guinea. Since the Nigerian Navy cannot match great naval powers that are scrambling for oil in the Gulf of Guinea maritime domain it means that the domination and scramble has no end in sight.

The Nigerian government along with other countries of the Gulf of Guinea have to move beyond ordinary joint naval exercises to upgrade their naval capabilities by building ships and conducting jointly sponsored research on and security projects on how to secure the region from the control of external powers whose interest are solely for the oil and gas expected to power their industries.

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## Analysis of the Nigerian School System, Counseling and Labor Quality and the Need for Paradigm Shift Towards Entrepreneurship.

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### Abstract

Statistics on Nigeria's resource use and employment have revealed a lack of ideal correlation between the school system and human capital generation which generally drives individual and national development and employment. In the labor market, a disproportionate number of Nigerian school graduates are deemed unemployable, particularly the organized private sector, due to, among others, lack of usable skills, right knowledge and attitudes. The seeming quality gap is usually linked to what some researchers identify as a faulty school system. This empirical research profiled the school system, counseling and state of unemployment in Nigeria. Utilizing the survey method, in-depth interviews and official records for understanding issues involved towards remediation and improving graduate skills and marketability. It observed inadequacy of vocational schools, counseling contents and weak institutional support capable of growing employable human capital with skills, knowledge and attitudes suitable for modernity. Among others, it recommended prioritization of vocational facilities with trained students counselors and adequate educational funding for employment generation.

**Key words:** vocation, students counseling, skills, employment and entrepreneurship.

### Introduction

As a follow-up to initial socialization, individuals, particularly children and youths, receive various forms of education from the school system towards equipping themselves for future roles in society. Achieved statuses inevitably form the fulcrum for adapting to the modern world's functional institutional arrangements, without which, skill, attitudes and behavior patterns cannot be cultivated by individuals to compete in the professions and various callings. Analyzing the tertiary segment of education in Nigeria, Ozorji (2014) observes that universities have been criticized for graduating products who are not employable, whose skills and knowledge are below form and who cannot defend the certificates they carry.

The school system –cum labor quality outcome is naturally, labor productivity, particularly in non-monopolistic ventures where profit maximization and customer retention are key pillars of business. From economic perspective, Dokpesi (2015) observes that labor productivity in Nigeria has always been reported as being low due to low quality labor which some employers attribute to, among other factors, low quality education. Labor productivity is the amount of labor impute required to produce a unit of output. Nigeria's debased economy is viewed as the largest in Africa even as at 2017, yet, its labor quality has been revealed as being abysmally non-competitive with regard to other economies. Comparatively, Dokpesi (2015) observes labor productivity in Russia, Brazil and Turkey as being much higher than in Nigeria. In 2012, the following productivity rates were recorded: Turkey \$28.9/hour, Russia \$24/hour, Brazil \$10.7/hour, USA \$64.1/hour, Norway \$86.5/hour, UK \$48.5 and Nigeria \$3.5/hour.

Thus, labor productivity seems to align with Ozorji (2014) as deriving from lack of quality education. These are difficulties identified over time by small and medium scale business owners in particular.

The World Bank Group (2016) report on Nigeria, in an in-depth analysis of its labor market, notes the diversity across its geographical areas, sectors and demographic groups. It examines Nigeria's complex labor market to explore how better jobs and income earning opportunities could form the basis for more diversified growth, more evenly distributed poverty reduction and social cohesion. The result points to a distinct polarization that will require accelerated structural re-arrangements to significantly

increase productive employment opportunities. The report observes what it calls 'business as usual' and a Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth that is fostering the emergence of "two Nigerians", one in which high and diversified growth provides more jobs and income opportunities to a small share of the population, and one in which workers are trapped in low productivity and more traditional subsistence activities. This polarization was also observed geographically with the report revealing a divide between Northern Nigeria which has low levels of educational access and high youth unemployment, and Southern Nigeria, where jobs and income opportunities are concentrated. The report thus suggests a correlation between education as an independent variable and such concepts as youth unemployment, low productivity and income as dependent variables.

Very vital suggestions were made as reasons for the polarization and solution towards skill building and facilitation process for school products marketability: On education, Nigeria needs to improve basic skill levels and build better policies and programmes that would boost access and market relevance of technical and vocational education and training (World Bank, 2016). Low labor marketability is the driver of under-employment and unemployment where tertiary institution's graduates engage in jobs meant for high school products, with many of them teaching in primary schools and some working as shop attendants, security guards and some engage themselves as home tutors.

Under-employment and unemployment of migrants have often been attributed to migrants' lack of human capital skills and or cultural and social capital endowments. In the 1960s, to achieve a competitive edge in the global economy, and sustain its population growth, Canada implemented a point system to attract migrants with desirable education and work experience (Green and Green, 1999). Since this policy shift, the demography of migrant cohorts has changed. Currently, skilled migrants, i. e. migrants selected through the point system by virtue of their educational backgrounds and occupational experiences, account for more than 50% of all migrants to Canada (CIC, 2011). A common belief is that recent migrants' labor market outcomes are impeded by their lack of human capital skills (Boyd, 1990). In their research on effects of literacy on migrant's earnings, Ferrer, Green and Riddell (2005) also attribute this migrant dilemma to "Canadian economy usable" kind of literacy. Such workers qualities are found to be low and unsuitable for employment and hence they attract low jobs and pays. The National Policy on Education (5<sup>th</sup> ed. 2007) has a bold statement, among others, that education should lead to development of appropriate skills, mental, physical and social abilities and competences of empowering the individual to live in and contribute positively to society.

Despite the above policy statement and various related statutory enactments by both the military and civilian governments on functional skill building and employment targeted education in Nigeria, graduates productivity quality gaps still exist which need identification and analysis. This paper takes this challenge through investigating how the paradox of official enactments and supposed re-mediation social actions, over the decades, produce the present school-labor quality void. The outcome will feed on-going research efforts towards improving the educational system, labor quality, employment, entrepreneurship and hence national development and social order. It utilizes the survey method and official records. The paper comprises the following sections; introduction, review of relevant literature and theoretical framework, methodology, findings from data analysis, discussion, recommendations and conclusion.

### **Review Of Literature**

The conceptual framework explored in this chapter is the interrelationship of the school system, students' counseling and graduate or labor quality which determines their marketability in employment situations and entrepreneurship. Literature is replete with this perspective. Education acquired through the school system is the starting point in this linkage.

According to Kobiowo (2009), schools principally perform three functions; developing the cognitive faculties of pupils, cultivating socially approved attitudes and modes of behavior and training for particular vocational roles. However, he emphasizes that societies have three images of schools

depending on their socio-cultural and political orientations and these include: a dynamic active set of partners in social change and cultural transformation, instruments of ideological dominant political and economic groups and repositories of traditional values. Education in Nigeria was mainly Western-cum Christian and Islamic focused in Southern Nigeria and Northern Nigeria respectively during the colonial period. The trend exists today, especially at the primary and secondary levels.

Writing on education sector developmental milestones, challenges and prospects, Ashby (1960), documented Nigeria's educational problems on attainment of independence and highlighted some educational development issues like curriculum lacking in science and technology, fragmented educational management, few specialized professions and support services, lack of qualified teachers in technical education, regional imbalances in educational access and attainment and a national education policy. Adeyanju (2014), citing Adesola (2002), observes that in 1966, there were 73 technical and vocational education (TVE) trade centers, crafts and technical institutes with pupil enrolment of 15,509 out of which 1,412 were females. Like the secondary sub-sector, shortage of technical instructors and high running costs were then, as at now, the bane of TVE programme (Adeyanju, 2014).

The above revelations therefore to a large extent explain why skill based graduates or labor quality from our secondary and vocational schools do not possess quality skills, knowledge and attitudes for employment as lower and middle level manpower by many private sector employers that emphasize quality labor in pursuit of corporate profitability, which is primarily the motivation for business ventures. Further, such a situation can hardly encourage graduate entrepreneurship, since the basic principles, rules and practices of entrepreneurial education are lacking. This has the tendency to fuel and grow unemployment.

Quality curriculum should control educational standards to ensure relevance and synergy in the productive process to avoid resource wastes, product rejects and profit downturns. The 1969 National Curriculum Conference, among others, highlighted the philosophy of Nigeria's education, the introduction of guidance and counseling, a diversified curriculum with pre-vocational, vocational and technical subjects and other features, including the 6-3-3-4 system. The Federal Ministry of Education (2007) published the National Policy on Education and emphasized, among others, the provision of vocational and technical subjects, even from the basic level, diversified curriculum and guidance and counseling. Thus, it lays emphasis on and targets production of technicians and technologists to drive the nation's development in a globalized world. If well implemented, secondary and tertiary school graduates should reflect quality in terms of needed skills, attitudes and behaviors.

The deduction from the foregoing is that before 1969, there was no articulated national curriculum that would have prescribed and regulated on educational curriculum direction to enhance not only uniformity, but also minimum standards of contents. Further, the absence of guidance and counseling, as deducible from the 1969 conference meant abandonment of students to their fate on challenges impinging on their studies, without counseling. Counseling is the practice or profession of applying psychological theories and communication skills to clients' personal problems, concerns and aspirations. Some form of counseling also include advice-giving, but the dominant ethos is one of facilitation, without directive guidance (Coleman, 2003). Counseling psychologists deal with problems of adjustments and life stress that do not involve mental illness such as stress related to scholastic, marital and occupational problems. Most colleges have staff members who specialize in problems special to students, such as test anxiety, learning disorders, sleep problems, and family issues (Gazzaniga, Heatherton and Halpen, 2010). Educational psychology, an applied psychology, deals with education and specifically facilitating students' adjustment to academic and related life. Coleman (2003) posits that the work of the educational psychologist involves the diagnosis and treatment of educational, emotional, and behavioral problems in children of all ages up to the late tens. Major organizations have found it worthwhile to invest in stress counseling but this is almost non-existent in most Nigerian organizations (Ogumbameru, 2008 p. 375).

In his research on university education in Nigeria, Ozorji (2014) highlighted some psycho-social infrastructure issues facing students such as:

*Students with special needs often do not receive support services that enable them benefit from Core University experiences...students often encounter learning challenges some of which make*

*them overstay in their various programmes...Often, they are not properly guided, staff are not friendly to them, senior member of teaching and non-teaching staff do not offer mentorship services...To what extent are level coordinators friendly to students in handling their academic problems? (Ozorji, 2014).*

The author believes that the challenges facing Nigerian university products predispose them towards lack of competitiveness in terms of quality output. He recommends, among others, provision of psycho-social infrastructure that is people-oriented and based on interactive empathy. Expectedly, low quality graduates are produced by the secondary and vocational as well as the tertiary institutions where psycho-social and relevant infrastructures are lacking. Consequently, they often encounter rejection in the labor market. Hence the Federal Ministry of Education (2014) Conference in March 2002 on Higher Education, cited by Adeyanju (2014) observed:

*Participants observed the need to refocus the mission and vision of higher education to make its curriculum relevant, proactive and sensitive to the challenges of globalization...Thousands of unemployed and under-employed unemployable graduates roam the unemployable job market with very little skills to offer...Their education has not been job oriented, nor has it prepared them for self-employment (Adeyanju, 2014).*

Consequently, the level of entrepreneurship among the youth is low. Egbo (2009) defines entrepreneurship as a process of creating wealth by bringing together resources in new ways to start a venture that benefits customers and rewards its founders for the innovation. It is the characteristic which an entrepreneur possesses, and is the prime-mover of industrial development. It has the ability to raise productivity through various forms of innovation and to create jobs through the formation of new enterprises, especially small and medium scale enterprises.

The foregoing therefor reveals that the school system, the environment and the government do not effectively support and drive quality labor output from the educational system, hence the relatively low entrepreneurship, thus facilitating unemployment.

### **Theoretical Framework**

The multi-dimensional approach to entrepreneurship is used to explain the conceptual framework on the relationship between the school system, students' counseling and graduate or labor quality which determines their marketability in employment situations and entrepreneurship. The multidimensional approach was developed by Bradley (1990) and locates entrepreneurship in the cluster of the individual, environment, the organization and venture process where each factor has many attributes. The individual component deals with the initial need for achievement, focus and risk mentality, education, age and other attributes. The environmental factors involve the necessary imputes such as government influences, proximity of educational institutions, technical skills, markets etc. The organization aspect involves its internal mission, vision, adaptation, market and related forces. The process involves production planning, production and distribution dynamics.

Thus, this approach is a dynamic multi-faced and interactive process of a pool of individual initiatives in adaptive relationship with other systems and institutions. This approach leads us to draw a conclusion that the Nigeria school system due to limiting factors, particularly from the environment and government, does not adequately counsel and prepare students for high level skills acquisition for employment in modern organization and entrepreneurship.

### **Methodology**

This section of the paper is structured as follows: study location, population sample, sampling techniques, data collection and analysis.

**Study Location**

The study was carried out in Abuja, at the National Youths Service Corps (NYSC) corporate headquarters. Established in 1973 by the Yakubu Gowon military administration, its objectives as contained in Decree No 51, 16 June, 1993, among others, include: Inculcating in Nigerian youths the ideals of national achievement, accelerated growth of the national economy, and skills for self-improvement. The one year programme specifically targets foreign and Nigerian tertiary institutions (universities and polytechnics) graduates below 30 years.

**Sample population**

The total number of registered graduates was 244,532 generated from Nigeria's 40 federal, 40 state and 62 private universities, and also from 25 federal, 40 state and 32 private polytechnics as at march, 2016., from its initial 2,364 graduates at inception in 1973 (News Herald, 2016). This research focused on the youth corps members. The rationale for focusing on the graduates was that as the main beneficiaries of the school system, they have opinions, more than other stakeholders on the dimensions of the Nigerian school system, the place of counseling and related learning challenges in context of the subject matter.

**Sampling technique**

A sample population of only 120 Nigerian trained graduates was drawn for sampling. National survey samples range from 1,000 while regional samples range from 50 to 1000 (Drew and Hardman, 1996). This makes the sample adequate. Foreign graduates were eliminated because they might not adequately understand the Nigerian school system as their locally trained counterparts.

The purposive sampling technique was employed to sample the 120 respondents as they daily visited the office for official business. As cohorts who normally wear the service uniforms, they were easily identified. Once identified at the reception area, and since all of them have the probability of being sampled, they were politely introduced to the research topic. A vast majority of them willingly volunteered to be sampled. Respondents were sampled at the office reception as they walked in. Majority of the questionnaire were collected later on the respondents' exist. Only 113 questionnaires were returned while 3 were invalid. Only 110 questionnaires were therefore analyzed. Three research assistants were used for data collection which lasted for three days in March, 2017.

**Data collection**

Data was collected through the use of questionnaires. The questionnaires contained mainly structured questions and a few unstructured one with focus on the study objectives. Reliability and validity tests were done in the same office in February, 2017 and necessary adjustments were made, where necessary.

**DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS**

**Table 1. Respondents' background data**

Age			Religion			Education			Geo-political Zonal Distr.		
Group	Fre	%	Group	Fre	%	Ed.Level	Fre	%	Zone	Fre	%
<21	4	3.6	Christianity	72	65.5	HND	25	22.7	NE	4	3.6
21-25	56	50.9	Muslim	30	27.2	BA/BSC	81	73.6	NW	6	5.5
26-30	50	45.45	Others	8	7.2	PG	4	3.6	NC	10	9.1
									SE	40	36.4
									SW	41	37.3
									SS	9	8.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>1001</b>		<b>110</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 1 data reveal that 51% of the respondents' mean age is between 21 and 25 years, largely Christians with almost three quarters being holders of bachelor's degrees. Three quarters of the respondents were from the South East and South West geopolitical zones which confirms the World Bank Group (2016) report that the North has less access to education than the South. This north-south imbalance in access to education has the implication of generating north-south imbalances in employment, wealth and poverty distributions.

**Table 2. Respondent's attitudes towards educational resource availability and quality**

Voc. schools available			Secondary schools			Tertiary			School. Curriculum			Physical facilities		
Availability	Fre.	%	Avail.	Fre.	%	Avail.	Fre.	%	Quality	Fre.	%	Avail.	Fre.	%
V.adequate	1	.9	V adeq.	8	7.3	V adeq.	9	8.2	V.adeq.	7	6.4	V adeq.	10	9.1
Adequate	17	15.5	Adeq.	10	9.1	Adeq.	11	10	Adequate	15	13.6	Adeq.	17	15.5
Inadequate	60	54.5	Inadeq.	70	64	Inadeq.	71	65	Invadeq.	68	61.8	Invadeq.	63	57.3
V. inad.(VI)	30	27.3	V.Inad.	21	19.1	VI	18	16.4	VInadeq.	17	15.5	VInadq.	12	10.9
Negligible	2	2	Negl.	1	.9	Negl	1	.9	Negl	3	2.7	Negli.	8	7.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>100</b>

From table 2 data, respondents express inadequacies of vocational and secondary schools as well as tertiary institutions with 55, 64 and 65 percent ratings respectively. This confirms Adeyanju (2014): Nigeria's universities offered only 16.6 percent annual average admission to qualified candidates annually between 2008 and 2012. In terms of physical facilities, 57 percent of the respondents rated them as inadequate. Equally only 14 percent rated the curriculum as adequate while 62 percent rated them as inadequate. The results indicate conditions of lack of access to education for the mass population, insufficiency of learning tools, including classrooms, laboratories and curriculum that is hardly targeted towards skills acquisition for graduates, thus fostering low quality graduates.

**Table 3. Respondents' attitudes towards students' emotional stability needs**

Counseling needs			Counseling availability			Quality of counseling			Attitude of counselors		
Need level	Fre	%	Avail	Fre	%	Quality	Fre	%	Quality	Fre.	%
V. High	60	54.5	V.H. avail	0	0	V. good	3	2.7	V good	11	10
High	35	31.8	H avail	0	0	Good	20	18.2	Good	30	27.3
Needed	15	13.6	Available	40	36.4	Average.	46	41.8	Average	53	48
Unneeded	0	0	Negligible.	67	60.9	Bad	38	34.6	Bad	11	10
indifferent.	0	100	Non avail	3	2.7	V. bad	3	2.7	V. bad	5	4.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>100</b>

From table 3, respondents highly need counseling (55 percent) but only 35 percent counseling is available. A total of 61 percent of the respondents stated that students counseling is negligible. In terms of quality, 42 percent rated it as average with 35 percent rating it as bad. Only 21 percent view counseling quality as good and very good.

Further, 48 percent and 27 percent of the respondents view their counselors' attitudes as average and good. Only 37 percent of the respondents view the counselors in the good category. Students counseling quality is rated bad, but counselors' attitudes and the impact of the environment on their emotional stability have above average ratings. The counselors' attitude rating can be explained by students' sympathetic appreciation of the lecturers and counselors' persistent demand for systemic educational improvement which, effected, will benefit all stakeholders, including the students. The low impact factor can be explained from their responses that they are 'family' and 'self advised' (46 and 18 percent respectively). Traditionally, even before and after matriculation, many educated parents, relations and siblings usually offer parental advice to their children and young ones and communicate with them on common learning challenges. This has been facilitated by ICT penetration in Nigeria where almost every student has a telephone handset.

**Table 4. Respondents' attitudes on impact of school environment and how they cope**

Impact			Sources of counseling			Labor quality			Future plans		
Satisfaction Index	Fre	%	Sources	Fre	%	Quality	Fre	%	Items	Fre	%
Excellent	12.0	10.9	Family	50.0	45.5	Excellent	6.0	5.5	-	13.0	11.8
V good	16.0	14.5	Peers	10.0	9.0	V good	8.0	7.3	Self employ	35.0	31.8
Good	30.0	27.3	Counselors, Level Advs.	15.0	13.6	Good	50.0	45.5	Seek empl	50.0	45.5
Bad	42.0	38.2	Acad/non acad staff	15.0	13.6	Bad	32.0	29.1	Further studies	10.0	9.0
Very Bad	10.0	9.0	Self-advice	20.0	18.2	V.Adm.	14.0	12.7	Undecided	2.0	1.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>100</b>

Respondents view the impact of school environment, table 4, in the bad category, 47 percent. However, majority of the responses are categorized as positive (good and above), accounting for 52 percent of total responses on the impact of the environment on their emotional stability. This is a good rating, considering the general negative evaluation on the mainly physical environment in the proceeding table. This could be explained from their responses that they are 'family' and 'self-advised' (46 and 18 percent respectively). Many educated parents, relations and siblings, usually advise their children and young ones and communicate with them on common vital emotional and educational challenges and this has been facilitated by ICT penetration in Nigeria where almost every student has a telephone handset. Judging by their own standard, almost a consolidated 60 percent view themselves as qualified or good for employment (46, 7 and 6 as good, very good and excellent respectively). They might believe that whatever quality gaps that exist in their attainments could be easily bridged with work exposure and training. Thus, 46 percent would seek formal employment while 32 have the entrepreneurship confidence. Possibly, since only 46 percent feel good, quality wise, it prompted 12 percent inclination towards post NYSC professional training towards entrepreneurship.

**Table 5. Respondents' recommendations for improving the school system and graduates quality**

S/N	Items	Frequency	Percentage
1	Education to have the highest budget.	35.0	31.8
2	Got to priorities education with bias for tech. education	25 .0	22.7
3	Reduce corruption	20.0	18.2
4	Political offices/ political office holders emoluments	8.0	7.3
5	Reduce security cost	7.0	6.4
6	SUG empowerment to check corruption in schools	5.0	4.5
7	Public/private partnership in running education	3.0	2.7
8	Open more universities	4.0	3.6
9	Others	3.0	2.7
<b>Total</b>		<b>110</b>	<b>100</b>

From an open ended question, the respondents made recommendations for improving the school system and the quality of its graduates as recorded in table 5 above. The responses are presented in their rank order. Education should receive the highest budget, prioritization of technical education at all levels and reduction of systemic corruption record the highest scores of 32, 23 and 18 percent respectively with a consolidated 73 percent. Thus, respondents believe that emphasis on education generally, specifically technical education, with highest budgetary allocation of all ministerial allocations, will reduce the problem of quality and quality gaps in the system, more so, if the programming and expenditure patterns are corruption free. Education and training should always be prioritized as facilitators for human empowerment and national development.

### **Recommendations and Conclusion**

Having investigated NYSC members on the school system, with emphasis on technical and vocational education at all levels in Nigeria and how these have impacted on them in terms of knowledge, skills and attitudes acquired, based on the results obtained and discussion made, the following recommendations and conclusions are proffered.

- i. Government should drive human capital development as the regulator of all institutions
- ii. Education should receive the highest budgetary allocation.
- iii. All stages of educational project implementation (planning, up to monitoring and evaluation) should be insulated from narrow and divisive interests and politics.
- iv. Education experts or professionals, both serving and retired, should drive Nigeria's educational revolution, a sector that is in a near crisis condition.
- v. In a globalized and technology driven world, prioritization of vocational education should be pursued to facilitate production of quality or knowledgeable and skilled graduate for entrepreneurship and overall marketability.
- vi. Facilities availability (classrooms, laboratories, workshops, clinics etc.) and upgrade should be highly priority, to be determined by seasoned professionals.
- vii. Students' counseling and training of counselors should be issues of priority

In conclusion, Nigeria's human capital production is poor in quality and quantity and one of the means of improving the situation is by improving the main platform for production of knowledge, attitudes and

skills, the school system, formal, non-formal and informal. Government should have the political will to design and implement utilitarian policies and programmes that benefit the generality of the population, in the aspects of access to both vocational and general education, effective educational financing, quality students counseling and monitoring of projects devoid of corruption and politics.

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Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and  
Post Election Peace Building in Nigeria: A Comparative Study  
of 2011 and 2015 Presidential Elections

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**Abstract**

The credibility of any election is partly depending on the institution saddle with the responsibility of organizing and conducting election from the beginning to the end, which further determines or builds post-electoral environment of democratic societies to either be peaceful or otherwise. In Nigeria, efforts in building peaceful post-election environment have always been a major challenge from the First Republic, through the Second and aborted the Third Republic down to the Fourth Republic. In this regard, this paper aims to examine INEC's effort in post-election peace building in Nigeria, using comparative study of INEC's pre-election arrangement, election and post-election issues of 2011 and 2015 Presidential Elections, through a content method of data analysis. The analysis revealed that INEC had played a key role in building peace during and after 2011, and especially in 2015 presidential elections, through the introduction of biometric innovations in the electoral processes such as; biometric voters register, permanent voter's cards, biometric card readers as well as access to information by electorates on INEC website among others, thereby conducting a free, fair and credible election that is acceptable to the electorates. The paper concluded that INEC alone can serve as a peace building mechanism by providing a transparent electoral process, and therefore, recommended that INEC should continue to improve and strengthen the use of biometric measures in its forthcoming or subsequent election in the country.

**Keywords:** Democracy, Electoral Management Body, INEC, Election, Peace Building, Nigeria.

**Introduction**

Democracy is a system of government whereby eligible citizens choose a party candidate that is willing to represent their interest in the affairs of the state through elections, organized, managed and supervised by the electoral management body. Meaning that, in any democratic dispensation, electoral management body is the sine qua non for a breath and healthy living of democracy. As a matter of fact, there would be no democracy without electoral management body anywhere in the World. These trends resulted to different democracies, establishing different electoral institutions empowered by their different democratic constitutions to organize and conduct elections at both national and local levels.

In Nigeria, the powers and functions of electoral management body, as contained in part 1 of the Third Schedule of the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (as amended) are to register political parties, compile voters list as well as organize, undertake and supervise all elections into Federal and State offices (Ibrahim &Garuba, 2008). A part from the above roles mentioned, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) is one of the key actor and contributor in determining whether the post-election environment could be peaceful or otherwise (violent one).

This can be understood from two different episodes. First, the general elections in 2003 and 2007 which were widely criticised as largely flawed, and the Commission was generally held accountable for many of the flaws. Among the major problems identified with those elections were; badly compiled rolls

of voters, shoddy preparations for the elections, poor management of results, aloofness from stakeholders, seeming inability to control the negative actions of political parties and candidates, as well as outright vote rigging in some cases. Consequently, there was a widespread negative perception of the Commission and its capacity to conduct credible elections under the leadership of Dr. Abel Guobadia and Professor Maurice Iwu respectively. These created a serious burden on the post elections environment that led to the loss of lives, destruction of properties and displacement of many people (INEC, 2011).

Secondly, the 2011 general elections was conducted under the leadership of professor AttahiruJega, which is regarded by many observers as largely credible and well organized, with remarkable improvement in the conduct of the election, but despite all these, the process was not free from post-election violence, which robbed the shine off the electoral success (Bekoe, 2011; Orji & Uzodi, 2011). Similarly, the 2015 general election was conducted under the same leadership, and the election was highly commended by both domestic and international observers as not only the most credible and transparent since independence in Nigeria, but also violent free election with a lot of innovations. Most notably is the application of biometric measures that made the outcome of the presidential election unchallenged leading to a peaceful post-election environment.

As a matter of fact, what is well known to public is the primary responsibility of INEC as outlined by the constitution and the Act of the National Assembly. Very little is known about the role of INEC in post-election peace building. Therefore, the aim of this paper is to examine the role of INEC in post-election peace building in Nigeria, using a comparative analysis of 2011 and 2015 presidential elections. The study seeks to answer the following questions; what are the INEC contributions to post election peace building in Nigeria between 2011 and 2015? What type of arrangements INEC put in place to militate against post-election violence during this period? How does it help in post-election peace building in 2011 and 2015? To achieve these efforts, the paper is divided into four sessions; the first session deal with review of literatures on post-election peace building and theoretical issues, while the second part explores the historical perspectives of INEC and post-election peace building in Nigeria. The third session dwelled on the INEC and post-election peace building in Nigeria, using comparative study of 2011 and 2015 presidential elections. This part is subdivided into; INEC and pre- election arrangements, elections and post-election peace building, lastly, the conclusion and recommendations.

### **A Review Of Literature on Post-election Peace Building**

Elections particularly in Nigeria or Africa in general are always marred by post electoral violence i.e. Ethiopia 2005, Kenya 2007, Zimbabwe 2008, Cote d'Ivoire 2010, Democratic Republic of Congo 2011 and Nigeria 2011 were all victims of post-election violence at one period of time or another. In this regard, post-election peace building arrangements are constantly putting in place by the institutions saddle with responsibilities to conduct elections in order to secure a peaceful post-election environment. Atwood (2012), argued that to build up peace in any post-election democratic society, the capability and legitimacy of electoral commission is the first indicator that determines and shape a peaceful post-election environment. This is because an honest Electoral Management Body may be able to protect a vote even in difficult conditions. This view was admitted by Ahmed (2010), when acknowledging that the major cause of the post-election crisis in the 2007 Kenyan general election was the credibility of the Electoral Commission or rather lack of it, which make many Kenyans feels betrayed and led to the over two months of civil unrest throughout Kenya.

Atwood (2012) further argued that recent experience suggests that the Chief Election Commissioner can play a central role in building the post-election environment either to be good or ill. In line with the above, Huhne (2010) argued that the Chairman of Independent National Election Commission of Ghana Kwado Afari-Gyan and his colleagues demonstrated this during the 2008 general election, when they rushed around the country to mediate conflicts between candidates, parties and groups at the local as well as the national level, more importantly by announcing the interim results of the elections in a very well timed manner. More often than not, their actions matter a lot in building post-election peace in Ghana. In the same vein, Matlosa (n.d.) posited that if well managed by Electoral

Institutions, elections are also crucial instruments for conflict management and post-election peace building.

Magolowondo (2009) also believed that regular stakeholder meetings organised by many Electoral Institutions to discuss on how to conduct violence free elections are key ingredients to increasing political tolerance and building post-election peace in democratic states. To Onwudiwa&Berwind (2010), INEC remains an agency burdened by a cumbersome set of duties with regards to violence prevention, creation of the electoral reform commission and recommended electoral offenses commission could have been of particular advantage in reassuring the public that elections criminality will be investigated and punished, thereby facilitating a smooth post-election environment. However, the method adopted by INEC of announcing and releasing of election results to party and security agents as well as election observers, helps to reduce frustration and eases tension at polling units in many locations across the country (Independent Electoral Assessment Team, 2010). Moreover, the European Union Election Observation Mission (2015) observed that the attempt by INEC to improve the integrity of voter registration and identification by introducing biometric measures was to build confidence on the people in order to prevent post-election violence in Nigeria.

### **Theoretical Issues**

The term 'peace building' was first coined by Galtung (1975), a sociologist in his bid to promote and encourage sustainable peace across the world. He suggested that all social, economic, and political structures should be decentralized from bottom to top cited in (UN Peace building Report, 2012). Another proponent of the 'peace building' is John Paul Lederach (1997), who viewed the term from a different perspective, argued that, peace building should be attained by involving the grass root, local, governmental organization and institution, Non-governmental organizations (NGOs), state and international actors to create sustainable peace process at any level of the national and international activities. Therefore, as one of the Nigeria's governmental institutions, INEC empowered by the constitution to conduct elections for the sustainable peace and unity of the country.

As argued by Ismail (2006) many scholars seem to accept Lederach's (1997) perspective of peace building which he says should be approached in a triangular form. This assumption entails that "peace building involves the identification of the root cause of the conflicts, having a vision of the social and political structure and relationships desired as well as a transformation procedure from crisis to the desired change by transforming existing violence into constructive dialogue". Lederach (1997) further noted that representatives or leaders should be chosen from the three spheres of the society which is from the higher, middle and lower levels respectively, who will assist in maintaining and sustaining peace at the different levels of the society.

Another notable aspect of Lederach's perspective that is useful to this paper is the idea of training the representatives at every level as a means of achieving sustainable peace. These representatives could be from ethnic, religious, academic intellectuals, civil societies, social, economic and political sectors of the society. In its pre-election arrangements of 2011 and 2015 presidential elections, INEC organized workshops, seminars, symposiums among others, to educate and train representatives of various groups from the higher, middle and lower levels on how to build sustainable peace during and after the elections as well as learn about the implication and consequences of post-election violence. After the training, participants or representatives are expected to share their knowledge and skills acquired to their various communities through which peace building can be achieved and sustained before, during and after elections.

### **INEC and Post-election Peace Building in Nigeria: A Historical Perspective**

The existence of electoral management bodies (EMB) in Nigeria can be dated back to the period before independence when the Electoral Commission of Nigeria (ECN) was set up by the British Colonialists to conduct the 1959 elections. By the time Nigeria became politically independent in 1960 the Federal Electoral Commission (FEC) was established and conducted the general elections in 1964 and the western

region elections of 1965 which were marred by electoral frauds. However, the election malpractices and irregularities induced by FEC led to the crises in western region and the Military Coup d'etat of 1966 (Musa, 2001).

In 1978, the then Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo's Military Administration established another Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO) which conducted transitional election in 1979 and 1983 general elections. Although, the transitional election was supervised under the military administration which makes it less violence, but the general election conducted under the supervision of the then incumbent President Shehu Shagari witnessed many electoral malpractices and irregularities. For instance, Sunny, Aghemalo & Ezekwesiri (2014) observed that apart from the irregularities and malpractices manifested in the conduct of 1983 general elections, the election suffered logistic problems. Personnel and voting materials were not available on time in some areas or even not available at all. These led to the widespread of electoral violence, riots, arsons and killing of the prominent politicians especially in the western and Mid-western regions of the country. In December 1983, another military coup terminated the civilian regime and dissolved the commission as well.

In 1987, the Babangida Military Government set up the National Electoral Commission (NEC) which conducted elections in 1987, 1990, 1991 and 1993. The activities of NEC reached its zenith in 1993 with the conduct of the controversial presidential election which was later annulled by the then military Junta. NEC was dissolved on 17<sup>th</sup> November, 1993 with the coming into power of Abacha whose administration in 1995 established the National Electoral Commission of Nigeria (NECON) which also conducted Local Councils and National Assembly Elections. With the death of Gen. Sani Abacha in 1998, NECON was again dissolved by the new military government led by Gen. Abdulsalam Abubakar, which established the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) in August, 1998 that conducted the transitional elections of 1999 and till date (Musa, 2001).

The 1999 elections conducted by INEC do not provoke much violence for two major reasons; first it was supervised under the military administration, and secondly, the Nigerians were tired of military rule thereby accepting the general elections results. However, the administration and conduct of elections by INEC in 2003 under the leadership of Professor Mourice Iwu during the former President Obasanjo regime was characterised by different types of electoral frauds; ranging from ballot stuffing, intimidation, killing, and assassination among others. Both internal and external observers were unanimous on the unfairness of the competition in the electoral process which was manipulated by the so-called ruling party (PDP) (Samson & Abimbola, 2014).

In April, 2007, INEC conducted another general election under the same Chairman and ruling party that led to the emergence of late former President Alhaji Musa Yar'Adua, in May 29, 2007, who was from the same political party (PDP). But nevertheless, the electoral process that led to his emergence as president was highly condemned and criticized both within and outside the country. Samson & Abimbola (2014) argued that the 2007 election turned out to be the worst election conducted in the post colonial Nigeria, to which even the elected president in his inaugural speech acknowledge the frauds and irregularities during the electoral process. The non-partisanship of INEC which is supposed to be an independent and credible body was doubted more than ever because every aspect of the election was far from fair (Babatunde, 2014). This explained the role of INEC and how it contributed to post election violence during this period.

The conduct of 2011 general elections were generally accepted by both local and foreign observers to be partially fair when compared with the 2003 and 2007 general elections, although, under different leadership of both INEC and incumbent President who is from the same ruling party (PDP). But, the announcement of the 2011 Presidential election result by INEC chairman Prof Attahiru Jega in which the incumbent President Goodluck Jonathan of the PDP was declared the winner led to a serious post electoral violence especially in the Northern part of the country, where within just four days Human Rights Watch, recorded about 800 people were killed and over 65,000 people were found to be temporarily internally displaced apart from burning of places of religious worship, public buildings and the houses of politicians (HRW, 2011). However, the last 2015 general elections conducted by INEC

under the same leadership was successful and peaceful, especially with the introduction of new biometric innovations in the electoral process which make the election to be free, fair and credible thereby promoting a peaceful post-election environment.

### **INEC and pre-election Arrangement in 2011 and 2015 Presidential Elections**

The major issues in the pre-election periods of 2011 and 2015 presidential elections were interrogated under this section among which include; voters' registration, organizing seminars and sensitization programmes through the use of media, distribution of permanent voter cards, elections postponement, and recruitment of ad-hoc officials for the election exercise.

#### **Voters' Registration**

Few months to the 2011 general elections, INEC conducted registration of voters in all the 119, 973 Registration Centres in the country. The exercise was conducted for three weeks to enable all citizens who are of the required age to be registered properly (Nwafor, 2015). The voter's registration was biometric in nature in the sense that it has the picture, details and fingerprints of each voter, so that it can be easy to identify any eligible voter in the register and one can ask some simple security questions like age, date of birth etc, to ascertain doubtful voters. Therefore, a total of 74.6 million Nigerians were registered during the exercise (The Sheet, 2015).

The primary purpose behind the adoption of biometric voters register by INEC was to ensure transparency and avoid multiple voting during election that always tends to generate violence during and after election. Again, to prevent violence at all levels of the 2011 elections, INEC deleted 61, 681 voters who were found to be double registrants from the voters' register, and another 580,000 had no fingerprints in their Permanent Voters Cards (PVC), hence they were cancelled for the safety of the electoral environment. However due to the limited time to the election period, INEC had to issue a temporary voters cards for the 2011 presidential polls.

With the successful conduct of the 2011 elections, and in preparation for the 2015 elections, INEC continued the registration process to allow others who have attained the required age to be registered and those who were unable to register during the 2011 registration process. However, Section 20 of the Electoral Act 2010 (as amended) requires that INEC prepares and publishes a register of voters 30 days before the date scheduled for the election. Therefore, on January 13, 2015, INEC published a voters' register of 68,833,476 Nigerians that would be eligible to vote in 2015 presidential election (The Sun, 2015; This Day live, 2016). This formed the basis for free, fair and more credible polls in the 2015 presidential election.

#### **Organizing Seminars and Sensitization Programmes**

In a country with large population size and complexity like Nigeria, public enlightenment, sensitisation and voter education are circumscribed by enormous challenges. This notwithstanding, in the 2011 and 2015 presidential elections, INEC partnered with civil society organisations and other stakeholders to carry out sensitisation and voter education through organizing different seminars, workshops and symposiums on election time lines, advocacy for collection of PVCs, peaceful, non-violent conduct by all during and after elections, explanation about voting procedures as well as electoral regulations. Similarly, INEC also employed the use of multiple media channels and outlets for these activities, from radio, TV, newspapers, traditional media to on-line Internet resources. They also used posters, leaflets, handouts, etc (The Sun, 2015).

#### **Distribution of Permanent Voter Cards**

In the 2011 presidential election, temporary voter cards were issued to eligible voters by INEC due to the time factor. But by 2015 presidential election, INEC endeavoured to produce Permanent Voter Cards (PVCs) for all the voters on the register. It can be recalled that by Monday, February 2, 2015, INEC distributed a total number of 66, 323, 850 representing 96% of PVCs for the 36 states and FCT (The Sun, 2015). This gave the electorates confidence and also improved a peaceful conduct of the 2015 presidential election.

### **Postponement of the Elections**

In 2011, INEC postponed elections which earlier scheduled to be conducted as follows; The National Assembly Elections were scheduled for 2 April, 2011; Presidential Election on 9th April, 2011; while Governorship and State Assembly Elections were scheduled for 16th April, 2011. The change was actually due to logistics problems that made INEC to shift or re-schedule the elections as follows; the National Assembly, 9th April, 2011; Presidential Election 16th April, 2011; Governorship and State Assembly Elections 26th April, 2011; Kaduna and Bauchi Governorship Elections 28th April, 2011; Imo Governorship Elections 5th May, 2011 (INEC, 2011).

As a result of the letter written by the office of the National Security Adviser (NSA) stating that security could not be guaranteed during the proposed period of the 2015 general elections due to Boko Haram insurgency in four states of the Northeast (Borno, Yobe, Adamawa and Gombe), which was equally reinforced at the Council of State meeting involving all the Services Chiefs and heads of Intelligence agencies, who unanimously reiterated the same position and requested for at least six weeks within which to conclude all required military operation against the insurgency in the zone, INEC had to reschedule the 2015 presidential election to March 28, 2015. In his postponement speech, the INEC Chairman noted that inability of the INEC to distribute PVCs alone is enough reason to postpone the February, 2015 slated general elections, but further admitted that there are other salient issues that are critical to elections like security which is not under the control of INEC (The Net, 2016; The Nigerian Voice, 2015). Notwithstanding, the postponement contributed to the peace witnessed during and after the election, because many eligible voters were able to access their PVC's within the extension period, thereby given them the opportunity to vote.

### **Recruitment of INEC Ad-hoc Officials**

In the 2011 presidential election, INEC used five categories of ad-hoc staff namely; Returning Officers, Collation Officers, Supervisory Presiding Officers, Presiding Officers and Assistant Presiding Officers. Most of these categories of ad-hoc staff were recruited primarily from the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) scheme and the Staff of Federal Tertiary Institutions and other Federal Agencies. During the 2011 presidential election, an estimated of 368, 812 ad-hoc personnel were recruited mostly from NYSC and the stated institutions. In contrast with the 2015 presidential election, an estimated of 700, 000 ad-hoc staff were recruited from the same mentioned Scheme and Institutions (The Sun, 2015).

This gave birth to the establishment of an INEC-NYSC bi-lateral committee and the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between the Commission and NYSC Directorate. The MoU spelt out the mutually agreed commitments of the two agencies, especially on the recruitment, deployment, payment, welfare and disciplinary procedures of NYSC members that were engaged to undertake ad-hoc electoral duties on behalf of the Commission. Similarly, the crucial role played by University Staff in both 2011 and 2015 presidential elections as State Returning Officers and Collation Officers at the Registration Areas, raised the level of credibility of the elections. Their involvement in the process substantially addressed the incidence of declaration of false election results which made the exercise to be more credible and peaceful in the democratic history of Nigeria (INEC, 2011).

### **Issues In Elections Day of 2011 and 2015 Presidential Elections**

It has been the practice of INEC to announce to the nation and the world that they are fully ready to conduct election, and that, all materials and staffs are ready and have been distributed to all parts of the country (Ibrahim & Garuba, 2008). In this regard, there are three major issues to examine, particularly on election day. These include; voting process, determining score at polling and collation centres and result management.

### **Voting Process**

One of the major challenges that characterized previous elections in Nigeria was the issue of multiple voting which tends to instigate violence right from the polling units and later metamorphosed into post

election violence. Therefore, in order to build post election peace in the 2011 and 2015 presidential elections, INEC took the view that a major way to check this, was to have two distinct phases in the voting process (INEC, 2011).

### **Phase 1: Accreditation of Eligible Voters**

The 2011 and 2015 presidential elections witnessed a separate period and process of accreditations in order to ascertain and authenticate the eligible voters at every polling unit simultaneously across the country. These were done between 8:00am when the polling stations opened and ended at 12:00pm provided that any prospective voter already on the queue was accredited. For instance, in the case of 2011 presidential election, the accreditation process required eligible voters presented themselves with the temporary voters card (TVC) to the Assistant Presiding Officer of the polling unit, who upon satisfaction as to the identity of the holder made a mark on the appropriate checkbox on the register. This was done continuously up to the last person in the queue. Voting Points of not more than 300 voters were created within a Mega Polling Units to enable for easy accreditation of voters within the specified period of time. At the end of the accreditation process, the total number of accredited voters were loudly announced and recorded appropriately in the column provided (INEC, 2011). This arrangement makes it extremely difficult for any multiple voting to take place and restore the integrity of election and confidence on electorates thereby building up peace in post electoral environment.

To attain more transparency in the election, four innovations were adopted by INEC to improve the credibility and build peace in the 2015 presidential election which include; the introduction of Permanent Voter's Card and the use of biometric technology (card readers) for the two step voter accreditation process (Orji & Kelechi, 2015). These innovations make it a little different from the accreditation of 2011 presidential election. For instance, Oluwashina (2015) explained that an intending voter was expected to go to the polling unit where he or she registered with his or her PVC for accreditation. The voter would present his or her PVC to the polling officials for verification. The Presiding Officer tests the PVC using the card reader to authenticate its originality. Once the voter's information appeared on the screen the voter will be duly accredited, but if it does not, this signifies that the PVC is not from INEC or may either be cloned or it belongs to another person. The prospective voter will consequently be disqualified from voting.

The biometric accreditation system served as additional measure to prevent multiple voting and enhance public confidence in the electoral process thereby preventing the perceived post-election violence across the country. Although Onapajo (2015) noted that in some locations where card reader does not work, INEC was able to salvage the process by announcing an alternative process using manual accreditation which accommodated the voters that encountered the problem. This alternative measure contributes to the peaceful conduct of the election and thereby promotes post-election peace in those areas.

Other innovations that build confidence of the electorates and election peace during and after the 2015 presidential election, is the encouragement by INEC to prioritize the deployment of party agents to polling units. This is because the greater presence of party agents in polling units the better access to information by political parties which improved transparency of the electoral process. This access to information was further strengthened by the establishment of INEC's Citizens Contact Centre (ICCC) responsible for direct, real-time reception of feedback from citizens. The centre was designed as a modified Situation Room to work as a channel of continuous communication and exchange of information with the electorate and other stakeholders. Members of the public could contact the CCC with questions or complaints and receive responses from INEC officials (Orji & Kelechi, 2015). Therefore, these innovations introduced by INEC particularly in the 2015 presidential election help greatly in shaping the post election environment to be peaceful one, and makes INEC to be one of the major player for post election peace building in Nigeria.

### **Phase 2: Vote Casting**

Vote casting became easier because only accredited voters were eligible to vote, therefore in both the 2011 and 2015 presidential elections voting started from 12:30 pm, until the last person on the queue has voted,

unless in a few cases where there are some logistic problems. The presiding officer of each polling unit after arranging the unit in the approved lay out started the voting process by announcing to prospective voters that vote casting was about to begin (Oluwashina, 2015). The process is that all accredited voters on the queue were issued with ballot paper duly stamped and signed by the Presiding Officer. The voter then proceeded to the voting cubicle to make a confidential and secret finger print impression on the ballot paper against the party of his/her choice and then dropped the ballot paper in the Collapsible Transparent Ballot Box in full glare of all present. Voting ended when the last voter on the queue voted (INEC, 2011). These arrangements aided for a peaceful end of the election as well as post election peace across the country.

### **Determining Scores at Polling and Collation Centres**

Determining scores at polling and collation centres in the 2015 presidential election was not different from the 2011 presidential election. Immediately after the closing formalities, the Presiding Officers and their clerks commenced with the sorting, counting, recording and determining the votes scored at polling and collation centres by each party. A copy of the result recorded on Form EC 8A and EC 8B were pasted at the polling units and collation centres respectively (INEC, 2011; Orji & Kelechi, 2015). But the declaration of the winner was usually done at the INEC National Headquarters. Thus, the public display of results at the polling units and collation centres in both 2011 and 2015 presidential elections was part of the measures taken by INEC to ensure transparency in the electoral process which is a key to peace building during and after elections.

This indicated that the entire voting process was owned by the voters from accreditation to balloting, through counting, collation and determining the score of each party. It was entirely participatory and voters were encouraged to observe the closing procedure from a reasonable distance (INEC, 2011). Orji & Kelechi, (2015) believed that the intention of this was to ensure that all voters would spend the entire day at their assigned polling unit in order to prevent multiple voting and enhance public confidence in the accuracy of the results at the polling and collation centres thereby reducing tensions and builds peace in the post-election environment.

### **Result Management**

As part of the strategy to secure the integrity of results recorded and to avoid post-election violence in the 2011 and 2015 Presidential Elections, the Commission refined the process for managing results of elections by introducing a manual and electronic procedure. For the manual procedure, all Presiding Officers and Collation Officers at every level must duly and correctly completed their result sheets at polling units and collation centres, declared results were displayed at the polling units and collation centres and that all result forms must be arranged, batched and transferred to the state office for safe-keeping not later than 48 hours after the election. While, in the electronic procedure, at least for the presidential election of 2011, collation at the State Collation Centres and the Presidential Collation Centre were subjected to accuracy checks by using an excel spread sheet application to eliminate computation errors (INEC, 2011). While in the 2015 presidential election, collations at all levels were subjected to accuracy checks using the same method. However in both elections, all results were projected on a screen and publicly displayed as they were announced, which enhance the credibility, transparency and assisted for post elections peace building in the country.

In order to prevent tampering with the manual copies of the results in transit, copies of the results were transmitted electronically from the State Collation Centres to the Presidential Returning Officer using a secure email address. Results in all cases were subsequently placed on the Commission's website in compliance with the requirement for the publication of results of elections (INEC, 2011). This system significantly reduced the incidence of fake and multiple voting, inflated figures, vote buying and other popular forms of rigging in the 2011 and 2015 presidential elections across the country (Onapajo, 2015). And once there is no election rigging, the chances of post-election violence would be very limited.

### **Post Election Issues In 2011 And 2015 Presidential Elections**

There are three major issues associated with post-election particularly in 2011 and 2015 presidential election in Nigeria identified by this paper. These are; declaration of results, post election violence and post election petitions.

#### **Declaration of Results**

Declarations of results in the 2011 and 2015 presidential elections were however done at INEC Collation Centre in Abuja by the Chief Returning Officer of the Presidential elections, Professor Attahiru Jega who was also the Chairman of INEC from 2010 to 2015. In the 2011 presidential election Dr. Goodluck Jonathan of PDP scored 22, 495, 187 votes representing 58.89% of the total votes cast, and met the requirement of 25% votes cast in 24 states. The CPC candidate, Gen. Muhammadu Buhari (rtd) scored 12, 214, 853 votes representing 31.98% of the total votes cast and the ACN candidate, Mr. Nuhu Ribadu scored 2, 079, 151 votes. Therefore, Dr. Goodluck Jonathan was declared winner, re-elected for four-year tenure (Akinsanya, 2015).

Whereas, in the 2015 presidential election, Gen. Muhammadu Buhari (rtd) scored 15, 424, 683, representing 53.96% of the total votes cast to defeat the incumbent President, Dr. Goodluck Jonathan who pooled 12, 853, 162 votes representing 44.96% of the total vote cast. The result indicated that both the leading candidates met the minimum requirement of 25% votes cast in 24 states. However APC candidate, Gen. Buhari defeated President Jonathan of PDP with about three million votes in a historic election that saw a Nigeria leader conceding electoral defeat for the first time in its history (Udu, 2015). Therefore, having satisfied the requirements of the law and scoring the highest numbers of votes, the Chief Returning Officer declared the APC presidential candidate as the winner of the presidential election and was returned elected.

#### **Post-Election Violence**

Despite the fact that INEC make significant improvement in the conduct of 2011 presidential election, the election was still not free from post election violence (Bekoe, 2011). This came immediately after the announcement of the results which confirmed the victory of the incumbent President Goodluck Jonathan of the ruling party (PDP). Violence sparks across many states in the Northern part of the country. States like Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Sokoto, Zamfara, Niger, Bauchi, Gombe, Barno among others were affected (Halliru, 2012). Within just a four days Human Rights Watch, recorded about 800 people were killed and over 65,000 people were found to be temporarily internally displaced, millions of properties were also burnt and destroyed (HRW, 2011). This was seen as the worst ever witnessed in the history of post-election violence in Nigeria. Although INEC noted that the violent reactions that erupted after the 2011 presidential election did so not as a consequence of poor handling of the process by the Commission. Rather, it was a practical expression of frustration and disappointment as well as a consequence of the "do or die" attitude of the political class to electoral contests (INEC, 2011).

Compared with the 2015 presidential election, many predicted that the aftermath of the election may possibly mark the end of Nigeria as a nation, which generated a lot of tension and confusion in the pre-election period of the country. But nevertheless, they were probed wrong. In fact, there was no post-election violence for the first time in the history of Nigeria's democratic dispensation. Even though, there were protest in some selected states of the country, following the allegations of fraud, but the protests were peaceful, since there is no loss of lives and properties. Some of these states include; Rivers, Imo, and Akwalbom States. In Akwalbom State, for example, supporters of the opposition APC protested over perceived irregularities in the state elections calling for the outright cancellation of the elections (cited in Onapajo, 2015).

#### **Post Electoral Petitions**

Petitions are required to be submitted within 21 days of the declaration of results to the Election Petition Tribunals (EPTs) as provided by the section 285 of the 1999 Constitution, as amended (EU EOM, 2015;

The Vanguard, 2015). As a result, two petitions were filed in the 2011 Post Presidential Election Tribunal, against the victory of President Goodluck Jonathan. One was filed by the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) Presidential Candidate Gen. MuhammaduBuhari, and the second was filed by Hope Democratic Party (HDP). The drastic fall in the number of petitions recorded after the election compare with the previous ones, must have been influenced by the decisions of many failed candidates to accept the results following what they largely considered as free, fair and credible election (This day live, 2016). However, the presidential election petition tribunal of 2015 have not filed a single case against the victory of President MuhammaduBuhari, neither the PDP nor any other Party or Presidential Candidate moved to challenge Buhari's election victory at the tribunal, meaning that no petition was filed against the 2015 Presidential election result (The Vanguard, 2015).

### **Conclusion**

No doubt, the improvement in the administration of electoral process and introduction of new innovations in the 2011 and 2015 presidential elections by INEC, especially the used of biometric voters register, permanent voter's cards, biometric card readers as well as access to information by electorates on INEC website among others, demonstrated that INEC alone can serve as a peace building mechanism by providing a transparent electoral process from the beginning to the end, and above all conducting free, fair and credible election that can buildup the confidence of electorates, this will go a long way to establish successful as well as peaceful post-election environment across the country.

### **Recommendation**

INEC should continue to improve and strengthen the use of biometric measures such as Card readers in its forthcoming or subsequent election in the country. This will positively help in overcoming the challenges of multiple voting that has been the issue for long, if not a tradition during election, which always instigate and fuel violence during and after election across the country.

As a matter of fact, the quality of leadership matters a lot in the conduct of election, therefore, those with the responsibility of appointing the INEC officials i.e. (Chairman and resident commissioners) should ensure the credibility, patriotism and altruistic of the prospective candidates to be appointed.

INEC should maintain and strengthen its relationship with NYSC and Federal Tertiary Institutions as their major sources of ad-hoc officials for the integrity, credibility and transparency of election.

INEC should take post-election peace building as part of its major responsibilities by introducing many pre-election programmes such as (voter education and sensitization) at local levels that can help better in preventing post-election violence.

Above all, INEC should continue to conduct free, fair and credible election that can be acceptable to all. This can only be achieved through the neutrality, non-partisan and independent of INEC from the influence of any democratic institution or individual in carrying out their responsibilities assigned by the Constitution and Electoral Acts.

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## Nigeria and Canada Bilateral Relations on Economic and Socio-political Relations

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### Abstract

Nigeria and Canada established bilateral relations two years after Nigeria's independence. The two countries have engaged in political, economic and social relations overtime. The study examined the objectives of Nigeria and Canada bilateral relations, the dimension and impact of such relations on both countries, especially in the areas of trade and investment, political interest and social connections. Qualitative research method was employed in the study and data were sourced from secondary sources. Findings from the study confirmed that the bilateral relation between Nigeria and Canada is a progressive one but it revealed that such relationship has benefitted Canada more than Nigeria because the latter is facing more internal development challenges including corruption, bad leadership, weak economy and dilapidated social infrastructures amongst others. The study concluded that the above internal development challenges have greatly disarticulated Nigeria's economy and prevented her from benefitting maximally from the Nigeria – Canada bilateral relations. It is recommended that issues of corruption, import-oriented economy and over-concentration on crude oil which are among the primary causes of the lull in the Nigeria economy should be urgently addressed.

**Keywords:** Bilateral, Relation, Socio-political, Development

### Introduction

Canada and Nigeria established bilateral **relations** after Nigeria's independence in the year 1962 (High Commission of Canada, 2014). Canada is represented in Nigeria by its High Commission, which opened in Abuja in 1999 and a Deputy High Commission that was opened in Lagos in 1999. Since 2004, Canada has an Honorary Consul in Port Harcourt, Cross-River state of Nigeria. Nigeria is represented in Canada by a High Commission, which opened in Ottawa in 1973 (High Commission of Canada in Nigeria, 2014). Canada enjoys strong and increasing bilateral relations with Nigeria, and Nigeria is one of the strategic partners of Canada in sub-Saharan Africa on importation and exportation. The two countries share values such as multiculturalism, federal states, Commonwealth membership, and people-to-people ties provides a solid foundation for increased engagement (High Commission of Canada in Nigeria, 2014).

The relationship between the countries have blossom over the years. Canada is impressed with Nigeria's leadership role in African and global affairs, most notably through its significant contribution to international peace operations. Nigeria is among the largest troops contributing African nation and the fifth largest globally, with over 4,700 personnel deployed in Sudan and Liberia alone. Nigeria contributed over 1,000 military personnel and several aircraft in support of the United Nations Security Council-mandated African-led International Support Mission to Mali (AFISMA, 2009). Nigeria is Canada's most important trading partner in Africa. Canada on the other hand has been exporting quite a number of commodities into Nigeria and these includes; wheat, aircraft including helicopters and various kinds of industrial equipments and Canada is as well a major aid donor to Nigeria (Onwuka, 2016).

However, in spite of the bilateral relationship between both countries, Canada has continue to develop socially, politically and economically unlike Nigeria whereby some internal factors have been hindering economic and socio-political development in the country. Corruption has been as a significant problem in Nigeria. It has done much damage to the country in a number of ways and this has been

engineered through miss-governance (Onwuka, 2016). The effect of corruption in Nigeria has been exemplified through improper management of public funds, public organizations, security services, schools, health care services, and infrastructural facilities among others. So from this perspective, it is often difficult to attract foreign investments because a country like Canada will not want to invest in a country that doesn't respect rule of law and obviously swimming in corrupt practices like Nigeria (Onwuka, 2016).

Canada has been organizing 'Education Fair' in Nigeria particularly in Abuja and Lagos over the years and this has attracted many Nigerians to study in Canada and the numbers of Nigeria students keeps growing. For instance twelve years ago, the numbers of Nigeria students studying abroad was 800 but at the present moment, the number of Nigeria students studying in Canada is over 9000 and Nigerians are the 8<sup>th</sup> largest group of foreign students in Canada (Onwuka, 2016). The problem here is that the money that is meant to be invested in Nigeria's economy has been diverted to the economy of Canada which has made it to be continuously growing while that of Nigeria is falling and the educational system has been distorted due to the appreciation of a foreign based degree to that of Nigeria's degree and the question at this point is how many Canadian citizens have come to study in Nigeria and if any, is the number comparable to that of Nigeria students in Canada? Canada is extremely strong in the mining sector and it's among one of the mining countries in the world. There are huge Canadian investments in mining in many African countries but none in Nigeria in spite of the fact that Nigeria has mining potentials and has remain Canada's number one partner in sub-Saharan Africa.

Stemming from the above, it is believed that Nigeria is Canada's number one business partner in Africa but there hasn't been impact of such huge investment in Nigeria's economy. Comparatively, there are over 70 Canadian's companies in Nigeria while few or none of Nigeria companies are established in Canada. Both Canada and Nigeria have a lot of potentials in renewable energy and each country has its own oil and gas. In the case of Canada, the country has hydro-electric power, solar and wind technologies. The academic debate has been that the bilateral relation between the two countries is tilted in favor of Canada than Nigeria. From the said above, this paper examined the objectives of Nigeria-Canada bilateral relation, the pattern of Nigeria-Canada economic relation, Nigeria-Canada socio-political relation and the most benefitted country between the two countries.

### **Literature Review**

In effort to buttress the understanding of Nigeria-Canada relations and in the political, economic and social precincts, extant literature, both from erudite scholars and the media were reviewed in this study for a comparative understanding of the bilateral relations between Nigeria and Canada.

According to the Canadian Trade Commissioner Service (2012), Canada is a federation of ten provinces and three territories with massive land mass while Nigeria is a federation of 36 states with imposed land mass. Canada has small population of about 36,155,487 and the 2<sup>nd</sup> largest economy in the world and also rich in natural resources while Nigeria has the largest Africa population of over 180 million and facing largest power deficit. Both Nigeria and Canada are endowed with natural resources. Canada has moved from resource-based to service-based economy and the only country that did not need a bailout of its financial institutions and also trade with other advanced countries of the world. Conversely, Nigeria, despite its vast natural resources, remains a primary resource-based economy that generates meager income. (The Canadian Trade Commissioner Service, 2012).

In spite of these economic disparities between the two countries, there is an agreement between Canada and Nigeria for the promotion and protection of investment (Canada Global Affairs, 2014). The agreement contains the definitions, substantive obligations, settlement of disputes between an investor and the host party, state to state dispute settlement procedure, and final provisions. The agreement centers on the notion of recognizing that the promotion and the protection of investments of investors of one Party in the territory of the other Party will be conducive to the stimulation of mutually beneficial business activity, to the development of economic cooperation between them and to the promotion of sustainable development. There is also an acknowledgment on the right of each Party to define the conditions under

which foreign investments are admitted, which should be consistent with the Agreement. There is also a clause on an investors' duty to respect and operate within the framework of its laws that are consistent with the Agreement (Canada Global Affairs, 2014).

According to Oscarline (2011), the Canadian government revealed the interest of major energy companies in the country to invest in Nigeria's power sector. The Canadian government noted that as a second global energy superpower, it is interested in the unfolding development in the Nigeria's electricity market, and has sought specific areas of participation in the country's power plan. Since 2009, Canada has contributed more than \$500,000 toward counterterrorism initiatives to help boost Nigeria's capacity to prevent, respond to and ultimately stop terrorist acts, and this has focused on building the operational capacity of law enforcement and security forces (Steven, 2014). According to Steven (2014), Canadian Special Forces soldiers moved into Nigeria by helping the government search for hundreds of schoolgirls kidnapped by Islamic militant group Boko Haram. Canada's contribution is part of a widening Western effort to help find the girls and comes as the Nigerian government now says it's open to negotiating for their release. This comes amid deepening security ties between Canada and Nigeria.

The above reviewed confirmed that the Nigeria and Canada bilateral relations have blossom over the years even though Nigeria appears to be junior partner in the relationship owing to her weak economic foundation.

### **Theoretical Framework**

There is no doubt that theories of constructivism, capitalism, eclecticism among others have dominated the literature that relates to the bilateral relationships between countries of the world. But these theories did not individually explain reasons for the continuous bilateral relationships and effects on various countries economic and socio-political development. The theories seem to have looked at the relationship from a single perspective. Contrarily, the liberal theory was employed to analyze the study.

### **Liberal theory**

The liberal theory is expounded by scholars such as Nicolo Machiavelli, Immanuel Kant, Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill, John Milton, John Locke, Jeremy Bentham, Aristotle, Herbert Spencer, Charles Montesquieu, among others. Each scholar has various contributions to the expansion and development of liberal theory.

### **The core assumptions of Liberal theory**

All liberal theories place state-society relations at the center of world politics. They rest on the fundamental premise that state behavior reflects the relationship between it and the domestic and transnational society in which it is embedded. This basic claim underlies theories about the influence of economic interdependence, varying conceptions of collective goods provision, or domestic representation. This basic insight can be restated more precisely in terms of three "hard core" assumptions, which specify, respectively, the nature of societal actors, the nature of the state, and the nature of the international system.

Two major assumptions liberal theory make towards analyzing the relationship amongst states in the international circle and that is exemplified in Nigeria-Canada bilateral relations are the assumptions of anarchy and rationality amongst states. Specifically, states (or other political actors) exist in an anarchic environment and they generally act in a broadly rational way in making decisions. The anarchy assumption means that political actors exist in the distinctive environment of international politics, without a world government or any other authority with a monopoly on the legitimate use of force. They must engage in self-help.

The rationality assumption means that state leaders and their domestic supporters engage in foreign policy for the instrumental purpose of securing benefits provided by (or avoiding costs imposed by) actors outside of their borders, and in making such calculations, states seek to deploy the most cost-effective means to achieve whatever their ends (preferences) may be. Liberal theory shares the first (anarchy) assumption with almost all international relations theories, and it shares the second (rationality) assumption with realism and institutionalism, but not non-rationalist process theories (Andrew. 2010).

Liberal theories are distinguished from other rationalist theories, such as realism and institutionalism, by two unique assumptions about world politics: (1) States represent social groups, whose views constitute state preferences; and (2) Interdependence among state preferences influences state policy.

Liberalist theory was adopted to explain the Nigeria–Canada relations because Liberals argue that the universal condition of world politics is globalization. States are, and always have been, embedded in a domestic and transnational society, which creates incentives for economic, social and cultural interaction across borders. State policy may facilitate or block such interactions. Some domestic groups may benefit from or be harmed by such policies, and they pressure government accordingly for policies that facilitate realization of their goals.

These social pressures, transmitted through domestic political institutions, define "state preferences" that is, the set of substantive social purposes that motivate foreign policy. State preferences give governments an underlying stake in the international issues they face. Since the domestic and transnational social context in which states are embedded varies greatly across space and time, so do state preferences. Without such social concerns that transcend state borders, states would have no rational incentive to engage in world politics at all, but would simply devote their resources to an autarkic and isolated existence.

From the perspectives of the liberalist, no man is an island and the essence of Nigeria Canada relations is as a result of the societal actors, the nature of the states, and the international system. Nigeria and Canada come together to achieve to share the benefits of socio-economic and political development and also due to the emergence of globalization, which paved ways for international interaction and integration arising from the interchange of world views, products, ideas and other aspects of culture.

Although in some cases, the relationships among states can be harmful to a side and beneficial to the other and this is why states seek to promote and protect their national interests. From the liberalist arguments, Nigeria and Canada engaged in bilateral relations to achieve their preferences. For instance, the major transaction between the duo countries is crude oil. Since Nigeria is blessed with crude oil, Canada gets oil from Nigeria easily because both countries are partners and in return, Nigeria also gets political, social and economic assistance from Canada. This can be exemplified in the assistance rendered to Nigeria by Canada on political development. Canada has been providing technical assistance to Nigeria during general elections since 1999 and also gave support to the electoral body in Nigeria INEC. On social grounds, Canada has help Nigeria to fight against polio, the country has donated funds in order to put an halt to Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria. In conclusion, both countries are not benefitting equally, but all the same, it depends on how countries in relations seek to achieve their national interests.

### **Objectives and Contents of Nigeria and Canada Bilateral Relations**

There are quite numbers of foreign relations objectives between Nigeria and Canada and these includes; The objective of the Nigeria-Canada bilateral relation was to bring together the association of Nigeria and Canada according to the documents that articulate their bilateral relations objectives and the general community through educational, social, cultural and economic activities, to promote the interests of its members, and to foster Nigeria-Canada understanding and co-operation through disseminating information between Nigeria and Canada, participating in activities relating to exploring educational, social, cultural and economic collaboration, opportunities and promotions of progressive development organized by Canada and other relevant Canadian organizations and authorities.

Organizing meetings between Nigeria and Canada and the relevant organizations and authorities of Canada on social, cultural and economic matters; Co-operating with local and national authorities to seek Members' feedback on laws, regulations and procedures relevant to enhance the attractiveness and effectiveness of Canadian collaborative undertakings; Promoting business ties between Nigeria and Canada for the mutual benefit of the members and their Canadian counterparts; Promoting educational, social, cultural and economic activities between Nigeria and Canada.

The objective of the Association was to promote the welfare of its members and to promote Nigerian culture and traditions to the general community by: Promoting the integration of Nigerians and Canadians, acting as a liaison between members and official representatives of the governments of Nigeria and/or the governments of Canada; providing support and assistance to the members within the resources of the countries as, and when, the need arises; promoting relationship/collaboration among Nigerians and people of Nigeria heritage through educational, social, sports, cultural and economic activities; promoting mutual understanding among members of the Association to work together as a group for the common good of Nigerians in diasporas and the motherland (NCAFM, 2010).

### **Nigeria-Canada Economic Relation**

Nigeria is Canada's largest bilateral merchandise trading partner in sub-Saharan Africa, and trade between the two has increased more than threefold since 2007 despite the drop in 2013 mainly due to decreased oil imports from Canada. In 2013, Canada's bilateral merchandise trade with Nigeria totaled \$1.6 billion. Canada's exports to Nigeria have increased significantly since 2003 and were \$463.3 million in 2013. Canadian merchandise imports from Nigeria consist of mineral fuels and oils, cocoa, rubber, lead and processed foods, totaling US \$1.2 billion (Nigeria Canada Forum, 2014).

The Canadian business presence in Nigeria is substantial and multi-faceted. Canadian interests cover a full range of key sectors, including oil and gas, telecommunications, and manufacturing equipments, aeronautics, energy, engineering education and commercial services. New areas with high potential for growth are mining technology as well as transportation. Recent and ongoing efforts to reform the banking sector stand to establish a more conducive foreign investment environment, creating potential opportunities for Canadian firms (Nigeria Canada Forum, 2014). Canada signed a Double Taxation Agreement with Nigeria in 1992. On May 1, 2013, Prime Minister Harper announced the conclusion of negotiations towards the Canada-Nigeria Foreign Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement (FIPA), marked by the signing of a letter of Intent by Minister of trade in Canada, Mr. Fast and his Nigerian counterpart, former Minister of trade and investment Mr. Olusegun Aganga. The FIPA was signed by Minister for International Development Paradis and former Minister Aganga on May 6, 2014 during the Minister's visit to Abuja (Nigeria Canada Forum, 2014).

Canada has a well established and growing trade relationship with Nigeria. Nigeria represents an important trade partner for Canada in Sub-Saharan Africa. Trade is of high importance to the Nigerian economy which relies heavily upon the oil sector. A strong emphasis also exists on the infrastructure sector, which requires modernization. Nigeria's banking sector has strengthened in recent years and is among the most important in Sub-Saharan Africa. Security challenges in parts of Nigeria remain a concern. There are good export and investment opportunities across a wide range of sectors that match Canadian capabilities (EDC, 2014).

Recent high-level visits have served to strengthen the bilateral partnership. In April 2012, Nigeria and Canada signed the Memorandum of Understanding to establish a Bi-National Commission. As part of its promotion of democratic governance, Canada continues to provide support to groups and institutions that work to strengthen democracy, accountability and good governance in Nigeria. At \$2.7 billion in two-way merchandise trade for 2011, this commercial relationship with Nigeria is Canada's largest in sub-Saharan Africa. Although Canada's exports to Nigeria have increased by more than 200% since 2003, they have been fairly steady since 2009 and were \$227.3 million in 2011 (Nigeria Canada Forum, 2014). Recently too, Canada and Nigeria agreed to partner and explore various areas that would boost their trade volume to \$6 billion. Bilateral trade between Canada and Nigeria has been facilitated by the return to Nigeria of Export Development Canada, which in March 2011 announced a \$7 million investment fund through which it helps develop opportunities in Nigeria for Canadian companies. The fund is focused on sectors which mirror Canada's strongest export sectors, notably oil and gas, telecommunication and financial services (Nigeria Canada Forum, 2014).

Canada-Nigeria Business to Business Trade Show and Conferences: The business to business (B2B) trade show and conferences is organized by OZ Consulting Firm, OZ Management, & Wild Card

Experience. The trade show is to ensure one bridge and was scheduled for 5<sup>th</sup> – 7<sup>th</sup> Of October, 2016. The objectives of the trade show are as follows;

To develop a platform for the two continental powers (Nigeria and Canada) to leverage on their assets of abundant raw materials and untapped potentials for growth and investment to attract international business partnerships (Canada-Nigeria, 2016).

To enhance the established relationship between Canada and Nigeria in the oil and gas sector and establish a stronger relationship with Canada in the non-oil and gas sector, to help diversify the Nigerian economy and double trade between both countries to more than \$6 billion in the interim. To create a meeting point where many contacts can be established for the promotion of business exchange and alliances between the Nigerian and Canadian Business Communities leading to partnerships and business deals as well as the creation of a specialized Business network and forum for exchange of ideas and knowledge development for Emerging Public leaders in public and private sector organizations (Canada-Nigeria, 2016).

To facilitate interaction not just between Nigerian and Canadian Business leaders but also promote understanding between Nigerian public and private sector leaders towards deriving maximum value from the much-advocated public private partnerships (PPPs) for economic development. To help businesses and enterprises from both countries obtain visibility, highlight their capabilities, negotiate business, attract investors and develop as well as reinforce the national thrust on positioning Nigeria as the preferred destination for foreign direct investments, development aid and tourism.

To develop an advocacy vehicle to strengthen multilateral relations between Nigeria and the North American community as well as engage this sub regional bloc on the ideals of the new kind of partnerships espoused in the New Partnership for Africa Development (NEPAD) initiative.

The key collaborating partners of the B2B trade show and conferences are; The Nigerian High Commission in Canada, The Canadian Trade Commission, Nigeria Investment Promotion Commission, Canadian Council on Africa, The department of foreign Affairs and international trade Canada, and Canadian Nigeria Bi-National Commission (Canada-Nigeria, 2016). The key partners and collaborating institutions of the B2B trade show and conferences are; Canadian Trade Development Agency, Nigeria Economic Summit Group, National Economic Council, Global Affairs Canada, The New Partnership for Africa Development (NEPAD), Canadian Chamber of Commerce (200,000 business strong), Nigeria Chamber of Commerce, Mines and Industry, State Investment Promotion Agencies and NEXIM bank (Canada-Nigeria, 2016). **The key participating industries of the B2B trade show and conferences are;** Agriculture & Food Production, Aerospace & Machinery, Banking & Finance Services, Building & Construction materials, Business Equipment, Environment & Waste Management, Medicals & Pharmaceuticals. Mining & Energy, and Real Estate & Estate Management (Canada-Nigeria, 2016).

**Benefits of Exhibiting and Participating at Canada - Nigeria B2B 2016 are as follows;**

To showcase products or services and reach a targeted audience. Create and/or reinforce the visibility of your firm and raise the awareness and interest about its supply capacity.

Enable North American exhibitors and participants to tap into the virgin market of the largest country and economy in Africa with a population of over 180 million and a GDP of \$1.1 trillion. Attend to inquiries and disseminate information about firms. Identify new potential customers and strengthen relations with the existing ones.

Establish bi-directional business linkages, identify agents, negotiate offers which may result in actual orders, develop relationships network, Meet potential partners that can lead to far reaching business alliances and Reaffirm your place as an important industry player in your sector (Canada-Nigeria, 2016).

Gather vital industry and market information e.g., Keeping abreast of product and industry innovations; Knowing what competitors do, Learning the latest sales and promotion techniques, Explore new alternatives and observe the trends, compare and exchange experience with others, get sufficient visibility and exposure in the international market.

### **Nigeria-Canada Socio-Political Relations**

With a population of over 180 million, Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa with one fifth of all sub-Saharan Africans living within its borders. Endowed with good access to skills, capital, technology, fertile land, oil and mineral resources, Nigeria has enormous potential. The country's return to civilian government in 1999, followed by sound fiscal policy decisions, has brought economic stability and real gains in rural incomes. Nigeria is Africa's largest economy and its strategic geographic location makes its stability important to the region (Global Affairs Canada, 2015).

On political relation between both countries, Canada has provided support to the 1999, 2003 and 2007 elections and also the 2015 general elections that were held in Nigeria purposely to support the long-term electoral cycle. Since September 2010, Canada sponsored technical assistance to Nigeria's Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). Canada continues to provide support to groups and institutions that work to strengthen democracy, accountability, good governance, and religious freedom in Nigeria (Nigeria Canada Forum, 2015).

Canadian and Nigerian officials have exchanged proposals for an Air Transport Agreement. Canada has supported Nigeria in strengthening health care delivery at the community level, preventing and treating major illnesses that contribute to maternal and child mortality, and helping to eradicate polio in Nigeria. This assistance is aimed at reducing the maternal mortality rate in Nigeria, which is high at 630 deaths per 100,000 live births in 2010. The neonatal, infant and under-five mortality rates are similarly high and the country has the second highest rate of newborn deaths worldwide (Nigeria Canada Forum, 2014)

In spite of the relationship between Nigeria and Canada, the challenges Nigeria faces are staggering: the country ranks 152 out of 187 countries on the United Nations 2014 Human Development Index (HDI), and more than three out of five Nigerians live on less than \$1.25 per day but with the recent rise in dollar, Nigerians live below a dollar per day. Nigerians, particularly women and children, experience some of the worst threats to health in Africa. Despite having only two percent of the world's population, Nigeria accounts for 10 percent of global maternal mortality. One in six children born in Nigeria will not reach his or her fifth birthday, and the country has the second-highest rate of newborn deaths worldwide (Global Affairs Canada, 2015).

The maternal mortality rate is 630 deaths per 100,000 live births; neonatal mortality is 39 deaths per 1,000 live births; infant mortality is 78 deaths per 1,000 live births; and out of 1,000 children under the age of five, 124 die. Nigeria also has low immunization coverage and is one of the three remaining endemic countries for polio. Access to basic public services is grossly inadequate to meet the needs of the greater part of the population. Nigeria is a young and relatively stable democracy. Its public institutions are still fragile and face the challenge of encouraging unity in a country divided along lines of ethnicity, religion, regionalism and class each with vastly opposing interests (Global Affairs Canada, 2015).

Instability and insecurity are major risk factors, and the country has suffered from significant violence since 2010. Attacks over the past six years, largely led by the Islamist terrorist group Boko Haram, have occurred in many locations but particularly in the north-east of the country. Nearly half of the population in the north-east has been affected by the ongoing Boko Haram violence. Nigeria is also extremely vulnerable to the impact of climate change including rising sea levels, and changing seasons and rain patterns, which affect agriculture and increase desertification. Three out of four rural Nigerians depend on natural resources for their livelihood (Global Affairs Canada, 2015).

Canada is helping Nigeria to increase child survival by improving primary health care systems at the local level and reducing preventable childhood diseases. These help includes support to enhance the skills and knowledge of front line community health workers. Canada supports efforts to improve harmonization, information and accountability in the Nigerian health sector, and signed the 2010 Health Sector Compact, initiated by the International Health Partnership. Through this commitment, Canada has increased efforts to work in harmonization with other development partners and to align its programs with

the plans and priorities of the Government of Nigeria, particularly the Nigeria National Health Sector Development Plan (NSHDP 2010-2015 and upcoming 2016-2020 NSHDP 2) and the Integrated Maternal, Newborn and Child Health (IMNCH) Strategy (Global Affairs Canada, 2015).

Canada's support to Nigeria on health care basis has been exemplified in the following ways; Canada has helped to strengthen the skills of 2,000 nurses, midwives and community health extension workers through support for training in life-saving skills to manage and promptly refer emergency obstetric and neonatal complications, in particular in underserved areas.

Canada has supported twice-yearly Maternal, Newborn and Child Health (MNCH) Weeks, which provide key health services to mothers and children, contributing to Nigeria reaching 5.4 million pregnant women with key health messages and services such as tetanus vaccination and iron supplements, and 27 million children with services such as immunization, de-worming, vitamin A supplementation, bed nets to prevent malaria, and birth certificates.

Canada has provided an estimated two million children (1 to 5 years of age) with de-worming tablets; provided 850,000 pregnant women with blood-building tablets to prevent anemia; and 573,000 caregivers were counseled on hand washing and key household practices. Canada has provided an estimated 200,000 children with birth certificates, and 270,000 children were screened for malnutrition.

Canada has helped Nigeria to enable the vaccination of 4.8 million children with oral polio vaccine and contributed to a reduction in the number of cases of wild polio virus, falling from 103 in 2012–2013 to 37 in 2013–2014 up to 2016 with no record until lately where three cases were recorded. Canada intends contributing the sum of \$20 million to help eradicate polio in Nigeria (Levon, S, 2016). The polio eradication drive implemented by the World Health Organization (WHO) will help immunize approximately 6.6 million girls and 6.9 million boys against the crippling and potentially deadly infectious disease in 11 high-risk Nigerian states. The sum of money contributed will be used to train approximately 154,000 vaccinators and help protect up to 250,000 children from vaccine-preventable diseases (Levon, 2016).

**Canada's support to Nigeria on security basis has been exemplified in the following ways;**

In response to Boko Haram's expansion and increased targeting of the civilian population, the Government of Nigeria has increased its counterinsurgency operations and use of force in late 2013/early 2014 which exacerbated violence and displacement in the region. As many as 3.3 million people have been internally displaced in the country by violence, representing the largest displaced population in Africa and the third largest in the world behind Syria and Colombia. The escalating conflict between the Nigerian government and Boko Haram terrorist sect has attracted a large flow of people into the territory of Niger. In late September 2014, it was estimated that more than 105,000 displaced people were in the Diffa region. Food security was a growing concern along with the scarcity of basic goods, housing, health, access to water, and protection (Humanitarian Coalition, 2014).

To these immediate needs have been added those of local host communities. It is in this context that CARE Canada intervened alongside the Nigerian government and its humanitarian partners, to meet the needs in food security and water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH) of some 14,000 people (9,360 nationals, 2,640 refugees and 2,000 members of host families) affected by the Boko-Haram crisis and local food insecurity in the Diffa region of Niger. With the CHAF funds, CARE worked to increase household income/livelihood security and improve purchasing power of 1,000 households (most affected host families, refugees and returnees) in Diffa through unconditional cash grants. The hygiene and sanitation of 14,000 affected persons was improved with hygiene kits and access to safe drinking water (Humanitarian Coalition, 2014).

The total sum of \$250,000 was allocated by CARE Canada to meet the food security and wash needs of approximately 14,000 people affected by the North-East Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria and local food insecurity in the Diffa region of Niger. The assistance centered on 47% food security, water and sanitization on 53%. Total population helped were 14,000 including 1,563 children (Humanitarian Coalition, 2014).

In response to the humanitarian needs in the Lake Chad Basin region, including those related to the growing insecurity caused by regional terrorism, Canada is providing more than 26 million Canadian dollars in humanitarian assistance in 2016. This support will help to provide food, drinking water, hygiene, sanitation and health services, treatment for acute malnutrition and support for livelihoods for vulnerable populations, including refugees, internally displaced persons and communities hosting refugees (*Zacheaus. S, 2016*). Canada's partners in this respect include the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the World Food Programme (WFP), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), CARE, l'Œuvre Léger, Oxfam Québec, Development and Peace, Action Against Hunger and the Norwegian Refugee Council (*Zacheaus. S, 2016*).

### **Nigeria and Canada Bilateral Relations Benefits**

In effort to buttress the academic debate on Nigeria and Canada bilateral relations on economic and socio-political development, it is essential to note that both countries have benefitted from their relations but the most benefitted country is Canada. This is because Canada has continued to put into consideration and practice of all the pertinent key factors to boost the development of her economy, social and political facets.

In the case of Nigeria, corruption which is the primary cause of staggering economy has continued to hinder development in all major aspects of the country. Nigeria has depended solely on crude oil as the major source of generating revenue unlike Canada where oil is just 3% of her economy. The country is import and export oriented and this has continued to accelerate the growth of local industries but in the case of Nigeria, the country is import oriented and this has continued to hinder the growth of local industries.

From the said above, it is obvious that Canada has benefitted most from her relation with Nigeria because her political social and economic aspects are growing day in day out compare to the Nigeria economy which is at a brink.

### **Findings**

The findings from the study are as follows;

Nigeria and Canada are both partners but when it comes to the level of development in both countries, Canada is fast growing because the country relies on diversified economy. Oil and gas which Nigeria solely depends on is just 3% to 4% of Canada's economy. In the case of Nigeria, the country depends on crude oil solely and 80% of Nigeria revenue is generated from Oil and this has hindered Nigeria economic development because less attention has been given to other sectors such as agriculture, tourism, energy, telecommunication, mining among others which would have generated more income for Nigeria.

It has become difficult for the economy of Nigeria to progressively develop compared to that of Canada because of higher level of corrupt practices compared to Canada. The fund that is disbursed for projects are usually siphoned by single or few groups of individuals in Nigeria and this has greatly hindered development in the country. On the other hand, it has weakened Canada's interest in other sectors in Nigeria such as mining because it is difficult for Canada to be duly involved in business transactions with Nigeria that is corrupt prone.

Nigeria is an import oriented economy. Even commodities that are available in Nigeria in large commodities are still been imported a good example is rice. Canada on the other is even exporting commodities from Nigeria to Canada. A good example is cocoa among other commodities. Nigeria can hardly export commodities without undergoing scrutiny or even rejection of such commodities.

In the education sector, educational system in Canada is appealing with well developed curriculum and flexible Learning Avenue compared to Nigeria where the educational system is bedeviled by numerous setbacks such as inadequate equipped facilities like a standard libraries with essential books, weak conducive learning atmosphere, and inadequate qualified teachers among others. These setbacks has made education in Nigeria less attractive compare to Canada's educational system where the required

facilities to make education enjoyable are provided. Best brains in Nigeria are migrating out of the country because the chances of imputing their knowledge for the development in the country are limited.

### **Conclusion and Recommendation**

Nigeria and Canada have been partners for years and the bilateral relations have been confirmed in this study as a progressive one. However, there is trade imbalance between Nigeria and Canada because the latter has a superior advantage of Balance of Trade and Balance of Payment than Nigeria. Nigeria could then be said to be junior partner in the bilateral relations between both countries. It is obvious in this study that Nigeria has benefitted immensely from Canada in their bilateral relations but the level of Nigeria's economic development is slow. It is therefore necessary for Nigeria to do the needful in order to resuscitate Nigeria's economy.

### **The study therefore recommends the following;**

Nigeria government should put all things in place to ensure that corruption is reduced to the barest minimum level. By so doing, countries of the world can come into Nigeria to invest productively. Nigeria should diversify her economy to other sectors particularly, agriculture, mining, tourism to generate more income for the economy. Nigeria should shift her economy from been an import-oriented country to an export-oriented economy, by importing only things that she can't produce and encourage local industries to grow. Nigeria should exploit her population as an opportunity to increase her level of production. The country should encourage good governance because this is very germane to the development of any nation. All the Nigeria's owned companies and refineries should be reawakened and there should be optimal functioning to boost the development of the country.

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## Almajiri Model School System and the Problematic of Implementation

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### Abstract

The new “Almajiri” model school system is a step forward in the Nigerian quest to solve the abuse of the traditional 'Almajiri' system where there are no checks and balances. But it should be understood that the traditional “Almajiri” system has come a long way. A millennia-old tradition cannot be transformed with the wave of hand or a passionate upsurge akin to the ones Nigerian government established. All the stake holders have to be more pragmatic and realistic. Doing so entails understanding the psychology and motivations of the parties involved, the parents, the mallams and the students (the almajirai). The programme must appeal to their level and relate with their world view and perception. There are different lenses through which people perceive the world. To an average father that sends his child to 'Almajiranci' he is of the spiritual belief that he is observing a religious obligatory duty (whatever that means). The task then is to convince him that observing a religious obligatory duty is not mutually exclusive from a temporal quest. Unfortunately, most of the people involved in addressing the 'Almajiri' system (the government and private individual, analyst) come with a mind-set that dealt only into the material benefit of abolishing the system, at the expense of the spiritual and psychological means. Unless and until the campaign hinge on the spiritual and religious belief, this useful though will move to Bermuda triangle like other laudable policies. We must exercise reasonable care, patience and perseverance for the programme to succeed. By exercising reasonable care we can prevent this useful children from becoming destructive giants.

**Keyword:** Almajiri, Model school, Implementation, Tradition,

### Introduction

In contemporary time, the traditional Almajiri system has come under severe attack and criticisms in the Nigerian body politics and the establishment of the new model has also attract the attention of all stake holder both national and international. It has attracted heated debate among divergent groups each claiming to advance its argument based on their perception, dispositions and idiosyncrasies. This unprecedented concern, worries about Almajiranci and the phenomenon of begging are among the issues most frequently mentioned in the media, in political campaigns and governmental policies, and in academic discourses. Indicators of these concerns are obvious and quite glaring over the Almajiri Education System is informed by several factors. Some of them include explosion in population informs increased churning out of Almajirai, especially into increasingly chaotic urban centres and their concomitant and associated effects such as over crowdedness and over stretching of the urban space and public utilities, upsurge in social deviation, maladjustment, and disorders and general vulnerability to all sorts of social hazards.

Most observers have claimed that the almajirai are children living under a horrific condition, most of them left their homes and parents at tender age to be taught under a teacher (mallam) who is vast in the Islamic knowledge but left on their own to feed on themselves under the mercy of Allah.. A very pathetic aspect of their lives is what they eat, they do not care about the nature of the food cooked, fresh or stale and it can be picked from anywhere. From their appearance too they rarely take their bath. It is surprising however to see that they rarely fall sick (Kabiru, 2012) lamented that:

The condition under which these street urchins lives makes them to develop very strong immunity to illnesses and diseases, which baffle medical practitioners.' They are growing in geometrical

progression a population too large for individuals to handle; this has led the Quranic education system into a modern form of slavery and unimaginable child abuse.

It is in line with this protracted character, nature of the traditional Almajiri School that the federal government came with articulated and martial out planned model of Almajiri School to alleviate the suffering of the people for their development.

However, since the induction of the new Almajiri model schools in 2013, like any other innovations in education divergent tunes have continued to trail the policy. There has been daunting challenges revolving around the implementation and non-availability of relevant curriculum in school. Therefore, the central focus of this of this paper is to examine of challenges of implementing the New Almajiri model system of education in Northern Nigeria with a view to finding means of recouping the policy.

### **The Traditional Almajiri System: A Historical Perspective**

From the Islamic perspective, seeking for knowledge is the first principle before worshipping. Therefore, the word Almajiri is derived from the Arabic word “almuhajirun” meaning an immigrant. It usually refers to a person who migrates from the home to other places or to a popular teacher in the quest for Islamic knowledge. It is hinged on the Islamic concept of migration which is widely practiced especially when the acquisition of knowledge at home is either inconvenient or insufficient.

Its origin was the migration of Prophet Mohammed from Mecca to Medina. Those who migrated with the prophet to Medina were called 'Al-Muhajirun', meaning emigrants. These emigrants had no means of livelihood on getting to Medina, but based on the fraternity established by the prophet, between their hosts and them, they were co-opted into different trades and vocations as apprentices who were paid for their services.

However, contextually, in modern times, the word refers to seeker of knowledge in an organized and comprehensive system of education for learning Islamic principles, values, jurisprudence and theology. The Almajiri Education System is a reflection of Islamic learning centres in many Muslim countries such as the Madrasah in Pakistan, Malaysia, Egypt and Indonesia and so on. The system was funded by the state treasury and the zaka funds, and was under the control of the emirs of the traditional government system that existed before the coming of the British. Since Islam encourages charity to wayfarer and to a student of learning, the community as well readily supported this Almajiri most of whom came from faraway places to enrol in the Tsangaya schools. In return, the almajiris offer services such as laundry, cobbling, gardening, weaving, sowing and so on as charity to the community that contributed to their wellbeing; hence they gave the society what the society gave to them. The almajiri system, though funded was over dependent on the state. The students were at liberty to acquire vocational and occupational skills in between their Islamic lessons and so were involved in farming, fishing, well construction, masonry, production, trade, and tailoring, small businesses and so on. Many of them were the farmers of the northern Nigerian cotton and groundnut pyramids. They formed the majority of the traders in the commercial city of Kano. They were the leather tanners and leather shoe and bag makers in the old Sokoto Empire. The weavers and tailors in Zaria city were said to be almajiris.

The implication is that the Almajirai, formed the largest percentage of the community work force and made significant contribution to the economy of the society before the introduction of white collar jobs. The system also produced judges, clerks, and teachers and so on, and laid an elaborate system of administration in northern Nigeria. They provided the colonial administration with the needed staff. The first set of colonial staff in northern Nigeria was provided by the almajiri schools and this went on for years. In fact, the almajiri system was a civilizing agent second to none, before they were gradually replaced, phased out and indeed abandoned as a result of capitalist mode of production.

However, the British conquest of Nigeria and subsequent annexation of both the north and south came along with several consequences. First and foremost, they killed and disposed those emirs who resisted the foreign rule, took control of the state treasury, while those who were subjugated lose control of their territories and accepted their new roles as mere traditional rulers used only for the indirect rule. The

British also refused to recognise the Almajiri education system as an important educational system and deliberately abolished its state funding arguing that, they were mere religious schools. To add to the already dreaded bomb, all the learned people who were at the helm of affairs in pre-colonial north fell in one swoop and were considered illiterate or uneducated (at least to the government), making them not only unemployed but unqualified to be employed despite being able to read and write. Islamic scholars who were revered professionally for controlling the moral fibres of the society gradually became neglected. An Imam who may be the source of arbitration to the people of his community was relegated to delivering sermon once a week at the local Friday mosque. The same Imam is considered not qualified enough to have a say in government or to sit in the chambers of the state house of assembly to deliberate on the laws and constitution of the state because he was considered uneducated and illiterate.

The worst hit brought by colonialism to the almajirai system was the entrenchment of the capitalist value of primitive accumulation of wealth by all means hence, the collapse of traditional values of communalism, brotherhood and hospitality under which the traditional almajirai system survive.

To resuscitate the situation, the responsibility of the almajirai was then taken over by the local scholars who deemed it a moral and religious duty to educate these pupils for the sake of Allah. Although there was scarcity of funds and overwhelming number of people to cater for, the system continued to flourish with the support of the immediate community and begging was still not a norm instead they resorted to odd menial jobs to make ends meet (Okonkwo & Alhaji, 2014) (Ellechiagu, 2012)

Disregard for the almajiri system in preference to western education coupled with the increasing level of poverty in the country, the care of the almajiri became overwhelmingly burdensome for the mallams who were left with no choice but to send these little boys out to beg from the good will of the society. To make ends meet, some of these mallams began to impose on the almajiris what is called "KundinLaraba", a form of weekly Wednesday fees for the lessons they derived. They were reassured that to beg was better than to steal. These boys horde into the society with no bearing, moving from street to street, house to house, vehicle to vehicle. They were everywhere including Mosque, Churches, markets, car parks, restaurants and even graveyard, and so on. They became a burden as well as a pest to the society. They sang, begged and prayed appealing to the mercy and good will of the people.

The almajirai consume all kinds of foods that come to their way either fresh or stale. Their common food called "gajala" which is stored by an almajiri over a number of days. It is a combination of locally made of corn food (tuwo) and 'qanzo', pasta and boiled yam altogether like a fresh vomit. They roam about dirty, tattered, bare foot, pale with flies pecking on their cracked lips and dry faces which is filled with rashes or ring worm. They sleep on worn out mats in an uncompleted building where even animal and reptile may not find it convenient as there are no windows for cross ventilation and the walls have given room to cracks as if it will fall the next minute.

With loss of support from the government and the community, the helpless emirs, the scholars Mu'allims have no option other than to allow almajirai to go for begging for their survival. Thus picture of the almajirai became bleak and precarious like an accident victim where the faith of the sympathizers remain elusive for the almajiri survival (Hilda & Ibrahim 2014)

It is really sad when you see these almajirais, hungry, malnourished, wounded, rushing for fly invested left over food, searching through trash can for little morsels just to stay alive. In fact the blurred memory of this young future generation keeps one in perpetual pain as to whether to cry or search for alternative for them.

### **The New Almajiri Model**

In 2013 the federal Government of Nigeria made attempts to integrate western education with Islamic education so as to surpass the Almajiri to functional member of the society. Merging the two system of education together to curtail the plight of street begging by children and youth pursuing Qur'anic education is a welcome development. The system is to accommodate the Almajiri who are coming to the city from far and near villages for Qur'an knowledge. The purpose of the integration is to strengthen the ability of the learners to read, write and memorize the Qur'an in a conducive learning atmosphere and to

introduce secular subjects of western education into Qur'anic school system thereby making the products literate, numerate and equipped them with manipulative and survival skills in the modern system to meet the goals of Education For All (EFA) and to eradicate Almajiri method of involving teenage children into street begging, hard labour, unhygienic condition, social vices and also to provide adequate and qualitative instructional materials in both Islamic and secular subjects (Yusha'u & Lawal, 2013)

However, to achieve the aim of the programme, national guidelines for the development and integration of the Almajiri education into basic education were developed and printed to guide the federal, states, local governments and nongovernmental organizations, which may collaborate with the federal government on the project to meet its objectives and sustainability. The guidelines have three models.

- (i) This Model focuses on the integration of traditional Tsangaya- Qur'anic School into the formal education system within its original location.
- (ii) Model two deals with boarding Almajiri schools involving the establishment of model boarding schools to serve a group of Tsangaya/Qur'anic schools within a given location. Aside the facilities mentioned above, this model has two laboratories and two workshops. It also has a Mallam's residence, kitchen and dining facilities.
- (iii) Model Three is the integration of basic education in established Islamiyyah and Ma'ahad schools. This Model is in form of support for existing Islamiyyah and Ma'arifa schools in the areas of rehabilitation and provision of additional infrastructure (Media trust, 2013).

On the part of the government, to achieve the objectives of the above models, the Almajiri schools were established. The almajiri are to be thought both western as well as Quranic education so that they will be removed from the streets. A total of 125 Almajiri model schools are being constructed in 27 states of the Federation, out of which over 80 have been completed (Shehu, 2002). The completed schools are being handed over to the state governments to facilitate enrolment and employment of teachers to man them. The responsibility of constructing the schools was shared among the funding agencies of both basic and tertiary education. The Universal Basic Education, UBEC, is to construct 89 of these schools, out of which 64 have been fully completed and furnished with learning taking place, while the Tertiary Education Trust Fund, TETFund, constructed 35 of these schools, which were already commissioned.

On the November 2, 2013, President Jonathan performed a symbolic launching of the 64 newly completed and furnished Almajiri schools in Sokoto state, signifying a laudable achievement in the development of the basic education subsector in that part of the country. The 64 schools commissioned are located in Adamawa, Borno, Gombe, Bauchi, Yobe, Jigawa, Kaduna, Sokoto, Zamfara, Kebbi, Oyo, Osun, Lagos, Ondo, Ekiti, Edo, Rivers, Kogi, Niger, Katsina, Taraba and Nasarawa States (Media trust, 2013).

The integrated Almajiri schools are to offer the following core subjects, English, Sciences, Mathematics, Social Studies together with Hausa, Computer, PHE and Handwriting under formal system of education with Agriculture, Trade, Commerce, Handcraft, Mechanic, Vulcanizing and Islamic Calligraphy among others as vocational skills of their curriculum. While the component to the curriculum of non-formal education is Qur'anic education which involve strong foundation in recitation of the Glorious Qur'an and Islamic studying include Qira'atul Qur'an, Tahfeez, Tajweed, Arabic, Islamic Studies, Tauhid, Hadith, Fiqh and Sira (Yusha'u and Lawal, 2013). The model boarding school which is in phases entrust four responsibilities to the federal government, Provision of funding for construction of the schools, accommodation, equipment and furnishing, Provision of textbooks; Designing of curriculum for use in the schools; Provision for capacity building training for teachers.

From the above structural design of the model, it seems the initiative is particularly commendable in the light of the age old deprivation, neglect and abuse these children have been subjected to. The new system will undoubtedly and for the first time in the lives of most of the almajiri children, insure that they are properly clothed and have access to food and learning materials while studying. It could easily be deduced that these pupils stand to reap the best of two worlds- they will receive a structured Islamic education and will also enjoy the benefits of modern western education in the form of practical skills needed to compete in today's world. In some ways, these new policies and the new education project will serve as a check on

the security threat that these children constituted as it stands to arouse in them patriotic sentiments towards the country that is now caring for them.

Most important is the fact that the new Almajiri Education Programme does not in any way affect the Qur'anic education that the Almajiris are presently exposed to. What it brings to the table is the assurance that the Almajiris will have access to quality basic education in a conducive environment backed by an adequate feeding programme and quality educational resource materials. The Almajiris will also be exposed to skills that will enable them participate more actively in the society, other than beg for survival. They will also be housed in their respective hostels with facilities that are of high societal standards. Simply put, the Federal Government has put in place several measures to ensure the retention of these Almajiris in the schools.

### **The Challenges of Implementing Almajiri Model**

It is imperative to note that some civil society groups, the northern aristocrats and commentators have raised questions about the implementation and sustainability of new almajiri model system. Some of the teething challenges bedevilling the implementation of the programme are thus:

#### **- The Protracted Poverty In The North**

Statistics has shown that the northern states have highest indices of poverty according to NBS report of 2012. This no doubt contributed to parent sending their children to begging. There are cases where the children bring back the remnants of what they have scored in the begging business. Most families in the rural areas live under the carnage and chain of poverty as most social amenities could only be found in the cities. As in the case of Sokoto state where most remote villages have no access to road, drinking water and health facilities. For this type of families sending children to almajiranci is the best alternative option. Hence begging became the order of the day. This is not meant to say Islam does not frown at begging in any form because it reduces Muslim's self-esteem and dignity. Yet parents release their children to undergo this horrific condition out of poverty.

#### **- Lack Of Adequate Knowledge Of Islamic Means Of Acquiring Knowledge**

In Hadith collection by Wali'al-din (1977) quoted (Mishkat al-masabih) the prophet said " go in search of knowledge even to china" (Ifijeh & James 2012). In a similar thought the Prophet in the collection Al-tirmidhi said "the search for knowledge is obligatory upon every Muslim". This implies that the prophet did not discriminate against age, status, gender. Similarly, the quest for knowledge knows no geographical, social or religious boundary. These and many others similar Hadith propelled Muslim in the whole world to go in search of knowledge. However, this hadith is wrongly interpreted as knowledge must be seek without a guide.

Most renowned Islamic scholars have elaborately explained the means, the strategy, and the method of acquiring knowledge according to the ideals of Islamic teachings. In all the explanations neither the prophet nor his companions, or their followers see begging as part of the teachings. In fact, in a renowned book written by Burhanudeen Al-zarnuji titled Ta'alim Muta'alim dari quta'alim meaning 'an instruction to students a method of learning'. This book has extensively explain how Islamic knowledge should be acquired as he explain thus:

The pursuit of knowledge is not carried on without six things which I shall inform you of through words that are clear; ingenious acumen, fervent desire, patience, sufficient sustenance, guidance of a teacher, and length of time.

#### **- The Miseducational Ideological Construct**

The age-long twincultural belief that a child who has not been sent to Almajiri School will not spiritually prosper in life. This belief goes to the extent of claiming that the child will rescue his parent in the day of judgment. Hence, sending children to traditional Almajiri School is generally accepted as a spiritual means of purifying children. On the other side of the misled ideological construct there are claims that

western education is contradictory to the whole essence of Islamic belief. This is ingrained in the belief that the western education called Boko is of Christian-European origin and therefore anti-Islamic. Some nurture the fear that a child with western belief will eventually lose his Islamic identity and embrace vices that negates the values and principles of Islam, such as alcoholism, fornication, semi unclad dressing, partying, abandoning the prayer, fasting, zakka and so on. This make it difficult to reform and integrate the system in to the mainstream educational system.

- **Polygamous Marriage System of the North**

The polygamous nature of the core northern state is structurally part of the problem. Most people have faith in having more children based on the Hadith of the prophet that says marry and generate so that I can be proud of you in the day of judgement. In another narration it has been reported that the prophet had said marriage is my tradition and whoever negate it is not with me.

It should be noted that the above twonarrations are in conformity with the explanation of the third verse of suratulnisai which state thus:

And if you fear that you shall not be able to deal justly with the orphans, then marry women of your choice –two, three, or four. But if you fear that you shall not be able to deal justly with them, then only one or the captives and the slaves that your right hands possess. That is nearer to prevent you from doing injustice. Quran 4:verse3.

The above verse clearly shows that it is not compulsory to marry many wives and children. It is conditional that is, if you can do justice to both the wives and the children. Is it justice for one to allow his children moving on the street? Is it justice for the parent not to take responsibility of their children? For Allah sake the prophet had said

( kullkumra'iwakullukummas'uluna an ra'iyatihi) that means 'all of you are shepherd and each will be asked on how he treated what he was given to take care of'.

This implies that you can only have more wives and childrenif you can do justice to them as explained in the above verse. This entails having enough resources for their feeding, schooling, health, housing and all the necessary requirements.

- **Politicization of the Model**

The new model is seen as a political weapons to canvass votes by the Jonathan administration which was over politicised without adequate and substantial planning reflecting on the socio-economic realities of the North. A visit to most almajiri schools revealed that it isill funded thus hindering the success of the programme. This is partlydue to low percentage of the budget allocated to education.The Nigeriangovernment has never allocated up to 26% as recommended by UNESCO of its annual budget to education in any given years in order to achieve the objectives of peace, citizenship, and security (Education for All EFA-Global Monitoring Report, 2005). This no doubt, has adversely affects the implementation of the programme.

- **Communication Gap**

The communication gap embedded in the Almajiri education system make understanding difficult as greater percentage of the enlightenment was done only withinthe major cities in the North. The enlightenment programme has not really spread across both the metropolis and the rural areas. The rural populace is not fully aware of the Alamjiri integration programme. This makes it difficult as most of the people especially those in the rural areas are unwilling to participate in the implementation of the programme.

**-Conclusion**

The traditional “Almajiri” System of education in itself is not a problem, it is just like any other system subject to abuse when there are no checks and balances. Besides, the “Almajiri” System is a millennium-old tradition that cannot be dismissed with the wave of hand or an emotional outburst. The government has to be more pragmatic and realistic. To an average father that sends his child to 'Almajiranci' he is of the

belief his observing a religious duty (whatever that means). The task then is to convince him that observing a religious duty most conform to the ideals of Islamic teachings. This entails understanding the psychology and motivations of the parties involved, think at their level and relate with their world view and perception. Unless and until the both the psychology and the belief of the participant is work on the model will remain a mirage.

### Recommendation

- A call for abolishment of Almajiri School is assumed as an encroachment into the culture and belief of the North. The parents in the north should be enlightened to abide with the ideal of Islamic means of acquiring knowledge. The dogmatic mislead belief that a child most pass through the traditional almajirai system before he prosper most be campaigned against. The mallams and traditional rulers in the nook and crannies of the North should spearhead this campaign. Hausa films and Radio programmes can be sponsored for this purpose, Vocational education that provides skills related to occupations like carpentry, welding, farming, etc should be introduced for adolescents and adults attending the Qur'anic schools. The Islamic scholars, educational administrators and the Islamic clergy must come together, with the Mallams to form a central structure or a unilateral control over every Traditional Quranic school

- For the new model of Almajiri school to succeed Poverty should be targeted in the northern area using some empowerment programme by both the state government and the stake holders. Agriculture could be an alternative to the empowerment since almajiri pupils could lead to increase in labour supply. A skilled acquisition could re-channel the waste of labour to useful activities in the country.

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## National Security Strategies: A Panacea To National Economic Development in Nigeria

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### Abstract

Though managing security in multi-ethnic state like Nigeria is often an herculean task, the need for security become imperatives as the securitization is a strong panacea to the national economic development. This work posits that survival of a state to provide economic good to the citizenry largely depend on the secure environment conducive for investment. The work uses secondary sources of data as its methodology. It is found out that Nigeria insecure environment was grossly linked to poor leadership and corruption with impunity on the part of security stallholders. Huge amount of money that could have been channeled to national economic development has been allocated to security without positive result. This paper thus recommends that for Nigeria to have secure economic environment necessary for national economic development corruption must squarely be fought in addition to ethic security agents among others .

### Introduction:

The fact that economic survival of a state largely depend on the secure environment is incontrovertible. This vividly indicates that security is indispensable assets to national economic development. Most states with economic fortunes today are not only the result of their institutional capacity to build a nation but as a result of the secure environment suitable for investment. In Nigeria, it is clear that security of life and property is a fundamental human right guaranteed under the country's constitution. This prompted Victor to say that Ideally, it behooves on the state as the highest institution of the society to guarantee food and job security of her citizenry through a well articulated social policies and by extension, preserves and secure some national values. It is seemingly unfortunate that since the transition to democracy in May 1999, government at all level in the country has failed dismally to ensure broader security. Buttressing on this failure is the incessant record of ceaseless electoral crisis, wanton ethnic and inter-communal clashes, post-election killings, human trafficking and of course most recent is Fulani herdsmen/famers maiming, Boko Haram insurgents and the resurgence of Niger-Delta war against national asset and the Nigerian state in particular. By inference, the resultant effect of the above inter-playing negative forces or security traitors is the continual weakening of national security capacity and by extension worsens the fragility of the Nigerian state . (Victor ,2 0 1 7 )

The Nigerian government has allocated huge amount of national budget to security recent years without any positive result. Despite these efforts, the level of insecurity in the country is still high. In addition, Nigeria has consistently ranked low in the Global Peace Index (GPI, 2012), signifying a worsened state of insecurity in the country. Hence, Adagba, et al (2012), Uhumwuangho and Aluforo (2011) are of the view that the efforts of government have not yielded enough positive result. It is instructive to note that these two conditions or measures, "democratic governance and economic development, link the remote and the immediate sources of insecurity in Nigeria. However, these two conditions can get on the right track only under the condition that the institutional capacity are made very strong, that is , "they must be accompanied with the rich soil of institutional apparatuses " (Taekyoon , 2 0 0 9) The poverty of transparent and sound institutions to deal with security threats is directly related to institutional failures in enhancing the effectiveness of security solution measures by either democratic reforms or development projects. (Achumba eta l'2013).

The Nigerian democratic environment couple with insensitive leaders who have been displaying political inadequacy in guaranteeing security has been the bane of national economic development in the country in recent times. As envisaged by Tsuwa (2014) that fabric of Nigerian democracy has been destroyed by leaders who wish to retain themselves in power though have remained ineffective, unproductive and irresponsible. The inability of Nigerian democrats to transform Nigeria state with democratic credentials such as rules of law, openness in government business, transparency, accountability, equity, free and fair election has been put in comatose thereby leading to conflict and crises that remained and impediment to the national economic development. Editi (2014) the viable security measures as adopted in many societies therefore is social security where every living being in a country is satisfied with the distribution of wealth capable of eliminating abject poverty.

### Conceptual Framework:

#### National Security:

Security is the most significant asset any society can strive for. Where people are insecure, the economy would also be insecure and the state would be characterized by social vices capable of truncating the national interest. Security thus, can be described as stability and continuity of livelihood (stable and steady income), predictability of daily life (knowing what to expect), protection from crime (feeling safe), and freedom from psychological harm (safety or protection from emotional stress which results from the assurance or knowing that one is wanted, accepted, loved and protected in one's community or neighbourhood and by people around. It focuses on emotional and psychological sense of belonging to a social group which can offer one protection.) This description structured the concept of security into four dimensions. However, these dimensions can be weaved together to give a composite definition of security as the protection against all forms of harm whether physical, economic or psychological. It is generally argued however that security is not the absence of threats or security issues, but the ability to rise to the challenges posed by these threats with expediency and expertise. (Achumba et al 2013).

There are abundant definitions in the word security in many literatures. Bazza (2014) to explain security from the stand point of state primary responsibility within the context of human security. For him, human security includes political, economic, social and environmental threats. Also, Awojobi (2014) made his contribution that security refers to the "condition of feeling happy and safe from danger and harm" (in Yagboyaju cited in Guardian July 22 2014). Yagboyaju argued that a lot of emphasis is placed on the physical aspect of security. He explains that the totality of the thinking of security or feeling for safety by the citizens of a country will form the basis of the national security in that country.

To this effect, a new school of thought emerged. This new school of thought tends to x-ray national security to include not just military defense of territory but also internal stability, socio-economic development, protection of life, property and economic resources of the nation by constituted authority using instituted security apparatus. In line with the above scholarship leaning, citing McNamara (1968) in Nwachukwu (2011:69):

*In a modernizing society, security means development. Security is not military force though it may involve it; security is not military hardware though it may include it. Security is development and without development, there can be no security... the security of any nation lies not solely or even primarily in its military capacity; but equally in developing relatively stable patterns of economic and political growth.*

Furthermore, Adamu (1990) maintains that whether national or regional, security goes beyond military strength. It extends to the capacity to promote economic self reliance, internal cohesion and socio-political stability through a well structured and implemented domestic policy. Suffice it to add that a broader meaning of national security must reflect how governments govern, how the media institution report issues of public concern, on whether citizens have food to eat or not, on whether the public and civil service community are paid good salaries or not, and how government conducts its relations with other states or countries. The reason is because the above issues have security implications. (Adamu, 1999).

National security could in term of protection of life and property would no doubt be frustrated if not accompanied by social security like prevision of basic amenities and all other thing necessary for human existence.

### **National Development:**

Development is a continuous process. It is a multidimensional concept that consists of various parts of a whole. As a concept, development embraces both economic variables and non-economic variables. It entails economic devolvement plus the standard of living of the people. Measuring development is a complex task, yet every society and individual earnestly seeks development.

The concept of development is open to diverse definitions. Onyekpe (2004) sees development as a generic term which encompasses the transformation of the economy, state and society through the achievement of greater capacity to deal with the challenges of production and its expansion, - political administration and governance and organizing civil society as a community of people.

Development is an improvement in quality of life (not just material standard of living), in both quantitative and qualitative terms. Development is seen as culturally and temporally relative, needing to be appropriate to time, space, society and culture. Life expectancy, educational attainment and adjusted real GDP per capita are indices of the Human Development Index used to measure development. The HDI pioneered by the UNDP in 1990 has become the most useful and widely used variable for measuring development; as against the previously used economic variable of GNP per capita which was not only misleading but bias towards countries with non sophisticated economies. (Simon, 2004).

Interrogating the issue of development, Dudley Seers posited thus: "The questions to ask about a country's development are therefore :what has been happening to poverty ?What has been happening to unemployment? What has been happening to inequality? If all three of these have declined from high levels then beyond doubt this has been a period of development for the country concerned, if one or two of these central problems have been growing worse, especially if all three have it would be strange to call the result "development "even if per capita income doubled ". ( 1 9 6 The Seer's definition of development is a shinning bulb of what national development is all about. The development of any nation is not the result of physical infrastructures but to a great extent elimination of poverty, eradication of inequality and provision of social security (employment) to the populace.

### **Theoretical Framework:**

Many theories existed in the anal of social science which are used to analyzed and explain social and political phenomenon. Theory is a set of believed or general principles that is intended or guide to explain a given socio-political phenomenon. Theory thus is a guiding tool of analysis. This work anchor its analysis on human need theory. Central to this theory is that if basic needs of man in society is not met, there will be tendency of conflicts. This conflicts is often cause by government or constituted authorities who fail to meet their economic and socio-political expectation by not providing social and economic needs to the citizens. The major apologists of this theory are ;Abraham Maslow ,John Burton ,Marshall Rosenberg and Manfred Max Neef .In order to live and attain well being ,humans needs are essentials. These are called human needs or basic human needs. Human needs theorists argue that conflicts and violent conflicts are caused by unmet human needs. Violence occurs when certain individuals or groups do not see any other way to meet their need, or when they need understanding, respect and consideration for their needs. Rosenberg in Gert (2005), states that violence is a tragic expression of unmet human needs, implying that all actions undertaken by human beings are attempts to satisfy their needs. If we are able to connect with our needs and those of others, we will therefore be able to look at other ways of meeting such needs, avoiding violence and destruction. (Gert, 2005).

In his Pyramid of Human Needs, Abraham Maslow puts emphasis on the hierarchy of needs, stating that some are more urgent than others. On the base of the pyramid he places food, water, and shelter. On a second level, he places the need for safety and security, followed by belonging or love. (Manslow, 1943). John Burton has been applying human needs theory more actively to current social and political

conflicts. In his work on protracted, social conflicts, he looks at how universal human needs often are neglected, leading groups to use violence to claim their rights and satisfying their needs. In what is really a compatibility of human needs, Burton argues that education and culture make parties manipulate the issues and dehumanizing the other parties. (John, 1993) Marshall Rosenberg's approach, human needs are universal and meeting them is essential to human survival and well-being. He states that our education and culture often alienate us from connecting with our real needs, and through Nonviolent Communication, he proposes a model for connecting with our own and others' needs, an approach he applies in all levels of society and which he has used in mediation in several countries. (Rosenberg, 2003). In his own contribution to human need theory, The Chilean economist Manfred Max-Neef also proposes nine universal human needs, through which he argues that we can achieve human development and peaceful societies. Max-Neef defines his main proposal, Human Scale Development, as "focused and based on the satisfaction of fundamental human needs, on the generation of growing levels of self-reliance, and on the construction of organic articulations of people with nature and technology, of global processes with local activity, of the personal with the social, of planning with autonomy, and of civil society with the state". (Max-Neef, 1999). Like Burton and Rosenberg, Max-Neef agrees that no need is superior to other, and that they are all complementary and essential to human life. Lack of any essential needs therefore can lead to confrontation and could subsequently result into conflicts.

To relate this theory to this study, it is argued that the basic needs of Nigerian populace is essential without which the security of a state in question will be threatened. Since many states are negligence of citizens concerning their welfare there was need by the government to be rigorous in running the affairs of the state toward addressing the plight of the citizens. It is the constitutional rights of the citizens to enjoy such social values as foods, water, shelter and other social necessities chiefly to give them sense of belonging and love as argued by Manslow's pyramid of needs.

Also relevant to this study is that many citizens especially uneducated ones are vulnerable and can be easily recruited by insurgents if their basic needs are not met. Most of the suicide bombers used by Boko Haram 'insurgents in Nigeria are alleged to be children of aggrieved individual's courtesy government inability to meet their demands or basic needs. More fundamentally, if the basic needs of people are not properly address, the result will be more conflict and insecurity because at any moment the people are frustrated they will be aggressive towards meeting their basic needs and the result would be neglect national economic development.

### **Managing Security in Multi-ethnic State:**

Managing security in heterogeneous society like Nigeria is always a herculean task. A major cause of what we now see as ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria has to do with the accusations and allegations of neglect, oppression, domination, exploitation, victimization, discrimination, marginalization, nepotism and bigotry. In every nation (Nigeria inclusive), there is no complete agreement on how wealth, power and status are to be shared among individuals and groups. There is also no agreement on how to effect necessary changes and reforms. This is because, different groups and individuals have diverse interests in which case some groups will have their aims met, while others will not. What this means is that conflict (ethno-religious ones inclusive) usually occur when deprived groups and individuals attempt to increase their share of power and wealth or to modify the dominant values, norms, beliefs or ideology. (Salau, 2010). Managing security in conflicts ridden environment like Nigeria require the energetic and robust national interest where people eliminate loyalty to their ethnic groups as the case of Nigeria and institutionalized loyalty to the state.

Thus, in Nigeria and going by the various examples of ethno-religious conflicts, there seems to be a divisive interplay of politics, ethnicism and religions, which has consequently led to the rising nationalism and militancy of various ethnic and religious movements. It is interesting to note that the overall consequence of this is the escalation of various ethno-religious conflicts that are witnessed all over the country today which are meant to correct any perceived form of marginalization, oppression or domination. (Salau, 2010). Poor management of this ethnic base conflict by appropriate authority which

is the source of insecurity in Nigeria has tremendously affected the country's economic development.

Similarly, Achumba, et al (2013) have argued that the judicial method of conflict management in Nigeria has failed to resolve the problem. According to Oromaregbe and Akpator (2005), such method has created more bitterness than bringing relief. Commenting on the reasons for the alter failure of these two methods of resolving or managing ethno-religious conflicts in the Nigerian case, Omorogbe and Omohan (2005) said:

*... the main reasons for the poor performance of the often used conflict management mechanisms are poor logistics, delay in deployment of troops to the crises areas, lack of cooperation by parties to the conflicts, non implementation of whitepaper or recommendations submitted to the government by the panel of inquiry etc (P. 577).*

Due to all the reasons given above, the two conflict management strategies which have been used constantly at different crisis points in Nigeria gave not yielded much positive results in terms of effective resolution of ethno-religious conflicts that have characterized the Nigerian political system.

### **Security Strategies: Panacea to National Economic Development:**

*... beyond the nexus between strong democratic leadership and good governance, there is an intricate linkage between and among good governance, national security and economic development. Consequently, economic development derives from the national security which also derives from good governance. Where good governance is in critical short supply, national security is compromised and economic development is eroded and insurgencies thrive. (Herbert and Michael, 2014)*

There is no gainsaying the fact that the major threats to national security in Nigeria are essentially internal rather than external. This goes a long way to buttress on the seemingly inability of the democratization process to systematically address some vital domestic issues which have turned out to threaten national stability. Essentially, democratic tenet all over the world connotes leadership accountability, group tolerance, policy objectivity, fairness in resource distribution, right to self-determination and respect for individuals opinion. Meanwhile there is a strong link between adherence to democratic tenets and national security in any country, Nigeria in particular. Having said this, it becomes obvious that the relative absence of the above tenet along with sheer lack of political will in Nigeria's democratic experiment has resulted in making the Nigerian state more fragile and crisis-prone than ever. (Victor, 2011) This poor security strategies which is basically equal distribution of national wealth, elimination of poverty, access to quality education and provision of infrastructure necessary for human life is the only way to reduce and if possible eliminate insecurity in Nigeria without which national economic development would be frustrated. For instance, Yahaya opined that ;

*...it is estimated that assets worth N59, 672,000 were lost to the Jos crisis in 2001, while government compensation to victims was about N13, 938,000 ; assets lost to the Kaduna crisis of 2000 amounted to N50, 625,000 with government compensation at N32, 700,600. The Kano crisis of 2001 resulted in the loss of asset worth N59, 756,000, while compensation totaling about N22,658,000 ; assets lost to Jos crisis of 2000 was estimated at about N102, 932,000 while N185, 121 was paid as compensation to victims (to mention just a few) (Yahaya, 2005).*

This huge amount of money pushed into insecurity ventures could have been invested in major sectors of economy. Nwanegbo (2005), cited in Nwachukwu (2011:74) opines that national insecurity in Nigeria and Africa in general, are mainly caused by contest over the control of scarce resources and it is those deprived or that feel deprived that tries to either protect or defend their interest or vent frustration in what ends up to be inter-ethnic conflicts, inter-communal crisis or civil unrest and revolution. Thus, the resultant implications include economic downturn, social in cohesion, socio political instability, loss of human resource and general institutional weakness.

Adesoji, (2010) of the opinion that public sector corruption leading to misuse of resources, unemployment and mass poverty ; ignorance due to limited educational opportunities swelled the army of vulnerable people whose disillusionment and impoverishment made them

easy prey in the hands of demagogues like the late Yusuf the first leader of Boko Haram that has been a security threat to Nigeria. It is important to state that the fourth republic is very pivotal in analyzing the relationship between poverty and violent conflicts in Nigeria. Studies have shown that there is an increase in the rate of poverty in the fourth republic. The poverty level in 1999 was put at 45% but increased to 76% in 2012 due to mismanagement of the country's resources by corrupt leaders (Egharevba and Chiazor, 2012). It was also observed that the money that was made from oil between 1999 and 2011 was more than all that was made from 1960-1999 (Save Nigeria Group, 2012), but squandered by Nigerian leaders through corruption, leaving the masses in poverty-stricken conditions (Egharevba and Chiazor, 2012). According to National Bureau of Statistics (2011) Nigerians that live on less than \$ 1 per day are not less than two thirds of the total Population. This implies that 112 million Nigerians out of the estimated 160 million are living in poverty. Marke, (2007) cited in Ikejiaku, (2012) postulated that the account of political corruption perpetrated by African leaders are catholic and these has taken toll on the provision of human needs, with implications on conflict. He said youths that are not engaged in meaningful work, and can no longer cope with the burden of poverty caused by leadership corruption bring attention to their plight by engaging in destructive behaviour. Ikejiaku (2012) also noted that violence in the Niger Delta has been spearheaded mainly by restive and often unemployed youths. In fact, violence seems to be more in areas that experience more poverty. The positions by (Ikejiaku, 2012, Egharevba and Chiazor, 2012, Egharevba and Chiazor, 2012 and Adesoji, 2010) are all reflective of the fact that poverty is largely linked to insecurity in Nigeria and can only be eradicated if there is political will on the part of political and non political office holders to shun corruption and approach governance with open minded couple with openness and transparency in all government transactions.

In their own contribution to national security strategies which is panacea to national economic development, Achumba, et al (2013), comes up with two models approach to strategic national economic development. The first model is "the two-way approach model". According to them this model is two part model. One part is to remove the factors which cause people to engage in acts of insecurity, and the other part is to combat the perpetrators of insecurity situation. The first part considers and entrenches all of the solution methods from the various views presented above, under solution to insecurity in The second part is to combat the criminals both with the long arm of the law and the force of arms. This is meant to stop or prevent criminals from creating and perpetuating insecurity. It involves being prepared at all times and being proactive, and pursuing them wherever they are. The objective is to protect innocent citizens from harm. A major strategy in this regard is to identify and map out black spots on physical insecurity. This requires vigilance on our environment on the part of security agencies, particularly with terrorist attacks of the Boko Haram. (Achumba, et al 2013).

The second one is "the Composite approach model". This model contrast with the traditional assumption that national security is solely the responsibility of government. They agreed with the view that security of lives and property is a primary responsibility of government and supported view that the insecurity challenge in Nigeria is too enormous to be left for government alone. There is need for other stakeholders to be actively involved in ameliorating insecurity in the country. (Achumba, et al 2013).

The view or approach on securitization of the state by Achumba et al above is central and can meaningfully contribute to the national economic development. If the root of insecurity is not uprooted, the resultant effect in spite of the resources spent would be effort in futility.

#### **Conclusion:**

This work argued vividly that insecurity in Nigeria and resultant economic underdevelopment is the result of lackadaisical attitudes by public stalk holder. Since it is clear that security is panacea to economic development, the resource rich Nigeria must embark on social security in order to ameliorate physical security for economic development to strive. I strongly believed that if only 10 percent of Nigerian populations are security agents and the remaining larger populations are socially secure, there

would not be insecurity in the country. However, if 80 percent of the populations are security agents and the remaining smaller populations are socially insecure, the result would be insecurity and consequent economic underdevelopment.

#### **Recommendations:**

It is often said that before fostering democracy, you must first foster democrats. For Nigeria democratic institutions to perform to their expectations such as ending insecurity and promotes economic development democrats must be willing to serves the people with the interest to transform the nation for better as oppose to their personal interest .This paper thus recommends that ;

Corruption which is the evil of all ills of development must be shunned by government officials. Nigerians are aggressed as result of frustration which is the result of government negligence in providing the basic needs of the people .Security agents assigned to arrest ethnic militancy and insurgency in particular areas should relate with community leaders of such community. This strategy which is identification based would largely assist the security in identifying aliens who might be living within the community for interior motives. Boarder policing is strongly recommended as most of the weapons and detonated bombs used by insurgents and ethnic militias are imported into the country. Porosity of Nigerian boarders have enormously exposed the country to series of threat from both within and outside the country hence the need for strong government policy to guard and protect our borders.

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## Afro-centrism: A Stale Recipe In Nigeria's Foreign Policy Relations?

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### Abstract

Foreign policy of most nations generally takes the form and shape of internal and external dynamics intended to attend to the national interest of a state. It also ensures a robust engagement of the multifarious stakeholders in the international system in a bid to explore and exploit inherent strategic advantages. In the Nigerian context, foreign policy has been guided by the principle of Afro-centrism, which essentially entails engagement of the international system with the prism of promoting the interest of the African continent by concretely assuming important roles within and outside of the continent. It is in this light that it has shown commitment to the processes of decolonization across the continent including Angola and was at the fore of the fight against apartheid in South Africa. The leading role played in the formation of the defunct OAU, and its successor organization, the AU, as well as the promotion of development within the framework of NEPAD epitomize the principles of Afro-centrism. It however remains contentious that Nigeria seems not to be reaping a commensurate measure of reciprocity from most African countries and the international community on the basis of these. It is against this background that this paper argues for a review of the “Afro-centric” principle in the emergent international system. It argues further that; a rigid adherence to Afro-centrism since Nigeria's independence seems not to be yielding to the vagaries of contemporary international system. The main objective of this study is to attempt a critique of the Afro-centric nature of the Nigerian foreign policy since independence till date. To these effects, data is sourced from secondary sources and researcher reflexivity was adopted for analyses. The study reveals that; despite abundance of human and material resources that have been committed to pursuing and promoting this policy by successive administrations, benefits accruing to the country have been meager when compared to the alternatives foregone in the domestic affairs of the country. The paper concludes that; notwithstanding Nigeria's natural potentials to pursuing a profitable African policy, concrete strategic socio-political and economic benefits must drive international engagement.

**Key Words;** Foreign policy, Afro-centrism, Decision-makers, Realism

### Introduction

Attaining independence on the first of October 1960 marked Nigeria's birth and existence as a sovereign entity. Domestic and foreign affairs of the country became the sole responsibility of the decision-makers of the country. At independence, one of the issues which formed the nucleus of Nigeria's foreign policy was the place of Africa in Nigeria's foreign policy pursuit. In the pursuit of this, Nigeria's Prime Minister, Tafawa Balewa, stated that Africa was going to occupy a prime position in Nigeria's foreign policy. In his opinion, Nigeria belongs to Africa and Africa must claim first attention in our external affairs Bukarambe (2000: 104).

Despite its military background, the Gowon regime continued to place African affairs at the fore of Nigeria's foreign policy formulation and implementation. Successive administrations in the country have pursued this policy vigorously. Foreign policy is believed to be the reflection of a country's domestic interest to be pursued externally. Nigeria's interest in Africa can be understood from the strategic need for good neighborliness and other socio-economic peculiarities that should be harnessed in concert with other

African countries. However, when economic accruals are juxtaposed with enormous resources Nigeria commits to this pursuit, the result leaves much to be desired in terms of recognition. This calls to question the need to continue this line of foreign policy. This without credence to the need for African solidarity and therefore cannot be discountenanced in the formulation and implementation of her foreign policy. The classical notion of interstate relations being a bastion of mutually beneficial relationship seems to be eroded when reciprocity fizzles out in interstate relations.

Therefore, a critical reappraisal of Afro centrism as a theme in Nigerian foreign policy in addition to deepening an understanding of the merits, demerits, relevance and national interest motives behind the commitment to it by successive governments in Nigeria. To these ends, answers to cogent reasons behind Afro centrism being a major driver of Nigeria's foreign relations and strategic factors behind its implementation by successive administrations in Nigeria despite their varying political objectives, structure and tenure. It is also imperative to recommend measures for the sustenance and maximization of this foreign policy objective if it has potentials of increasing Nigeria's stature in the comity of nations in Africa global affairs.

### **Framework of Analysis**

Attempting to provide universally acceptable definition of the concept of foreign policy remains a herculean endeavor. Several attempts at offering one have remained contested. This accounts for the several scholarly points of view about the concept. For instance, Northedge, (1968) sees it as the interplay between the outside and the inside. On the other hand, Crabb (1972) perceives foreign policy as consisting national objectives to be achieved and the means of achieving them. To Saliu(2013:167) foreign policy "isthe veritable vehicle that a country can use in maximizing the abundant benefits that is inherently available in it and minimize the accompanied risks, costs and limitations that go with the participation in the contemporary global system.

Thus it is obvious that a tenuous and closely knitted relationship exists between domestic and foreign policy. A country's foreign policy usually consists of peculiar strategies chosen by the state to safeguard its interests and to achieve its goals within the international system. It can also be regarded as the aggregate of a country's national interest resulting from the interaction of internal and external forces as perceived by the proximate decision makers. Strategies adopted by each country to realize its objective varies from country to country. It also largely depends on domestic and foreign environmental factors. One of the strategies adopted by Nigeria to pursue her foreign policy is Afro-centrism.

Afro-centrism is therefore conceptualized in this works as national mind-set that presupposes that African affairs and interests would take priority over and above other considerations in Nigeria's relation with other countries of the world. It is also seen as policy which considers the interest of the continent paramount in her relations and dealings with extra continental organizations. Therefore concern for African issues would form a major fulcrum of Nigeria's external relations.

### **Afro-centrism and Political Realism**

The major argument of the theoretical permutation of political realism is that the state is the major factor/actor in the international system which is in itself an anarchical organization. Within the international system, states struggle to attain and maintain power for national interest. The theory assumes that states are led by leaders driven by the axiom of rationality and therefore, would be persuaded to act in the best national interest of the state. In rehearsing Thucydides, (1972), Karen (1999) observes that political realism has four major theoretical assumptions. One of which is power. Realists believe that power is central and it is a major determinant of the position and influence which a state wields in the international system.

Prior to her independence, considerable hope was invested in Nigeria and was expected by scholars and actors to wield considerable amount of power in the international environment upon attainment of independence. Saliu(2013) averred that in actual fact, Nigeria did not betray this optimism. This is palpable by her roles in African liberation struggles in the continent deploying her abundant human and natural resources. This partly explains the continued retention of Afro-centric posture of successive administrations.

### **Literature Review**

For obvious reasons of colonial background, Nigeria's foreign policy at independence was regarded as a coinage of the interest of her former colonial powers. It is therefore not surprising that little regard was given to issues that are patently African. Her newness in the comity of nations partly explains her hesitant disposition and response to pan-African movement (Gambari: 1980,; 2). Nigeria's action or inaction in the international environment was largely reactive and chiefly dictated by initiatives and pressure mounted by other African countries. (Anifowoshe; 1993, 212)

However, events in the domestic political environment largely helped in shaping Nigeria's to developments internationally. Notable amongst these was pressure mounted domestically by interest groups and political parties like Action Group manifested in the change of attitude of the Nigerian government in the first republic (Gambari; 1980, 16). Also, radical ideas spewed among the youths had significant impact on the regime's foreign and domestic policy pursuit. Of significant effect was the experience of Nigeria during the civil war. Nigeria's traditional allies, particularly, the west bloc failed to play significant role in the crisis, rather it was the Organization of African Unity (OAU) that played dominant role before during and even at the end of the war (Anifowoshe; 1993: 212). The performance of this regional body was quite impressive in the ratings of the Nigerian government which necessitated the declaration by the then military Head of State, General Yakubu Gowon that; "Africa would henceforth be the cornerstone of Nigeria's foreign policy". (Anifowoshe: 1993:212) There is no gainsaying that the military junta led by General Yakubu Gowon succeeded in making Africa attract greater attention in Nigeria's foreign policy making and implementation. This is perhaps due to her civil war experience which revealed how unpredictable friends could be. (Anifowoshe: 1993; 212). The Gowon regime had tremendous concern for African affairs in her foreign policy pursuit. It was under this regime that concern for liberation struggle in southern Africa began. Nigeria was seriously opposed to Apartheid regimes such that it threatened sanctions against countries that fraternized with the apartheid regimes in southern Africa. Apart from the abrogation of the Anglo-Nigerian defense pact in 1962, there was no other remarkable measure or policy under the administration that preceded the Gowon administration that put African affairs at the fore of Nigeria's foreign policy compared to the Gowon administration where Africa received greater attention from Nigeria than before, resulting in development of closer ties by the Nigerian head of state and his counterparts in the continent. Also, there was notable increase in the amount of financial and technical assistance Nigeria gave to other African states and there was greater Nigerian involvement in the liberation struggle in Africa (Imobighe: 1983).

The Gowon administration was terminated in 1975 and was succeeded by the Late General Murtala Mohammed. Foreign policy under the Murtala Mohammed administration was adjudged to have enjoyed superlative dynamism and focus. Kolawole (2004) describes the years of the regime as "years of foreign policy alertness". This is because no government before it has brought life, sparkle and content to foreign policy pursuit as did the regime. The administration's passion for Africa was remarkable. This reflected in the tenor of foreign policy it pursued in relations to Africa. The regime was able to match words with action in her dealings with other countries in the international system. This manifested in her financial and moral support for the regional organization (OAU) and the sub-regional organization (ECOWAS). The administration's fight against racism and especially apartheid regime in southern Africa remains the highest point of its commitment to African affairs. Though, apartheid regime did not end in the life of the administration, the seriousness with which the regime confronted the policy laid the foundation for the eventual dismantling of the apartheid regime. The regime's propaganda effectively branded any supporter of apartheid regime as an enemy of Africa.

The post Murtala administration can better be described as a mixture of dynamism and docility. The Buhari regime which claimed to be an off-shoot of the Murtala administration for example took some radical steps which were pragmatic African policy. Apart from paying her dues to the OAU promptly, the regime championed the admission of the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) as the fifty-first member of the OAU. The regime also recognized POLISARIO government in Western Sahara against opposition from other African Countries (Oke: 2004). The Shagari regime on the other

hand represented a docile period in foreign policy making and implementation. The regime performed better in the area of creating a more conducive atmosphere that enhances fraternity with countries of Europe and Americas.

The Babangida regime went further in the pursuit of Africa-centeredness of Nigeria foreign policy to canvass debt relief or total debt forgiveness for African countries. The administration was of the opinion that debt is a burden which has hampered development of the continent. In addition, the regime vigorously demanded for reparation for Africa, especially from her erstwhile colonial European masters. According to Babangida (1990:12) Africa requires a “ marshal plan” to compensate for the centuries of abuse and neglect. At different international fora, the administration called on countries of Europe and Americas to reward “ the untold hardship and exploitation” that the continent had been subjected to in the past as a result of African fore-fathers in American plantation.

The quantum of absurdity that characterized the Abacha regime that succeeded the Babangida administration might be a herculean task for this study. This is because of the way and manner the shenanigans of proximate foreign policy makers and executors in the administration earned the country a pariah status in the international system. The regime's foreign policy was described by Omotoso (2004) as;

*Area boy diplomacy,' a ranting and raving diplomacy empty in content and lacking in finesse, a diplomacy which is more like a tale told by an idiot full of sound and fury signifying nothing.*

However, in spite of the regime's obstinacy especially within the Commonwealth, its diplomacy in West Africa, especially in Liberia and Sierra Leone was commendable. Nigeria's role in ECOWAS' Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) brought about the restoration of the ousted democratic regime of Teejan Kabbah of Sierra Leone. The regime also joined other West African leaders to restore constitutional order in Liberia by successfully enthroning democratically elected government in that country. Thus, in a way, the regime had also contributed to making Nigeria play a leadership role in the sub-region.

The Abdulsalam Abubakar regime which succeeded the Abacha regime was pre-occupied with challenges of redeeming Nigeria's battered image under the Abacha regime. This is in addition to the domestic challenge of democratization. The regime obviously had little time for African affairs. However, the regime continued Nigeria's support for the Economic integration of Africa and the West African sub region. The regime also assisted Laurent Kabila's Democratic Republic of Congo to train the country's police force of Nigeria (Oni, J. K & Yahaya, I I;2005;52 ). From the above, it can be deduced that, in spite of regime changes, successive regimes made Africa the centre piece of Nigeria's foreign policy. Thus, Africa has continued to enjoy a pride of place in Nigeria foreign policy formulation and implementation.

#### **Nigeria's African Policy under democratic dispensation (1999-till date)**

Nigeria's return to democratic rule in 1999 provided a new vista in the annals of foreign policy making and implementation globally and Africa in particular. The Olusegun Obasanjo led administration identified shuttle diplomacy in addition to enumerating the need to pursue a dynamic foreign policy to promote friendly relations with all nations. It was also determined to playing a constructive role in the United Nations, OAU and other International bodies. This is with a firm resolve to restore Nigeria fully to her previous prestigious position in the comity of nations.

It can be deduced that Nigeria foreign policy under the Obasanjo administration regime may not be significantly different from the regimes before it. The zeal and determination of the regime to ensure that Nigeria bounces back into international reckoning was palpable. The president left no one in doubt as to the fact that in consonance with the global trend, the country attempted to widen the scope of her activities by playing active part in globally acclaimed institutions of the world like the International Monetary Fund, The World Bank and the G 7 Creditor Club in Western Europe and North America that are in the business of allocating and redistributing wealth. (President Olusegun Obasanjo inaugural speech, 1999) Notwithstanding this new focus, Africa still commanded significant attention in the administration's foreign policy. Perhaps the most prominent area where Nigeria has played leadership role in Africa is in her peace-keeping activities within and outside the continent.

The Obasanjo administration also maintained friendly bilateral relations with all African countries, especially with her immediate neighbors-Benin, Niger, Chad and Equatorial Guinea. The country's relations with Cameroon though not in the best of terms, Nigeria handled the issue of the boundary dispute between the two countries with maturity. As a demonstration of this maturity, the Obasanjo administration agreed in line with the international court of justice's verdict to cede the oil-rich peninsula region of Bakassi to Republic of Cameroon in spite of the opposition to this move by the indigenes of the area to move to Cameroon. The restraint exercised by the Obasanjo administration not to retaliate the provocative move of the Cameroon Gendarmes was a show of maturity and display of genuine concern for peace in Africa (Omotola, & Saliu: 2003).

As earlier noted, the immediate concern of Chief Obasanjo's administration was to restore Nigeria to her old glory, yet it also had time for issues affecting Africa. For example the regime was financially committed to the idea of the OAU and the succeeding African union. Nigeria played a significant role in the establishment of the African Union. Omotola and Saliu (2003) assert that the formation of the African Union enjoyed a tremendous patronage from Nigeria to the extent that, "New Partnership for African Development" (NEPAD) which is a corollary of AU has a prominent Nigeria diplomat as the head of its implementation committee. The vision of the African union is the promotion of a viable socio-economic integration of the African countries and peoples (Ajayi: 2004).

As a continental organization, it focuses on the promotion of peace, security and stability in the continent as a prerequisite for the implementation of the development and integration of the Union. African leaders, who are the founders of the African union have also claimed ownership of the new partnership for African development (NEPAD) NEPAD, agreement has however been described by Ogburn (2002) as *the most recent in series of development cooperation Agreements that have been formulated to help elevate Africa from its morass of underdevelopment*

It is in this all important agreement to the continent of Africa that Nigeria has collaborated with South Africa to provide the necessary leadership. Apart from this joint effort, the Obasanjo administration also established a new ministry of cooperation and integration in Africa with a cabinet rank minister in charge. Under the same administration, Nigeria restored democratic regime in Sao-Tome after a military intervention. All these efforts and activities leave no one in doubt as to the fact that the Obasanjo administration was sincerely committed to the African-centered policy. Not only has the country shown commitment to this policy by words but it has demonstrated the commitment through financial, logistic, military and diplomatic measures ().

The President Sheu Musa Yar'adua administration and that of President Goodluck Jonathan after it pursued same policy as that of President Olusegun Obasanjo, with slight differences in vigor or lack of it. They christened their policy as 'Citizen Diplomacy'. The basic element of this policy is that Nigerians are the centre piece of Nigerian's foreign policy. In spite of this change in name, Africa still attracts substantial attention from the administrations.

### **Constraints in Policy Implementation**

A cursory look at the review of Nigeria Africa-centered foreign policy since independence shows that a lot of resources, human, material time, etc have been committed. Conversely however, it can also be seen that not much has been realized from the efforts by Nigeria. This is why the question posed by Ikedinachi et al(2015) to the effect that can the nation afford to continue to pursue an African agenda at such a monumental cost without any tangible benefits to the country's national interest becomes pertinent. Though Hassan (2013), argues that Nigeria has benefited from her African policy, but he was quick to assert that the exclusion of Nigeria from Group of 20 Countries championed by USA, the exclusion of Nigeria from BRICS countries are indications that Nigeria's role in the continent is not only not beneficial, but it is not recognized from within and without. To say the least, most scholars appear to agree that the African policy of Nigeria is simply a demonstration of wishes but not backed up by ability to deliver. This view is also reflected in this study. It may be asserted that Nigeria is destined to lead Africa given her human and material resources endowment, however available facts reveal that the African

policy has not yielded the expected dividend and the country's effort at advancing the cause of the continent has not been recognized or reciprocated. Perhaps this informs the assertion of Ikedinachi (2015) which this study also shares that '... the concept of Africa as a centre-piece of Nigeria's foreign policy is not grounded in considerations of economic growth and national development but on its philosophical ideation'.

Findings of this study reveal that Nigeria has the potential to play significant role in global politics. But this has been constrained by a number of factors. A very important element of power is the economy of a state. A state with a buoyant economy is a powerful nation in the international system and vice versa. Unfortunately, this study reveals that the excruciating domestic economic condition of Nigeria is one major challenge to Nigeria's leadership position in the continent. Poverty and unemployment are on the increase and the living condition of citizens are daily dwindling and unbearable. Nigerians at home are daily confronted with survival issues which now pre-occupy the focus of the government. This has also lowered the contribution of the government to extra Nigeria affairs. Thus the domestic economy has impacted negatively on the ability of the state to pursue an aggressive foreign policy.

Corruption which has become a common feature of our existence constitutes another major hindrance to Nigeria's ability to pursue a pragmatic foreign policy. Over the years, Nigerian economy has repeatedly been undermined by continued bad governance and generalized theft of state assets. At the same time rampant corruption, poverty and political violence have done very little to lessen Nigeria's attractiveness to international investors and investment.

Another constraint is the high level of domestic crisis in the country. The Boko-haram insurgency, the Niger delta militancy and the herdsmen- farmers' face-off in parts of the country constitute unnecessary distraction for the government as well as disincentive for foreign investment. The consequence of these domestic problems is that more resource and attention have to be devoted to these domestic problems at the expense of concern for what could be termed secondary interest. Similarly they are capable of stalling foreign investment which is a major component of international relations in the contemporary global system.

The image of Nigeria that other African countries have is not complementary to her preoccupation with African affairs, and this constitutes another hindrance. According to Hassan, (2013) many African countries still do not know what Nigeria wants. Because Nigeria has not shown any desire/reason for its roles in the international system, African countries treat Nigeria's contribution to the continent as a 'father Christmas' gift. It thus mean Nigeria does not have a focus/specific objective that is known to other Africa countries.

## **Conclusion**

In the final analysis, one can assert that Nigeria has committed a lot of financial and human resources to the cause of the African continent. However in spite of Nigeria's financial, human and material contribution to Africa, not much was given back to the country. The study also reveal that the country has the potential to lead the continent to greater heights if the identified bottle-necks are removed. This work identified a lot of hindrances that has impeded the country's ability to leave up to her enviable roles in the continent. In view of the new global challenges, we recommend a review of the Nigerian foreign policy along other measures.

## **Recommendations**

No doubt Nigeria has demonstrated a lot of commitment to Africa in her foreign policy. It is also not in doubt that the country has done this even at the expense of the wellbeing of the citizens at home. In view of this reality it time for Nigeria to take a crucial look at her foreign policy with a view to reviewing it to be in line with what actually is the interest of the country. This fact has been realized since 1999 under president Obasanjo and may have informed the country's adoption of 'Citizens Policy' which still in practice. In line with the suggestion of Akinterinwa (2011:60) that 'Nigeria should make use of the international environment to boost the domestic setting, this study recommends that a combination of

both domestic and foreign environment factors can offer best solutions to foreign policy problem of the country. We also believe that if all the identified problems are properly addressed Nigeria has all that it takes to lead Africa in a competitive global system.

The country is blessed with lots of brilliant men and women as experts in international relations. These experts should be commissioned to fashion realistic and practicable foreign policy for the country. In addition, volumes of research output from the Nigeria Institute of International Affairs should also be dusted for review and use. The new policy should be realistic and pursued within the financial, economic and the military capability of the country.

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## An Evaluation of Leadership and Nigeria's Foreign Policy in the Fourth Republic: 1999-2015

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### Abstract

The focus of this study is to interrogate on whether there was a synergy between leadership and Nigeria's Foreign Policies during the period under review. Anchored on Snyder, Bruck and Sapin theory of Decision Making, the study utilized both qualitative and quantitative secondary methods of data collection as its methodology. In effect, the findings revealed that the leadership of the fourth republic has maintained to a very large degree the status quo in pursuing the nation's Foreign Policy with little changes in the personalities of the leaders and their different agenda as far as Foreign Policy is concerned. Based on this, the study recommend that Nigeria's Foreign Policy should be clearly defined and the political institutions saddled with the task of Foreign Policy formulation and implementation should be well strengthened through the heightened synthesization of the inputs of the citizenry in determine what should constitute the Foreign Policy focus of the state. This will enable for Foreign Policy consistency irrespective of the person in power as head of government.

**Keywords:** Leadership, Foreign Policy, National Interest and Nigerian State.

### Introduction

Nigeria's image and reputation over the years has been undergoing decline both within and outside the domain of the Nigerian State. Precisely, the country's international image has become a subject of intellectual discussion because of her strategic importance in the West African Sub-region. With strongest economy and largest population in the Sub-region, the country occupies an important place in the regions political and economic development. The leadership style of General Abacha's totalitarianism and dictatorship within the six year period accorded the Nigerian state a pariah status in the comity of nations.

It is in view of the above, that since the return of democratic governance in 1999, Nigeria's political leadership has focused on developing strategic partnerships with traditional and emerging global powers, to support its domestic priorities. It has strengthened old relations and developed new ones, and has tried to balance its role as a regional and continental power, which addresses domestic concerns. It was on this premise that Okerafor (2011), noted that Chief Obasanjo's Foreign Policy objectives were easily identifiable. For instance, his prime priority was the restoration of Nigeria into the comity of nations where the state can regain her position as a key player in the committee of nations. An image of gross irresponsibility, inherited through General Sani Abacha's six years of totalitarianism, had to be fixed. Most of the country's economic partners, especially the Prominent ones like the United States, European Union, Commonwealth of Nations, World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (I.M.F) had to be brought back through his popular shuffle diplomacy.

On the part of his successor, Yar'Adua, he moved swiftly after taking office to engage the rebels in the Niger Delta, who had led violent campaign of sabotage against the oil industry since 2006. The unrest in that region had reduced Nigeria's oil output by a fifth and helped drive up world oil price (Arizona-Ogwu, 2008). But following the death of President Umar Yar'Adua, Jonathan's administration was ushered in. Unfortunately for him, combating the insurgent terrorist group, the Boko Haram was a serious distraction to the pursuit of his vision 20:2020, a repackaged economic initiative of President Umar Yar'Adua with the goal of moving Nigeria from the disadvantaged third world status to the league of the top twenty leading economies in the world by the year 2020.

Indeed, the inconsistencies in the leadership and the differential in the Nigeria's Foreign Policy thrusts in the fourth is a function of the perception of the political leadership within the period under discussed. And, there is yet no universally acknowledged scientific standard for perception as it is pervasively subjective. The perception of a nation in international standing is the perception of its people, and the perception of its people is also partly a function of the political leaders' actions and character. Thus, Nigeria's foreign policy over the years has been grossly sabotaged and undermined by leadership deficit, ineptitude, corruption, nepotism, and poor democratic credentials, which have negatively affected the international reputation of the country (Achebe, 1983; Nwoke, 2014).

Furthermore, Nigeria's leadership role expectations at different "concentric circles" of her foreign policy have generated multiple role perceptions, thus leading to unintended role conflict. For instance, the policy of Afro-centrism (the policy of Africa being the Centre-piece of her foreign relations) which informed and guided Nigeria's foreign policy for the first four decades of her independence, culminated in the country's massive investment in material and human resources in the prosecution of the "war" against racism and imperialism in Africa yielded little or no diplomatic dividends for the country. Akinboye (2013) puts it most eloquently:

- *Unfortunately and disappointingly, many of the countries that have benefitted tremendously from Nigeria's largess often turned around to show ingratitude to both its citizens and the government itself. ...South Africa exhibited xenophobic attack against Nigerian citizens living in that country... Besides, the countries it has supported financially, diplomatically and strategically becomes but the butt of derision and envy by them. Some of these countries equally harbour or even offer training facilities for terrorists, while others campaign openly against Nigeria's bid to occupy one of the permanent seats of the United Nations Security Council. From these instances, it has become clear that the age-long philosophical notion of Africa as the Centre-piece of the country's foreign policy has become moribund, mundane and anachronistic (Akinboye, 2013:43-44).*
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From all indications, it is obvious that the inconsistencies and ambiguities in Nigeria's foreign policy objectives over the years, heightened by impulses in domestic policies, more than any other variable, explain the image crisis that has bedeviled the polity. Specifically, as far back as 2004, under the leadership of President Obasanjo, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), at a public forum in Lagos, concluded that Nigeria's poor external image has been denying it the much needed Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) to accelerate its economic growth. This is understandable given the fact that Nigeria has for long been bogged down by its perception as one of the most corrupt nations in the world (Adeniyi, 2012). In fairness to the Nigerian state, some administrations have in the past attempted to address and redress her reputation home and abroad.

Against this background, this paper examines leadership and Nigeria's foreign policy in the fourth republic, 1999-2015. It attempts to identify the cause and effect of leadership style on the Nigeria's Foreign Policy against the backdrop of vague and inconsistencies in the Nigeria's Foreign Policy thrusts in the Fourth Republic.

## **1.2 Statement of the Research Problem**

From the available literature on Leadership and Nigeria's Foreign Policy, there seems to be a vague understanding of the Nigeria's Foreign Policy thrusts by Nigeria's political leaders in the Fourth Republic. The various attempts by successful administrations in the Nigeria's Fourth Republic to redefine Nigeria's

Foreign Policy thrusts and redirect her Foreign Policy objectives in line with the changes in the contemporary international system has negatively affected the international image of the Nigerian State.

This to a great extent has snowball into Foreign Policy inconsistency as witnessed in different administrations of the Nigeria's Fourth Republic. The implication is that the Nigerian state over the years has not been able to clearly define and implement the basic thrusts of her Foreign Policy to the advantage of the state (Nigerian people). This no doubt may have negatively impacted on the image of the Nigerian state and her ability to influence international decisions to her favour in the comity of nations.

In a nutshell, to integrate Nigeria back to comity of nations political cum democratic experiment of the Nigeria's Fourth Republic to a great extent has impacted on her Foreign Policy based on the divergent administrative style of the successive leadership. For instance, under the Obasanjo's led political administration, the focus of the government's Foreign Policy was to re-integrate the Nigerian state into the world system or reclaim the identity of the Nigerian state in the comity of nations which was negatively dented during the Abacha's regime.

Conversely, the Yar'Adua's administration which took over from Obasanjo was conservative in her Foreign Policy. The focus of the administration was on domestic affairs and the pursuance of Citizen Centre Diplomacy unlike the conservative notion of Africa as the centerpiece of Nigeria's Foreign Policy. Whereas, the Jonathan government's foreign policy thrusts was anchored on transformation agenda as a means of consolidating the domestic programmes of the government. These have constituted major problem in Nigeria's Foreign Policy. It is this major gap that this paper attempt to fill:

### **Theoretical Framework**

This work is anchored on Snyder, Bruck and Sapin (1954), theory of Decision-Making. Decision making theory is an attempt to understand politics from the stand point of the decision making process as spare headed by leaders. Its major premise is that decision makers are human beings who have their strengths, weaknesses, and emotions, bias, personal preferences baked world views. These they get to bear on the particular decision, which they take in the name of the state. The theory demystifies the state, and reduces its actions to that of its leaders. Essentially, the theory sees the States as the decisional units and the actors are the decision makers. For its perception of actors Van Dyke (1960) in Gauba (2003:100) posits that:

*Every actor is a decision-maker. Those acting for political parties, decide which candidate to nominate, voters decide whether to vote and for whom. Legislators decide which proposals to advance or support. Executives decide what legislation to seek whether to sign or veto acts of the legislative body, precisely which steps to take in executing or administering the law and what policies to pursue where action is left to their discretion.*

Gauba (2003) asserts that decision making theory is concerned with analysis of political systems, process and behaviour in terms of their decision mechanism and its functions. He subsequently points that decision making theory involves the following:

- Identification of the issues on which decisions are made
- The structures involved in decision making
- The actors involved in decision making (this may involve study of personality if necessary)
- The alternative courses of action or options that were considered before making a choice
- The factors influencing the choice of the decision makers, i.e their range of preferences vis-à-vis the utilities attached to each of the alternatives.
- Any external factors, pressures or constraints which influenced their decision and;
- The out-come of the decision including its political costs.

However, it is important to note that Foreign Policy making of most developing states (particularly Nigeria) usually lies within the power and interest of those individuals at the helm of affairs. Every individual is peculiar. People are different and react to the same circumstances differently. The idiosyncratic approach to decision making theory focuses on decision makers as leaders. Different

individuals that make Foreign Policy Decisions are most likely to make different decisions depending on their perception, world views and motivations. In looking at this theory, five characteristics of decision makers will be explored. These are personality, physical and mental health, Ego and ambition, personal history and personal experiences, and perceptions.

Moreover, the decision making theory is found to be relevant in terms of explaining the dynamics of Nigeria's Foreign Policy within the period under focus. It has been able to provide convincing explanation of the nature and character of Nigeria's leaders from 1999 to 2015. The theory has clearly shows that the idiosyncrasies of the Nigeria's leaders, the domestic factors as well as the dynamics of international environment have significantly impacted on Nigeria's Foreign Policy.

### **Leadership and Nigeria's Foreign Policy in the Fourth Republic President Obasanjo's Administration, 1999-2007**

The re-birth of democratic rule in Nigeria from May 1999, saw the emergence of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo as the duly democratically elected president and soon after all embarked on foreign trips on regular basis. There is no major country in the world which has not witnessed the visit of the Nigerian president. He seemed bent on taking Nigeria out of the recluse of Abacha years. President Olusegun Obasanjo was renowned for his shuttle diplomacy which was a vital instrument of foreign bilateral and multilateral alliances for sustainable development and peaceful co-existence in the West Africa sub-region as well as other countries of the world.

The politics behind shuttle diplomacy is primarily based on the use of a third party to convey information back and front between the parties, serving as a reliable means of communication less liable to the grandstanding of face-to-face or media – based communication. The diplomatic shuttle provided a platform for Nigeria to seek and secure, at least to a reasonable extent, the repatriation of the country's stolen money in foreign banks in Switzerland, Britain, America, Belgium and Germany, among others. President Obasanjo also cultivated the habit of holding routine interactions and dialogues with Nigerian communities in the countries he visited to discuss issues of common national interests and update the Diaspora of Nigerian government policies, as well as assistance on possible ways of moving the country forward.

Through an Open Skies Agreement with the US Airspace Agency in 1999, the Obasanjo's government also secured the lifting of ban on direct flight between Nigeria and the US which had been in place since the time of Gen. Abacha, while the country, to an appreciable degree, regained its lost status as the hub of air and sea transportation in Africa. More international and domestic airlines came on board through private initiatives.

The nation has achieved significant gains through Obasanjo's administration's shuttle diplomacy. Apart from the psychological relief following its re-integration and accommodation into the world affairs, Nigeria had assumed the leadership of several international organizations such as: ECOWAS, AU, and G-77. It had hosted very important international summits thereby attracting foreign players to Nigeria. All these imply that the international system has restored its confidence in Nigeria.

**Table 1.1 Obasanjo's Sampled Foreign Visits (1999-2007)**

S/N	Continents	Countries	Date
1.	U.SA	Met with President Clinton during a private visit arrived in New York March 29	March, 30 1999
2.		Official Visit	Oct, 27-30 1999
3.		Working Visit	May, 10-12, 2001
4.		Met with President Bush during a private visit	Nov., 2 <sup>nd</sup> 2001
5.		Met with President Bush during a private visit	June., 20 <sup>th</sup> 2002
6.		Met with President Bush during the G8 Economic Summit at sea Island, Georgia. Attended the funeral of Former President Reagan	June 10-11, 2004
7.		Working Visit	December 2-3, 2004
8.		Working Visit	May, 5 <sup>th</sup> , 2005
9.	Europe	Italy	September, 2000
10.		Belgium	July, 2001
11.		Poland	March, 2001
12.		Spain	September, 2004
13.		France	May, 2005
14.		United Kingdom	2000, 2004
15.		Russia	March, 2001
16.		China	August, 2001, April 2005, Nov., 2006
17.		Japan	September, 2006
18.	Oceania	Australia	February, 2002
19.	Latin America	Brazil	September, 2005
20.	Africa	Ethiopia	October, 2006
21.		Kenya	1999
22.		South Africa	February, 2003
23.		Libya	February, 2001
24.		Algeria	April, 2000
25.		Angola	July, 1999
26.		Cameroon	1999, 2004
27.		Namibia	1999, 2005
28.		Uganda	March, 2004
29.		Zambia	June, 2004
30.		Ghana	June, 2005
31.		Benin	2006
32.		Egypt	December, 2004
33.		Liberia	September, 2003

Source: Authors Compilation, 2017

From table 1.1 above it shows that on assumption of office, the task before Obasanjo's administration was to bring Nigeria back to the international community from its isolated position as a pariah state. This involved wide-ranging diplomatic moves to Nigeria's former allies. Thus, between the months of May, 1999 and mid-August 2002, Obasanjo embarked on 113 foreign trips, spending a total of 340 days outside the country (Akindele, 2003). Commenting on those trips, he was quoted as saying;

*I have devoted much time and energy journeying virtually all corners of the globe in my personal effort to positively reintegrate our country into the international community and attract investment. We are happy to report that the results from these trips have been encouraging enough to confirm my personal belief and the advice of marketing experts namely that personal contact is the best way to market your product. And my product is Nigeria (Oyedoyin, 2002:32).*

Based on this report, Obasanjo was the most widely travelled president in the history of Nigeria who in a giant stride visited international and regional institutions such as the United Nations (UN), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Group of 8 (G-8), Group of 77 (G-77), the Commonwealth, African Union (AU) and the European Union (EU). The international community responded quite positively to Chief Olusegun Obasanjo's diplomatic shuttles, rebranding diplomacy, charm and creative initiatives which in the end marked the reintegration of the country into the global community.

**President Yar'Adua's Administration, 2007-2010**

The emergence of President Yar'Adua on May 29, 2007, as the newly elected President, he acknowledged that president Obasanjo's administration laid the foundation upon which Nigeria's future prosperity can be built. According to the president during this period, Nigerians reached a national consensus in at least four areas namely to deepen democracy and the rule of law; build an economy driven primarily by the private sector, not government; display zero tolerance for corruption in all its firms, and finally, restructure and staff our government to ensure efficiency and good governance. He added that the goal of his administration was to build on the greatest accomplishment of the past few years and relying on the seven-point agenda, concentrate on rebuilding our physical infrastructure and human capital in order to take our country forward, and accelerating economic and other reforms in a way that makes a concrete and visible difference to ordinary people (Yar'Adua, 2007).

Chief Ojo Maduekwe the former minister of foreign Affairs under, Yar'Adua administration fashioned a foreign policy thrust for Nigeria called "citizens Diplomacy" or "diplomacy of consequences". Citizen's diplomacy according to Maduekwe entails defending the legitimate interests of Nigerians whenever and wherever such interests are under threat of outright jeopardy.

**Table 1.2 President Yar'adua's Sampled Foreign Visits (2007-2010)**

1.	U.S.A.	Working Visit	Dec., 12-15 2007
2.	Europe	Italy	July, 2009
3.		France	June, 2008
4.		United Kingdom	July, 2008
5.	Middle East	Saudi Arabia	September, 2009
6.	Asia	China	February, 2008
7.	Latin America	Brazil	July, 2009
8.	Africa	South Africa	May, 2007, June 2008
9.		Libya	May, 2007
10.		Algeria	2007
11.		Cameroon	May, 2007
12.		Ghana	2007
13.		Benin	2007
14.		Togo	2007
15.		Niger	2007
16.		Senegal	2007

Source: Authors Compilation, 2017.

Table 1.2 above, explicitly showed that President Umar Yar'Adua did not embarked on foreign trips like his predecessor but committed to the pursuance of his administration's domestic policy guided by his 7 Point Agenda to include;

- (i) *Power and energy* – to generate adequate energy to drive the Nigerian economy,
- (ii) *Food security* – to modernize the agricultural sector for better yield,
- (iii) *wealth creation* – to diversify the economy of Nigeria away from petroleum which in turn would create more jobs for the unemployed,
- (iv) *Transport sector* – to afford Nigerians good network of roads and also to develop other alternative means of transportation,
- (v) *land reforms* – to reform the land use and laws of the country,

- (vi) *security* – to resolve the national security challenge bedeviling the country in particular, the Niger Delta region and
- (vii). *Education* – to reform the educational system and facilities from primary to tertiary level. Maduekwe, (2008).

### President Jonathan's Administration, 2010-2015

The death of President Yar'Adua in 2010 usher in the Jonathan administration to first complete the remaining two years left in the Yar'Adua four years mandate. However, after contesting and winning the 2011 presidential election, President Jonathan was saddle with the responsibility to lead the nation, while this afford him the opportunity to formulate a Foreign Policy direction for the country. From the domestic policy of the transformation agenda of the government, many where optimistic that a pragmatic and visionary Foreign Policy would emerge and serve as a departure from his predecessors.

Okungbowa, (2011) contended that the Jonathan led administration embarked on a comprehensive review of the country's foreign policy. The government anchored it foreign policy direction on domestic interest, to this scholar whatever is the focus of the administration, domestic or economic diplomacy one thing that ought to be paramount to the administration in her foreign relations is the interest of Nigeria.

Onuorah and Obayuwana (2011), in there analysis of the Jonathan administration on Nigeria, point to the fact that, the government in it beat to re-launch Nigeria's Foreign Policy ascertain the need for viable Foreign Policy options that include the task of building a sound domestic economic base. Their point of departure is credited to the betterment of the domestic demand. For instance, the minister for foreign affairs, Ambassador Olugbenga Ashiru asserted that thus: The average Nigerian national can only own and buy into this new Foreign Policy focus when they are assured of an improvement in their living standard.

**Table 1.3 President Jonathan's Sampled Foreign Visits (2010-2015)**

PRESIDENT JONATHAN'S FOREIGN VISITS			
1.	U.S.A	Working Visit	June, 8 2011
2.		Met with President Obama at the UN General Assembly in New York City	Sept., 23 <sup>rd</sup> 2013
3.		Attended the US-Africa Leaders Summit	August 5-6, 2014
4.	Europe	Italy	2015
5.		Netherlands	2015
6.		Belgium	2012
7.		France	2011,2013,2014
8.		Germany	April, 2012
9.		United Kingdom	2014
10.		Switzerland	January, 2013
11.	Middle East	Israel	Oct., 2013,2014
12.	Asia	Turkey	February, 2011
13.		South Korea	2012
14.		China	July, 2013
15.	North – America	Trinidad and Tobago	July, 2012
16.		Jamaica	July, 2012
17.	Oceania	Australia	
18.	Africa	South Africa	May, 2013
19.		Cameroon	2010,2013
20.		Ghana	2011,2014
21.		Mali	2015
22.		Ethiopia	2013,2014
23.		Senegal	August, 2012
24.		Namibia	2013
25.		Kenya	2013
26.		Uganda	2011
27.		Chad	2011

Source: Authors Compilation, 2017.

President Goodluck Jonathan's Foreign Policy has been tailored to that of his former boss, late President Umar Yar' Adua. The administration also witnessed the tarnishing of the image and dignity of Nigeria by Nigerians living abroad as such, necessitated the first diplomatic move embarked upon by President Jonathan on assumption of office to the United States and demanding the delisting of Nigeria's name from the United States Terrorist Watch List following the failed terrorist attempt by 23 years old Nigerian Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab to detonate a bomb in the Northwest Airlines Flight 253 he boarded from Amsterdam, the Netherland to the densely populated city of Detroit in the United States in 2009.

President Jonathan in pursuit of his administration's economic diplomacy resulted to shuttle diplomacy from one country to another. President Jonathan paid trade visit with member of his key cabinet ministers to China where they were warmly received by China's President Xi Jiping. He was able to secure \$1.1 billion low interest loan for the improvement of Nigeria's hydro power, road transportation and light-rail system as well as airport terminal infrastructures.

Vision 2020 is a comprehensive development framework encompassing economic, political and social and more than domestic policies can achieve. It is the pursuance of President Umar Yar' Adua's economic package. The goals of both strategies remain the emergence of Nigeria by the year 2020 into the league of the twenty leading economies in the world. With an economic growth rate of 7% as at the 7th of April, 2014 adjusted to worth \$510 billion by Bureau of biggest in Africa ahead of South Africa.

**Table 1.4 Oil Revenue % Contribution to Total Revenue in Nigeria (1999-2015).**

Year	Oil Revenue
1999	724.42
2000	1,591.68
2001	1,707.56
2002	1,230.85
2003	2,074.28
2004	3,354.80
2005	4,762.40
2006	5,287.57
2007	4,462.91
2008	6,530.60
2009	3,191.94
2010	5,396.09
2011	8,878.97
2012	8,025.97
2013	6,809.23
2014	6,793.82
2015	3,830.10

Source: Central Bank of Nigeria Statistical Bulletin, (2015).

The above table shows the geometric progression in oil revenue from 1999-2015 quickly displacing agricultural and other mineral products as the nation's export earner. This can be well appreciated from the year 1999 showing that since the return to democratic governance oil has been the backbone of the economy. The table further revealed that from the year 2003-2006 there was sharp increase in the oil revenue, this is as a results of political stability in the nation. The implication is that more revenue from oil means increase in the capacity and ability of the government to provide essential services to the citizenry. Due to omission or commission the region that produces the wealth of the nation was neglected by the successive regimes which provoked restiveness among the youths and the attendant militarization. The resultants effect was that by 2007 there was a small decline as a result of conflict and vandalism of oil installation by the Niger Delta militants.

To mitigate the people of the area, president Obasanjo had to set up the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) to oversee development of the region. He also adopted the National Economic Empowerment Development Strategy (NEEDS) designed to promote export and woo foreign investors through a variety of reforms, including macroeconomic stability, deregulation, liberalization, privatization and transparency (Zaki, 2011). President Obasanjo took a bold step in the fight against corruption by initiating anti-corruption strategy involving a wide variety of measures, three of which were particularly outstanding. The first one was the creation of specialized anticorruption agencies, the Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) in September 2000 and the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) in April 2003, to investigate and prosecute corrupt individuals. The other two included a comprehensive reform of the public service with particular reference to recovering funds stolen and stashed away in foreign banks.

The effectiveness of the anti-graft bodies translated in the gradual decline of Nigeria in Corruption Perception Index of Transparency International (TI) from 147th position in 1999 to 98th corrupt country in 2007. There was also the privatization of public enterprises such as the telecommunication industry which brought in foreign investors into a telecom market hitherto dominated by public parastatal, the Nigerian Telecommunication (NITEL). On the international scene, President Obasanjo followed through a deliberate Foreign Policy which in the end revived the inflow of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and bilateral trading relations between Nigeria and the United States as well as United Kingdom, China, India and Brazil.

From 2007-2010 there was rise and fall of oil revenue in Nigeria because of both internal and external predicaments. From the domestic angle, there were internal crises in the Niger delta. The militants had vandalized most of the facilities and installations of oil multinational resulting to decrease in the quantum of oil production. On the other hand there was also fall in the price of oil at the international market. To solve these twin challenges, the Yar'Adua's led government created Ministry for Niger-delta affair and full implementation of amnesty programme. As a result most of the militants who embraced amnesty laid down their arms for peace thrive in the country.

The peak of oil revenue could be seen in the year 2011 where the federal government had the highest revenue. This is in connection with the higher demand of oil which led to the rise in the price of oil at the international market. From 2012-2015 the table depict declining in both the quantity and price of oil at the international market. This analyses is further explicitly explain in the Fig below.

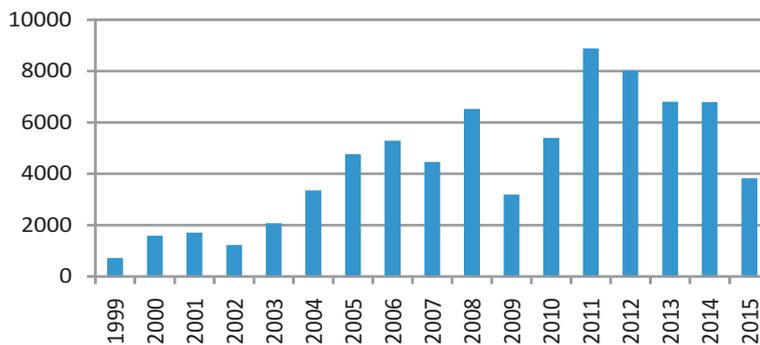


Fig. 1 bar-chart showing oil revenue % contribution total revenue in Nigeria 1999-2015. Source: Central Bank of Nigeria Bulletin, 2015.

**Conclusion**

The paper on Leadership and Nigeria's Foreign Policy in the Fourth Republic 1999-2015, pursued under the various administrations in focus were in a state of ultra-stability characterised by inconsistency in their policy framework. So, Since Foreign Policy is a reflection of domestic realities that are externally

projected, and predicated on factual realities, Nigeria's leaders onward must evolve a home-based developmental strategies anchored on an adage 'Charity begins at home', not on the contrary of 'Charity begins from abroad' as overtly manifested and shown by the past and present Nigerian leadership. However, the Nigerian State has been at a discordant inflection point in its Foreign Policy. Nigeria's Africa-centred policy has mostly been borne out of sympathy and empathy for the African situation, which it believes it could tackle with its enormous human and material resources, wealth and strong military. The implication of these would be that Nigeria's roles in Africa and the world at large is prompted by genuine moral ideals which has no place in international politics.

### Recommendations

The following recommendations are pertinent and fundamental.

- i. The paper recommends that Nigeria's Foreign Policy should be clearly defined and the political institutions saddled with the task of Foreign Policy formulation and implementation should be well strengthened through the heightened synthesization of the inputs of the citizenry in determine what should constitute the Foreign Policy focus of the state. This will enable for Foreign Policy consistency irrespective of the person in power as head of government.
- ii. Secondly, the paper also recommends as a matter of necessity a broad concept and practice of citizen diplomacy in which the citizens are the centerpiece of both domestic and foreign relations (as it is done in the American, European and many South East Asian countries), and as such they are proud and patriotic, just as the nation become naturally respected.
- iii. Thirdly, the paper recommends a democratic leadership that carefully allows the initiation, discussion and brainstorming by all the instruments of Foreign Policy formulation such as the Federal cabinet, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, all the three Arms of government, the Media, the pressure/Interest groups, the Academic community, Business community, the Intelligentsia, etc, in the formulation and implementation of Nigeria's Foreign Policy headlong. The involvement of the above instruments, would no doubt give a clear cut direction to the Nigeria's Foreign Policy as against the overt manifestation of personalities traits dominating the main cog of Foreign Policy formulation and implementation in the Nigeria's Foreign Policy arena.

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## Political Corruption And The Challenges of Development in Nigeria's Fourth Republic

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### **Abstract**

The paper dwells on relationship between political leadership and development effort in Nigeria. While leadership had played tremendous role in the socio-economic and political development of the regions and climes, the reverse is the case in Nigeria, despite the re-enactment of democracy in 1999. The study identifies social vices that account for the protected state of Nigeria's quest for development since independence, which has made her to lose tract in an attempt to achieve national development. The political climate characterized with ethnicity, mediocrity, partisanship, corrupted process of recruitment of leadership among others have been responsible for show pace of national development. The paper adopts secondary method of data collection to achieve this. The study concludes by advocating for good governance in order to overcome the challenges of development in Nigeria.

**Key words:** *political leadership, corruption, underdevelopment, leadership.*

### **Introduction**

According to Omotoye (2015) the concept of “corruption”, “leadership”, “development” have attained important usage in the lexicon of third world countries of the world – situated mainly in Africa, Asia and Latin America. They have become important concepts that tend to explain how some countries of the world, through constituted authorities are utilizing the resources at their disposal to attain their desired societal ends and booster the capacity of citizens, while also attempting to overcome structural obstacles to such desirable ends. Nigeria with its vast endowment of human and natural resources feature prominently in this list. Following the attainment of political independence in October 1960, the country exuded bright prospected of development potentials that could lead Africa nay the newly decolonized nations, on the path of socio-economic and materials wellbeing of the citizens. Despite the huge promises of development capability and an enormous availability of resources, the Nigerian economy has witnessed a period of stagnant economy growth (Omotoye, 2015).

According to Ogbeidi (2012) this has been partly blame on corruption and gross mismanagement of the country's vast resources. The country has witnessed a depletion of its resources for private benefit, buttressed by unmitigated levels of personal aggrandizement and self-glorification on the part of leaders at various levels. It begs the question, that despite her position as number eight in the list of countries that export crude oil into the international market, more than 70 to 75% of the Nigerian population are still classified as poor.

Indeed, it is a paradox that Nigeria, the world's eighth largest export of crude oil, a country endowed with many resources, still has more than 70 to 75 percent of its population living below the poverty line as a result of corruption and economic mismanagement. Pathetically, the logic of the Nigerian political leadership class has been that of self-service as some of the leaders are mired in the pursuit of selfish and personal goals at the expense of broader national interest. Consequently, emphasis has been on personal aggrandizement and self-glorification with the result that corruption has become a euphemism for explaining political leadership in Nigeria in relation to the management of national wealth.

History has shown that no nation of the world grew and enjoyed steady development in virtually all spheres of its national life without experiencing good and selfless political leadership. This is largely because qualitative growth and development has always been an outcome of good governance. Commenting on the experience of the Nigerian nation, the renowned novelist, Chino Achebe, insisted that the root cause of the Nigeria predicament should be laid squarely at the foot of bad leadership. “The trouble with Nigeria”, Achebe argued,

*...it is simply and squarely a failure of leadership. There is nothing basically wrong with the Nigerian Character; there is nothing wrong with the Nigerian land, climate, water, air, or anything else. The Nigerian problem is the unwillingness or inability of its leaders to rise to the responsibilities, to the challenge of personal example, which is the hallmark of true leadership. Achebe, 1984: (as cited in Ogbeyi, 2012).*

### **Conceptualization:**

#### **Leadership**

Leadership has been defined in so many ways that it is hard to come with a single working definition. However, leadership may be defined as a body of people who lead and direct the activities of a group towards achieving a goal. It also denote the ability to lead, direct and organize a group. Leadership can also be seen as the process of influencing the activities and behaviors of an individual or group effort towards achieving a set goal. It is also concerned with the implementation of those policies and decisions which assist in directing the activities of an organization towards its specific goals.

#### **Political Class**

Political class are the group of individuals responsible for running the affairs of the Government. The political class consist of the persons occupying positions of public service in the Federal, State, and Local Government like President, governors, local government chairmen and ward councilors. Secondly, they consist of the executive and legislative branches of government (members of the senate, federal and state house of representative). Lastly, they comprise of members of political parties that present candidates to contest for political positions in an election with the view of becoming the ruling party and in the event of defeat, serve as lively opposition to the ruling party.

“This power when accrued is then utilized for the dual purpose of illegal enrichment of self and cronies and oppression of their proletarian countrymen even beyond that of our erstwhile colonial masters. The impoverished masses are only remembered during election period when they are bribed with petty gifts of cash and kind not only to sell their votes to the highest bidder, but also enact acts of intimidation, violence and hooliganism against political opponents. They are a brood of vipers continually spreading the venom of ethnic, religious and political discrimination wherever it suits their interest instead of attempting to foster peace in a highly diverse nation. The antics enacted by members of the Nigerian political class have led to the common saying in Nigeria “politics is a dirty game”. Corruption has succeeded to be a way life in Nigeria through our political leaders. <http://www.nairaland.com/2899379/nigerian-political-class-citizens-quest>.

The ruling class that bears the responsibility of managing the affairs and resources of a political entity by setting and influencing policy priorities affecting the territory through different decision making structure and institutions created for the orderly development of the country. It could also be described as the human element that operates the machineries of government on behalf of an organized territory.

#### **Underdevelopment**

The history of Nigeria development crisis started from colonial period as many scholars are of the opinion that African predicament can only be attributed to colonialism and base on comparative standards, Africa today is underdeveloped in relation to western Europe and a few other parts of the world; and that the present position has been arrived at, not by the separate evolution of Africa on the one hand and Europe on the other (Rodney; 1983 cited in Shola, 2015).

The term underdevelopment refers to that state of an economy where levels of living of masses are extremely low due to very level of per capital income resulting from low level of productivity and high rates of population. Some of the basic characteristics of underdeveloped countries includes low per capital income, low level of living rate of population growth, high levels of unemployment and underemployment, predominant of subsistent agriculture in the economy, misdistribution of wealth and assets among others.

Umez (2000), in an insightful and captivating work provides useful insight for understanding the crisis of development in Africa using Nigeria as a case study. Umez argues that Nigerians have contributed more to her problem of underdevelopment than any other people. Furthermore, he also present four perspectives which he believes offers more fundamental and compressive explanations of the problems of development in Nigeria (Umez, 2000).

Omotola (2001), assert that since independent in 1960, Nigeria has very huge resources endowed with both human and materials, the country has not only failed to actualize its potentials, but also appears to have effectively squandered its opportunities for greatness. The quest for stability and development is, without doubt, the Holy Grail for many third world countries, a never ending, tedious, yet elusive, search for that condition under which these countries would be able to develop institutions and structures with the capacity to ensure economic growth, equitable distribution of national wealth, political stability and accountability (Omotola, 2001 as cited in Olarinwaju, 2015).

### **Reasons Why Nigeria Is Still Underdeveloped**

There are many reasons why Nigeria is still referred to as third world country in spite of her abundant natural and human resources. These includes: corruption, lack of security, over-dependent on oil (mono-economic factor), poor leadership and neglect of education that has led to fallen standard of education.

#### **Problem of leadership**

Nigeria has ever been faced with the problem of leadership; this has left the country crawling on her knees in spite of the resources. Jago (1982) asserts that Nigeria has witnessed several transitions of governments with one regime leaving one problem or another that have dragged the country ever since independence; the military especially did more damage in terms of leadership than any one even though the fourth republic is ongoing and we virtually don't understand what is hidden in the bag for Nigerians. Good leaders are made not born. If you have the desire and willpower, you can become an effective leader. Good leaders develop through never ending process of self-study, education, training, and experience (Jago, 1982). Nigeria needs good and effective leaders to function and to move forward; the leadership determines lots of things in terms of progress. The failure of Nigerian leaders to establish good government, has cripple the nation development.

#### **Corruption**

Just like the leadership problem, corruption has eating deep in to the marrows of nation economy and has affected the development of Nigeria in totality.

Pervasive impact of fraud has been described as the greatest factor engendering and perpetuating underdevelopment in Nigeria in particular and Africa in general.

#### **Education and poverty**

Development is measured with some yardstick known as economy indices, when these indices don't measure up to standard, then there is problem. Poverty is then one of the indices and it has been measured that an average Nigerian live below average (earn and spend less than a dollar a day). Education on the other hand contribute significantly to development but the failure of our leaders to effectively monitor and maintain education in the country has led to fallen standard of education in Nigeria. (Robert D. 2012).

#### **Mono-culture Economic System:**

A country operating a mono-cultural economy may be poor. Nigeria since early 1970's have moved away from agriculture to the production of crude oil, commodity whose price can only be determined by foreign countries. Price mechanism has no direct control of the production and distribution of crude oil. According to Asemota, (1999): "The oil sector which is dominated by the government is in a state of

decay due to poor operating conditions and inadequate funding, vandalization and bureaucratic interventions. Public originations in Nigeria enjoy monopoly status that hamper development rather than fostering it”.

Western education is over hundred and fifty years old in Nigeria. Despite this, some socio-cultural factors still hinders our economic development, causing poverty. Some Nigerians still believe that their economic capacity and security can only be guaranteed by having more male and a large number of children. As long as we continue to have more children without a corresponding increase in food production, our poverty level will continue to be on an increase. A man's production of children above his income, will increase poverty level, from increased number of illiterates and criminal rates in the country.

### **Corruption**

Corruption is a word that has been defined differently by both practitioners and academicians who study it, depending largely on the individual's cultural background, discipline and political learning. However, the word corruption may be used to explain acts that mean abuse of public office for private gain (Dahida and Akangbe, 2013). Sometimes corruption is understood as something against law, such as a contract by which the borrower agreed to pay the Leander usurious interest. It is said, in such case, that it was corruptly agreed.

Corruption is usually understood as involving some “corrupted” politicians and public administrators. Corruption is when a civil servant, official, bureaucrat or politician (anyone elected or appointed to a position of public authority, with power to allocate public resources in the name of the state or the government) is abusing this official position for personal or group gain. The corrupt act is when this person demands or accepts money or some other form of reward, for himself or for his family, friends and allies.

The corruption perception Index (CPI) released annually by Transparency International has consistently listed Nigeria among the most corrupt nations of the world. The 1996 study of corruption by Transparency International and Goetting University ranked Nigeria as the most corrupt nation, among 54 nations listed in the study. The 1998 Transparency International Corruption perception Index (CPI) ranked Nigeria as the fifth most corrupt nation out of 85 countries listed in the rating (The Transparency International Corruption index, 1998). The 2001 Corruption perception index rated Nigeria second most corrupt nation among 91 countries listed (The Transparency International Corruption Index, 2001). The 2002 Corruption perception Index ranked Nigeria third most corrupt 21 nation out of the 102 countries listed (The Transparency International Corruption Index, 2002).

Similarly, the 2003 Corruption Perception Index also rated the country as the second most corrupt nation out of 133 countries listed (The Transparency International Corruption Index, 2003). Although the trend improved a little from the 2005 Corruption Perception Index rating, Nigeria still languishes within the first ten most corrupt nation of the world.

There is no debating the fact that one of the major factor impeding Nigeria's development today is corruption. Nigeria suffers from acute pneumonia of corruption. Monies allotted for infrastructural development, provision of social amenities; hospitals, schools, roads, housing, electricity among other needs of life are siphoned, pocketed or diverted by certain element at the detriment of the masses.

### **Causes of Corruption in Nigeria**

According to Omotoye, (2015), the following are the causes of corruption

Lack of patriotism: Many of Nigerian politicians and “big” business men and women are not bothered about the future of the nation. They are self-centered and interested in personal achievement.

In some cases, unemployment of the youths is a cause for corruption  
The Nigerian society value money more than morality

The lackadaisical attitude of the government to corruption. Many corrupt officers were set free, even after they were found guilty of corruption.

Abject poverty as a result of the socio-economic problems in the country.

### **Solution**

In order to curb corruption the following solutions were also proffered by Omotoye (2005)

The government should empower the EFCC and ICPC to carry out their investigation without interference.

Hard work should be recognized and rewarded.

The press should be able to expose corrupt practices whenever they are found in the society.

Leadership at every unit or level of government should lead by example

The teaching of moral education or religious knowledge should be emphasized in all schools (primary, secondary, and tertiary institutions).

Government should also enforce equality before the law and ensure that appropriate sanctions are meted out to offenders.

### **Political Corruption and Underdevelopment**

According to Ribadu (2007), without doubt, the unpardonable failure of the political leadership class managing the affairs and wealth of the country had inevitably brought severe misery to many voiceless and helpless Nigerians. It must also be mentioned here that Nigeria's post –independence political bureaucratic and military elites had terribly pillaged the nation's common wealth and national patrimony with impunity, thereby denying Nigerians access to economic prosperity and quality living condition.

According to Ngwube and Okoli (2013) corruption leads to the use of resources to finance elephant projects at the expenses of infrastructural development such as schools, hospitals, roads, water supply and electricity supply. Osoba (1996) as cited in Alemika, (2012) posits that financial corruption dent a nation's capacity to provide basic necessity of life for the nation. Political corruption is the main factor responsible for Nigeria underdevelopment in all sectors Egharevba and Chiazor, (2012), “this is significantly so because the greatest challenge to Nigeria's development are Nigerians themselves as represented by the political leaders who should be held responsible for the present pathetic state of underdevelopment in the country” (Falola, 2005).

Corruption is a cankerworm that requires urgent solution or better still there is need for the government to declare a state of emergency. It has eaten deep into the fabrics of our affairs, most of leaders find it difficult to wage a war against corruption. In 2015 Dasuki arms scandal of about 13.6 billion is a vivid example, money meant for arms procurement were diverted to other means, should we call it a jamboree or father Christmas, many lives were lost on a daily basis, military were not well equipped and the so called our leaders will be telling outside world that they are fighting insurgency, this shows that we only have leaders who are more interested in their pockets and not the interest of the people. Our so-call leaders see politics as a means of amassing wealth and total freedom from poverty, a quick means to get rich syndrome. ([www.premiumtimesng.com/.../195173-court-papers-show-how-ex-nsa-das...](http://www.premiumtimesng.com/.../195173-court-papers-show-how-ex-nsa-das...))

More so, the former Minister of Aviation Stella Oduah in July 3, 2016 was said to have lute about 2.5 billion Naira which was found in the account of her housemaid the account was in operation without the knowledge of the housemaid of former Aviation Minister. It was discovered that the Minister must have stolen about 5.6 billion Naira during her minister ship. It was reported by Shara Reporter pay for two BMW cars at 1.6 million dollars or 800,000 apiece. ([www.Saharareports.com/.../efcc-finds-n-25b-fomer-aviation-minister-stella-odu...](http://www.Saharareports.com/.../efcc-finds-n-25b-fomer-aviation-minister-stella-odu...))

In September 15, 2016 – 31.4 million dollars scandal with Nigeria's ex-first lady shows the scandal of Buhari's anti-corruption battle. Patience Jonathan, the colorful wife of Nigeria's ex-president, Goodluck Jonathan, has become the latest high profile Nigerian embroiled in a corruption –related scandal. EFCC has frozen first lady accounts containing 31.4 million dollars controlled by the former first lady who claims of the money was for payment of medical bills. All these corrupt practices and many orders has affected the development of the nation. (<https://qz.com/.../a-31-million-scandal-with-nigerians-ex-first-lady-shows-the...>)

### Conclusion

It is observed that corruption has become an impediment for the nation's growth and development. It is found in almost all spheres of life in Nigeria. There is a need for honesty, patriotism and sincere "Change" of every individual for a better attitude of life. The "Change" concept should start from those in government to the common man on the street. The leadership of the country should lead by good example. The government should provide employment and the necessary enabling environment for the people, most especially, stable electricity, pipe-borne water and other social amenities. If corruption is minimized to the barest level, there will be a tremendous improvement in the body polity and socio-economic life of Nigerians. Corruption hinders development and economic growth. It increases poverty and dent the image of a country. The total eradication of corruption in Nigeria should involve everybody and not only the government. For Nigeria to move forward and for the citizens to benefit from the democratic dividends a national awareness campaign is necessary to let Nigerians know the implications of corruption on the economy. Furthermore, the government should take the gain strict to lead by example by inculcating good governance, transparency, accountability in order for Nigerians to have hope in the democratic governance.

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## Boko Haram Insurgency and Porternally Displaced Persons (IDP) Implications on Good Governance In Nigeria

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### Abstract

This paper explains the effect of displacement on internal displaced persons with particular reference to those that were displaced by Boko Haram and its implications on good governance in Nigeria. Content analysis was adopted as a research method in this study. The agenda setting and human needs theories were employed as theoretical base of this work. The paper discovered the effect of displacement on internal displaced persons by Boko Haram in Nigeria which include shelter, security, hunger, disease and even government neglect. In order to ensure good governance, the paper recommends the need to salvage the internal displaced persons from the challenges of displacement. Nigerian Government must also continue to fight corruption and ensure direct link between the management agencies and the internal displaced persons in Nigeria. There is also need for collaboration between the Nigerian Government and International agencies or organizations because the need to address the challenges of internal displaced persons cannot be left in the hand of any individual or groups alone. Therefore, justice, equity and collaboration should be the watch words of the Leaders.

**Key words:** Internal displayed person, Conflicts, Good governance and Boko Haram

### Introduction

The effect of internal displacement is an issue of global concern (Ladan, 2001). It is on record that the total number of displaced persons is estimated around fifty million world wide, with majority of this people in Africa and Asia (Alobo&Obaji, 2016). In developing countries including Nigeria, unresolved tribal conflicts, rifts, political violence and border clashes are the causes of displacement. For instance post-election violence of 2011 saw about 65,000 persons internal displaced in Northern part of the country. Estimation made by the National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) reported that from July to October, 2012 a total of 2.1 Million residents were sacked by flood Nigeria. In January, 2013 and February 2014 about 470,565 and 143,164 persons were displaced in Nigeria by internal conflicts and natural disaster respectively. Similarly between January and March 2014 insurgency caused the displacement of about 250,000 persons in the Northern part of the country alone. The rate of internal displaced persons continued to escalate on daily basis in Niger (Displacement Tracking Matrix, 2014). The population of internal displaced person continue to increase because of the high rate of attack of northeast by Boko Haram. As of October 2016, the International organization for Migration (IOM) in collaboration with National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) in its 12<sup>th</sup> round of Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM) programme estimated the total number of Internally Displaced Person at 2,155,618 across 13 States in Nigeria (International Organization for Migration, 2016). As of December 2016, the Displacement Tracking Matrix 13<sup>th</sup> round report estimated 1,770,444 internal Displaced persons (IDPs) in the northeast alone.

Many scholars have addressed the causes of internal displacement in Nigeria which include unresolved tribal conflicts, rifts, political violence and border clashes in their journals, textbooks and other documented materials. However, little or no research attention has been directed along the effects of displacement on internal displaced persons by Boko Haram and its implications on good governance in Nigeria. Inadequate attention on this area of research has weakened humanitarian intervention for displaced person, and shocks of growing intensity and frequency of poverty.

### **Conceptual Clarifications**

The four key concepts that are operational in this paper are: internal displaced persons, bokoharam, conflict and good governance. Internal displaced persons are persons or group of person who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of conflicts or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflicts and violence (IDP Principles). In view of the above, an internal displaced person is someone who is forced to flee his or her home but remain within his country's borders. They are often different from refugees. A refugee is a person who, owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, nationality, membership of particular social group or political opinion. This implies that refugees are crossing an international border. However, this paper focuses more on those who were displaced as a result of attacks by Boko Haram members.

The phenomenon of Boko Haram is derived from two languages, Hausa and Arabic languages. The word "Boko" means Western education while "Haram" meaning forbidden. The conjunction of the two words will give the full meaning of the phenomenon, which implies that western education is forbidden. However, according to one of the leaders of Boko Haram stress that Boko Haram does not mean western education is a sin as the media continues to portray (Falola, 2013). The implication of the above two opinions is that the first one gives the interpretation that formal education is forbidden whereas the second one shows that Islamic culture is supreme above any other culture. In contrary to the above, Lemu (2017) stress that the word 'Boko' in Hausa language is popularly used to refer to the formal public or private educational system in Nigeria, refers to Western secular education. It is also used to refer to western education in its entire ramifications along with anything associated with it. 'Haram' is a Hausa word borrowed from Arabic language, meaning unacceptable, forbidden or prohibited. While 'Boko Haram' may therefore be interpreted as that the Western secular education is prohibited. It could also be interpreted to mean that evangelism, deceptively camouflaged as Western education, is Islamically unacceptable. This paper uses the term Boko Haram to refer to the sect popularly known as Jama'atu Ahlissunah Lidda'awati Wal Jihad.

The concept of conflict just like other concepts in social sciences is difficult to define and there is no universally accepted definition of the term. Therefore, scholars define the term conflict based on their understanding and background of knowledge. According to Rakhim (2010) conflict is an interactive process manifested in incompatibility, disagreement or dissonance within or between social entities. Conflict is a state of clash, confrontation, battles or struggle to achieve goal (Ignatieff, 2000). Generally, conflict refers to friction, disagreement or discord arising within a group when the beliefs or action of one or more members of the group are either revisited by or unaccepted to one or more members of the group. Conflict can occur between individuals and groups. It can also happen within a group (intra-group conflict) and between groups (inter-group conflict). It was in view of this that (Hocker and Wilmot, 1985 cited in Bernard and Ashimi, 2014) that conflict is an interaction between interdependent people who perceive incompatible goals and whose expect interference from other party if they attempt to achieve their goal. In concord with this view Galtung (1996) asserted that conflict is a triangle with structure, attitudes and behaviours as its vertices.

Good governance entails the provision of basic human needs, enhancement of a sense of worth and self-respect into the individual, the guaranteeing of fundamental freedom of emancipation from alienating material conditions of life, and ensuring of freedom from social servitude of men to nature and other men (Okpeh, 2002). According to Kaufman (2005) governance includes the economy and institutions by which authority in a country is exercised for common good. This implies that good governance means thinking about the process of developing the economy and society. In concord with the above, Dike (2010) posits that good governance is the mechanism and process of articulating the interest of the citizens for the purpose of transforming the society. To achieve good governance in Nigeria Hamdok (2001) maintained that there must be an effective state, private sector must play a vital role in developing the state, civil society and community members must facilitate the process of fostering social cohesion and stability. Sidi, (2006) defined good governance as the process of making and implementing decisions. It's not about making "correct" decision but about the best possible process for making those decisions –making processes. Usaira, (2002) sees good governance as an indeterminate term used in international development literature, to describe how public institutions conduct public affairs, and manage public

resources. Governance is the process of decision-making processes, and therefore good governance, often emerges as a model to compare ineffective economic or political bodies, with viable economic and political bodies. It also dwells on the responsibility of governments and governing bodies. Amstrong, (2012) explained that, good governance is a term that has become a part of the vehicular of a large range of development instructions, and other actors, within the international arena, Good governance addresses economic institutions and public sector management, including transparency and accountability, regulatory reforms, and public sector skills and leadership. It encompasses full respect of human right the rule of law, effective participation, multi-actor partnerships, political pluralism, transparent and accountable (Muhammad, 2017).

### **Theoretical Frame Work**

This study is anchored by Human Needs Theory. According to Coate and Rosati (1988), human needs are a powerful source of explanation of human behaviour and social interaction. All individuals have needs they strive to satisfy, either by using the system 'acting on the fringes' or acting as a reformist or a revolutionary. Human needs theory, just a few decades old, was popularized in the works of Abraham Maslow, John Burton, Marshal Rosenberg and Manfred Max-Neef. The theory posits that the basic cause of intractable conflict is the underlying need of people to meet their needs on individual, group and societal bases. According to this theory, human beings need certain essentials if they must live and attain well-being in any ramification of life. Such essentials are known as (basic) human needs. The argument of human needs theorists, therefore, is that the unavailability of alternative means to meet the needs of individuals or groups is what triggers violence – or conflict. Other times, violence also occurs when humans require understanding, respect and consideration for their needs. These needs are not only subsistence ones such as food, water and shelter but also other biological needs such as participation, identity, understanding and recognition (Kok 2007); security, safety, belonging [love], self-esteem and personal fulfilment [lifesatisfaction] (Maslow, 1973).

Burton (1990) who has been applying human needs theory more actively to social and political conflicts looks at how universal human needs often are neglected, causing groups to use violence to claim their rights and satisfy their needs. Marker (2003) believes that unlike interests, needs are untradeable, insuppressibly and non-negotiable. Contrary to the belief that all needs are complementarily essential to human life; no need is inferior to another, Maslow (1973) views some needs as more urgent than others, but agrees that all needs are instinctive. Those he terms more urgent he sees as more powerful too. In his opinion, the powerful needs are subsistence needs such as food; water and shelter which he claims precede all other human needs. As Coate & Rosati (1988) recommend, 'social systems must be responsive to individual needs, or be subject to instability and forced change (possibly through violence or conflict).

Another relevant theory that is applied in this paper is agenda setting theory. This agenda setting theory was propounded by Maxwell Mc Combs and Donald L. (1972). The theory posits that media lead the public in assigning relative importance to various public issues. (Miller, 2002). That is if the media highlight an issue, the issue is likely to be seen as relevant item on public agenda. However, if the media decided to ignore an issue no matter how crucial it is to the development of the society, may not be subject of public debate (Mohammed, 2003).

### **Methodology**

Content Analysis of Newspapers was adopted as a research method in this study. This method was selected because it shows how media assigned relative importance to various public issues (Millers, 2002). That is if the media highlight an issue is likely to be seen as relative to public. However, if the media decided to ignore an issue no matter how crucial it is to the development of society, may not be subject of public debate. The basic elements of this analysis according to Folarin (2005) are as follows:

- i) the quality of frequency of reporting
- ii) Prominence giving to the reports through headlines and pictures.

- iii) the degree of conflict generated in the report and
- iv) cumulative media – specific effects over the time

The population of the study comprises of all editions of Daily Trust and the Nation from January – March, 2016. The total population of the studied edition was 182 papers for both Daily Trust and the Nation Newspapers, and 82 stories on internal displaced person were reported by both papers. The two newspapers papers were selected based on geographical location. Thus Daily Trust is seen as a northern paper while the Nation newspaper is seen as a southern paper. The rationale for this selection is to compare how the two newspapers cover issues affecting the internal displaced person by Boko Haram in Camps across the states in Northern Nigeria.

The sample size for the study was determined via census approach as Asemahet (2012) assert that census is attractive for small population (200 or less). And hence the population of the study is 182 papers census considered appropriate. The unit of analysis for this study were pictures, feature stories, straight news stories. The coding sheet was used as instrument to content analysis reports on internal displaced person in Daily Trust and the Nation Newspaper.

**Data Presentation and Analysis**

A total of one hundred and eighty two editions (182) of Daily Trust and the Nation Newspapers were content analysed, out of which eighty two stories on internal displaced person by Boko Haram were reported. The data presentation and analysis were as follows:

person by Boko Haram were reported. The data presentation and analysis were as follows:

Table 1: News frames used in reporting IDPs by Daily Trust and the Nation Newspapers

<b>Frames</b>	<b>Daily Trust</b>	<b>The Nation</b>
Assistance	34 (42%)	28 (34%)
Security	4 (50%)	2 (2%)
Vulnerability	10 (12%)	4 (5%)
<b>Total</b>	<b>48 (59%)</b>	<b>34 (41%)</b>

Table one shows that out of 82 stories on IDPs in various Camps of Northern Nigeria reported by Daily Trust and the Nation Newspapers, Daily Trust reported 34 (42%) were framed describing the internal displaced person as people in need of assistance from private individuals or government for survival. The Nation Newspaper reported 28 (34%) people in need of assistance. While 4 (5%) were reported by Daily Trust as people in need of security and the Nation Newspaper reported 2 (2%) in need of security. The implication of this report is that both the Newspapers shows that internal displaced person were unsafe. Also, 10 (12%) and 4 (5%) news by Daily Trust and the Nation newspapers respectively report internal displaced person by Boko Haram in various camp of Northern Nigeria are living in a vulnerable disease.

**Table 2 Prominence given IDPs reports by Daily Trust and the Nation Newspapers**

<b>Placement</b>	<b>Daily Trust</b>	<b>The Nation</b>
Front Page	11 (13%)	2 (3%)
Back Page	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Inside Page	37% (45%)	32 (39%)
<b>Total</b>	<b>48 (59%)</b>	<b>34 (41%)</b>

Table 2 shows that, out of 48 stories on Internal Displaced persons by Daily Trust Newspaper 11(13%) appeared on the front page, while the Nation Newspapers carried only 2 (3%) stories on internal Displaced persons on its front page. This indicates that Daily Trust has given more prominence to internal Displaced Persons reports than the Nation Newspaper. Also, in regard to the level of coverage, out of the total of 82 reports on Internal Displaced Persons, 48 (59%) stories were reported by Daily Trust, while the Nation Newspaper reported 34 (41%) stories. This indicates that Daily Trust cover more stories on Internal Displaced Persons than the Nation Newspaper.

**Table 3: The effects of displacement on internal displaced person by boko haram in Nigeria.**

<b>Effects</b>	<b>Daily Trust</b>	<b>The Nation</b>
Instability and violence	<b>7 (9% )</b>	<b>5(6% )</b>
Inadequate Shelter	<b>9 (11% )</b>	<b>7(8% )</b>
Inadequate basic needs	<b>10 (12.2% )</b>	<b>8(9% )</b>
Poor health and hygiene	<b>8 (10% )</b>	<b>5 (6% )</b>
Lack of access to Education	<b>4 (5% )</b>	<b>3 (4% )</b>
Inadequate Communication	<b>4 (5% )</b>	<b>3 (4% )</b>
Diversion of goods	<b>6(7% )</b>	<b>3 (4% )</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>48(59%)</b>	<b>34(41%)</b>

Table three shows that 7(9%) of the Daily Trust reported that instability and violence is one the effects of displacement in the northeast. While the Nation newspaper reported 5(6%) cases of instability and violence as the consequences of displacement. Communal clashes along ethnic and religious fault lines have fostered a climate of instability and violence throughout the North and the Middle Belt, the dividing line between the Muslim North and Christian South. Data are limited, but hundreds of thousands of people are estimated to have been displaced as violence has increased over the past 17 years. Episode of inter communal violence in the Middle-Belt States of Plateau, Taraba, Benue and Nassarawa have left more than 400 people dead in 2014 and caused un known amount of displacement and destruction. In the East and North-east more than 85,000 people fled their homes between January and August, including the State affected by Boko Haram suchs as Bauchi and Taraba. Boko Haram began its insurgency with assaults on members of the security services, politicians, civil servants and other authority figures in the Northern State of Bauchi, Borno, Kano and Yobe. It stated to expand its operation in 2010, when it bombed building in Jos and has since acquired tanks, rocket launchers, anti-air craft and sub- machine gun. It has pushed further south, bombing police UN office in Abuja in 2011, and targets had come to include Schools, Mosques, Churches and Market. Between 2013 and Mid 2014 Boko Haram destroyed 211 Schools in Borno State, killing unknown number of Students and teachers leading to the closure of all State funded education facilities there. The grouped has abducted 276 teenage girls from Chibok in April 2014. This has been the largest incident so far in Nigeria, because it is a serious abuse of human right (Olawale, 2016).

Table three above, also demonstrated that 9(11%) of Daily Trust reported Inadequate Shelter as an effect of displacement. While 7(8%) was reported in the Nation Newspaper. Access to adequate shelter is the most immediate needs of IDPs in the initial stages of displacement. The majority of IDPs in Nigeria take refuge in the host communities. This involves staying in the homes of family or friends, paying for temporary accommodation or seeking refuge in makeshift camp-like setting such Schools, Sports centres, Churches, Mosques and University Campus. When none of these options are available IDPs may be forced to shelter in abandoned buildings, or the street of Urban Centres or on the outskirts villages. The home of many vulnerable communities are damaged or destroyed by flood on an at most annual basis. In the absence of other options, many simply await their inevitable displacement when the rainy season arrives. Some however taken preventive measures for example, the inhabitants of Gurmana, a village in

Niger State, asked the authority to provide them with tents so they could pre-emptively relocate their miles and belonging. This would have helped them to avoid disrupting their children's education by occupying the Primary School, as they had previously been forced to do. Months after making the request however, they had not received replay. Despite the authority has previously agreed to permanently relocate the village to higher ground, they had received no support to do so (Gambo, 2016).

Similarly, table three affirmed that 10(12.2%) of the Daily Newspapers shows that Inadequate basic needs is a great effects of displacement, while the Nation Newspapers reported 8(9%) of the effect of inadequate basic needs. Internal displaced persons are often unable to exercise their basic rights to food and essential house hold items such as sleeping mats, soap, Mosquito net and cooking utensils. They usually lose access to their sources of revenue when they flee. The destruction of property, crops and stores of food at the time of displacement is a major problem among the IDPs. However, the State government and aid agencies provide basic food items through SEMAs, but supplies are often quickly exhausted. Boko Haram has disrupted live hood activities, market and reduced trade flows, staples and other basic commodities have become scarce and prices have risen, preventing IDPs from buying basic food stuffs. State security measures have also disrupted rural market and transport contributing further to the food shortages for both IDPs and their host (Vanguard, 2010).

In addition to the above, Poor health and hygiene were also indicated in the Daily Trust and the Nation Newspaper as the consequences of displacement. It was also revealed in the Daily Trust that, 8(10%) stories were affected by poor health and hygiene as a result of displacement. While, the nation newspaper reported 5(6%) stories of poor health and hygiene as the consequence of displacement on internally displaced persons in northeast. Internal displaced persons often have only minimal access to health services, and this challenge has really affected the majority of Women and Children. Most health facilities in areas of the North-east affected by conflict were closed as of mid-2014 as a result of insecurity and displacement of Staff. Most of the facilities have been damaged or destroyed during conflict or deliberately targeted by Boko Haram. The primary obstacle in accessing health care for many IDPs is their lack of resources, including to pay for transport to the nearest facilities which can be some distance away. This resulted in to out breaks of diseases and malnutrition rate in areas affected by displacement. The number of Cholera case among the IDPs and host communities has raised exponentially with 26,204 cases and 404 deaths reported between January and July 2014 (UNICEF, 2014). IDPs and host communities in the North-east have only limited access to safe drinking water and adequate sanitation, leading to a decline in health and hygiene among both IDPs and their host communities. Public latrines in informal camp-like settings such as School are often non unusable. Defection and disposal of children's waste in the open place is common. The contamination of water sources has contributed to cholera out breaks in a number of displacements in Borno State. Bore holes, hand pumps and unprotected wells dug by hand are the main sources of water for communities displaced by Boko Haram. When IDPs flee a way from populated areas or trapped in the bush, they may have to resort to drinking from streams, rivers and ponds which are often use by criminals. Many displaced Women and Children have work long distance to fetch water, and they had to travel further as pressures have increased as a result of influx of people fleeing. Boko Haram attack in 2014 made the environmental hygiene to be poor as a result of overcrowded conditions and shortages of water and other materials concerning Women and teenage girls who face the challenges of maintaining menstrual hygiene in a very constrained circumstance (Falobi, 2014).

In the same vein, the Daily Newspaper reported 4(5%) stories on **Lack of access to Education** as a great consequence of displacement on internally displaced persons by Boko Haram. While, 3(4%) of lack of access to education was reported by the Nation newspaper as another implication of displacement. All Schools in the town of Baga, Bama, Jajeri, Umaran Garnam, Mai Malan, Mongono and Gomboru were forced to closed between February 2012 and June 2013. IDPs and members of the security force occupying schools have damaged and in some cases destroyed infrastructures. Attendance rates have declined dramatically in the North-east. Even in areas where schools have remained open, many children, including IDPs home areas has made parents worry of sending their children to school. Human

resources play an immense role in the success or failure of any organization or nation in terms of capability and strength of character. In Nigeria, most of the problems facing the economy are a reflection of the poor quality of human development and management because education, which plays a critical role in human development and the economic health of the nation, has been neglected in the camp of IDPs. One has to understand the problems facing the educational institutions to really appreciate the magnitude of problems facing the Nigerian economy. Good quality education or value education that involves 'educating for character', good 'moral values' and civic responsibility shape the character of nations. And taking responsibility for the things we do wrong as well as the things we do right is important for national development (Olawale, 2016).

More so, **Inadequate Communication** was reported by the both newspapers as a consequence of displacement on the internally displaced persons by Boko Haram. The Daily Trust reported 4(5%) stories and the Nation newspaper reported 3(4%) of the same stories. There is little disconnection between the IDPs and Nigerian Government. This was in line with the view of Amina (2016) who reported that IDPs did not have an effective means through which to communicate directly with Nigerian government or International agencies. As a result, there were many instances of misinformation and disinformation pertaining to what was needed and what was supplied. Added to this is that at certain conditions when there was delay in supply, the government made no plausible attempt to communicate to them in respect to the challenges at hand and the reasons for delay.

Lastly, the Daily Trust reported 6(7%) stories on **Diversion of goods** while the Nation newspaper revealed that 3(4%) stories were on consequences of displacement. Members in the host communities considered that they entitled to the benefits enjoyed by IDPs in Nigeria. Each time commodities are being transported to camp; able Youths would mount road blocks, toll barricades and insist on getting their share of the products, left with little or no alternative. About 60 truck-loads of bags of grains allocated to Borno internally-displaced persons, IDPs, by President Muhammadu Buhari, to fight malnutrition in the troubled north-eastern state have allegedly been diverted by a contractor. Displaced children scrambling for food at an IDPs camp in Maiduguri. How safe are they? Speaking to newsmen in Maiduguri, the Borno State capital, Senate Leader, Senator Mohammed Ndume, said the contractor, whose name was not given, diverted 60 trucks of grains out of the 113 trucks allocated to the state. He said: "It is an unfortunate incident; the contractor only delivered 53 trucks out of the 113 allocated to Borno State. "We cannot proceed with the distribution. I have to go back and inform the President of this ugly development." Ndume, who hails from Gwoza Local Government Area of the state, said his visit was prompted by President Buhari, who asked him to commence distribution of grains alongside officials of the National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA). He, however, disclosed that the contractor had since been arrested and was being investigated by the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission, (EFCC). The Senate leader also said plans were underway to shut down all IDP camps housing some Borno indigenes across the country, while they would be taken to transit camp in their respective local government areas "from where they can easily go back to their homes." He added: "I have told those (IDPs) in clear terms that time is ripe for them to go back home; there is no point remaining in the camp after three years. "Gwoza Local Government Area, where I hail from, in particular, is now safe and secured. Over 10,000 residents are now living safely in Gwoza and there is no cause for alarm. "It is very regretful that less than 3,000 Gwoza IDPs now in Maiduguri have refused to go back and resettle, despite all pleas to them" (Marama, 2016).

### **Discussion of Results**

From the results of the study, it could be seen that Daily Trust and the Nation reported about the condition of internal displaced persons by Boko Haram in Nigeria. Similarly, it was highlighted that the majority of news reported by Daily Trust was (45%) and the Nation Newspaper (34%). This shows that internal displaced persons by Boko Haram can only survive if individuals, organizations and government contribute immensely for the development of their welfare.

However, there is disparity in terms of level of coverage of the issues about internal displaced persons by Boko Haram in the two newspapers. This is in line with view of Okioya and Adedowole (2011) that various news media house have their area of interest when covering a particular event. This could be as a result of their home policy which defines what to cover and what not. However, the finding of the study shows that, Daily Trust gave more coverage on internal displaced persons by Boko Haram (59%) than the Nation Newspaper (41%). This outcome is an indication that, the media organization differs in philosophy of operation and interest.

The study established that displacement has serious effect on the internal displaced persons in Nigeria as it was indicated that by (55%) of the Daily Trust newspapers and(45%) in the Nation newspapers. This shows the commitment of the newspapers on internal displaced persons by Boko Haram. However, good governance was down played by the newspapers. Since the two of them placed little emphasis on remedial messages in their reports. Enthan(1991) notes that aside from the words and images used to depict the event how much material on the event is available and how prominently speak loud about framing. He further says the frame of a news portrait can be enlarging so the consciousness's of a mass public are aware of most specific issues and events. The media reports placed little emphasis on the effects of displacement on internal displaced persons by Boko Haram. In view of that, it is important to discuss the effect of displacement on the internal displaced persons by Boko Haram in Nigeria and its implications on good governance.

The study also shows that, the Daily Trust revealed 48(59%) of the stories on the effects of displacement. In contrary to the above, 34(41%) stories were narrated from the Nation Newspaper on the outcome of displacement on the internally displaced persons by Boko Haram. This shows that Nigerian government have failed to adequately address growing consequences of displacement. Thousands of people have died in the northeast as a result of displacement by Boko Haram (British Broad Casting Corporation, 2014).

#### **Implications of Displacement on Good Governance in Nigeria**

The implications of displacement on good governance are enormous and this has been evidence in the country's political stability and economic development. Some of these implications are as follows:

**Abandonment of contracts:** In almost all corners of northeast, cases of contractors abandoning projects which they have been paid for. The reason for this situation is lack of security and prevalence of corruption. Such contractors either they have shared the money they were paid with government officials or have people in government who cover up the case. This has resulted in the proliferation of abandoned projects in every corner of the country which if completed would have improved the welfare and the standard of living of the citizens.

A worsening economic crises and decrease in foreign investment, with attendant effects of unemployment and poverty: Governance Survey conducted by the World Bank in 20016, indicated an improvement in the living standard of Nigerians in the year 2016 as compared to 2001, yet urgent concerns were expressed about unemployment. Ninety percent of the respondents considered unemployment to be a major impediment to development.

**Undermining local industries potential:** this is another important effect of displacement on good governance in Nigeria. According to Governance survey on Enterprises released in 20014 indicated that the displacement of persons by Boko Haram did not encourage the growth of local industries in the northeast. Inadequate infrastructure and financing of business enterprises were identified as impediment. Public services, such as electricity and telecommunications were destroyed

**The poor reputation of Nigeria and Nigerians:** the image of Nigeria has been tarnished as a result of displacement of persons by Boko Haram. The global perception of the phenomenon of displacement is pervasive and endemic. Therefore, displacement has eaten so deep into the fabric of the nation so much so that for the past five years or so.

The following can be summarized as the effects of displacement on good governance as put forward by Clarke (2014):

displacement leads to non-achievement of goal, it diverts resources from public purpose to private ones, it weakens public bureaucracy, displacement slows down the pace of economic development through manipulation of funds for project, displacement endangers national security internally and externally, displacement dilutes individuals and group commitment to national values and civic responsibility.

Good governance help people feel that, the government will act in the society's overall interest, regardless of differing opinions. It would also encourage the governments, to remember that, they are acting on behalf of their people and society, help them to understand the importance of having open and ethical processes which adhere to the law and stand up to security. Good governance encourages elected members and government to be confident, elected members and government officials, will feel better about their involvement in various government levels; Federal, States and Local. When governance is practiced, more representatives of the people will be confidence that, they can be trusted, the advices they are given, that their views will be respected, even if everyone does not agree with them, and that the cabinet of government is safe place for decision making and implementations(Femi,2010).

### **Conclusion and Recommendations**

The quest for good governance in Nigeria is in doubt if the effects of internal displacement are not addressed. This is because historical evidences have shown that the effects of internal displacement prevent good governance and economic development of a state. It also discourages foreign direct investment (FDI), increasing poverty and bad image for the country. Although, the Nigerian government has taken some commendable steps at curbing or fighting Boko Haram, more still need to be done if the menace is to be adequately checked. In order to overcome the effects of displacement on the internal displaced persons and good governance in Nigeria, the study made the following policy recommendation:

1. The Nigerian government should fight corruption and ensure a direct link between the management agencies and the IDPs.
2. To improve the condition of IDPs in Nigeria, government should solicit for donation and financial aids from more international bodies.
3. The budgetary allocation for displacement persons by Boko Haram in Nigeria should be separated from allocation for disaster or emergency. Since not all disasters result in displacement.
4. Nigeriangovernment should endeavour to be proactive rather than reactive. Designated safe areas should be set aside for displacement even before they occur irrespective of the ability of government to develop or maintain them.

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## Governance and Corruption in Nigeria: Implications for Development

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### Abstract

Nigeria as an independent nation has been governed for the past 56 years by both democratic and non democratic governments. The intervention in governance of Nigeria by the military was blamed on the inability of previous democratic governments to develop and sustain programmes that could have resulted in development. However, the military rule for 30 years also did not yield the much expected socio-economic development in terms of improvement in the standard of living of the Nigerian populace. The inability of Nigeria to attain development has been partly blamed on corruption in governance. Corruption is a clog in the wheel of progress of any nation state if the menace is left uncontrolled. Corruption has eaten deep into the polity of the Nigerian State. This paper seeks to examine the impact of corruption on Governance in Nigeria and its implications on the development of Nigeria. The materials for this paper were sourced from documentary sources such as journal articles, text books, online materials and other unpublished materials. The paper concludes that Corruption hinders development and advocates for stronger political will to fight corruption on the part of political leaders, making anti graft agencies independent of the executive arm of government and a review of anti graft laws with stiffer punishments for offenders amongst other recommendations.

**Key words:** Governance, Corruption, Development, Participation, Transparency and Accountability.

### Introduction and Problem Statement

The creation of a conducive political and socio-economic environment for implementation of government policies and programmes is a great challenge confronting Nigeria as a nation. The creation of a conducive environment will give room for development to take place. However, this desired development has been hindered in Nigeria due to corruption and bad governance. Governance can either be good or bad. Good governance entails freedom, accountability and participation. Good governance is critical in achieving great strides in pursuit of development. But unfortunately, successive Nigerian governments have been deeply engrossed in excessive acts of corruption and bad governance. Corruption is entrenched in all facets of national life, manifesting in relegation of public interest, malpractices of all forms, crimes in different forms, readiness to cheat and so on. All these and more have brought about social dislocation, insecurity, violence, abject poverty, socio-economic and political instability.

In order to tackle the issue of corruption and bad governance in the country, Nigerian government has introduced reforms in the public service including monetization to reduce waste, downsizing of over bloated personnel, establishment of anti-corruption agencies like Independent Corrupt Practices and other related offences Commission (ICPC), Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and so on (Uwak and Udofia, 2016). In spite of these efforts, corruption and bad governance have been on the rise. What then are the implications of corruption and bad governance on the development of Nigeria?

### **Objective**

The objective of the paper is to examine the implications of corruption and bad governance on the socio-economic development of Nigeria.

### **Methodology**

Data for this paper were collected from secondary sources such as journals, text books and internet sources. Contents analysis was adopted.

### **Literature Review**

#### **Conceptual Clarification**

**Governance:** Governance means different things to different people. According to the United Nations Development Programme, (UNDP, 2011) in Anazodo, Okoye and Chukwuemeka (2015:46), governance is 'the exercise of economic, political and administrative authorities to manage a country's affairs at all levels'. In the same vein, the World Bank (1989) defined governance as the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources. Yaqub and Abubakar (2005) defined governance as the totality of the process of constituting a government as well as administering a political community. Governance according to Sharma, Sadana and Kaur (2012), 'includes the forms of political system, and the structure and the manner in which power is exercised, in utilizing the country's economic and social resources for development. Governance incorporates the capacity of the government to design, formulate and implement policies and also the way government discharges its functions and copes with the emerging challenges of the society'. Natufe (2006) defined governance as the process and system by which a government manages the resources of a society to address socio-economic and political challenges. For the purpose of this paper, governance is seen as the way and manner in which power is exercised in managing the economic and social resources of a country for the purpose of development. Governance can either be good or bad. Good governance will affect the country positively thereby bringing about the desired development in all facets of the country's life and activities, while bad governance on the other hand will cripple development and bring backwardness to the country. At this point we shall examine good governance.

Good governance according to Sharma, Sadana and Kaur (2012) "establishes the rule of law, enforces contracts and agreements between the individuals, maintains law and order and guarantee security to the people, economizes on cost and resources, protects the environment and properly delivers services to society. It also determines an optimal size of the government and makes best possible use of government resources'. This is to say that good governance is needed for a nation to develop. In good governance, rule of law is established, law and order is maintained and government resources are utilized for developmental purposes.

#### **Elements of Good Governance**

According to Sharma, Sadana and Kaur (2012), the following are the elements of good governance:

**i. Participation:** Participation is one of the key to good governance. Citizens' participation in the organs of government: Executive, Legislative and Judiciary and regular exercise of their rights in all respects. There should be decentralization and more democratization in government as this will lead to increased participation. Participation could either be direct or through representation. Proper enforcement of laws requires an independent judiciary that is capable of functioning fearlessly. The people's say in governance should be strengthened. States and local bodies should be given greater autonomy, voluntary agencies and nongovernmental organizations should be involved more, better delivery systems through self help groups and in economic terms, participation of the private sector should be increased.

**ii. Accountability:** There should be accountability by those in government to the governed. The responsibility of officials is to explain their acts as it safeguards against oppression and corruption. Accountability includes how the government is a facilitator for the private sector and how far it is able to manage public sector. According to World Bank Document (1992) in Sharma, Sadana and Kaur (2012), Public Accountability involves three interrelated groups;

The general public and, particularly, recipients of public service, who are interested in service providers being accountable to them.

Political leaders and supervisors of service providers who would like the service providers to be accountable to them.

The service providers themselves, whose objectives and interests often differ from those pointed out in the two above.

Financial Accountability according to the Bank documents serves as an essential check against misspending and corruption, as it strengthens the capacity of the government to monitor their own economic performance including proper resource use.

- iii. **Transparency:** The citizens should be able to access information, and a good government must ensure flow of information to citizens. Transparency in government is a necessity. Transparency requires that decision taken and their enforcement is done in a manner that is in conformity with the rules and regulations. It implies that the information can be received by those affected by the decisions in easily understandable forms.
- iv. **Rule of Law:** For good governance to be possible there should be a fair framework that is enforced in an impartial manner for protecting human rights, securing social justice and checking abuse of power.
- v. **Consensus Oriented:** The goal of good governance should be to arrive at a broad consensus after considering different interests in the society for the best interest of the community. It aims at achieving sustainable human development by carrying citizens along.
- vi. **Effectiveness and Efficiency:** Good governance depends upon the fact that the process and institutions should produce results to meet the needs of society. It involves proper utilization of resources at their disposal.
- vii. **Responsiveness:** Good governance is feasible when the institutions and processes are responsive and serve all stakeholders within a reasonable time frame.
- viii. **Inclusiveness and Equity:** The people should not be excluded from the mainstream of the society and no segment of the society should be marginalized. All citizens should be given the freedom to avail themselves of opportunities in the society.

### **Bad Governance**

Bad governance is the opposite of good governance. Where there is bad governance, accountability, transparency, respect for the rule of law, popular participation, effectiveness and efficiency, responsiveness and other elements mentioned above are absent or insufficiently present. Bad governance manifests in the inability of a public institution to manage public affairs and public resources; failure to meet the needs of society while making the best use of resources at the disposal of government (Kaufmann, Kraay and Zoido, 1999). The major evil that brings about bad governance is corruption. This paper now proceeds to discuss corruption and its effect on national development.

### **Corruption:**

Corruption is a global problem with complex causes; its net effect is seen as negative for all societies, particularly developing countries (Ghana Center for Democratic Development, 2001. Huntington (1968) defined corruption as abuse of public office for private ends. For him, corruption is a behavior of public officials which deviates from accepted norms in order to serve private ends. Orukwogu (2012) sees corruption as effort geared towards securing wealth and power through illegal means for private gains at public expense and peril. It is a misuse of public power for private benefits, the violation of established rules for personal gains and profit.

Desta (2006) in Duruji et al (2013) views corruption as 'outright theft, embezzlement of funds or other misappropriation of state property, nepotism and the granting of favour to personal acquaintances and the abuse of the public authority to exact payments and privileges. Looking at it from this angle, the general public is seen as the principal victim and the public officials as the agent.

USAID (2003), in Kayode, Adagba and Aniyio (2013), also defined corruption as the misuse of entrusted power for private gain. Corruption is a selfish and dishonest act that deprives a vast majority of desired benefits which includes social, economic, political and other legitimate benefits. Corruption emphasizes personal interest as against the public interest.

Systemic corruption in Nigeria appears to be more institutional and political in nature. This is because the ruling class has proved to be the major promoters of corruption; indeed, the continued high occurrence of corruption in Nigeria is as a result of the fact that beyond institutional weaknesses, leaders seem to have infiltrated escape routes in the making of anti-corruption laws. Consequently, political corruption has been at its peak with overwhelming negative effects in Nigerian political system. It defies conventional rules that guide the political system. Political corruption involves the maneuvering of the state institutions and rules for the benefit of an individual or group of people. Political corruption is a deviation from the rational-legal values and principles of the modern state and leads to institutional decay. Corruption promotes economic decay and social and political instability, perverts the ability of the state to foster rule of law, and eventually erodes trust and undermines legitimacy (Ghana centre for Democratic Development, 2001).

### **Corruption in Nigeria's Public Sector**

Corruption in Nigeria's public sector has become a serious problem of concern in the country. There have been various cases of financial corruption since the country's return to civil rule in 1999. This corruption has taken various forms such as government institutions having to bribe legislatures in order to pass budgets of their organization, ministries collect bribes before contracts are awarded, politicians give money to electorates to vote them into power, contract inflation, lecturers collect money from students to pass them (Uwak and Udofia, 2016).

According to Uwak and Udofia (2016), the first and second Republics in Nigeria came to an abrupt end because of corruption. At this time, people in ministries, departments and agencies of government in the first republic stole funds and there was no policy position to fight against corruption in the country. The 1964 and 1965 elections were rigged by the Northern People's Congress (NPC) (Ajayi, 2008) in Uwak and Udofia, (2016). The party in power (NPC) went against electoral guidelines and procedures and that caused the failure of other political parties especially Action Group (AG). This resulted in the rejection of the outcome of the election which led to widespread violence and outright destruction of lives and property particularly in the Western part of the country. Ijewereme and Dunmade, (2014) in Uwak and Udofia, (2016) were of the opinion that corruption, massive rigging of the elections, arson, killing and violence in the West were reasons why the middle ranked army officers staged coup to take power from the Nigerian First Republic Politicians on January 15, 1965.

General Gowon's administration did not tackle the issue of corruption in the country as corruption acts were not a secret. His promise to establish anti-graft agencies to fight corruption was not fulfilled. However, the administration of Murtala Mohammed exposed the corruption activities that were carried out during Gowon's regime when he set up Assets Investigation panel to probe the governors and other public office holders who worked under Gowon. The investigation led to the indictment of 10 out of 12 military governors and their assets were frozen. The anti-graft exercise led to the purge of the civil service whereby over 10,000 civil servants were sacked for corrupt practices (Anazodo, Okoye and Chukwuemeka, 2012, Uwak and Udofia, 2016).

During Shehu Shagari's regime there were various forms of corrupt practices engaged in by the politicians. When General Muhamadu Buhari came on board, he introduced the programme 'War Against Indiscipline' (WAI) all with the intent of fighting corruption. Many investigative tribunals were put in place to probe public officials. During the General Babangida Administration corruption was also present. The corrupt activities continued in the Abacha's regime. Even several years after the death of Abacha, looted money were still being discovered. The Christopher Kolade's panel set up to review contracts awarded during Abdulsalami's tenure revealed that the 4,072 contracts cost Nigeria N635.62 billion as against the N88 billion budgeted in 1998 (Anazodo, Okoye and Chukwuemeka 2012).

With the return to civilian rule in 1999, one would have thought that the elected leaders will be committed to fighting corruption in the interest of the Nigerian populace so as to give the populace a better life. But to the contrary, the administration of President Obasanjo according to Aderonmu (2007) witnessed unthinkable dimensions of corrupt practices, selective investigation of corrupt public officials and inefficient handling of the economy. When Yar 'Adua took over from Obasanjo he showed some commitment to fight corruption but did not match it with practical steps. For example according to Uwak and Udofia (2016), he tried to stop the prosecution of James Ibori former governor of Delta State and he subsequently removed Ribadu as the EFCC Chairman. When President Goodluck Jonathan took over, he did not show courage to fight corruption as there were lots of corrupt practices among his political appointees. They looted government treasury. There was the case of the former Minister of Aviation Stella Odua who used the Ministry's money to buy bullet proof cars for her personal use. The former Minister of Petroleum Resources, Mrs. Diezani Allison Madueke, has been accused of stealing the sum of \$9.3 billion under president Jonathan (Uwak and Udofia, 2016). Melaye (2013) said the government of President Goodluck was unable to prosecute corrupt political office holders, even those who were exposed. Jonathan showed a total lack of political will to fight corruption in Nigeria. With the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari, efforts have been geared towards tackling corruption in the country. Different strategies like the single treasury accounts for ministries, agencies and departments of government and the whistle blowing policy that comes with reward for whistle blowers (Uwak and Udofia, 2016).

Corruption as can be seen is endemic in the nation and though there have been agencies such as EFCC and ICPC and other measures adopted by different governments to fight corruption, they have failed in their bid to reduce it to a minimal level.

#### **Effect of Corruption on National Development in Nigeria**

Corruption has diverse impact on the development of any nation. It is a clog in the wheel of progress. An attempt is made to discuss some effects of corruption on the development of Nigeria below:

**i. Effect on security of the nation:** The militant activities of the Niger-Delta region is as a result of the embezzlement of resources meant for developmental activities in the region. The youths in protesting to the undeveloped state of the region resort to arms taking to find a way of getting part of the stolen resources. They engage in vandalization of pipelines, kidnapping, political thuggery among other things. This is a serious security challenge. It has affected foreign investments in the region. It is claimed that over one trillion naira (N1,074,015,582,000) allocated for the development of the region from 2007 to 2014 have been embezzled by corrupt officials ([www.naija.ng](http://www.naija.ng)).

**ii. Reduction in provision of social amenities:** Diversion of public funds appropriated to government institutions for private use has resulted in decline of provision of social services in the nation. Contracts awarded are sometimes left abandoned, government policies and programmes are not fully implemented because those involved in the implementation look for ways through which they can embezzle the funds. There is high level of infrastructural decadence in the country because funds meant for maintenance purpose is siphoned into personal pockets to the detriment of the entire nation. Service such as the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS) is not being properly implemented in terms of provision of qualitative drugs because of underfunding and the little provided is also embezzled. This year (2017), the NHIS boss was suspended as a result of awarding contracts to his cronies without following due process, purchasing of a 58 million naira Toyota vehicle which is above his spending limit of 2.5 million naira (without approval from the Minister of health ) and other allegations against him. He was directed to handover all the property of the organization to his immediate subordinate, but the order seems to already have been flouted as the suspended official left the premises of the organization with two matted woven bags otherwise known as Ghana must go (Akinkuotu, 2017). It seems to have become a culture for public officials to abuse their offices and use public funds without regard for due process and the rule of law.

**iii. Effect on Economic Development:** The embezzlement of public funds by politicians and other public office holders has resulted in incapacitation of the government to embark on projects that would bring development to the society. Such projects could create employment opportunities to the teeming

unemployed in the country there by leading to reduction in poverty. There are lots of uncompleted projects across the country as a result of embezzlement. Some government revenue generating agencies misappropriates the resources that would have been channeled into government account resulting in loss of government revenue. Unfortunately, most of the stolen monies are never invested in the country. The culprits transfer the monies to foreign accounts and acquire properties outside the country with no benefit to the economy of Nigeria. According to Ribadu (2007), without doubt, the unpardonable failure of the political leadership managing the affairs and wealth of the country had inevitably brought severe misery to many voiceless and helpless Nigerians and has denied them access to economic prosperity and quality living conditions.

**iv. Impact on the political system:** corruption is rooted in the political system of Nigeria. Voters are bribed to vote for specific political party or candidate. The electorates do not regard government as theirs and the acceptability of government is usually contestable because a greater number of the eligible voters are sometimes not part of the electoral process because to them, their participation will not change anything. There is a high level of apathy in the political system of Nigeria. The electoral institutions in the country are manipulated to favour certain persons.

### **Findings**

From the paper the following were revealed:

- i. The paper revealed that corruption is entrenched in all facets of national life in Nigeria. There is relegation of public interest, malpractices of various forms, crimes in different forms which have brought about social dislocation, insecurity, poverty and socio economic instability.
- ii. The paper revealed that the ruling class is the major promoter of corruption in Nigeria, although among the non-ruling class, there is still corruption.
- iii. The paper revealed that even with the return to civilian rule in Nigeria, corruption has been unabated taking different dimensions as even the process of elections are marked with a lot of manipulations. This hinders development in the country.
- iv. The paper revealed the effects of corruption on national development as including insecurity in the country, reduction in provision of social amenities in the country, negative effect on the economy and negative impact on the political system.

### **Conclusion and Recommendations**

Corruption has impacted negatively on the economic life, peace and security of the nation. It has also impacted negatively on the political system as well as led to a decline in the provision of social services in the country. There is also infrastructural decadence. There cannot be development where there is high level of corruption. Even though some efforts have been made towards the fight against corruption, much still needs to be done. Despite the establishment of anti-corruption agencies like EFCC and ICPC, there is still much to be desired. In the light of this, the paper recommends the following:

- i. The anti-graft laws in the country should be reviewed to suit the current situation. Sometimes corrupt individuals are given less punishment for severe offences thereby giving others the morale to also loot public funds. Stiffer punishments should be introduced to serve as deterrent to individuals who want to loot public funds.
- ii. The agencies of government fighting corruption in Nigeria are under the executive arm of the government. They tend to work according to the dictates of the executive. To have effective anti-graft agencies, these agencies should be independent of the executive arm to prevent interference.
- iii. The principle of checks and balances should be practiced to the later by the three arms of government. The executive should check the activities of the legislature, the legislature through its oversight functions should check the activities of the executive and the judiciary that is the court system should discharge its functions of prosecuting individuals found guilty of corruption without interference from the legislature or the executive. In addition to the above, the judiciary should expedite actions on corruption cases as delay in deciding on such cases is a set back on the fight against corrupt practices.

- iv. Our political leaders should also muster the political will to fight corruption in every possible way.
- v. The Nigerian populace must have the behavioural change consistent with the desire to see a change in the trend of events that has brought the nation to where she finds herself in the committee of nations. The citizens need to do away with unethical behaviors and sharp practices.

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## People Democratic Party (PDP) and Internal Democracy in Kogi State: Implication on Democracy Consolidation

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### Abstract

The study examined the consequences of poor internal democracy on People Democratic Party (PDP) in Kogi state. The study has its method rooted in the survey design using close and open ended structured questionnaire, textbooks, journals, internet materials, etc. using Multi Stage Sampling, 1919 study participants were randomly selected from the 12 local government, party leaders and these leaders comprised of 8 Local Government party chairmen and four Local Government party secretaries proportionally selected from across the 3 senatorial districts in Kogi State. Data obtained were quantitatively analyzed descriptively on percentage tables using the Statistical Package for Social Scientist (SPSS). Findings of the study show that the level of popular participation in the party was very high, while adherence to nomination process is commendable, however, serious fears were expressed regarding adherence to party policies/constitution by the party leadership. This mixed result for the internal democracy mechanisms invariably has mixed consequences on democratic consolidation, ranging from stalling or abandonment of development projects, intra-party conflicts or violence among others are inevitable outcomes. The study recommends that; there is need to strengthen the internal democratic mechanism and legal frameworks for fighting the imposition of candidate within political parties in Nigeria. As things stand now, Nigeria's political parties are still perceived as those whose destinies are in hands of the power-brokers within the parties.

**Keywords:** Democracy, Internal Democracy, PDP, and Consequences of Poor internal Democracy

### Introduction

According to Susan Scarrow (2004) internal democracy is a very broad term describing a wide range of methods for including party members in intra-party deliberation and decision makings. It is democracy within the party and the extent to which a party subscribes to and abides by the basic and universal democratic tenets (Scarrow, 2004). On a pragmatic level, some advocates for intra-party democracy argue, that parties using internally democratic procedures are likely to select more capable and appealing leaders, to have more responsive policies, and as a result, to enjoy greater electoral success. A number of scholars converge on the premise that parties that “practice what they preach”, in the sense of using internally democratic procedures for their deliberation and decisions, strengthen democratic culture generally.

In his scholarly endeavours (Gosnell (1969) sees intra-party democracy as that which “provides necessary vertical linkages between different deliberating spheres and horizontal linkage between competing issues” (Gosnell, 1968). It is, however the creation of a permissible climate within a political party which guarantees the participation of all party members in decision making as well as the general administration of the party. Such a climate fosters active involvement of every party member and not a few powerful rich. At this juncture, it should be added that the purpose of intra-party democracy in political parties is basically to create a level playing-field for the active participation of every member in the party affairs and to build a congestive party that is vibrant enough to win elections and as such provide a strong government committed to quality service delivery that will meet the needs and yearning of the citizens.

However, the incessant intra- party conflicts which came in varying magnitudes and intensities have become a major threat to democratic survival in Nigeria especially its fourth republic. Some of these conflicts have led to the factionalisation of some major political parties and the consequence of party members decamping to another. This negative trend in political parties has been having profound negative impact on the country's democratization process, against the background that political parties are vehicles of modern representative democracy and a strong pillar for consolidating democratic governance

(Mamodu and Matudi, 2013). But, the ability of political parties to achieve this very important role is dependent on whether the relationship that exists among members is harmonious or conflict ridden owing to the fact that social groups exist by conflict and cooperation. This has been articulated in the theory of intra-group cooperation whose central thrust bothers on the fact that social group exist through conflict and cooperation. It is important to note that as members of a group interact together, there emerge power relations in the internal dynamic of the group, which may polarize the group into two power blocs namely; the privileged and the less privileged power blocs.

These power blocs compete for the control of the decision making machinery of the group with the aim of influencing the decisions of the group to their favour. This is no doubt the situation in the People's Democratic Party (PDP) which more often than not occasions intra-party conflicts and rancor. Some of the sources of the intra-party conflict in the People's Democratic Party (PDP) according to Mamodu (2013) includes taking major decisions by few of the executive members, discrimination or favouritism in the selection of candidate, jettisoning, zoning arrangement, arrogance of party executive among other factors/problems have eaten so deep into the People Democratic Party (PDP) that the resultant situation is defection of members to other (opposition) political parties. These cases partly contributed to the defection of five sitting governors of the People's Democratic Party: Adamawa, Sokoto, Kwara, Rivers, and Kano States in 2013 to the All Progressive Congress (APC) which is the main opposition party. It is in consideration of the above identified internal wrangling within Nigeria political parties that this study was carried out to examine the consequences of poor internal democracy in the People's Democratic Party PDP in Kogi State.

## **Literature Review**

### **Internal Democracy Conceptualized**

Internal democracy is most required in the selection of candidates for elective positions both within and outside elections as it has been observed that what normally causes factionalisation or conflicts in most political parties is the issue of selection of candidates through party primaries for elective positions in the general elections. It is imperative therefore that each political party should create a level playing-field for every party member that is interested in running for any elective office both within and outside the party. The importance of this is to keep the party united as well as throw-up credible and popular candidate that would guarantee the chances of the party in winning elections political parties that are inclusive in their decision making process enjoy active participation of their members in their affairs.

Scarrow, (2005), in Momodu, and Matudi (2013) opines that in the most inclusive parties, all party members or even all party supporters, are given the opportunity to decide on important issues such as the choice of party leader or the selection of party candidates. Due to the fact that inclusiveness is a matter of process and formal rule according to them, more inclusive parties will offer more opportunities for open deliberation prior to the decision stage Mamodu and Matudi (2013). It is in line with this that Norris (2004) submits that one of the key issues in internal democracy is parties nomination processes, in other words, who decides and how which citizens are entitled to run for parliament as a candidate of that specific party, whether such nomination processes are deemed democratic or not, depends on the degree of centralization, i.e. how much power is give to regional distinct or local bodies in the process of selection. Secondly the scale of participation in the nomination s also considered: the more people that are involved in the selection, the more democratic the procedure is also, in his final submission, the scope of decision making. The nomination process is governed by law only in a few countries. In most legal system, parties are entitled to decide themselves on the most aspirant's regulations (Norris, 2004).

### **Operational functions of Political Parties**

Essentially, political parties perform various functions in ensuring the growth and continuity of the democratization process. According to a research conducted by The Friedrich Ebert Foundation Centre for Governance and Development (CGD) on institutionalizing political parties in Kenya published in (2010), political parties are the vehicles of representative democracy. They play several critical roles to make representative democracy a reality. These include:

- i. Representing societal interests within the state (by participating in parliament)
- ii. Socializing political leaders on the principles of democracy and democratic participation;
- iii. Carrying out political education and communication (by providing information on which the voters may base their selection of candidates before them);
- iv. Carrying out political mobilization and encouraging the public to cast their votes in election;
- v. Recruiting political leaders;
- vi. Aggregating and articulating interests;
- vii. Promoting pluralist debates by presenting alternative policy platforms; and
- viii. Integrating the diverse groups within a country into a cohesive nation. In the same vein, the various functions of political parties are;
- ix. Aggregate and articulate needs and problems as identified by members and supporters
- x. Socialize and educate voters and citizens in the functioning of political parties and electoral system and generating general political values;
- xi. Balance opposing demands and convert them into general policies;
- xii. Activate and mobilize citizens into participating in political decisions and transforming their opinions into viable policy options;
- xiii. Channel public opinion from citizens to government and
- xiv. Recruit and train candidates for public office. (Ace Electoral Knowledge Network, <http://aceproject.org>).

Furthermore, Almond (2000) argues that political parties have two major, but multifaceted, functions in any democracy. These variables according to him are anchored on input-output functional variables and the historical method that provides a perspective background for discerning party politics vis-à-vis the problems associated with political instability in the Nigerian State (Omodia, 2010). Almond's input-output functions constitute seven functional variables which could be classified thus:

**(a) Input Functions**

1. Political Socialization and Recruitment- This refers to the introduction of individual citizens into different roles in the political system, as well as selecting them for membership in the organization
2. Interest Articulation- It refers to the process through which demands are injected into the political system
3. Interest Aggregation- It involves the formulation of policies in which group interest are combined, accommodated and more or less committed to a particular pattern of public policy
4. Political Communication- It is the channel through which political information is transmitted among the different group and between the governed and their rulers and vice versa.

**(b) Output Functions**

1. Rule Making- This is the process through which laws are made. In a democracy, the legislature is basically charged with this function.
2. Rule Application – this involves the process of implementing laws and governmental policies. This function falls within the executive arms of government.
3. Rule Adjudication- This function lies within the province of the judiciary in the sense that the laws that guide persons and institutions of the state.

Generally, political parties service as an index through which democratic governance could be compared in States, in that, the structure and operation of party politics in polities tend to serve as measuring rod for determining the fragility or otherwise of democratic systems (Omodia, 2010). These numerous functions performed by political parties in the democratic system make them vibrant and indispensable players in the democratization process.

**The Nexus between Political Parties and Intra-Party Democracy in Africa**

The nature of political parties in Africa and the context within which they operate imply that we will have to take into account a number of other equally important factors if we are to assess or try to improve on

intra-party democracy. For instance, it is obvious that political parties in Africa, like their counterparts in established democracies have established rules and procedures in form of party constitution, manifestos and other important party documents. However, given the context within which they operate, in which informal relations and patronage networks play a very important role, those interested in understanding intra-party democracy in particular and internal dynamics of political parties in general would have to pay special attention to the informal and unwritten rules and traditions for it is these that would provide us with a fair picture. In other words, what is written may not be what is done or indeed what is important. The challenge here is that of getting to know that which is not written but yet is critical to the operations of the party. In more concrete terms, it means that one would have to become an insider of the system to have a better picture of how things work. Snapshot and/ or quantitative surveys like those done by Afro-Barometer, World Governance Assessment (WGA) or Freedom House may only succeed in linking the formalisms, but this not enough. What we may need in this case are more social anthropological and qualitative based approaches like those employed by International IDEA (in their State of Democracy Project).

Similarly, to consider inclusiveness as a measure of participation of the rank and file in party affairs is to assume that we are able to identify those party members and their motives in the first place. In both instances, we face problems that we need to reckon with. As we have just noted, rarely would we find political parties with robust and highly institutionalized records of party members. The question then is who will address the questions related to inclusiveness

Motives of party membership may also have an impact on the extent to which a party may be seen to be inclusive or not. Where individuals view parties as just a source of personal aggrandizement as is the case in many political parties in emerging democracies, political activism dwindles with the decrease in the likelihood that that party or party leadership will be able to provide the kind of material benefits that were expected. This is why the trend in crossing of the floor, a phenomenon that has become a thorn in the flesh of Africa democracies is comparative advantage in the extent to which they can offer some 'dividends' to their members. In this regard, some party members may not actively facilitate their participation. Rather, they may have given up simply because for them, it is like the cow is no longer producing milk.

Furthermore, in some cases, lack of participation of certain groups like women in party affairs may not necessarily be an indication of an exclusive and hence internally not democratic party it may actually be a reflection of cultural issues whereby in some cultural setups, women are generally discouraged to take up prominent roles in public life. Thus, just insisting on inclusion of women in political process without paying regard to the cultural dimension may therefore result in arriving at wrong conclusions.

Challenges also arise in situations where political parties revolve around dominant personalities who are either founders or financiers or both. In this case, it may be difficult to conceive of a possibility of the followers to demand accountability of such leaders. After all, these leaders are seen as the patrons of their followers for the latter depend on the former for favours or even the actual sustenance of the party itself. In other words, such 'parties' do not have members. Rather, they have 'subjects' and it is erroneous in the first place to expect subjects to demand accountability of their 'masters'. What is at stake in this case is not just the question of intra-party democracy but the very conceptual foundations of a party itself for unless the subjects turn into members and the masters become democratically elected leaders, that which exists may not qualify to be called a political party. In other words, the nomenclature would have to change and we may not have to talk about intra-party democracy for it is like looking for international democracy in an absolute monarchy. From a practical standpoint, therefore, we would sequentially have to reform the absolute monarchy into a democracy (constitutional monarch) in the first place so that we can then assess the progress being made in the internal democratization process.

### **Indispensability of Internal Democracy to Political Parties**

In discussion of the indispensability, otherwise relevance of internal democracy among political parties in any political system, there are two schools of thought. In his contribution, Diverger maintains that internal

party democracy is very important for the functioning of the democratic system as a whole. Sartori, on the other hand stressed that logic of party competition rather than internal party democracy is the element that makes democracy functioning. In Nigeria, there seems to be total disregard for internal party democracy among the registered political parties particularly as it relates to the conduct of party primaries conducted between the 26<sup>th</sup> of November, 2010 and 15<sup>th</sup> of January 2011, where candidates were nominated to contest the April 2011 general elections on the platform of their political parties.

### **Internal Democracy and Democratic Consolidation: The Nigerian Example**

There is no doubt the fact that the practice of democracy in Nigeria lacks essential internal democratic virtues that conform to international best practices as in the developed countries. It is characterized with kangaroo primaries organized by leaders of political parties in favour of their anointed, preferred or imposed candidates, unlawful substitution and wrongful replacement of candidates who are voted through the people's mandate, the selection of candidates for political offices by the party overloads without recourse to due process and laid down regulations in the parties' constitutions among others. According to Metuh (2010), internal democracy required two instrumental elements. The first element involves organizing free, fair and regular elections of internal positions, as well as candidates for representative bodies. The second entails equal and open participation of all members and member groups in such a way that interests are more or less equally represented. These two instruments are essential for creating an open and deliberative political party in which people can participate in elections equally but may also engage in participation or be represented in other ways. The inability of some cabals or the so-called godfathers among the Nigerian political parties to adhere to the principles of ideal democracy has resulted in the emergence of new parties, and various factions within the party, party defection among others, which have constituted a major threat to democratic consolidation. It is therefore pertinent to critically examine some challenges of internal democracy among the Nigerian political parties.

One major challenge of internal democracy among the Nigerian political parties since 1999 is the issue of party defection. The country has witnessed series of carpet crossing, with politicians jumping from one party to the other especially to the ruling party since the last decade of democratic governance. A number of reasons have been adduced to this ugly phenomenon. While some argued that over ambitious and selfish interest of Nigerian politicians were accountable for this problems, others hinged it o the lack of internal democracy among the political parties. It is essential to examine a chronicle of party defection in Nigeria since 1999. In 1999, Chief Evan Enwerem, having lost the gubernatorial primaries in the All peoples Party (APP) in Imo State, decamped and joined the People Democratic Party (PDP) on whose ticket he won a sensational seat (Odum, 2002). In Plateau State, Alhaji Alhassan Shaibu decamped from the APP and joined the PDP in 1999. Former Vice-President, Atiku Abubakar, a founding member of the PDP, defected to the Action Congress (AC) after a running battle with the former President Olusegun Obasanjo. In 2007 he contested the presidential elections on the platform of A but lost to the late President Umaru Yar'Adua. A few months later, Atiku went back to the PDP where he contested the presidential primaries in 2010. In Ondo State, there was a mass cross-carpeting of PDP members to the Labour Party (LP) after Dr. Olusegun Mimiko had been declared the winner of 2007 gubernatorial election by the court of Appeal sitting in Benin. In fact, nearly all the members of Ondo State House of Assembly including Hon. Oyebo Aladetan, Hon. Henry Akinsuroju and the incumbent speaker (Rt. Hon Samuel Adesina) who were all elected on the platform of PDP decamped to LP between 2009 and 2010.

Defection was not limited to elected party members. There were examples of state governors defecting to the ruling party, the PDP. The first was that of incumbent governor of Bauchi state, Isa Yuguda who had won the governorship election on the platform of the All Nigerian Peoples Party (ANPP) defected to the PDP with a large number of his supporters. Others include the incumbent governor of Imo State, Ikedi Ohakim, who won the governorship election on the platform of the Peoples Progressive Alliance (PPA) but defected to the PDP, Aliyu Shinkafi of Zamfara State (ANPP) and Saminu Turaki of Jigawa State (ANPP) all defected to PDP. Also, defection in recent times are not only peculiar to states, but also have involved senators and members of House of Representative.

Recently, six Senators elected under the platform of the ANPP, the Accord Party (AP) and the Action Congress (AC) cross-carpeted to PDP. These include Senators Salih Godwin (AC, Plateau State), Patrick Osakwe (AP, Delta State), Patricia Akawasike, (ANPP, Nasarawa State) and Sa'di Yaou (ANPP, Zamfara State). Since 2007 when the present National Assembly was inaugurated, no fewer than 13 senators and 15 members of the House of Representatives have defected to the PDP. Also, in 2011, Senator Ajayi Boroface who was elected on the platform of the LP to represent Ondo North Senatorial District has recently defected to ACN. Another candidate who was also elected on the platform of LP, a member of House of Representative, representing Akure North Federal Constituency in person of Hon. Sunday Abegunde (aka Abena) has equally decamped to the ACN.

A critical analysis of party defection discussed shows that it is in two ways. First, there is great movement of politicians from different political parties into the ruling party with little to other parties towards the time of the general elections. The idea is to participate in parties' primaries. The second movement starts after the party primaries. At this stage those who lost in the party primaries move to their former parties or to new one or even to form a new party under which they intend to contest the next elections. However, there is nothing wrong in people cross-carpeting if they do not find the programmes of their party in consonance with their ideals. Meanwhile, it becomes dubious when politicians begin to mortgage their conscience as well as seek to pursue their private and selfish interest in the name of cross carpeting. This may have stemmed from the mere fact that politicians are too desperate to hold public office as a means of accumulating wealth. In advanced democracies, cross carpeting is done on principle, rather than on selfish and personal interest. The scenario of party defection in Nigeria today is political prostitution which lacks political morality and discipline another critical challenge of internal democracy in Nigeria is how party primaries are being conducted within the Nigerian political parties. The conduct of party primaries within the Nigerian political parties have failed to apply the provisions of the party's constitutions of all party members who are eligible and want to run for office in the conduct of their party primaries. Rather than conducting appropriate primaries, what we usually witness is either kangaroo primaries or the imposition of anointed candidates on the party without election and due process.

This problem has often times led to the loss of contest to opposition party especially in the stronghold of the incumbent party. Examples of such are the governorship elections in Anambra State in 2009; and that of Ogun State in 2011 where PDP was in control. For instance, in Anambra State, Professor Chukwuma Soludo, the former Governor of CBN was imposed on the State as the PDP governorship candidate by the national executive of the party without any primary. This act was not only rejected by the State chapter, but it also triggered a spate of petition writing and prosecution which in effect brought about factions in the party and last minute cross-carpeting of some members to the other parties. This was why the then Vice-chairman of the southeast zone of the PDP said that "Internal party wrangling denied our great party the governorship seat in the February 6 governorship election tolerate such development in any of the remaining states in the southeast zone. We are going to put all the machinery in place to ensure that PDP wins the remaining states in the zone come 2011" (Metuh, 2010). The case of Ogun State in 2011 gubernatorial election was a little bit different. Two different primaries were conducted by the party (PDP) in the state to choose the gubernatorial candidates for the election. The crisis between the party leaders resulted in the emergence of two factions which held two different primaries that invariably led to the emergence of two different candidates. The candidate of one faction led by former President Olusegun Obasanjo, in person of Brigadier Adetunji Olurin (Rtd) was accepted by INEC as the candidate of the party. This development made the second faction led by the former governor of Ogun State, Otunba Gbenga Daniel to defect to PPA with Chief Gboyega Isiaka as the standard bearer of the party. The outcome of this crisis led to the loss of the state which was initially controlled by the PDP to the ACN.

The high incidence of aggrieved members seeking redress in the court of law over injustice meted on them as a result of the outcome of party primaries in the recent times is another challenge. This has to issuance of court injunctions and counter orders in attempts to stop one candidate or the other from contesting. The amendment of the Electoral Act of 2006 section 87 (7) by National Assembly which states that: "where a political party fails to comply with the provision of this Act in conduct of its primaries, its

candidates for elections shall not be included in the election for the particular position in issue” later gave birth to Electoral Act of 2010 which states that: “Every political party shall not later than 60 days before the date appointed for a general election under the provisions of this Bill, submitted to the commission in the prescribed forms, the list of candidates the party proposes to sponsor at the elections, provided that the commission shall not reject or disqualify candidates for any reason whatsoever”. The use of the phrase “any reason whatsoever”, make INEC to be stripped of its ability to determine the qualification or status of any candidate submitted by a party, irrespective of any circumstances surrounding a candidate's status. With this provision, the cabals or godfathers within the party now has the power to dictate, impose, and determine how, who and why a candidate can context in an election in which they are participating, even if INEC has doubts over the candidates credibility (Mbah, 2011).

Lack of internal democracy which causes party defection has resulted in the development of divided house. A good example of this was the case of the governor of Bauchi State, Isa Yuguda who defected to PDP from ANPP but his deputy refused to follow him. Initially the legislators in the house impeached the deputy governor, but the court reinstates him due to the unlawful impeachment. The governor is a PDP member and his deputy of an ANPP member. What a divided house? I will be very difficult for both of them to work in harmony and make a sensible progress politically. The deputy governor is likely to face all sorts of intimidation and be sidelined in all areas of public service.

Indeed, it is morally wrong for an aspirant to use one political party as a platform to ascent power only to dump that arty at the least opportunity for another party. This is what is often referred to as lack of indiscipline among the Nigerian politicians. With the growing cases of defections to PDP in particular and the depleting member of the opposition, there is a mounting fear that Nigeria may gradually be moving toward a one-party state which may be inimical to the nation's nascent democracy and its consolidation.

One of the greatest challenges of lack of internal democracy among political parties is the further fragmentation of position parties from where politicians have defected. It has created chances for the emergence of new political parties that lack strength; focus on the political scene and without manifestoes or ideology. Today, there are about 62 registered political parties from three in 1999 when the fourth republic began. Lack of internal democracy leads to the creation of mushroom political parties which results in the weakness of opposition parties. This development does not augur well for the development of party politics. This development does not augur well for the development of party politics in Nigeria. In fact it promotes money politics. This does not give room for ideology-based political parties to thrive and develop are formed and joined for personal interests.

Another underlying challenge which political party defection created by lack of internal democracy is the development of dishonest traits in some politicians. Odum (2002) captures this scenario when he argues that: politicians and prostitutes are two seemingly parallel professions. While the former supposedly displaying constitutional leadership virtue in governance, the latter is revealing social vice-the fabric of a decadent society. Incidentally, one common denominator for both appears to be their loyalty, which standards on quick sand, shifting as mundane attractions glow in their adulterous eyes. The consideration, especially with the modern day politicians is where stakes may be lower and gains higher. It does not matter who is differ. So, while the prostitutes switch beds, the politicians change camp in this game of cross-carpeting. His is the internal ordering of our nascent democracy. Power is no longer a thing held in trust today. It has become a fraud which every politician is clamouring to hold (Mbah, 2011).

On the final note, the increasing cases of undemocratic practices in our polity as a result of lack of internal democracy among the Nigerian political parties and shows the problem of poor leadership among political instability. For examples, countries such as Malawi, Zambia, Pakistan, and Bangladesh, have experienced a number of cases of party defection which had threatened the stability of the political system (Mbah, 2011).

Hoeane, (2008) in Abimbola and Adesote (2012) argues that in extreme cases of floor crossing, where the number of public representatives who have defected has been significantly high, such shifts of allegiance have led to the collapse of democratically elected government, such as in Lesotho in 1997. Defections of political office holders to other political party without the need to resign the first platform for coming to political position do not add value to the process of democratic consolidation in the country.

At the juncture, it is important to mention that in a country drive to democratic consolidation, individual party internal mechanisms must be such that is in consonants with the ideal rules and procedures laid down in the party constitution, which is not also antithetical to the rule of law. In line with this, the IMD, (2004) submitted the following four indicators considered universally agreed upon for internal party democracy: such questions are needed to be asked in measuring a party's internal democracy as:

- i. Is the party functioning according to established rules and procedures?
- ii. Is decision making democratic and based on party statutes and current laws?
- iii. Is there meaningful decentralization of the party's economic resources?
- iv. Can the rank-and-file (the ordinary member of the party at the lowest level in the party hierarchy) exercise oversight over the party leadership? IMD, (2004).

However, if all of these are adequately present, then, the party in question is said to be internally democratic. This is not different from the path toed by Susan Scarrow in his implementing intra-party democracy. According to him, what are some of the ways of expanding inclusiveness in party procedures and what are some of the practical consideration associated with such techniques? He went further to say that it is impossible to give a complete inventory of the many ways in which parties have sought to incorporate supporters within their basic decision structures, but it is a bit easier to outline some of the primary choices that parties must take when implementing the more common forms of intra-party democracy.

### Research Methodology of the Study

This study adopted survey research method and made use of primary data as the main source of data collection through the instrument of structured and unstructured questionnaire. The study randomly selects one thousand nine hundred and nineteen (1919) respondents from twelve Local Government Areas across the three senatorial districts that made up Kogi State: Kogi Central, Kogi West and Kogi East Senatorial districts. The senatorial districts have a total of 21 LGAs, comprising of 9 in Kogi East, 7 in Kogi west and 5 in Kogi Central. Proportional random sampling was used to select 50% of the Local Government Areas in each district. This is because the LGAs are of unequal size or number. Thus, 5, 4 and 3 LGAs were chosen from Kogi East, Kogi west and Kogi Central Senatorial Districts respectively, which gave a total of 12 Local Government Areas.

### RESULT AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

**Table 1: socio-Demographic Characteristics of Respondents**

Variables		Kogi Central		Kogi East		Kogi west		Pooled	
		Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
Sex	Female	108	32.2	340	36.5	209	32.1	657	34.2
	Male	227	67.8	592	63.5	443	67.9	1262	65.8
	Total	335	100.0	932	100.0	652	100.0	1919	100.0
Age range (years)	18-25			187	20.1	8	1.2	195	10.2
	26-32	84	25.1	133	14.3	91	14.0	308	16.1
	33-39	94	28.1	211	22.6	166	25.5	471	24.5
	40-46	20	6.0	251	26.9	147	22.5	418	21.8
	47-53	13	3.9	122	13.1	113	17.3	248	12.9
	>53	124	37.0	28	3.0	127	19.5	279	14.5
	Total	335	100.0	932	100.0	652	100.0	1919	100.0
Educational qualification	Primary school			198	21.2	28	4.3	226	11.8
	Secondary education	167	49.9	363	38.9	288	44.2	818	42.6
	OND/NCE	48	14.3	184	19.7	162	24.8	394	20.5
	HND/University degree	54	16.1	142	15.2	108	16.6	304	15.8
	Post-graduate	66	19.7	45	4.8	66	10.1	177	9.2
	Total	335	100.0	932	100.0	652	100.0	1919	100.0

Source: Field survey, 2014

Table 1 shows the personal characteristics of the respondents, namely their sex, age and educational qualifications. The pooled results revealed that 65.8% of the respondents were male while 34.2% were female. The results of the study will therefore capture the views of both genders in order to gain a better understanding of their perceptions of the issues investigated. The higher proportion of males may be because majority of the households interviewed were males. Similar trend was observed at the senatorial level, with males dominating with a percentage of 67.8%, 63.5% and 67.9% for Kogi central, Kogi east and Kogi west respectively.

The age distribution of the respondents indicates that highest modal categories were 33-39 years and 40-46 years with a percentage of 24.5% and 21.8% respectively. The average age of the respondents, at the aggregate level, was about 38 years, while for Kogi central, east and west it was 40, 39 and 40 years respectively. The finding suggests that the respondents were young and full of energy. About 10.2% of the respondents were 18-25 years, 16.1% were 26-32 years old while 12.9% were 47-53 years old while 14.5% were above 53 years old. The responses captured in this study thus reflect the different age groups, which is important in ensuring that their concerns are equally represented in a study of this nature.

In terms of educational attainment, Table 4.1 reveals secondary education to be the modal range (42.6%). About 11.8% had primary education, 15.8% had HND/university education while 9.2% had post-graduate certificate. The general results suggest that the respondents were literate. Thus, they would be able to understand political party constitutions and processes.

In political studies, it has been strongly advocated that the views or opinions of both men and women should be sought. This is pertinent since the government and international as well as local agencies have decried the tendency to relegate women to the background. This is even more so particularly in Nigeria, whose nature and character inherently debar the effective participation of women in the political process. Accordingly, Osaghae (1994) has developed the linkage between amiral politics and state pitfalls in Africa. Going the same line, Englebert (2000) and Joseph (1987) make similar analysis using tags such as neo-patrimonialism by the former and pre-patrimonialism by the former and pre-bendalism by the latter, to explicate the nature of politics. This phenomenon has its central character in what Reno (1995:1-60) sees as a situation (created by colonialism) whereby "access to state power translates into private benefit". In short, political power become secures perverted as a tool used to appropriate wealth. This is the situation that operates in Nigeria (Joseph, 1987); with the result being desperation and fierce do-or-die attitude to partisan politics perhaps, resources would result in a federation that was not viewed a high stakes zero-gum game. In any case, this character of the Nigeria state that not only concentrates so much at the federal and other governmental levels, but is also the easiest and fastest way to illegally accumulate money in the country, makes competition for its control vicious. Men, believing that women have not so much use us them for money and generally that women are to be provided for (by men), plus being more aggressive, are more willing to slug it out and are more likely to win using all means including illegitimate and dangerous available to them, coupled with the belief that "the language of politics is masculine" (Simbine, 2006). Thus elections in Nigeria and the contest for political power is still seen as zero-sum activity. It is more apparent being understood and practiced. Thus, the fact that 35% of the views expressed in this research are from women will have addressed this concern

**Table 2 Consequence of Poor Internal Democracy**

Variable	Kogi Central		Kogi East		Kogi west		Total	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean*	SD
Abandonment of development efforts/project	3.73	1.20	3.98	.88	3.99	1.08	3.94	1.02
Distraction from development or governance objectives	3.87	1.05	3.89	.94	3.92	.98	3.90	.97
Members defecting to other political parties	2.98	1.18	3.69	.93	3.26	1.04	3.42	1.06
Conflicts/violence among party members	3.45	.72	3.17	1.25	3.54	.73	3.34	1.03
Engagement in anti-party activities by party members	2.34	1.03	4.16	1.06	2.39	1.11	3.24	1.40
Sabotage of development projects	2.88	1.27	2.39	1.44	3.12	1.17	2.72	1.36
Going to court to resolve party disputes	2.25	1.36	2.57	1.28	2.23	1.15	2.40	1.26

\*Agreed (mean > 3.00)

Source: Field survey, 2014

### Discussion of Findings

The consequences of poor internal party democracy were examined and the results presented in Table 2. Based on the pooled values, major consequences of poor internal democracy as perceived by the respondents were abandonment of development projects in the nation or State in particular by political office holders (mean = 3.94), distraction from pursuance of development or governance objectives (mean = 3.90) and political defection (mean 3.42). Others include engagement in anti-party activities by party members (mean = 3.24) and intra-party violence or conflicts (mean = 3.34). Sabotage of development projects (mean = 2.72) and resorting to court for constant settlement of party disputes (mean = 2.40) were not agreed to as being very serious consequences.

Major consequences of poor internal democracy as perceived by the respondents were abandonment of development projects in the nation or State in particular by political office holders, distraction from pursuance of development or governance objectives and political defection. Others include engagement in anti-party activities by party members and intra-party violence or conflicts.

**Party defection** was identified by the respondents as a serious consequence of weak internal democracy. According to Abimbola (2012), a major challenge of internal democracy among the Nigerian political parties since 1999 is the issue of party defection. The country has witnessed series of carpet

crossing, with politicians jumping from one party to the other especially to the ruling party since the last decade of democratic governance. A number of reasons have been adduced to this ugly phenomenon. While some argued that over ambitious and selfish interest of Nigerian politicians were accountable for this problem, others hinged it on the lack of internal democracy among the political parties. In extreme cases, party defection can lead to collapse of government in power as noted by Hoeane, (2008) in Abimbola and Adesote (2012) who argues that in extreme cases of floor crossing, where the number of public representatives who have defected has been significantly high, such shifts of allegiance have led to the collapse of democratically elected government, such as in Lesotho in 1997.

Although going to court was not considered serious outcome of a poor internal democratic framework in this study, the high incidence of aggrieved members of a political party seeking redress in the court of law over injustice meted on them as a result of the outcome of party primaries in the recent times has been identified as a major issue associated with a party internal democratic system. According to Mbah (2011), this has led to issuance of court injunctions and counter orders in attempts to stop one candidate or the other from contesting.

Abandonment of development efforts/project or distraction from pursuance of development objectives: Lack of internal democracy which causes party defection has resulted in the development of divided house. A good example of this was the case of the governor of Bauchi State, Isa Yuguda who defected to PDP from ANPP but his deputy refused to follow him. Initially the legislators in the house impeached the deputy governor, but the court reinstated him due to the unlawful impeachment. The governor is a PDP member and his deputy of an ANPP member. What a divided house? I will be very difficult for both of them to work in harmony and make a sensible progress politically. The deputy governor is likely to face all sorts of intimidation and be sidelined in all areas of public service. This situation will seriously impede any development efforts in the state or local government as affected members or office holders are busy trying to 'save' their 'job' Mbah, (2011).

### **Conclusion**

The present democratic regime in the country and in the State in particular has its root in the 1999 democratic elections that witnessed the transition from a military rule to a democratic regime. The period since 1999 has witnessed the birth, demise and merger of political parties but a major player in the political landscape of the nation is the People Democratic Party (PDP). This party has been at the reins of government at the national level as well as in Kogi state since 1999.

An examination of the internal democratic mechanisms of the party in Kogi State reveals that the level of popular participation in the party was very high while adherence to nomination process is commendable. However, serious fears were expressed regarding adherence to party policies/constitution by the party leadership. This mixed result for the internal democracy mechanisms invariably has mixed consequences on democratic consolidation. But if they are not some negative outcomes such as stalling or abandonment of development projects, intra-party conflicts or violence among others are inevitable outcomes.

### **Recommendations**

Based on the findings of the study, the following recommendations are suggested:

1. There is need to strengthen the internal democratic mechanism and legal frameworks for fighting the imposition of candidate within political parties in Nigeria. As things stand now, Nigeria's political parties are still perceived as those whose destinies are in hands of the power-brokers within the parties.
2. There is need to enhance the nomination process, party leaders should be discouraged from imposing candidates on party members.
3. Also, party rules should be strictly adhered to in the nomination process. Any ambiguous or obsolete aspect of the rule should be democratically addressed in order to minimize or eliminate conflicts

4. Party delegates should be encouraged to vote their conscience when casting their ballot. This work has in its own way contributed to the existing body of knowledge going by the recommendation it has suggested, and it also serves as a recipe for further studies on the area of democracy and consolidation of same. If these recommendations are imbibed, it will foster democratic consolidation, with overall impact on national development

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## Between Hope And Despair: Assessing the Perception of Corp Members, Towards Poverty Reduction Initiative in Ngaski Local Government Area, Kebbi State

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### Abstract

The high rate of unemployment especially among youths coupled with poor enrolment in poverty alleviation programmes such as the National Youth Service Corps-Millennium Development Goals-War Against Poverty (NYSC/MDGs/WAP) initiative informs the need for this study. The study was conducted in Ngaski local government area of Kebbi state where a total of 76 serving corp members were selected for the study. Survey research design was adopted and questionnaires were administered to the respondents. The results from the study revealed that about two-third of corp members were aware of the NYSC/MDGs/WAP initiative but did not enrol due to lack of interest. It was also discovered in the study that while corp members agree that the initiative will effectively reduce poverty, hunger and unemployment, the conditions guiding the acquisition of the loan were difficult to comply with and thus the poor attitude towards the initiative. Findings also revealed that corp members believe business without the loan has more prospects and about half of the corp members were engaged in agro-allied businesses without the loan. Given that respondents disagreed with the adequacy of the awareness, the study concludes by suggesting that more awareness campaigns are needed in order to meet the target of the initiative. In addition, the simplification and relaxation of some rigid demands guiding the acquisition of the loan will help in boosting enrolment from the target group. Also, involvement of other levels of government would allow for more applicants to benefit from the loan by virtue of increased funding.

**Keywords:** Despair, Hope, NYSC/MDGs/WAP, Perception

### 1. Introduction

The prevailing economic hardship in Nigeria has left no segment of the country's population (rural or urban) unaffected. While some lament the rising cost of living which has led to gross inadequacy of their income to cater for their daily needs, others (if not many) are without such sources of income due to the high level of unemployment. A large chunk of the casualties in the unemployment quagmire in Nigeria are the youths. Unemployment has constituted a central economic problem in recent time with youth unemployment leading in the world's list of social problems (Mkhwanazi, 2001). Africa and other third world countries are the worst hit by this social phenomenon and in Nigeria; the situation is no different as Adebayo (1999) noted that with the exception of electricity and infrastructural problems, youth unemployment is the third biggest problem confronting Nigeria. Nigeria has the largest army of unemployed and under-employed youths in Africa where one out of every three Nigerian youth is either unemployed or under-employed (Okechukwu, 2017). Also, the problem of youth unemployment in Nigeria has responded very poorly (or possibly resisted) all curative attempts and hence the large pool of unemployed youths (Okechukwu, 2017). Despite this bitter reality, chances are slim that the situation will get better given the large pool of students who graduate from various tertiary institutions in the country

annually with relatively very minimal efforts by the government and the private sector to absorb the graduates. This has caused many youths to remain without any labour income which consequently results in poverty (Davis and Sanchez-Martinez, 2014).

Given the rising victimisation of youths in the unemployment challenge, Egbe (2014) did claim that there has been an aggravation of other social problems especially in the area of criminality which has been embraced by the idle youths as a window of hope and prosperity. Therefore, it would not be out of place to say that the rising rates of criminalities such as insurgency and armed violence to mention a few are all exclamations of the high rate of unemployment in the country. This explains the need for urgent steps to be taken in order to proffer lasting solutions to the problem of youth unemployment bedeviling the country. In its realisation of the importance of this subject matter, the government both pasts and present have made efforts to establish various poverty eradication programmes such as National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP), Better Life Programme (BLP), Operation Feed the Nation (OFN), Youth Empowerment Scheme (YES), National Directorate of Employment (NDE), You-Win, War Against Poverty (WAP) among others. These efforts are geared towards ensuring that the unemployed or underemployed become productive and ultimately self-reliant. However, the effectiveness of these initiatives and programmes in tackling the scourge of poverty and unemployment has become a source of concern as the results have been marginal and have made just little or no impact on the enormity and severity of the problem (Tijani and Ayinla, 2015). Persistent succession of one programme by another is indicative of this failure as needless it is for such large numbers of programmes if their effectiveness were unquestionable.

Of interest to this study is the National Youth Service Corps-Millennium Development Goals-War Against Poverty (NYSC/MDGs/WAP), a breed of the union between the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The NYSC was established in 1973 to cushion the effects of the bitter civil war fought in Nigeria, enhance national integration, and enable Nigerian youths acquire the spirit of self-reliance through skills development among other objectives (NYSC, 1993). In this course, the NYSC has collaborated with many institutions and parastatals of government to achieve its aims and objectives one of which is the WAP initiative. Realising the harm done to members by unemployment and poverty, the NYSC entered into collaboration with the MDGs towards achieving the first of its seven goals of the MDGs, *eradication of extreme hunger and poverty*. This union culminated in the birth of the NYSC/MDGs/WAP which came into force in 2009 (Initiative for Rural Development [IRDP] 2013; (Tijani and Ayinla, 2015).

The WAP initiative is centred on hunger and poverty eradication leveraging on agro-allied enterprises in the course of which employment would be generated for the youths. The WAP seeks to empower the serving youths with interest free loans ranging from N200,000 to N300,000. A beneficiary can acquire the loan if he/she meets all the conditions specified. The collateral demanded for the loan is the Discharge certificate of the one year compulsory national service. Additionally, a prospective beneficiary is required to provide two guarantors of at least level 12 each in the civil service or its equivalent (IRDP, 2013b; NYSC, 2018) among other requirements. The awareness campaign on the initiative usually holds during the orientation period where the corp members are enlightened on the initiative. Subsequently, forms are distributed to interested applicants and selections are made where selected beneficiaries undergo training.

Mixed reactions have trailed the operations of the WAP. While some beneficiaries have expressed gratitude and contentment to the initiators of the programme by virtue of the derived benefit (IRDP, 2013b), others have lamented their enrolment given that it has trapped them in the middle of the sea with no way out of the quagmire. From inception till date, the initiative has recorded successes. For example, 2,691 beneficiaries have benefitted from the loan scheme amounting to N629,700,000 (IRDP, 2013a). Similarly, the study of Tijani and Ayinla (2015) on the effect of the WAP loan on wellbeing of beneficiaries in Southwest Nigeria reported *training* and *self-dependency* as the major benefits which 89.2% and 81.7% of the beneficiaries respectively derived from acquiring the loan. Therefore, the loan can be said to have yielded some positive results. Nevertheless, the initiative is not without some challenges. For instance, more often than not, not all of the corp members who apply get to attain the status of *beneficiaries* due to the

rigorous procedures involved and limited opportunities offered. Other challenges of the initiative include but not limited to the following: rejection of the letter of reference given to beneficiaries by some employers and insistence on the Certificate of National service; delay in release of cash to corp members due to delay in budgeting process leading to a belated release of funds and a backlog of unsettled applicants; tactical compulsion in the acquisition of the loan against the wishes of the corp members where a beneficiary is not allowed to sign out. In addition to the above, the problem of insufficiency of the enrolment forms is persistent and has led to high rate of turned down applications and lastly insufficient funds released by the government has also led to forceful rejection of many qualified applicants. Perhaps, this is why not many of the corp members are enthusiastic about enrolling due to the bitter experience some of the beneficiaries had. Altogether, these aforementioned problems have negatively affected the perception of the corp members about the initiative. In turn, it has discouraged many from applying and consequently a poor attitude to the initiative has been observed. The attitude stems from the negative perception of the corp members about the initiative.

Due to misconstrued intentions and goals, these challenges seem to dampen the morale of the corp members towards the initiative and the government's inability to address the challenges have combined to give the initiative a new dimension of uncertainty especially to the prospective beneficiaries. Unlike other studies, this study aims to investigate the perception and attitude of youths to the War Against Poverty (WAP) programme which has not been explored in this dimension by previous studies. While other studies carried out were concerned with the general poverty eradication programmes, this is specific to youth-targeted poverty eradication programme (WAP). In addition, the aforementioned challenges coupled with the dearth of literature on the subject matter makes this study apt in seeking to fill this knowledge gap via the exploration and assessment of the perception and attitude of corp members towards the NYSC/MDGs/WAP initiative.

#### 1.1 Objectives of the study

- i. To examine the awareness of corp members on initiative of NYSC/MDGs/WAP in Ngaski Local Government Area, Kebbi State.
  - ii. To assess the enrolment of corp members on initiative of NYSC/MDGs/WAP in Ngaski Local Government Area, Kebbi State
  - iii. To investigate the perception of corp members on initiative of NYSC/MDGs/WAP in Ngaski Local Government Area, Kebbi State
2. Review of Related Literatures and Theoretical Framework

#### 2.1 Conceptual Framework

Pickens (2005) defines attitude as a mind-set or tendency to act in a particular way given an individual's experience and temperament. Attitude is composed of three components: affective (feelings), cognitive (thoughts or beliefs) and psychomotor (behaviour or action). Therefore, attitude transcends the cognitive realm and extends to the final action an individual is engaged in towards the issue or event. However, an attitude does not just develop rather it stems out of our perception of the issues and events in question. Lindsay and Norman (1977) in Pickens (2005) define perception as the process by which organisms interpret and organise sensation to produce a meaningful experience of the world. Therefore, perception deals with what stimuli we are exposed to and attitude deals our tendency to act in a particular way given our exposure to the stimuli. Awareness on the other hand is the ability of a person to discriminate among several possible stimuli which allows the person to make right judgement and decision as well as attain high level of performance (Merikle 1984 in Jerome et al, 2016). Awareness is a major determinant of our perception and attitude. A person's awareness and acceptance of a stimuli plays an important role in the perception process and in turn, this affects the judgement and action of any individual (Pickens, 2005; Jerome et al, 2016). Thus, awareness plays a significant role in shaping what we know and how we get to know that which we know. This link between awareness, perception and attitude will guide our review below.

## 2.2 Review of Related Literatures

To start with, the abundance of literature on the subject matter of poverty and unemployment must be unequivocally acknowledged. But literatures on the awareness, perception and attitude of the youths to poverty alleviation programmes in Nigeria are relatively limited with the few available concentrating on the general response of the citizens to the programmes. The youths who are the major victims of the problems are yet to occupy a centrepiece in the literatures of attitudinal assessment.

Chukwu (2011) examined the impact of Government's Poverty Reduction Programmes in Suleja, Niger State between 2006 and 2008. The study used a qualitative approach to collect data from 32 respondents (youths and women) who were enrolled into the poverty reduction programme. The study revealed that the target groups for the programme were grossly unaware of the existence of such programmes let alone benefit from them because they have been hijacked by the political elites. Nevertheless, the few who were opportuned to be enrolled benefitted from the programme and it help in slightly reducing their poverty level. The gap identified in this study is that WAP was not included in the programmes assessed. Also, while the study was conducted in Niger State, this study on WAP is concerned with corp members in Kebbi State.

Kadiri and Adebusoye (2012) investigated the perception of poverty alleviation programmes in the state among 490 respondents in Lagos state and the following findings were made. With respect to awareness, 70% of the respondents were not aware of micro-credit schemes for poverty alleviation while 83% were also not aware of any municipal poverty alleviation programme in Lagos State. Furthermore, the perception was very poor and unfavourable as 94% of the respondents had not benefitted from any of the government's poverty alleviation programmes neither are they aware of any family member or friend who may have benefitted. This demonstrates the link between the respondent's awareness and perception. While awareness and perception were captured in the study, attitude of the respondents was not captured and this is the gap which this study on WAP intends to fill up.

Halidu et al. (2017) investigated the impact of government poverty alleviation programmes on rural development in Kaduna and Gombe States of Nigeria among 362 respondents. In the study 58 and 48 respondents had low and very low awareness about the programmes respectively. Consequently, 107 and 97 respondents respectively disagreed and strongly disagreed that NAPEP has assisted in farmers' empowerment in the states. Furthermore, they noted that NAPEP has not done enough in improving the lives of the people especially in the areas of access to basic healthcare and education. These findings are apt in demonstrating the relationship between awareness, perception and attitude. However, given that WAP was not the programme in focus, this study intends to study the perception and attitude of corp members towards the WAP initiative and fill the knowledge gap.

Furthermore, the failure of most poverty eradication programmes in Nigeria has been attributed to poor attitude of beneficiaries owing to inappropriate design and lack of consultation with and involvement of relevant stakeholders including beneficiaries during planning of the programmes (Forae and Benedict, 2011; Taiwo and Agwu, 2016; Orji 2005). The impact of poverty reduction programmes in Nigeria was studied by Orji (2005) among 717 respondents cutting across the six geopolitical zones of the country. The study found that there was no significant improvement in the lives of the poor despite the numerous programmes established over the years (1970-2005). It further noted that the rural dwellers who are more affected by poverty are very likely to associate with poverty alleviation programmes in which they participated in contributing ideas to the policy design. The study attributed the poor performance of the programmes to neglect of the people during planning and design of the programmes which makes them to adamant toward partaking in the programmes. This study explains how poor attitude to poverty alleviation programmes in general come about and the consequences of such attitude (non-participation). However, the study was carried out before the commencement of WAP in 2009. Therefore, WAP might have certain peculiarities that need to be explored by other studies.

Egbefor and Abe (2017) examined the role youth empowerment in consolidation of national integration through entrepreneurship education. They noted that national integration and development can be fostered and fast tracked through entrepreneurship education. However, the study was centred on

entrepreneurship education among the youths and not an assessment of any particular programme. While it is among the few studies on youth and poverty, it was grossly historical and generalised rather than contemporary and specific. Therefore, it leaves areas to be explored by other studies such as this one which is contemporary and specific.

Yusuf and Kawuwa (2014) evaluated poverty reduction programmes in Maiduguri metropolitan area of Borno state between 2008 and 2012 with a sample of 105 beneficiaries. They found that while most of the beneficiaries were engaged in commercial tricycle (keke NAPEP) shuttle for survival and that poverty in the metropolitan city was still high despite the initiation of the poverty alleviation programme (PAP) for such a duration. The high poverty rate was attributed to inadequate funding and corrupt practices of the officials. This study while addressing poverty alleviation was centred in the city areas of Maiduguri and was not specific to youths. Therefore, it gives room for this study to fill a gap.

On the whole, the identified gaps in the above literatures are what this study seeks to fill in its effort to contribute to knowledge.

### **2.3 Theoretical Framework**

This study found relevance in the Social Judgement Theory (SJT) which was propounded by Psychologist Sherif Muzafer and Carl I. Hovland (1961), the theory was further developed by other Psychologists (Sherif, C etal, 1965; Sherif, C etal, 1976; Hovland and Sherif, 1980 and Griffin E, 2012) and criticised by some (Eagly, and Telaak, 1975). SJT is premised on the perception of individual and how his attitude affects his evaluation of new information.

### **2.4 Assumptions of the SJT**

The SJT is built on five underlying assumptions as follows:

Individuals (corp members) have categories of judgement with which they evaluate incoming information (the NYSC/MDGs/WAP) possibly ranging between “*absolutely not*” to “*most certainly*”. Any position the individual finds acceptable, is called latitude of acceptance; one he finds unacceptable is latitude of rejection while a range where no significant opinion is held is called latitude of non-commitment. Individual's most preferred position is called anchor.

Individuals (corp members) evaluate those incoming information (the initiative) and determine the category of judgement or latitude, to which it belongs (whether the conditions of the initiative are acceptable to them or not).

The size of latitude is determined by the level of personal involvement, or ego-involvement (knowledge and/or experience they have about the initiative or it's like), one has in the issue at hand.

People distort incoming information to fit their categories of judgement. When presented with a persuasive message that falls within the latitude of acceptance, and is close to the individual's anchor, people will assimilate the new position. But when persuasive message is relatively far from their anchor, they tend to contrast the new position to their own. In both cases individuals distort incoming information relative to their anchor.

Optimal persuasion occurs when the discrepancies between the anchor and the advocated position are small to moderate. In such cases assimilation or contrasting will not occur. (corp members keep convincing themselves that the decision to reject the initiative is the right one given the stringent conditions attached to the loan, despite having positive perception about the initiative).

### **2.5 Weaknesses of the SJT**

Scholars have put forward a number of criticisms on the Social Judgement Theory, some of which are summarised as follows:

The concept of ego-involvement as applied in the theory is viewed by some scholars as not well defined. Whether high ego-involvement is indicative of a topic's relevance, or is indicative of how often a topic is encountered by a listener is not clear in the theory.

Eagly and Telaak (1972) on their part observed that latitude are not really specific to particular topics as indicated in the theory, but are mere reflections of a person's general persuadability.

The theory is also criticised of ignoring message content and message variables such as evidence or argument quality. And so on.

Despite the shortcomings and criticisms put forward by scholars about on the social judgement theory however, it can dovetail into the study of corp members' perception and attitude towards the NYSC/MDGs/WAP.

### 3. Methodology

The study was carried out in Ngaski Local Government Area of Kebbi State and survey research design was adopted. A total of 114 corp members were posted to the area at the time of the research cutting across batches A and B of the 2017 service year (NYSC, 2017). 76 out of the total number of corp members were randomly sampled and administered the questionnaire. Only 65 respondents filled and returned their questionnaires for analysis. 11 were returned unfilled. Frequency tables and Likert scale were used in presentation of data. Simple percentages were used to analyse responses from the frequency tables. The study adopted 3.00 as the agreement level for each Likert item which was used in rating corp members' perception and attitude towards the NYSC/MDGs/WAP initiative.

### 4. Results Presentation

**Table 4.1: Socio-demographic characteristics of respondents**

Variable	Measurements	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Age of respondents	18-22	2	3.1
	23-27	45	69.2
	28-32	15	23.1
	33 and above	1	1.5
	No response	2	3.1
	<b>Total</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>100</b>
Sex	Male	38	58.5
	Female	27	41.5
	<b>Total</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>100</b>
Marital Status	Single	56	86.2
	Married	9	13.8
	Widowed	0	0
	Divorced	0	0
	<b>Total</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Field Survey, October 2017

It can be seen from table 4.1 above that majority of the respondents (69.2%) are between the ages of 23 and 27 years, while majority are males and singles with 58.5% and 86.2% respectively.

**Table 4.2: Respondents awareness of the NYSC/MDGs/WAP**

Are you aware of the NYSC/MDGs/WAP initiative	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Yes	44	67.7
No	21	32.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>What was the source of awareness?</b>		
During the orientation in camp	36	81.8
From NYSC officials	3	6.8
From fellow corps member	5	11.4
From social media platforms	0	0
Others	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Field Survey, October 2017

The level of awareness of the NYSC/MDGs/WAP initiative among the corp members was assessed and the results presented in table 4.2 above show that the level of awareness was adequate given that 67.7% of the answered “yes”. In addition, the table shows that the awareness campaign embarked upon during the orientation camp yielded positive results (81.8%). Other means of awareness such as camp officials and fellow corp members had 6.8% and 11.4% respectively.

**Table 4.3: Respondents’ Enrolment in the WAP initiative**

Did you apply for the WAP loan?	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Yes	3	4.6
No	61	93.8
No response	1	1.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>If yes, are you a beneficiary?</b>		
Yes	1	33.3
No	2	66.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>If no, why?</b>		
Not interested	53	86.9
Not good enough	3	4.9
Others	5	8.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Field Survey, October 2017

In assessing enrolment in the WAP initiative, the respondents' were asked if they applied for the WAP loan and table 4.3 above shows that 4.6% responded with “yes”. 93.8% of the respondents responded with “no” while 1.5% did not respond to the question. Furthermore, reasons for not applying were explored and 86.9% of the respondents indicated it was due to lack of interest in the initiative while 4.9% do not see the initiative as good enough. Other reasons such as insufficient forms, distance constraint, lack of opportunity to apply constituted 5% of the reasons why the respondents were not able to apply for the loan.

**Table 4.4: Respondents’ Perceptions of the NYSC/MDGs/WAP**

S/N	Variable	S.A	A	N	D	S.D	No. of Resp.	Total Score	Mean	Decision
01	There is adequate awareness of the NYSC/MDGs/WAP initiative	5	18	13	20	5	61	181	2.97	Disagreed
02	The initiative is beneficial to corp members	8	36	7	6	3	60	220	3.67	Agreed
03	The loan can help in poverty reduction	16	33	5	5	2	61	239	3.91	Agreed
04	The loan can help in reducing unemployment	12	38	4	6		60	236	3.93	Agreed
05	The loan can boost food production and reduce hunger in Nigeria	9	31	9	11		60	218	3.63	Agreed
06	The initiative can deny a corp member of his/her future employability	4	9	11	25	11	60	150	2.5	Disagreed
07	The loan is timely and sufficient for the business.	5	17	18	15	5	60	182	3.03	Agreed
08	The period of loan repayment is adequate	2	20	19	12	3	56	174	3.10	Agreed
09	Conditions for acquiring the loan are difficult to meet	7	24	19	6	2	58	202	3.48	Agreed
10	Business outside the WAP initiative has more prospects	8	17	23	10	2	60	199	3.32	Agreed

Source: Field Survey, October 2017

**Table 4.5: Engagement in a business activity outside WAP**

Are you currently engaged in any business outside the WAP initiative?	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	22	33.8
No	40	61.5
No response	3	4.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>What is the nature of the business?</b>		
Agro-allied	10	45.5
Trade	3	13.6
Industry	0	0
Others	9	40.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Field Survey, October 2017

The corp members' engagement in a business activity outside the WAP initiative was also assessed and 33.8% of the respondents were into one form of business or the other as shown in table 4.5 above. Furthermore, 45.5% of the businesses were in the agro-allied sector while 13.6% and 40.9% were in trade and services respectively.

### 1. Discussion of findings

Awareness of the NYSC/MDGs/WAP initiative was reported as adequate by corp members (66.7%). However, about one-third of the respondents (32.3%) had no form of awareness. This means that while the efforts of the NYSC officials (especially during orientation camp where 81.8% of the respondents got their awareness) are commendable, it needs further improvement. Similarly, result from the likert item one in table 4.4 contradicts the responses given above given the mean score of 2.97 which falls below the level of acceptance (3.00). With this, it can be argued that while the awareness can be said to be adequate, it was not sufficient given that about one-third of the respondents (32.3%) responded in favour of lack of awareness. The inadequacy of the awareness has translated to a poor enrolment into the initiative. This is in conformity with the findings of Kadiri and Adebuseye (2012) where poor awareness led to poor perception of the poverty alleviation programmes in Lagos State. With the rate of non-enrolment into the initiative at 86.9%, it becomes pertinent to revisit the issue of awareness campaign on the initiative.

Corp members' enrolment in the WAP initiative was also assessed and the results in table 4.3 show that enrolment was very poor (93.8% did not apply). Only 4.6% picked interest and applied for the loan. Viewed within the premise of the Social Judgement Theory, corp members have categories of judgement about the WAP initiative and also have the capacity to evaluate the initiative and determine whether to accept or reject it. Therefore, despite the level of awareness which was reported as adequate, corp members placed the initiative under the latitude of rejection. Furthermore, only 33.3% of the applicants benefitted from the loan. The poor enrolment could be due to the uncertainties surrounding the acquisition of the loan which further casts doubt in the minds of the corp members and makes them suspicious about ulterior motives as noted by IRDP (2013a). Notwithstanding, reasons for the poor enrolment were equally explored and 86.9% of the respondents were not interested in the initiative while 4.9% believed it was not good enough. 8.2% of the respondents cited reasons of insufficient forms, distance constraint and lack of opportunity to apply as the reasons for their non-enrolment. The feeling by the respondents that the programme is not good enough confirms the findings of Orji (2005) and could have been avoided if they were involved in the planning process. Perhaps, their involvement will offer a more promising package to interested applicants.

The poor enrolment in the initiative is consequent upon insufficient awareness among the corp members, as well as the indication of dissatisfaction with the package. One among such reasons of

dissatisfaction could be that the document taken as collateral is too valuable to the corp member and cannot be released to the authorities due to its likelihood to deny a corp member his/her future employability as noted by IRDP (2013a). The latitude of rejection earlier established could be determined by corp members' evaluation of the conditions attached to the loan which anchored their judgement as stated above. This is why in table 4.5, 45.5% of the respondents were engaged in agro-allied businesses outside the WAP initiative while 13.6% were engaged in trade and 40.9% were engaged in the services sector ranging from interior decoration, hair stylist, tailoring, graphic design, building, etc. This then suggests that if corp members can engage in businesses without having to apply for the loan, then the loan hardly makes any difference. They are more comfortable running a business without having to part with their hard end discharge certificate of a one-year compulsory national service. Thus, their attitude towards the NYSC/MDGs/WAP initiative shows that it could pose more of hindrance to the accomplishment of their desired entrepreneurship goals.

More so, the research also examined the perception of corp members on the initiative as a whole using some carefully selected indicators and targets of the initiative and results as presented in table 4.4 show the items and their measurement on the likert scale. From the table, the respondents agreed that the initiative was timely and beneficial to corp members and that it will help in the reduction of hunger, poverty and unemployment as well as boost food production in Nigeria. Despite admitting to above, the respondents nevertheless agreed that conditions required to be met before acquiring the loan were difficult to comply with and hence their agreement that operating a business outside the WAP initiative was a lot easier and had more prospects. This was further supported by the fact that nearly half of the corp members (45.5%) who were in one form of business or the other engaged in agro-allied business outside the WAP initiative. With a simplified procedure and friendly contract, more corp members will likely be motivated to enrol in the initiative. Moreover, there is a high level of agreement amongst the corp members that the loan will help in hunger and poverty eradication as well as reduction in unemployment which also is the basis for the collaboration between NYSC and MDGs. This puts forward a positive perception of corp members on the initiative. Therefore, what is needed is the right modality to follow in achieving the goals.

However, the respondents disagreed with the statement that the initiative can deny a corp member of his/her future employability. Thus, they believe that a corp member can still have the opportunity of securing his/her dream job while benefiting from the loan. This brings the fourth principle of SJT forth as some element of distortion of information to fit certain judgement is visible, NYSC discharge or exemption certificate is required for employment in Nigeria, in fact the knowledge of that is what likely informed the condition of one making his/her discharge certificate as a collateral. Therefore, until one pays back the loan, he/she is denied of employability. More so, the corp members also disagreed with the adequacy of the awareness campaign on the initiative as some of the corp members obviously had their first awareness through this research work. This implies that specific questions relating to particular details were answered by such respondents based on mere assumptions.

## **2. Conclusion and Recommendations**

In conclusion, perception of corp members about the initiative can be translated to mean hope because corp members believe that the initiative is beneficial to them and that it will help in reducing poverty, hunger and unemployment. However, the observed attitude connotes despair because the unfavourable conditions guiding the acquisition of the loan deters them from enrolling and thus the reason for the poor attitude observed.

Based on the findings of this study, the following recommendations are made.

- i. More awareness campaigns are needed in order to reach the desired target groups and this requires constant sensitization with ease of contact between the WAP officers and the corp members. Hence, the present style of a centralised system should be unbundled and officer in charge of the loan should be found at the remotest place where corp members are posted.
- ii. Conditions and the procedures guiding the acquisition of the loan should be further simplified and (if possible) the demand for the Certificate of National Service be replaced with another form

- of collateral. This will boost the confidence of the corp members and attract them to the initiative. Suggestively, interested corp members should be made to pay certain amount deductible from their monthly stipends. This way, only serious corp members would sign in for the programme.
- iii. The loan should be extended to other areas outside the agro-allied sector in order to allow for adequate diversification of resources and the economy at large given that the corp members have demonstrated their willingness and activeness in such areas.
  - iv. An insurance cover should be given to beneficiaries to cater for the eventualities that may befall their business in order to allow for quick revamping of the business in case of any ugly incidence.
  - v. The restriction of training to only beneficiaries should be changed and training should be for all who wish to receive it. Afterwards, the loan should also remain optional throughout the period of the exercise because imposing the loan will only do more harm than good. Without the feeling of satisfaction from the training, a corp member could decide to withdraw and imposing on him/her would only serve no good.
  - vi. Government at all levels (Federal, State and Local) should contribute to the purse of the WAP loan in order to allow for more applicants to benefit. If only the Federal Government is left with the responsibility, the number of beneficiaries will continue to remain very low due to the problem of finance. Therefore, it calls for the assumption of responsibility of both State and Local governments in the area of funding. There should be no fear on the part of government for losing its investment because the money given is a loan which must be returned at the stipulated time.
  - vii. Budgetary processes that are involved in clearing the loan should be fast-tracked and corp members be handed over their money on time to commence their desired entrepreneurial journey without having to lose interest or passion due to bureaucratic frustration.
  - viii. The period of training for beneficiaries should also be elongated in order to allow for more intensive training and grooming of the prospective entrepreneurs. This will allow the corp members to acquire all the necessary expertise for a smooth entrepreneurial journey.

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## Challenges Faced By Retirees Under The Contributory Pension Scheme

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### **Abstract**

This paper is an attempt to find out the challenges faced by retirees under the New Contributory Pension Scheme as far as getting their entitlements are concerned. The Old Pension System in the Public Service was non contributory and the cost was fully borne by the government. The old Scheme was marked with various challenges ranging from non-availability of funds to pay pensioners, poor management of pension records to embezzlement of pension funds. Many employees who worked and spent the useful parts of their lives in the services of the nation were not paid their entitlements years after retirement. Some even died without receiving any benefit. The Contributory Pension Scheme was introduced to address the challenges of the Old Pension Scheme. How have retirees under the New Pension Scheme fared and how have the operators of the Scheme been able to operate according to the Pension Reform Act, 2004? The researchers interviewed fifteen out of the sixty personnel of the National Cereals Research Institute who retired between 2012 and 2017 to gather information for this study. From the data gathered from the interview, it was discovered that in terms of the worth of benefits, the retirees have not fared better than those who retired under the Old Pension Scheme as none of them gets 50% of his last salary as pension and even the promptness of the payment of entitlements is beginning to disappear as the delay syndrome is gradually creeping into the new system. The paper concludes that the desired objectives of the Contributory Pension Scheme are yet to be achieved. It is recommended that the National Pension Commission (PENCOM) should strengthen its regulation over Pension Fund Administrators (PFAs) to ensure that the Scheme runs according to the provisions of the Pension Reform Act (2004) amongst other recommendations.

**Key words:** Retirement, Employee, Pension, Pension scheme, and Contributory.

### **Introduction**

The concern that easily comes to the mind of workers as they approach retirement age is how to continue to meet their needs and those of their family members after retirement. The basic needs like food, clothing and shelter are the major issues that need to be addressed as long as a man lives whether he is in employment or not. It is on this premise that employers of labour packaged and put in place, terminal benefits referred to as gratuity and pension. Gratuity refers to the lump sum paid to a retiree upon retirement, while pension is generally understood to be the monthly payment given to a retiree. The underlying purpose of a good pension plan is to enable employers to remove superannuated employees from the payroll in a manner that is morally and socially acceptable and makes available to them a life income.

The Old Pension Scheme (both of the public and private sectors) were non contributory and the cost in the public sector was fully borne by the government. In the private sector, individual firms register in either the National Provident Fund (NPF) or the Nigerian Social Insurance Trust Fund (NSITF) for their future pension savings. Some few multinational organizations engaged the services of close pension managers to handle the pension matters of their employees. However, due to the non contributory nature of the old scheme there were no ready funds to pay the pensioners and on the long run pension debt culminated into 2 trillion naira and that became a big cause for concern in many quarters (Ibiang, Etuk and Okimba, 2010).

The establishment of the contributory pension scheme by the Obasanjo administration was a result of the failure of the old pension scheme known as the defined benefit pension scheme tagged 'Pay as you go' (Kudu 2015). Despite the new contributory scheme retirees still have challenges with getting their benefits. It is against the back drop of the above that this paper attempts to find out the challenges faced by retirees under the new pension scheme and proffer solutions to them.

### **Methodology**

To gather information for this study, the researchers interviewed fifteen retirees out of about sixty who retired from the National Cereals Research Institute (NCRI) Badeggi between 2012 and 2017. The unstructured interview was used to freely gather information from the selected retirees. The result of the interview is simply discussed in prose. This was backed up by information from existing literatures where applicable.

### **Statement of Problem**

The researchers have observed that retirees from Federal Institutions complain of challenges with the new pension scheme as far as getting their retirement benefits are concerned. The highest place we have financial scam in Nigeria is in Pension Funds. This according to Kudu (2015) was the "most notorious or is it Nigerian factor that led to the collapse of the old pension scheme". Employees who worked and spent the useful parts of their lives in the services of the nation were not paid their entitlements years after retirement, some even passed on without receiving any benefit because there were no funds and where funds were made available, the operators found one way or another to divert the pension funds into their own pockets.

The contributory pension scheme was introduced to address the challenges of the defined benefit pension scheme but the following questions can be asked.

### **Research Questions**

1. How have retirees from the public service fared in terms of accessing their pensions and gratuities under the new pension scheme?
2. Have the operators of the Contributory Pension Scheme operated the system in accordance with the provisions of the Pension Reform Act, 2004?

### **Literature Review**

#### **Concept of Retirement**

Retirement means taking permanent rest from a routine paid job. It is seen as a period in one's life after he/she has stopped work at a particular age. At this period the monthly salary ceases. He/she may now depend on retirement benefits (gratuity and monthly pensions) and/or retirement investments (Kudu, 2015). The major consideration for the retirement of workers is age as it affects the productive capacity of the workers. Retirement policies allow employers to restructure the age composition of the workforce in order to promote organizational efficiency. This is done by removing superannuated workers. This policy is supported by the principle of scientific management on redistribution of the workforce in organizations. Pension is paid as compensation for those affected by this redistribution. The compensation must be adequate to address the psychological consequences of retirement and old age poverty (Otinche, 2012).

A public servant may retire under the following circumstances:

- i. On attainment of the mandatory age of retirement as obtainable in the organization where the person works.
- ii. On the advice of a suitably qualified physician or a properly constituted medical board certifying that the employee is no longer mentally or physically capable of carrying out the functions of his office.
- iii. Where the person has put in for voluntary retirement, provided that he is qualified to be so released. (Pension Reform Act, 2004).

### **The Concept of Pension**

According to Dike (1999) pension refers to the continuation of the salary for an employee after he has left the services of the employer. He sees pension as a right, which cannot be denied employees or withheld from them by employers. This definition according to Otinche (2012), is tenable under the regime of non contributory pension scheme where the burden of pension was borne by the employer. Under the contributory scheme, where the employee contributes a part of his monthly income to build up savings for retirement, it may no longer be seen as continuation of his salary because the cost is no longer solely borne by the employer. This calls for a more encompassing definition. According to Olaniyi (2008), pension is the sum of money paid to a person who no longer works because of age, disablement or paid to his widow or dependent children by the state, by his former employers from funds to which he and his employers have contributed. He further stressed that a pension scheme serves as a structured method of providing economic security to an individual who can no longer support himself as a result of old age or ill health. It is the amount of money paid regularly by the government or a company to someone who does not work anymore either from a fund to which he contributed or did not contribute.

A pension plan is an agreement between the employer and the employee such that, under specified conditions, the employer provides for cash payments to the employees when they retire. The sum total of the plans under a particular system as legislated upon by parliament is referred to as the pension scheme. The present pension scheme operated by Nigeria was copied from Chile (Casey, 2011).

### **Brief History of Pension Schemes in Nigeria**

The history of regulated pension scheme in Nigeria began in 1961 with the establishment of the National Provident Fund (NPF) by an Act of Parliament. The purpose was to provide some form of income protection for employees as required by the International Labour Organization (ILO) Social Security (Minimum Standard) Convention 102 of 1952. The scheme was non – contributory. It witnessed different changes owing to other enactments until 1979 when decree no 102 of 1979 consolidated all enactments dealing with pension and gratuity in the public sector. The government established Pension Boards to handle the retirement benefits of public sector employees while those of the private sector employees were handled by their employers (for private firms that had pension plans) Ibiang et al (2010).

### **Major Challenges of the Old Pension Scheme**

One of the major challenges of the old Pension Scheme is that it was not fully funded. There was irregular and inadequate allocation of funds by the government for the settlement of retiree's entitlements. Secondly, the Scheme lacked proper maintenance of records on retirees. This gave birth to fraudulent practices whereby fictitious names were included in the payroll of pensioners thereby overshooting the basic annual budget of the government to the detriment of pensioners.

Thirdly, the scheme was not coordinated as the administration of public sector pension was done under Decree 102 of 1979, while that of the private sector was administered under the regulation of three separate bodies: The Joint Tax Board, Trustees Investment Act and the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC). There was also a weak and lack of comprehensive framework for the regulation and supervision of the Pension Industry. All of the above culminated in a pension liability of about two trillion naira owed public servants and therefore the need to establish a new scheme. (Ibiang et al 2010; Kpressa 2011; Ahmed, 2007; Bassey, Etim and Asinya, 2008).

### **The New Contributory Pension Scheme**

The Pension Reform Act, 2004 (as amended) is an act of the National Assembly of the Federal Republic of Nigeria which was enacted on 25<sup>th</sup> June, 2004. The Act established the Contributory Pension Scheme.

The objectives of the Scheme are as follows:

1. Ensure that every person who worked in either the Public Service of the Federation, Federal Capital Territory or Private Sector receives his/her retirement benefits as and at when due.

2. Assist individuals by ensuring that they save in order to cater for their livelihood during old age.
3. Establish a uniform set of rules, regulations and standards for the administration and payments of retirement benefits for the Public Services of the Federation, Federal Capital Territory and the Private Sector.

**Highlights of Some Amendments of 2004 Pension Reform Act:-**

1. Increase in contribution from 7.5% by both Employer and Employee to 10% by Employer and 8% by Employee (amounting to 18%).
2. Penalty for Non-remittances, Employers, to be sanctioned.
3. Penalty for embezzlement of Pension Fund by 10 years imprisonment or paying 3 times the amount embezzled or both.
4. Investment of Pension in Federal Government Infrastructural Development, for example; Power, Oil and Gas, Roads and Rail Tracks.

**Main Features of the New Pension Scheme:**

The New Pension Scheme has three (3) major features, these are:-

- i. **Mandatory** :- The New Pension Scheme is mandatory for all Public Service of the Federation, Federal Capital Territory and Private Sector that has 5 employees and above.
- ii. **Contributory** :- The Scheme is also contributory, 7.5% each by both employer and employee. This however has been amended in July, 2014, 10% by the employer and 8% by the employee. However, an employer may agree or select to bear the full burden of the Scheme provided that in such a case the employer's contribution shall not be less than 18% of the Monthly emoluments of the employee.
- iii. **Individual Account and Privately Managed:** Personalized, portable, retirement savings accounts managed by PFA and Pension Fund Custodians (PFC). (Kudu, 2015).

**Presentation and Discussion of Findings**

**Lump sum Withdrawal**

It was discovered from the interview that none of the interviewees was satisfied with what he/she got as a lump sum withdrawal. It was gathered that people who retired under the Old Pension Scheme earned more than twice what the retirees under the new Scheme earned. Retirees who had the option of retiring under the Old Scheme at the onset of the New Pension Scheme regretted waiting a few more years to retire. What they were able to withdraw as a lump sum was based on the contributions made and the accrued rights before the introduction of the New Pension Scheme. They got about half of what their counter parts under the Old Scheme got.

**Monthly Pension**

None of the interviewees earns 50% of his last salary as monthly pension contrary to the provisions of the Act that established the Scheme. Section 4 of the Act provides that a holder of a retirement savings account upon retirement or attaining the age of 50 years shall utilize his balance in a flexible manner. He is entitled to withdraw according to paragraph c “a lump sum from the balance standing to the credit of his retirement savings account: provided that the amount left after that lump sum withdrawal shall be sufficient to procure an annuity or fund programmed withdrawals that will produce an amount not less than 50 percent of his annual remuneration as at the date of retirement”. This implies that anything less than half of the salary (of the last month of work) paid to a worker as monthly pension is not envisaged by the Pension Reform Act, 2004.

The average monthly pension currently paid by PFAs to retired workers in the organization is between 20 to 28% of the retirees last Salary. An interviewee who volunteered his details explained that his last salary was about N214,000, but on the programmed withdrawal from his retirement savings account

he was offered N50,000 per month (23.36%). He and others who retired on Consolidated Research Institutes Salary Scale (CONRISS) Level 12 are taking home monthly, an amount less than what their junior colleagues who retired on level 6 under the Old Scheme are taking home.

### **Delay in Payment of Entitlements**

It was discovered that the old monster of delay under the Old system is gradually creeping back to the system. When the new scheme started retirees had to wait for only three months to get their entitlements, it later increased to five months, one year and then the last set of retirees in 2016 waited for one year and four months before getting their entitlements. According to Shittu (2017), (President of the Interim Association of Contributory Pension Scheme Pensioners) the pension fund administrators, and PENCOM have placed investing funds in business ventures over and above payment of pensioners as at when due and this amounts to insensitivity to the plight of Pensioners. Pensioners are scared of mismanagement and embezzlement of the buildup of N5.96 trillion under the scheme. The interviewees called on PENCOM, the regulatory agency to rise up to the challenge of ensuring that players in the pension sector carry out their businesses in accordance with the provisions of the law. They also called on serving public servants to demand for a fair and just pension system through their trade unions now as they will become retirees some day. It is believed that the demands of serving public servants will be better attended to than that of retirees as it is easier for the former to hold the government to ransom through strikes than the latter. Efforts made by the retirees so far have not yielded the desired results.

The only thing the retirees are happy about as far as the scheme is concerned is prompt payment of the monthly withdrawal when it commences. Most PFAs pay between the 10<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> of every month though the amount is meager.

### **Method of Withdrawal**

Retirees have the option of either a programmed withdrawal or buying an annuity with Insurance Company. Under the programmed withdrawal, when your funds are exhausted you become stranded but an annuity covers the retiree for life. Most of the interviewees here moved from programmed withdrawal to annuity. One of the interviewees who volunteered his details on this aspect explained that he started with programmed withdrawal and was told he would get N40,000 per month for fourteen years and no more but under annuity he is getting a little above that and it will be for life. Retirees are advised to go for the annuity option if there is no disappointment from the insurance company.

### **Hope of Review**

The interviewees lamented the absence of provisions for a review of their monthly pension despite increase in prices of goods and services. The old pension was reviewed from time to time but the new is static. One interviewee who retired five years ago has been on the same monthly stipend without any hope of review.

### **Conclusion**

From the foregoing, it can be concluded that the New Pension Scheme has not brought the much needed succor to retirees because those who have retired under it so far are not better off than those who retired under the Old Scheme. In fact, they are worse off. The Scheme is not operating according to the provisions of the Act that set up the new scheme as employees do not get what the law prescribes.

### **Recommendations**

- Ø A stronger regulatory role is required of PENCOM. The regulatory body should wake up to the challenge of ensuring that the scheme works as envisaged by the law and make efforts to address the inequities in the system by ensuring that no retiree takes less than half of his last salary before retirement as monthly pension.

- Ø The PENCOM should look into the calculation of the accrued rights of workers who have put in several years of service before the introduction of the New Pension Scheme as they get far below their colleagues who retired under the old.
- Ø Retirees are advised to go for an annuity instead of programmed withdrawal.
- Ø The PENCOM should look into the static amount paid to retirees as prices of goods and services are not static. That implies that the pension is not progressive.
- Ø The ugly trend of delay in payment of entitlements that is raising its ugly head needs to be checked before it becomes entrenched.
- Ø Those who are already working are advised to invest in ventures that will bring in returns after retirement instead of relying solely on the pension scheme.
- Ø Trade unions of current public servants should take special interest in what is going on with the new scheme as they would retire someday. Efforts of unions of retirees do not yield much result as it is more difficult for them to hold the government to ransom.

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