

snatching of ballot papers and boxes at gun point. The psychological dimensions relate to official and unofficial actions that create fear in the people, which maybe a product of physical violence. These include threats to opposition forces by security agents or through phone calls and text messages. The structural dimension of electoral violence seems much more pronounced, being a product of structural imbalance, including coercion of citizens by government to register or vote unequal opportunities for political parties and candidates, abuse of power of incumbency, falsification of election results, as well as the politicization of security and electoral officials. (Nwolise, 2007)

Electoral violence is a form, perhaps the most deadly form, of electoral fraud, which has been defined as clandestine efforts to shape election results (Lehoucq 2003:233). This can be perpetrated both by the incumbent power holder to avoid defeat and by opposition elements seeking to wrest political power from the governing party. In most cases, electoral violence is targeted at electoral stakeholders such as voters, candidates, party agents, election workers, media and monitors; electoral information such as registration data, vote results, ballots; campaign materials, for example, vehicles and public address systems, electoral facilities such as polling and counting stations; and electoral events; including campaign rallies. (Hoglund, 2006:8). Igbuzor (2010) sees electoral violence as:

any act of violence perpetuated in the course of political activities, including pre, during and post-election periods, and may include any of the following acts: thuggery, use of force to disrupt political meetings or voting at polling stations, or the use of dangerous weapons to intimidate voters and other electoral process or to cause bodily harm or injury to any person connected with electoral processes.

Obviously electoral violence is a threat to democracy and democratic sustainability in Nigeria's fourth republic.

Frame work of Analysis

This study adopt Marxist political economy approach as lucidly presented in Marx (1877), Ake (1981), Aja (1998) and Chikendu (2002). The Marxian political economy is based on dialectical materialism as propounded by Karl max. Dialectical materialism places primacy on material or economic conditions of society as the base upon which other super-structures, including politics, stand (Ake, 1981:1). It is premised on the belief that man is dominantly motivated by economic needs. As argued by Ake (1981), the economic need of man is man's most fundamental need. According to him, unless man is able to meet this need he cannot exist in the first place. The thrust of this approach according to Aja (1998) is to understand the society's economic structure as defined by the relationship between owners of the means of production and the working class in the process of production. To Marx, every political system corresponds and reflects its kind of economic structure. Marx places emphasis and premium on the economy which determines politics, ideology and culture or the society. Thus from the substructure, one can easily understand the nature of internal relations, how society organizes, manages and reproduces itself, the causes of tension, conflicts or contradictions in any given society and the bearing or direction of social change.

Thus, Marx believes that the primary cause of tension and other social dislocations in a society are economic factors. Applying this to the issue at stake, one can argue that owing to

IJAD

ILORIN JOURNAL OF ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Department of Public Administration
Faculty of Management Sciences
University of Ilorin, Ilorin Nigeria
Email: ijad.unilorin@gmail.com
osezuaomo2002@yahoo.com

Copyright December 2017: Ilorin Journal of Administration and Development

All rights reserved

No part of this journal may be reproduced, stored or introduced into any retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means: electronic, photocopy, record or otherwise, without the prior permission in writing from the copyright owner.

Request for permission should be directed to the:

Editor-in-Chief
Department of Public Administration
University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria.
Email: ijad.unilorin@gmail.com
osezua.em@unilorin.edu.ng
+2348060837266

Published by the:
Department of Public Administration
Faculty of Management Sciences
University of Ilorin, Nigeria.

Printed by:
Lekan Printing Press
08137301002, 08070878603

Editorial Board

Chairman, Editorial Board

Prof. (Mrs) Sidikat Adeyemi

Editor-in-Chief

Dr. Osezua Ehiyamen

osezuaomo2002@yahoo.com

International Guest Editor

Nandita Kaushal (Ph. D)

Business Managers

Oyedele Samuel

Dr. Akindele Iyiola

Language Editors

Prof. S. T. Babatunde

Dr. A. S. Abubakar

Editorial Secretary

Abdulkareem Abdulrazaq

abdulkareem.ka@unilorin.edu.ng

Editorial Advisory Board

Prof. Toyin Falola	University of Texas, Austin, USA
Prof. Matthew Okotoni	Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife
Prof. Haruna Dlakwa	University of Maiduguri, Maiduguri
Prof. Moti Ukertor	Universiy of Abuja, Abuja
Prof. Adejo Odoh	Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria
Prof. Saliu Hassan	University of Ilorin, Ilorin
Prof. Shehu Dalhatu	Bayero University, Kano
Prof. Kunle Ajayi	Ekiti State University
Prof. Sat. Obiyan	Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife
Prof. Juliana Taiwo Makinde	Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife
Prof. Charles Ukeje	Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife
Prof. Adeyemi Sidikat. L.	University of Ilorin, Ilorin
Prof. Albert Isaac Olawale	University of Ibadan, Ibadan
Prof. Sharlene Swartz	Human Social Research Council, South Africa
Prof. Solomon Akinboye	University of Lagos, Akoka
Prof. Fajonyomi Banji	Lagos State University, Ojo
Prof. Gbevrebie Daniel	Covenant University, Ota
Prof. Robert Moser	University of Texas, Austin, United States.
Dr. Bondarenko Dmitri Mikhailovich.	Russian State University for the Humanities.
Dr. Nduka Otiono.	Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada.
Dr. Augustine E. Ayuk.	Clayton State University, Georgia, Atlanta.
	United States.
Dr. Akin Olufowose	Institute of Public Administration of Nigeria,
	Abuja

plays a vital role to ensure that the consent of the citizen/electorates is of great deal to anyone seeking political office. The primary mechanism for obtaining and translating that consent into governmental authority is the holding of genuinely democratic election. A democratic election according to Chukwu (2007) would characteristically be competitive, periodic, inclusive, definitive, free and fair. Agbaje and Adejumobi (2006:26), in their attempt to underscore the centrality of elections to democracy, contend that 'election is a viable mechanism for consummating representative government.' In a Similar vein, Ojo (2007a:7) see elections as 'institutional mechanisms that implement democracy by allowing citizens to choose among candidates or issues'.

Electoral violence

Electoral violence is a subset of political violence but it has several distinct features that differentiate it from other forms of political violence. It differs in terms of its timing and intent namely, influencing electoral outcomes. Straus and Taylor (2012) define electoral violence as physical violence and coercive intimidation directly tied to an impending electoral contest or an announced electoral result. Such violence for them also includes the use of threats of physical harm by at least a stakeholder that has vested interests in elections and electoral outcomes. Outside existing electoral system rules, it is very important to determine whether violence is committed by the ruling party and supporters to maintain power or by the opposition parties to challenge the outcomes of the elections and, therefore, change the status quo. Most importantly, regardless of who uses violence for a political gain, how it is reported remains a key empirical question when it comes to conducting a comprehensive analysis of electoral conflict. Hence, they went on to identify four levels of electoral violence:

- 1) No reported violence throughout the entire electoral process, ranging from pre–to post-election;
- 2) Violent harassment (police or security forces breaking up rallies, party supporters brawling in the streets, confiscation of opposition newspapers, candidate disqualifications, and limited short-term arrests of political opponents;
- 3) Violent repression, which includes high-level assassinations and targeted murder, continuous high-level arrests of party leaders, long-term violent intimidation and torture; and
- 4) Violent campaign with generalized violence including widespread physical attacks and massive killings.

From the foregoing, electoral violence has become a phenomenon associated with electoral process in Africa, particularly Nigeria. Electoral violence according to IFES (2011) is seen as any violence (harm) or threat of violence (harm) that is aimed at any person or properly involved in the election process, or at disrupting any part of the electoral or political process during the election period. Electoral violence basically has to do with all forms of organized acts or threats-physical, psychological, and structural aimed at intimidating, harming, blackmailing a political stakeholder before, during and after an election with a view to determining, delaying, or otherwise influencing an electoral process (Albert, 2007:133). What this implies is that electoral violence is multi-dimensional, having physical, psychological and structural dimensions. The physical elements include assassination of political opponents, arson, looting, shooting, kidnaping and hostage taking, forceful disruption of campaign rallies, armed raids on voting and collating countries, including

crisis that attended the annulment of the June 12, 1993 presidential elections. During election seasons, aspirants, candidates and supporters of political parties had been attacked, ballot papers and other elections materials were snatched by thugs and persons killed. There had also been cases of destruction of billboards, campaign vehicles, campaign offices and other property. Campaign rallies have been violently disrupted and convoys attacked. Thus, election seasons are often associated with fear and anxiety over a possible break down of law and order. Today, one of the greatest challenges facing African, particularly Nigerian, electoral process is violence, and this manifests itself at the pre and post-election stages. In spite of numerous efforts aimed at addressing the challenges associated with elections and violence, the country has continued to witness a reoccurrence of violence, and this has undoubtedly threatened its democratic survival and sustainability. Owing to Nigeria's track-record of electoral irregularities and fraud, elections in the country have often been characterized with political tension, crisis, assassinations, and high level of violence (Adekanye1990:2). Prior to the Nigeria's fourth republic, elections that have taken place in Nigeria such as 1964, 1965, 1979 and 1983 have witnessed one form of violence or the other in an unprecedented magnitude.

With the emergence of the fourth republic, coupled with series of mechanism put in place both by electoral bodies, civil society and even the security agencies, it was expected that all manner of electoral violence such as assassinations, killings, arson, kidnapping, falsification of election results, stuffing of ballot boxes, under age-voting, harassment of candidates, agents and voters, etc. would be a thing of the past. However, Nigeria continues to record violence at pre and post-election periods, and this has rekindled fear and anxiety among the various stakeholders in the electoral process considering the basic institutional weakness associated with the electoral system which pundits have argued may likely bring the nation democratic project to a halt. It is in this light that this paper seeks to examine the impact of electoral violence on the Nigerian state and suggesting plausible ways of minimizing electoral violence.

Conceptualizing Elections and Electoral violence

It is important to provide a clear explanation of the major concepts used in this paper in the manner the authors have applied them. The two major concepts to be clarified in this paper include election and electoral violence.

Election

Election is the hallmark of democratic government. Election is the formal process of selecting a person for public office or accepting or registering a political proposition by voting. For Gwinn and Norton (1992), election is the formal process of selecting a person for public office or accepting or registering a political proposition by voting. They state further that an election is one of the means by which a society may organize itself and make specified formal decisions, adding that where voting is free, it acts simultaneously as a system for making certain decisions regarding the power relations in a society, and as a method for seeking political obedience with a minimum of sacrifice of the individual's freedom.

The essence of a democratic election is unarguably freedom of choice. Election according to Inokoba and Kumokor (2011) is the formal procedure recognized by law as well as decision taken by the electorates to decide those who occupy public offices and also the policy direction of a polity, given that in every democratic system of government, election

INSTRUCTIONS TO CONTRIBUTORS

Ilorin Journal of Administration and Development is a peer-reviewed publication with manuscripts anonymously assessed by at least two reviewers. Submission of manuscripts to IJAD implies that author(s) are committed to publishing in the journal. It also presupposes that the same article is not being simultaneously submitted to any other publishing outlet nor has it been published elsewhere with a content that is evidently similar.

Manuscripts

Articles must be written in English language and should not exceed 6,000 words and 15 pages together with references, typed in double-spacing on one side of A4-size paper with minimum of standard 1.5 inch margin and referencing done in APA style (6th ed.). The title page of the paper should indicate full names and addresses (i.e. institutional affiliation, if any) of the author(s). It should be accompanied with an abstract not exceeding 250 words and maximum of ten (10) keywords for indexing purposes. The acceptable word processing packages are Microsoft and Word Perfect, (please indicate whichever), Times New Roman font with size 12. Authors should be consistent on the writing style (British or America) adopted.

Referencing

Reference must be arranged in alphabetical order and typed in single line spacing at the end of the paper and should contain full bibliographical details. Where citations include works of multiple authors, the full name of most senior author with addition of et al will suffice. If however, authors are not more than two, the full names of the authors should be provided – (surname and initials will suffice in all cases). Works done by the same author should be listed in the chronological order of publication.

Submission and Correspondence

Authors of well researched articles are to submit three hard copies together with corresponding electronic copy of the paper to:

Editor-in-Chief

Ilorin Journal of Administration and Development, Department of Public Administration, Faculty of Management Sciences, University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Kwara State, Nigeria.

E-mail: ijad.unilorin@gmail.com or osezuaomo2002@yahoo.com or osezua.emeunilorin.edu.ng.

All articles submitted to the Journal must be original and should in no way violate any existing copyright and publication ethics relating to libel and others.

Additional Guidelines

Once accepted, the articles can only be submitted to another journal or published in any other form with the consent of the Editor-in-Chief. Copyright of an article published in the journal belong to the journal, which reserves the right to publish it in a form of language of its choice.

Authors should provide the necessary permission for the publication of any copyright material they wish to include in their articles.

Papers accepted for publication are subjected to peer review mechanism. The Editorial Board reserves the right to determine which articles may be accepted for publication and only the authors whose papers are adjudged publishable may be communicated as necessary. Authors are advised to enclose two self-addressed envelopes for possible reply.

INTERNATIONAL GUEST EDITOR

Editorial Comments

The discipline of Public Administration is a highly glorified specialized field of study among social sciences. Like all disciplines Public Administration has also evolved over a period of time and has even witnessed many ups and downs during its growth. But it has firmly withstood all the challenges and has kept on embracing all latest developments and trends. The discipline of Public Administration has come a long way since Woodrow Wilson, an American academician and statesman who is highly revered as the founder of the discipline, advocated the scientific and systematic study of Public Administration in his article 'The Study of Administration' published in volume 2, number 2, June 1887 issue of the Political Science Quarterly journal. He laid emphasis on introducing reforms in Public Administration functioning as governmental machinery and keeping it away from political field. His advocacy for the scientific study of machinery of Public Administration subsequently led to the growth of Public Administration as a discipline. What is clearly evident from such a discourse is that the discipline of Public Administration is comparatively a new specialized field of study among social sciences, just 130 years old but as a practice and as governmental machinery it is very old and it emerged with coming into existence of state and government. In this way the discipline of Public Administration has evolved from practical life and is mainly concerned with improving and reforming the machinery of Public Administration so that it is capable enough to promote public welfare and interest. With the passage of time new concepts and ideas have evolved but the basic ethos has always remained the same and that is to serve the masses. Whatever new concepts and ideas have developed, whether it is new public administration, comparative public administration, development administration, good governance, new public management, decentralized governance, collaborative and networking governance, public private partnership, corporate social responsibility, citizens' charter, e-governance or digital governance, ethical governance, new public service, all of them are ultimately concerned with making it possible for the Public Administration to serve the society in a much better way. However, in practice the functioning of Public Administration all over the world is marred with numerous hardships coming from harsh practical realities. It is a truth that the

ELECTIONS AND ELECTORAL VIOLENCE IN THE NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC

Kelly Omosat OSIFO

Department of Political Science
Olabisi Onabanjo University, Ago-Iwoye, Nigeria.
Kelly.osifo@gmail.com.

&

Nicholas Idris ERAMEH

Department of Political science
University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria
Email: erameherumiseh@yahoo.com.

Abstract

The centrality of elections as a major determinant of democracy across the globe cannot be overemphasized, despite the divergent views of some scholars. The nature and processes of the adoption and practice of democracy in Africa has undoubtedly led to violence before, during and after elections. Consequently, Nigeria is also not spared as elections have been marred by series of violence which have threatened its nationhood. Specifically, against popular expectations, in the fourth republic, the electoral process has carried on with violence; with recent manifestations of it constituting a threat to democratic stability and consolidation. The study employed descriptive and content analytical method in the analysis of data. The paper argues that rising electoral violence in Nigeria is closely related to the weak democratic institutions such as the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), political parties, the executive, the legislature, the judiciary, the Neo-patrimonial character of the Nigerian state, the crave for power by political elites and godfatherism, among other factors, are responsible for the unhealthy nature of the nation's electoral democracy. Therefore, the paper recommends that the various stakeholders in the electoral affairs – Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), Politicians, Political Parties, the judiciary, International and Local Elections Observers, the security agencies, youths, Civil Society Organisations (CSO), and other relevant stake holders must be dutifully involved in ensuring crisis free elections and electoral democracy in Nigeria.

Keywords: Elections, Democracy, Electoral Violence, Fourth Republic, Nigeria

Introduction

The centrality of elections as a major determinant of democracy across the globe cannot be overemphasized given the fact that a democratic society is, expectedly, a non-violent and orderly society. This partly explains why elections have become part of the international peace-building strategy which strongly links peace to democratic development (Hoglund, 2006:5). Considering Africa's democratic and electoral development since her independence in the late 1950s to date, election has been one of the etiquette for her democracy. For election, it involves a set of activities leading to the selection of one or more persons out of many to serve in positions of authority in a society. (Orji and Uzodi, 2012).

Electoral violence has been a major challenge to effective governance and social stability in Nigeria. Indeed, the collapse of the First and Second Republics were preceded by flawed elections in which violence was in display. The Third Republic was aborted by the

- RMAFC (2012). "The illegality of state – local government joint account": *The News*. 23 April, 23.
- Salako, T. (2014). "Local government crisis and development: Our experiences so far": *Journal of administration*, XXVI (IV): 65–82.
- Sam, C. U. (2011). *Understanding intergovernmental relations in Nigeria*. Lagos: Sam Iroanusi Publications.
- Sesan, Y. L. (2009). *Beyond the transition to civil rule: Consolidating democracy in Post - Military Nigeria*. Lagos: AMKRA Books.
- Solomon, H. A. (2016). "Crises of local government control in Nigeria's federal arrangement": *The International Journal of Humanities and Social Studies*. Vol. 4, Issue 3, 33–48.
- Subar, G. M. (2003). *Local government administration in Nigeria*. Ibadan: Royal Publishers Nigeria.
- Sunday, T. K. (2016). "Local government and arbitrary state and federal interference": *Quarterly journal of administration*, XL (IX): 27–46.
- Suzan, K. (2014). *Administration of local government in Nigeria*. Lagos: Heritage Publishers.
- Togun, D. F. (2015). "Intergovernmental relations in Nigeria": *Nigeria journal of political science*, III (IV): 43–58.
- United Nations Organization (2012). *Local government and managerial effectiveness*. New Delhi: Princeton University Press.
- Usman, G. A. (2010). "Local government and grassroots democracy": *Daily Independent Newspaper*; 23 May, 11.
- Zebudin, W. (2013). "Local government in a true federation": *Journal of African law*, XV (III): 32–54.
- 1979 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Lagos: Government Printers.
- 1989 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Lagos: Government Printers.
- 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Abuja: Government Printers.

machinery of Public Administration faces many pressures owing to its working in a political setting. As an executive arm of the government or political executive Public Administration cannot remain aloof from it and has to endure political interferences in its day to day life. At the same time Public Administration has limited resources at its disposal and has to deliver best results by making use of them. There is a direct proportionate relationship among undue political interferences and administrative capability, that is to say, greater the undue political interferences much greater are the risks of lowering of administrative capability. In such kind of situations public administrators always work in the state of dilemma and encounter many difficulties in establishing and maintaining the balance between the expectations of political executive and the ideal of public interest. Simultaneously, the weakening of moral fabric of society and deterioration of ethical values are impacting Public Administration machinery due to integral involvement of ecological aspect in its functioning. What is worrisome is that this deterioration of ethical values has given rise to rampant corrupt practices which have percolated down the hierarchy and have become deeply engrained. These are very adversely affecting the quality of delivery of public services and the resultant impacts. Even though numerous commissions and committees have been constituted and are being constituted and many deliberations have taken place and are being taking place at various forums and yet the problem is prevailing. The simple reason behind is the apparently visible ethical downfall. The greed and lust of human beings have increased to a very large extent and these have resulted in unholy nexus between all culprits, public administrators being one of them. Unless and until the ethical values are restored in the society no wholesome measures will ever be taken up and the problem will continue to acquire more ghastly and dreadful countenance. In such a scenario talks of sustainable development will go on without delivering much result. It is a high time that in the interest of humanity, especially of future progeny, the importance of chaste actions should be well-realized and should be followed earnestly. Then only human beings, communities and nations will prosper and do wonders.

Dr. Nandita Kaushal,
Assistant Professor (Stage-2),
Department of Public Administration,
University of Lucknow,
Lucknow, Uttarpradesh, India

Contents	
Editorial Board	ii
Instructions to Contributors	iii
Editorial Comments	iv –v
Contents	vi –vii.
 Abuse of Local Governments by State Governors in Nigeria and the Challenges on Democratization Aliyu, M. Kolawole, PhD	 1 –13
 Elections and Electoral Violence in the Nigeria's Fourth Republic Kelly Omosat OSIFO and Nicholas Idris ERAMEH	 14 –25
 An Impact Evaluation of Skills Acquisition Programs on Women Empowerment in Giwa Local Government Area of Kaduna State Umar,Abubakar Yaru, Oyedele, Samuel Olanrewaju Nelson Gabriel, Abdulkareem Abdulrazaq Kayode and Ishola, Abdulrasaq Ajadi	 26 –40
 Legitimacy of Democratic Governance in the Nigeria's Fourth Republic AZEEZ, Adenrele Lukman and OYEWO, Oyekunle Oluseye	 41 –48
 Administrative Reforms in the Nigerian Civil Service: A Re-Examination Igbokwe PhilomenaIfy (Ph.D.)	 49 –56
 The Interactive effect of wages and salaries administration on workers' Performance in Nigeria I. T. Akindele (PhD), R. I. Akindele (PhD) and A. K. Abdulkareem	 57 –66
 State-Local Relations in Nigeria and its implication on public Service Delivery at the Local Government Level VAMBE, JEREMIAH TERSUR (Ph.D.)	 67 –80
 Factors Influencing Information and Communications Technology (ICT) Adoption and Utilization in Selected Audit Firms in Southwestern Nigeria. EFUNWOLE M.S., OLUWATOPE A.O., OGUNJEMILUA E.M. and BINUYO G.O.	 81 –91

Politics (eds.), United Kingdom: University of America Incorporation.

Andreas, S. (1998). “What is democratic consolidation□”: *Journal of democracy*, 9 (2): 91 – 107.

Ayodele, K. (2013). “NULGE and Ekiti State government tussle over illegal fund deduction”: *Nigerian Compass Editorial*, 16 June, 5.

aderinwa, G. (2014). “Dominant issues in the use of non –elective officials to run council affairs in Nigeria”: *Social sciences review*, XV (II): 47 – 62.

Balogun, J. (2010). “State of illegal deductions across the federation in Nigeria”: *Political review*, 1 (1): 34 – 49.

Dicey, A. V. (1948). *The Rule of Law*. McGraw – Hill.

Dudley, B. J. (1981). “The military and development in Nigeria”: *Journal of economics and social studies*, 13 (2), 31 – 45.

Federal Government of Nigeria (1976). *Guidelines for local government reforms*. Kaduna: Government Printers.

Jacob, F., Aderonke, M., Abiodun, O. and David, A. (2013). *Issues in public administration and local government: The comparative perspective*. Lagos: Concept Publications Limited.

Jadesola, Y. (2009). *Local government and its values in Nigeria*. Lagos: Obafemi Awolowo Foundation.

Johnson, I. (2013). *3rd world and local government workings* London: Allen and Allen.

Julius, E. (2014). “Local governments impact on development: The Nigeria experience”: *Canadian journal of African studies*, 43 (10): 54 – 68.

Kunle, W. (2012). “Local government crisis: Federal vs. states government, the truth of the matter”: *The News Magazine*, 22 February, 23 & 34.

Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, third edition, England: Longman.

Mark, R. (2012). “Democratic practice in Nigeria political system”: *Tell Magazine*, 25 June, 34.

Mark, Z. (2013). *The feasibility of democracy in Africa*. Lagos: CODESRIA.

Mike, A. (2006). “Local government and the challenges of democratic consolidation in Nigeria”: In Obiyan, A. S. and Amuwo, K. *Nigeria's democratic experience in the fourth republic since 1999: Policies and politics* (eds.), United Kingdom: University of America Incorporation.

Odekunmi, A. A. and Bisoye, D. (2010). *Local government law in Nigeria*. Lagos: Malt house Press Ltd.

Obiyan, A. S. and Afolabi, O. S. (2012). “Elections in Nigeria: Problems and Prospects”: In Obiyan, A. S. and Amuwo, K. , *Nigeria's Democratic Experience in the Fourth Republic Since 1999: Policy and Politics*. America: University Press of America Incorporation.

Olu, A. (2005). *Model administrative law for Nigerian local governments (1976 - 2004)*. Ado – Ekiti: Ola – Olu Printers.

Osah, R. (2011). “Balance of political power in Nigerian federation”: *Commonwealth Political Studies*, XXX (I): 87 – 103.

Oyewo, O. T. (2011). *The law of local government in Nigeria*. Ibadan: Jabor Publishing Company.

be made to face the consequences of his action. Governors should be able to differentiate between partisan politics and governance. But for this to work, the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria would need to show more good examples. If there is need to consolidate democracy in Nigeria at all, we must view it as a vital element for good governance at the grassroots.

The idea of running joint account by the state and local councils has been condemned for too long. It is high time the federal government as well as the National Assembly intervened to put a stop to the practice through the ongoing constitutional reforms. Monthly grants of states with caretaker committees at local councils should be stopped. All internally generated revenue sources that the state governments had taken over from the local governments should be restored. Local government personnel structures that are not in tandem with the Nigerian practice should be discouraged. Civil society groups should rise up to defend the integrity of the third-tier of government. Media can as well play a collaborative role in discouraging the ugly trend. Creation of additional local governments across the states of the federation can be approved by the National Assembly on its merit and not for any political gain. Politics of bitterness cannot take Nigeria anywhere, and it is this understanding that can deepen democracy at the local levels.

REFERENCES

- Abidoye, E. (2015). "Intergovernmental relations in Nigeria: Local government and the 1999 Constitution": *Public administration and development*, XX (VII): 87 – 103.
- Abigeal, S. O, and Oduwole, G. (2013). "Local government in a true federation": *Journal of African law*, XV (III): 32 – 54.
- Adebare, O.P. (2012). "Fiscal matters in Nigerian local government": *Journal of political science*, II (I): 64 – 78.
- Adeleke, W. (2012). "1999 constitution and local government system": *Journal of social sciences*, 15 (3): 211 – 229.
- Adeogun, K. (2009). *Nigerian local government and administration* Ibadan: Benitas Prints.
- Adeosun, F. (2016). "Interrogating the roles of local government in Nigeria presidential system": *Journal of Administration*, 8 (3), 56 – 73.
- Aderibigbe, V. (2013). Need for a restructured local government in Nigeria. *Journal of local government studies*, X (II): 47 – 69.
- Adetoba, S. Y. (2013). "Democracy and local government administration, 1999 – 2007": *Journal of democracy*, 12 (3): 95 – 104.
- Agbakoba, O. and Ogbona, H. (2004). *Local government administration and development in Nigeria: A capacity building manuals*. Lagos: Hurilaws Publications.
- Agbebaku, Z. and Oviasuyi, R. A. (2010). *Intergovernmental relations in review*, Jos: IGSR.
- Ajeh, S. (2010). *Democracy and dictatorship*. New York: The Grove Press.
- Ajibola, H. I. (2012). *Local government finance*. Ibadan: University Press.
- Akanni, M. (2015). Politics of local government administration in Nigeria, Abuja: National Council on Intergovernmental Relations.
- Ake, C. O. (2000). *The law of local government in Nigeria*. Ibadan: Jatar Publishing Company.
- Akpomuvire, M. (2006). Local government in federal – state – local relations, 1999 – 2006. In *Nigeria's Democratic Experience in the Fourth Republic since 1999, Policies and*

Comparing The Politics of Revenue Allocation in Nigeria and Ethiopia: Trends And Challenges
Nuruddeen Muhammad Koko and Bayero Bukkuyum Kasim (Ph.D.)

92 – 103

Cross-carpeting, Party Alignment and the Challenges of Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria
Omodunbi Olumide Olumuyiwa, Ogah Godfrey Oche and Owasanoye Oyepeju. I

104 – 113

Health Care Financing for Victims of Child Trafficking in Nigeria: Trends and Analysis of the cost of Medical Treatment Per Victim Per Year
Saka, M. J. Oloriegbe, I. Y, Saka, A. O. and Salman A.

114 – 123

A study of Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and the Challenges of Conducting Elections in Nigeria
(Barr.) Ishaq Isola OMOLEKE (Ph.D) BENSON, Kunle Shinde (Ph.D) and NOFIU, Oluwasesan Akanni (Ph.D)

124 – 134

Inter-Tier Power Relations in Kwara State: An Overview of its relations with Ilorin West, Moro and Oyun Local Governments
Abdullahi Alabi Professors Abdulrauf Ambali and Abdullateef Ameen

135 – 149

Abuse of Local Governments by State Governors in Nigeria and the Challenges on Democratization

Aliyu, M. Kolawole, PhD

Department of Political Science,
Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile – Ife, Nigeria.
aliyukolawole2014@yahoo.com

Abstract

Drawing experiences from Nigeria's democratic rule in the fourth republic since 29 May, 1999 up to 2016, this paper examined how most State Governors have subverted the constitutional provisions and powers of the local governments. The paper employed descriptive method to point out areas of abuse of the local councils by the elected State Governors, such as non – conduct or delay of council polls, appointment of caretaker committee, operation of joint – account, administrative restructuring, and creation of Local Council Development Areas (LCDAs). The study also examined the challenges of the abuse of local governments by the Governors on democratization. Data were gathered through secondary source and analyzed by content analysis. The paper found that abuse of grassroots government by the State Governors hurts the deepening of democratic system, accountability, and political participation. The paper therefore proffered a political and constitutional reform as the way out of the impasse.

Keywords: Abuse, Local Government, State Governors, Democratization.

Introduction

Three levels of governments are recognized by Part II, Section 4 and 5 of the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and they are federal, state and local governments. It was the 1979 constitution that gave constitutional recognition to local government as a third level of government in Nigeria. Section 7, subsection 1 of the 1979 constitution captured the constitutional power granted the local government thus:

The system of local government by democratically elected local government councils is under this constitution guaranteed; and accordingly, the government of every state shall ensure their existence under a law which provides for the establishment, structure, composition, finance, and functions of such councils.

In the current fourth republic which began on the 29th May, 1999, Section 7, subsection 1 of the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria accords similar recognition to local government, just as the 1979 constitution has affirmed. Under the 1999 constitution, the states can delegate specific powers to the local government but cannot, without being in contravention of the constitution, derogate from the prescribed list. Also, in matters of finance, the state government can only make provision for additional funds to local government since all the state Houses of Assembly could do was to give legal recognition to the prescription of the National Assembly. (Akpomuvire, 2006 and Abidoye, 2015).

In a true federation, levels of government should be autonomous in a way, and coterminous, such that local governments should have constitutional power as independent as well as being a partner in the governance process. This position is in accordance with the issue

In particular, the alleged deduction of local government funds in Ekiti State had ignited a petition by Nigerian Union of Local Government Employees (NULGE) in 2002. A similar scenario indirectly played out in Osun State when a serving Judge in the State petitioned the State House of Assembly and alleged the State Governor of illegal spending of local councils under him, although the allegation had been dismissed as spurious (Sunday, 2016). The Judge is reported to have been sacked by the National Judicial Commission, NJC, while the case is still under litigation (Adeosun, 2016). Whatever the outcome would be, such development does not promote smooth executive-judiciary relationship.

Conclusion

Most State Governors since 1999 have abused local governments under them by not conducting elections, but instead, appointed caretaker committees. They also introduced structural changes to protect their preferred interests; run joint-accounts to erode the financial autonomy of the local councils for pecuniary gains. They have endangered local governments by taking over their functions. In the process, lack of legitimacy, apathy from stake holders and poor political will on the part of the caretaker committees are the effects of the usurpation of local council powers. The abuse of the local governments by the State Governors undermines good governance, accountability, responsiveness, commitment and motivation to duty at the grassroots in Nigeria.

Recommendations

Given the dangers posed on democratization by the manner in which the State Governors run the local governments, there is need to enforce 'democratic culture' on elected Governors in Nigeria through a constitutional reform that will compel them to shed their deep involvement in local governments' matters. State Governors should be made to abide with the provisions of the 1999 constitution in the running of the local councils. Government at the grassroots should be allowed to run their programs with minimal oversight functions by higher levels. All overbearing control measures that cripple local governance should be abrogated. Excessive premium placed on the capture of political power by the Governors, using local governments as templates, should be frowned at because it is dangerous to Nigeria's political system. Local governments should be run as autonomous level of government with institutions of democracy feasibly put in place.

Elected Governors should do away with the mentality of winning second term election at all cost. By now, it should have been clear to every Nigerian that winner takes all syndromes cannot promote good governance, accountability, rule of law, responsiveness and development in Nigeria. Hence, there is need to contend more with the issue of corruption. As long as State Governors get away with their loots from the local councils, corruption will not only continue but inordinate control of local councils would not stop. State structure that is founded and sustained by corruption cannot clamor for nor promote democracy. Therefore, the current anti-corruption crusade of President Muhammadu Buhari should be across board and more inwardly to State Governors who are being alleged to have enriched themselves through local councils and state funds. The anti – corruption drive should go beyond a mere partisan issue.

Efforts should be dispensed in enthroning people's voices through a free and fair contest at the grassroots. Presently in Nigeria, we need a type of democracy that will promote equal opportunity for all people at the grassroots. Any Governor that errs in this regard should

to have control of the grassroots by the stakeholders. The refusal or reluctance of the State Governors to conduct election into the grassroots negates democratic practice. In effect, it is alien to democratic norms and makes Nigeria democratic system to be undefined. Our contention is that the authoritarianism of some of the elected Governors hurts democracy and deepens its crisis.

Absence or deliberate delay of elections into the local councils denied people the desired political participation and made people at the grassroots not to have control over their leaders. Whereas, people should be able to call their elected representatives to order and hold them accountable, but because they do not emerge through popular elections, the representatives' responsiveness is always to the Governors, rather than to the 'people'. Also, the nominees of the Governors neither enjoy the 'goodwill' of the people at the grassroots. The fact that members of the caretaker committees are frequently hand-picked by the State Governors; it creates fear in them not to be suddenly removed or dropped and thus hampers development at the grassroots. The arbitrary power to run the local councils by the State Governors enables them to deduct local government funds at will under the guise of running a joint – account. Because the council 'caretakers' exist at the mercy of the Governors, it makes too much silence which, in the long run, defeated the service delivery theory of the local governments.

More importantly, the idea of running the local governments as extension of the state is damaging to the federal structure that Nigeria practices. It is indeed a wrong signal to Nigeria's federalism. In a true federal structure, all tiers of government should be autonomous, in a way, in the performance their functions. Where this truly subsists, such as Brazil and South Africa, local governments should operate as partners in the governance process. The present arrangement is strange to the United Nations Organization (2012) position that local governments that have real power can effectively address local interests as well as exercise a check on illegal operation by the higher level of authority. A truly autonomous and democratic local government should be able to exercise powers of decision making, revenue generation, and financial regulation, and dispense administrative responsibilities (Olu, 2005). These are virtually absent since 1999 in most local governments because State Governors are too much involved, and meddled with local governments' affairs.

The State Governors are expected to be guided by Section 46 (1) of the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and allow some level of autonomy of local councils under them. But because some former Governors have successfully subverted local governments during their regime without being punished, the bad trend is now being embraced as a best practice of running local councils. This is a wrong signal to future State administrators and one of the reasons why it is difficult to stop. The reluctance of the State Governors to conduct council polls has been argued as a pathway to steal funds meant for the local councils (Adetoba, 2013; Baderinwa, 2014). The financial autonomy of local councils in Nigeria is also being endangered (Ajibola, 2012). Use of non-elective officials in local councils has made them appendages of the state, since most of the nominated council officials are not often courageous enough to question authoritative directives from the State Governors. Thus, we can say that the non-conformity to the democratic norms of running local councils is for the Governors' pecuniary gains, personal aggrandizements and elongate patronage in Nigeria.

raised by Dudley (1981) who noted that the fundamental objectives and principles of the constitution should not be subverted or 'abused' but be supported by institutional structures. Balogun (2010) reiterated this position when he noted that local government's powers are the gifts of the constitution and not the grant of any higher level of government.

According to Suzan (2014), the local governments' operational systems have not been free of undue interference by the State Governors since 29 May, 1999 when democratic practice in the fourth republic fully took off in Nigeria. The manner in which the local governments have been administered has called into question adherence to constitutional provisions on the devolution of powers among constituent units within the Nigerian federation. Most State Governors are not willing to conduct local government elections but nominate their preferred candidates as caretaker chairman, executive secretary or secretary of local councils. They operate joint-account that leaves the local councils worst off, embark on projects that local people do not need and incur debts to be paid by local governments. The practice is not common to a particular state or political party, it is a universal experience. Even in states where there have been power shifts from one political party to another, it has been the same experience (Abigeal and Oduwole, 2013). The State Governors have certain powers at their disposal which they use to influence local councils in the direction they sometimes desire. Considering the undemocratic handling of council matters and the primacy of the third-tier of government to the deepening of democracy in Nigeria, this study examines the manners in which the elected State Governors abuse local governments since 1999 to date and points out the challenges such abuses pose on democratization.

Conceptualizing the Key Terms

According to Solomon (2016), abuse means to deliberately use something, such as power or authority, for a wrong purpose; treat something in a cruel way such that you start to destroy it. Therefore, abuse of local governments connotes all administrative controls, directives and decisions by State Governors that negatively affect the performance, service delivery and development of local governments. Abuse of local governments entails the control of local councils by State Governors in a way that breach their autonomy and constitutional powers.

Balogun (2010) conceives local government as the management of services and regulatory functions by locally elected council officials responsible to them under statutory supervision of central legislative and executive, but with enough financial and other independence to admit a fair degree of local initiative and policy making. Agbakoba and Ogbona (2004) see local government as an administrative unit that is empowered by law to administer a specific locality. Usman (2010) defines local government as a system of public administration at a local level, charged with the responsibility of bringing the people at the grassroots closer to the government. It is a government at the local level exercised through representative council established by law to exercise specific powers within specifically defined geographical area (Federal Government of Nigeria, 1976). In short, and to us, local government is simply the government at the grassroots.

State Governors in the context of this study means elected states' helmsmen, who are constitutionally empowered to oversee the affairs of states of the federation in Nigeria. The State Governor is the chief accounting, security and administrative officer, that regularly gives policy directives; through the agencies and institutions of government for compliance at

the grassroots. Altogether, there are thirty six State Governors, at any given time in Nigeria. We cannot be talking of democratization without proper understanding of the term democracy. This is because democratization is hinged on democracy. By democracy, we mean government by the people in which the supreme power is vested in the people and exercised directly by them or by their elected representatives under a free electoral system. Democracy is the opposite of dictatorship in which most political powers are in the hands of a small subset of the people. According to Andreas (1998), democratization entails popular legitimating, the diffusion of democratic values, the reutilization of anti-system actors, and elimination of authoritarian enclaves, party building, stabilization of electoral rules, and the decentralization of state power. Democratization is the process by which democratic structures and institutions become so profoundly deepened among its citizen such that it is not likely to breakdown. Put differently, democratization is the deepening of democratic institutions.

Theoretical Perspectives and State Governors' Contradictory Roles in the Local Governance

Three theories of local government are explored to point out how the actions of the State Governors constitute impediments to the expected performance, effectiveness, and service delivery at the grassroots in Nigeria. The first is the democratic participatory theory given by Panter (1953) and corroborated by John Stuart Mills, Keith-Lucas, David Bulfer and William Machenizei who contended that local government is to bring about democracy and afford the citizen opportunity for political participation as well as educate and socialize them politically. The theory states that local government should create opportunity for political education provide training for stable polity and democracy. The democracy theory focuses on democratic benefits derivable from the practice of the local government system. The major proposition of this theory is that local governments must uphold democratic practice through the provision of political education, participation and socialization for its citizenry (Jacob, Aderonke, Abiodun, and David (2013). Sadly and unfortunately, the State Governors have defeated the democratic functioning of the grassroots governments because elections are not held against what democratic participatory theory preaches.

The second one is the efficient services theory propounded by a French scholar, Langood (1953), who believed that democratic participatory theory does not apply to different political system going by the current modern realities. Langood was of the view that local government is in the best position for effective performance of certain functions. According to him, performance of such functions is made possible because of the nearness of the grassroots' governments to the people. The efficient services delivery theory holds that the main function of the local government is to provide services to the locality. The proponent of the theory justifies the existence of local government on the ground that it is an efficient agent for providing services such as roads, housing, water supply, education, agricultural and health services that are local in nature. But practically, the State Governors' dominance of the local governments has made the delivery of the functions argued by the theory so difficult. The State Governors have subverted the provision of the services as a result of their domineering attitudes of the institutional structures of council areas. Most of the services highlighted by the theory have been taken over by the state governments for pecuniary gains.

Thirdly, there is development theory which emphasized how local governments in developing countries can become effective agent for a better life, improved living standard,

declared legal. But, the Lagos state government, under Senator Bola Ahmed Tinubu took the federal government to court and the Supreme Court declared that the state government had power to create local governments but should have sent the names to the National Assembly and waited for its approval. The Supreme Court in 2004 ruled on the case in favor of Lagos State and made it clear that the federal government had no power to seize the funds of Lagos State or any state government on account of new local councils creation (Sam, 2011). As it is, creation of additional local governments outside the 774 that are recognized by 1999 constitution could be said to be illegal while the states are not wrong to create local councils. Presently, the issue is still a subject of judicial interpretation as the legality or otherwise of creation of additional local government by the state governments now boils down on the Supreme Court's judgment of December 10, 2004.

Be it as it may, creation of additional local governments is expected to spur socio – economic development in the grassroots. But, one wonders why a State Governor who 'evidently' cannot pay workers salaries not to talk of recruiting additional ones, or provide basic facilities such as furniture, cars, computers and stationeries for new councils to take off should venture into creating them. We suspect that sharing the monthly grants of the statutory local governments with the LCDAs is a cover up for previously mismanaged local government funds, just as (Gesinde, 2016 and Suara, 2016) argued.

Some state Governors have also tampered with the personnel structure of local councils. Head of Local Government should be normally chosen from the most senior Grade Level 16 or 17 officers in the local government and the Directors from the most senior officers on Grade Level 15 or 14 in the order of seniority. Surprisingly, some State Governors have changed the nomenclature from Head of Local Government to Council Manager. For instance, Osun and Lagos states are now using the new nomenclature against what operates in other states of the federation (Sunday, 2016). The scrapping of the Heads of Local Government and Directors positions in Osun state, for instance, deliberately created opportunity for Grade Level 14 officers as Council Managers. One expects the Council Managers to be selected from among the previously dissolved Heads of Local Government who are on Grade Level 16 and 17 but this was not done. Instead, some of them were posted out of the local governments as medical, education or information Zonal Officers, outside the local government setting (Sunday, 2016). Other areas of impunity and recklessness from the State Governors are issuance of mandamus circulars, taking funding responsibilities for items procured or commissioned by the state government, fixing of local government grants in banks; none payment of local government workers' salaries; when grants to the effect have long been collected by the states. (Akanni, 2015 and Togun, 2015).

Challenges the State Governors Impunity Pose on Democratization

From the above experiences, local governments cannot be effective when the State Governors are not committed to the ideals of democratic principles at the grassroots. It is baffling to see local governments being run with impunity, not minding the provisions of the constitution. The abuse of the local councils by State Governors and their reluctance to enthrone democratic rule at the grassroots portend a lot of dangers for the polity and undermine good governance. By the Governors undemocratic practice of not conducting elections, political opponents are made to suffer alienation in the hands of the incumbent Governors. As corroborated by Suzan (2014), there is always crisis arising from the struggle

The local governments equally have constitutional mandates to perform certain responsibilities such as:

... inspection of meat and abattoirs, provision of nursery and adult education, provision of scholarship and bursaries award, provision of libraries and reading rooms, agricultural and animal extension services and veterinary; clinics and fire arms, lighting and drainages, support for arts and culture as well as pollution, control of beggars and prostitution, homes for destitute; the insane and orphans, public housing programs, regulation and control of buildings, town planning, operation of commercial undertakings, control of traffic and parking and provision and control of sewage system. (Agbebaku and Oviasuyi, 2010 and Subair, 2003)

As it appears presently, most local governments have been relieved of the above functions. The situation now appears as if the local governments exist at the mercy of the states. Although Nigerian local governments have their challenges, which affect their performances (Sesan, 2009 and Sunday, 2016), it is our contention that local governments should be assisted to brace up to the challenges so as to be able to fulfill their responsibilities, rather than being made extensions of the state governments.

Creation of Local Council Development Areas, LCDAs, is also another way of abusing local governments. The statutory division of Nigerian states and local governments from 1960 to 1997 was given by Agbebaku and Oviasuyi (2010). According to them, Nigeria had three regions in 1960; North, East and West and was split into four regions in 1963 with the creation of Mid – Western region. The four regions metamorphosed into twelve states in 1967 and two-hundred and ninety – nine local governments in 1970. In 1978, the states were increased to nineteen and local governments increased to three-hundred and one; with the same nineteen states. But in 1981, the total number of local governments was jacked up to four-hundred and eighty; which was later nullified and returned to three-hundred and one in 1984. Twenty-one states were created in 1987 with four-hundred and ninety-nine local councils and the states increased to thirty in 1991 and local governments further enlarged to five-hundred and eighty-nine. In 1997, the thirty states were increased to thirty-six and the five-hundred and eighty-nine local governments increased to seven – hundred and seventy-four.

All through, the creation of both states and local governments had been by the military juntas. The creation of states by the civilians has always been cumbersome since 1999, whereas LCDAs have been created in Lagos, Bayelsa, Osun, Ogun and Oyo states (Sunday, 2016). The Federal Government intervened in the creation of local governments in what it considered 'contravention of the constitutional provision' by Lagos state government. For example, Bayelsa state created new local governments and deployed the chairmen of the old local councils while Lagos was accused of creating LCDAs without National Assembly approval. The Senate during former President Olusegun Obasanjo's regime declared the action as illegal, noting that unilateral creation of local governments by Lagos State government without the National Assembly approval violated Section 8 (3) of the 1999 constitution. The senate argument was that unless the list of local governments as contained in the First Schedule, Section 3, Part 1, was duly amended, no new local government shall be

and means to a better share of the nation's wealth (Wilson, 1986s). Wilson, the proponent of the theory contended that local governments in developing countries can and should have the function of helping to reduce congestion at the centre. The proponent argued that local governments can do this by being involved in the implementation of socio – economic programs that can reconstruct the infrastructure necessary for improved way of life. The position of this theory is that development which emanates from the will and desire of the people can keep the council to move forward rather than the one imposed from outside. The 1999 constitution in its Section 14 (1) & (2) as amended provides, among other things, that the Federal Republic of Nigeria shall be a state based on the principles of democracy and social justice. It declares thus:

- (a) *Sovereignty belongs to the people from where government through the constitution derives all its powers and authority;*
- (b) *The security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government; and*
- (c) *The participation by the people in their government shall be ensured in accordance with the provision of the constitution.*

Section 17, subsection 1 further provides that the state social order is founded on the ideals of freedom, equality and justice and that in furtherance of the social order, government action shall be 'humane' and exploitation of human and material resources in any form whatsoever for reasons, other than the good of the community shall be prevented. But to what extent do the State Governors allow the local governments to develop on their own □

Powers and Reasons for the Establishment of Local Governments

Local governments are created by statutes and the statutes specify their functions (Baderinwa, 2014 and Akanni, 2015). To ensure that the functions are effectively performed, local governments are given certain powers such as making of bye-laws, licensing, maintenance of laws and order, collection of rates, registration of births, deaths and marriages. As creation of superior level of government, local governments are subordinates to the state, yet in as much as they act within the scope of their authority; they are autonomous (Kunle, 2012). Mark (2012) and Zebudin (2013) noted that the purpose of local governments includes bringing of government nearer to the people. Local government also serves as avenue for training political leaders, channel of communication, execution of local priorities and a good ground for experimentation. The above stated functions are captured by Adeogun (2009) thus:

Local government basic roles are to allow for flexibility, exploitation of local resources for development, provision of local services and satisfaction of cultural diversity.

Reasons that range from political, social to economic have been given for the creation of local governments in Nigeria (Adeosun, 2016). Specifically, they are created to bring government closer to the grassroots. Due to the vast nature of Nigeria, the state and federal governments are far from the people at the local level and to bridge this gap necessitated the creation of local governments. According to Aderibigbe (2013), local governments are to serve as channels through which government's policies are communicated to the people. Local governments are also to serve administrative convenience through which state and federal governments' policies are not only communicated but implemented. (Jadesola, 2009 and Sunday, 2016).

Local governments are also created to bring development to local areas by ensuring that resources are effectively mobilized (Ake, 2000 and Julius, 2014). The Fourth Schedule of the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria contains the functions of the local governments which are to positively affect people's lives in terms of road construction, running of maternity centers, and provision of water, refuse disposal and market stalls. From another perspective, with over two hundred and fifty ethnic groups in Nigeria, when government carves out local government for people of the same community, the long traditional ethos can be preserved (Dicey, 1948; Dudley, 1981; Jadesola, 2009 and Johnson, 2013). Thus, people of the same culture, historical background, and religious heritage can be carved out as local government to sustain their interest in the governance process. Other reasons for the creation of local governments are to raise money through taxes, levies and other investments. Grassroots governments are also expected to perform informative, administrative, leadership training and security functions. (Agbakoba and Ogbona, 2004; Aderibigbe, 2013 and Adetoba, 2013).

Discussion of Findings

Contentious Issues in the Conduct of Local Governance in Nigeria

Since 29 May, 1999 up to 2017, the manner by which most State Governors conduct local government affairs is contradictory to democratic practice; and of course questionable. According to Obiyan and Afolabi (2012), one of the features of democracy is the conduct of periodic elections. Ake (2000) also reiterated that democracy cannot be said to be in operation without the conduct of periodic election. As a result, it is expected that periodic elections should be held to fill vacant posts in the local governments. Election into the council areas remains a central component of democracy. However, many State Governors are not willing to conduct council polls. The practice perhaps makes local councils management not to be enthroned on democratic principle. Local councils then become dependent on states when elections are not conducted to fill the constitutionally approved political positions. The workings of local councils can only be meaningful and their autonomy guaranteed if elections are conducted into the council areas (Sesan, 2009 and Ajeh, 2010). This is because democracy is not a system of government that can be imposed, but one that must evolve through the wishes of the people themselves. It can be inferred, therefore, that local government operation can be truncated if it is run in disregard of electoral conduct. (*Adetoba, 2013*).

According to Usman (2010), in very rare instances when elections into local governments are conducted by the State Governors, they are to ensure their 'excellencies' firm grip of power. Odekunmi and Bisoye (2010) equally held the view that many State Governors conducted local government elections not because of their aspiration to ensure growth of democratic norms but to ensure victory in their second terms ambitions. If at all, some State Governors have been alleged of not conducting council polls early enough during their first terms (Ibid: 38). Rather, such council elections are delayed till the third or fourth year of the State Governor's first term. Such delay is to ensure victory in their second term ambitions (Osah, 2011). Some of the State Governors' disdain for democratic practice reflects in cancellation of election results in the strongholds of opposition parties. There are evidences from Oyo, Lagos, Kwara and Plateau states, and even when competent courts ruled against such positions, some Governors did not obey the rulings (Jadesola, 2009). This is why Akanni (2015) remarked that local government elections between 1999 and 2015 were mockery of

democracy because they were flawed by State Governors' over-ambition, and hence one of the major reasons why they have been unpopular.

The monthly allocations of local councils are being diverted and often times mismanaged by elected Governors (Adeleke, 2012). Reinforcing this practice, Johnson (2013) and Ayodele (2013) remarked that the idea of joint account is not entirely bad, but the manner of spending monies from such account exclusively by the Governors is condemnable. As a trajectory reference to the practice, between 1999 and 2016, there have been accusations against most of the State Governors that the policies of some of them do not always take into consideration the needs of some local governments (Adebare, 2012 and Ajibola, 2012). Autonomy requires that the local government must have power to take decisions independent of external control within the limits laid down by the constitution. Council areas must also have sufficient funds to meet its responsibilities. A local government that is autonomous should be able to formulate its own policy and appropriately implement same. If a local council is run by elected officials, it may not often subscribe to the policy thrust of the executive Governor. But under a caretaker arrangement, the council chairmen must not only follow but rigidly implement the policy dictates of the State Governor that appointed them into the position. This is because most State Governors control the 'power of the purse' of the local councils (Togun, 2015). It may interest us to ask that, to what extent local government functions can be effectively performed under a caretaker chairman□

Illegal infiltration into the council funds is in the form of joint account. Adebare (2012) noted that joint account across states of the federation showed various illegal and arbitrary deductions from statutory funds of local governments. Sometimes, State Governors paid contractors without allowing the respective local councils some verification of such claims. Contracts for local councils are unilaterally awarded by the state governments on behalf of the local councils without seeking approval from the local councils that are the real owners of such funds (Salako, 2014; Abidoye, 2015 and Ayodele, 2013). The Revenue Mobilization Allocation and Fiscal Commission (RMAFC) indicted the State Governors in 2012 of abandoning their statutory responsibilities in respect of the state/local government's joint account. As at then, RMAFC noted that over #475 billion of the local governments' funds had been diverted to other uses by State Governors, thereby crippling the activities of the councils (RMAFC, 2012). Mark (2013) and Julius (2014) noted that the story, perhaps, could have been different if the council chairmen and councilors had been elected.

The 1976 local government reform introduced uniformity into the administration of local governments. To ensure the uniformity, each State government has Local Government Service Commission, LGSC (Suzan, 2014 and Togun, 2015). The LGSC of each State is saddled with the responsibility of appointing, promoting, transferring and discipline of local government staff from Grade Level 07 and above. The Junior Staff on Grade Level 01 to 06 are to be overseen by each local government without much input from LGSC. Unfortunately, the Commissioners for Local Governments and Chieftaincy Matters in many states conduct themselves as overlords, only to ensure patronage while appointments, transfers and disciplinary matters of local government staff have been politicized and hijacked totally by states (Mark, 2013). Such attitudinal conduct is frowned at by Osah (2011), who noted that local governments in Nigeria are seen by elected Governors, as 'geographical constituency' of their states.

Legitimacy of Democratic Governance in the Nigeria's Fourth Republic

AZEEZ, Adenrele Lukman

Dept. of Political Science,
University of Ibadan.

&

OYEWO, Oyekunle Oluseye

Dept. of Political Science,
University of Ibadan.

E-mail: oyeoluseye@yahoo.com

Abstract

The paper examined the linkage between democratic governance and legitimacy in the Nigeria's fourth republic. The idea of legitimacy is viewed beyond popular sovereignty being the fundamental foundation of governmental legitimacy. Specifically, it showed that corruption has negative impact on democratic governance. Data relevant to the study were sourced through secondary method and descriptively discussed. The paper concludes that, unless democratic governance translates to good governance, the legitimacy of the much sought democratic governance in Nigeria may remain questionable.

Key words: Democracy, Democratic Governance, Legitimacy.

INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of state is central to the determination of quality of life of the citizens in modern states. In view of this, the expectation of good governance and transparency, among others, through democratic idea and ethos necessitates mutual dependence between the state and its citizens. It is on the basis of this that hopes of rapid socio-economic development accompanied Nigeria's successful return to civil rule in 1999. Civil rule in the country since independence has convoluted on a number of occasions, thus culminating into 29 years of illegitimate military rule (Ekeh, 1998). Military rule was not only unpopular because of human right issues, but also evident corruption, which many believed was the major factor which retarded the country's socio-economic growth.

Having re-enthroned the democratic government in 1999, Nigeria for the fourth time returned to the fold of countries where peoples' interest is expected to be at the centre of every political decision. This “hope” was however short-lived because socio-economic indices continued on the negative trend in terms of statistics and reality. As noted by Acemoglu and Robinson (2013), prosperity and poverty are both products of political decision. Hence, the expectation was that democratic governance would engender rapid socio-economic development.

However, political office largely means to accumulate quick wealth, hence political corruption. As a matter of fact, it was under the civil rule in Nigeria that corruption become so brazen, much that the country became dubbed as one of the most corrupt nations in the world (Transparency International, 2016). The exercise of power and management of resources is believed to be in the interest of the few privileged in the country. Hence, the expected trust and confidence between the government and the governed, and by extension, legitimacy, is fast

the high level of poverty and corruption in Nigeria, people tend to view access to public office as an escape route from poverty (Mato, 2008:8). Hence, according to Mato (2008), politics becomes, in the words of Obasanjo, “a do or die affair”. The impact of this is obvious. One is that illegitimate regimes are enthroned through fraudulently conducted elections. Such malpractices also have the tendency to induce violence and instability as opposing politicians seek to outdo each other in the process. (Mato, 2008).

Following from the above, the fierce struggle to win and control state power and use same for the personal economic advantage of politicians lie at the root of all electoral frauds and malpractices in Nigeria (Oddih, 2007). This also is corroborated by Okafor (2003) who argued that Nigeria's political instability can be traced to socio-economic factors particularly poverty. According to him, over 65 per cent of the Nigerian population lives on less than two US dollars per day. In a situation of abject poverty, and in the absence of clear moral values, it becomes easy at elections to buy and sell votes or promote other forms of electoral abuses. (Oddih, 2007).

The Nigerian experience with general elections has shown that the political elite have not fully come to terms with the referents of elections for democratic sustenance and national security. More often than not, the elite have failed to play by the rules of competitive electoral politics which prioritizes politics of tolerance, conflict and consensus, bargaining and compromise. They see elections as warfare, characterized by gangsterism and political disorder. Political parties for which elections are organized are also, like armband of men and women going to war, where there must be victors and the vanquished. Elections have become warfare, where it is a sin to lose. This dominant pattern of elections and electioneering threatens to tear the nation apart and put its tenuous peace at great risks. (Ighodalo, n.d : 22).

Political violence is gradually becoming a permanent feature of democratization in Nigeria. This is because every campaign ground is soaked with violence and killings. It is capable of truncating Nigeria's democracy if not curtailed. Democratization process in Nigeria is growing at a very sluggish trend, thus threatening the basis of political stability, deepening the root of political gerontocracy and strengthening sectional political hegemony (Arowolo and Aluko, 2010). Political violence seems to be institutionalized since it emanates from the corridor of power and so politics and political activities become exclusive rights of the 'dirty' politicians who make politics dirty in the first place. The fact that political game in Nigeria is played at the variance with set rules makes it a dirty game. Politics is a clean game outside the shores of Africa and it becomes dirty at its importation to Africa. Politics must have been infested with greed, tribalism, intolerance, injustice and parochial instinct of political leadership. (ibid.).

From past experiences, election stakeholders manifest three dimensions of electoral violence such as physical, psychological and structural violence which invariably threaten the nation's democratic consolidation. On the contrary, some other studies have averred that regular elections themselves might not result into sustainable development. For instance, Schedler (2002) observes that elections can also be used to disguise authoritarian rule, or what he terms 'electoral authoritarianism'. He went further to argue that such an act compromises the democratization process by preventing elections from playing their crucial role (Schedler, 2002:103). Another prominent writer, Stefan Lindberg posits that especially in the African context, when he speaks about the 'surprising significance' of African elections. He observes

that 'the positive effects of holding repetitive elections are perhaps not restricted to free and fair elections, at least not in the early stages of democratization. Lindberg (2006:6) argues, for instance, that electoral problems such as 'inflated voters registers, political violence during the campaign and polling day, outright fraudulent voting and collation of votes, intimidation of voters and political opponents may stimulate activism in society even more than free elections'.

D. **Factors Responsible for Electoral Violence in the Nigeria's Fourth Republic**

Since the re-emergence of the current democratic order, elections seem to be frequent but characterized with violence of the highest magnitude. This paper discusses some of the debilitating factors responsible for electoral violence in Nigeria fourth republic, these include the following:

- (i) **Party Politics:** Since the return to civilian rule on May 1999, the nature of party politics in Nigeria has remained a problematic feature to governance. While the People Democratic Party (PDP) faced series of problem ranging from candidate substitution, rigging, muzzling of the opposition, all of which became detrimental to democracy, nonetheless, the emergence of opposition parties have worsened the political situation in the country just as politicians continue to decamp from one party to the other with grave consequences for the political parties, the citizenry and the entire electoral process. The unpalatable activities engage in by Nigeria's political parties towards the electoral process is a threat to democratic sustainability. Most of the political parties lack internal democracy, they are fond of imposing candidate(s) on their party members. Political parties in Nigeria have been accused of causing tension, havoc, and violence during electioneering periods. In 2003 general elections, Human Rights watch stated that "at least one hundred people were killed and many more injured. Majority of serious abuses was perpetrated by members or supporters of the ruling party, the PDP". (Albin-lackey, 2007).
In addition, the opposition political parties like the APC is also a major contributor to electoral violence because they are prone to resort to intimidation to compensate for their lack of base support (Perouse de montclos, 2011:17). Hence, they can contest election results, as in Kano in May 2007, where such protests resulted in the killing of more than 100 persons. In April and May, 2011, many people also died following the inflammatory declarations of the main opponent, General Muhammadu Buhari, who had lost presidential elections, Human Rights watch reported approximately 800 persons killed after the election, mostly from protests by opposition parties which claimed that the results were falsified and rigged. (Bello, 2015:21)
- (ii) **Security Forces/Agencies:** Even though the question of legality or possibility of using security agencies in elections in Nigeria has generated a lot of controversy, the use of security men and women in Nigeria's elections continues to generate more and more criticisms as the activities of these security personnel's have remained questionable. In most cases, security agencies collude with politicians to directly or indirectly influence the outcomes of election, and this leads to protests and violence especially on the part of the opposition. For Perouse de Montclos (2011:22), the Nigerian security forces are also catalysts of violence. Also, Gueye and Hounkpe (2010) argued that the mode of involving security forces and how they carry out their

- Rowlands, J. (1997). *Questioning Empowerment: Working with Women in Honduras*, Oxford: Oxfam.
- Sen, G. and Grown, C. (1995). *Development, crises and alternative visions*. London: Earthscan
- Tasli, K. (2007). "A Conceptual Framework for Gender and Development Studies: from Welfare to Empowerment": Retrieved on June 16, 2014 from <http://www.oefse.at/>
- UNDP (1995). *Human Development Report*, New York. Retrieved on July 10, 2014 from <http://www.hdr.undp.org/en/content/human-development-report-1995>.
- Williams *et al.* (1994). *The Oxfam Gender Training Manual*, Oxford: Oxfam

Recommendations

Based on the findings, the following recommendations are thus put forward:

- i. Adequate as well as timely release of funds should be ensured in order to provide the sufficient materials and working tools required.
- ii. Soft loans or micro-credit scheme should be made available to beneficiaries as this would provide capital needed for expansion in their various areas of skills acquired.
- iii. Only qualified, experienced and successful artisans should be engaged to train beneficiaries as this would not only bestow good skills on the women but these professionals would act as a source of encouragement to them.
- iv. Women should be engaged in the process of formulation and implementation of these programs as this would avoid introducing programs that women have little interest in.
- v. An effective monitoring and evaluation mechanism should be put in place in order to monitor the progress of beneficiaries as well as encourage them.

REFERENCES

- Batliwala, S. (1994). "The Meaning of Women's Empowerment: New Concepts from Action": in Gita, S *et al.* (eds.) *Population Policies Reconsidered: Health, Empowerment, and Rights*. Boston: Harvard University Press, 127–138.
- Chen, M. (1992). Conceptual Model for Women's Empowerment. Unpublished.
- Comfort *et al.* (2013). "Appraisal of Rural Women Empowerment through Skills Acquisition in Anambra and Rivers State of Nigeria": *International Journal of Language, Literature and Gender Studies*. Vol. 2 No.1
- Federal Republic of Nigeria (2006). *National Gender Policy*. Abuja: Federal Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development.
- Kabeer, N. (1999). 'Resources, Agency, Achievements: Reflections on the measurement of Women's Empowerment'. Oxford: Blackwell Publisher Ltd, Development and Change Vol. 30, pg. 435–464
- Kabeer, N. (2001). 'Reflection on the measurement of women's empowerment' in SIDA Studies No. 3 Discussing women's empowerment: theory and practice Stockholm. Retrieved on July 16, 2014 from [http:// www.sida.se](http://www.sida.se)
- Malhorta, A. *et al.* (2002). *Measuring Women's Empowerment as a Variable in International Development*. Background Paper prepared for the World Bank Workshop on Poverty and Gender: New Perspectives.
- Mason, K. O. (1995). *Gender and Democratic Change. What Do We Know? International Union for the Scientific Study of Population*, Belgium.
- Moser, C. O. N. (1993). *Gender Planning and Development: Theory, Practice and Training*. London: Routledge.
- Ngu, S. M. (2005). *Research Methodology Made Easy for Social and Behavioural Sciences*. Zaria: Shereef Salam Press.
- Oxaal, Z. and Baden, S. (1997). *Gender and Empowerment: Definitions, Approaches and Implications for Policy*. (Briefing prepared for the Swedish International Development Office – SIDA), SIDA report No. 40.

duties while participating in the electoral process in Nigeria can also be adduced as part of the fundamental causes of violence and insecurity during elections. Onapajo (2014), drawing references from a number of elections conducted in Nigeria between 2007 and 2011, argues that, in terms of influencing election outcomes, the incumbent has been more associated with violence during elections than the opposition. In all of these scholarly assessments, however, there has always been a particular constant – the role of Nigeria's security forces in the ensuing violence that has greeted most of these elections. (Olaniyan & Amao, 2015:71).

- (iii) **Politicians:** Given the way and manner African countries adopted democracy, it is not surprising that elections have continued to be manipulated by politicians. One of the problematic ways politicians have compounded the electoral woes of the country is their “do or die” method of politics. Coming from a background of autocracy, dictatorship, monarchical rule, most leaders in Africa, and Nigeria especially, pretentiously make the world believe they are democratizing by subscribing to regular elections, but in the real sense, these leaders employ all kinds of tactics to retain power, by so doing making the system more violence prone. In the words of Egugbo (2015:1 6), Nigeria's politicians see the capture of state power as an avenue to acquire wealth and other prerequisites of office. This explains why the pursuit of power in Nigeria is done with maniacal zeal. The implication of this is that justice is perverted, electoral irregularities and malpractices become the other of the day, thereby threatening the nation's democratic sustainability.
- (iv) **Neo-patrimonial or Leadership Style:** Neo-patrimonial rule is a core feature of African politics, for it is practiced with flair on the African continent (Bratton and Van de Walle, 1997; Hope, 2002a). Neo-patrimonial rule entails individual rule by virtue of personal prestige and power, personalized authority determined by the preferences of the ruler rather than the laws of the land, attempts to ensure the political stability of the regime and personal political survival by providing a zone of security in an unstable or uncertain environment, and the selective distribution of favors and material benefits to loyal followers who are regarded and treated as clients. (Bratton and Van de Walle, 1997; Callaghy, 1986).

The patrimonial nature of African public officials has considerably undermined good governance in the region and continues to do so despite the gains made in political liberalization and democratic consolidation during the 1980s and 1990s. Personalistic rule is characterized, for example, by incumbents using national resources, which of course they control to purchase loyalty and this maintain a monopoly on power. Absolutely no distinction is made between personal and public property (Hope 2005: 299). A massive orientation of political actors is necessary in this area (Odo, 1983). Without doubt, during President Olusegun Obasanjo civilian administration, the nation experienced a civilian autocratic leader who has little regard for the rule of law and the electoral process; given that the 2003 and 2007 general elections conducted under his administration were a monumental disaster to the Nigeria nascent democracy and the electoral process. In the words of Ake (1996:6), leadership rule connotes:

Nigeria for example democratizes with no separation of powers, all power having been invested in an imperial presidency. There is hardly any rule of law, no plausible system of justice, no transparency, the coercive institutions of the state are above the law, and civic society is below it, ordinary people are out of sight, far beyond its protection. The judiciary is dissociated from justice and the bureaucracy is oppressive and arbitrary. The Nigeria state like the colonial state before it turns on the calculus of strength.

- (v) **Godfatherism:** The unholy and undemocratic attitude exhibited by political godfathers towards the electoral process is inimical to democratic consolidation in Nigeria. The godfathers are the political kingmakers and gladiators who seek to manipulate the political system to enthrone their crowned godson. They are fond of imposing candidates on their party, they sponsor elections for their godsons, hire assassins, thugs, and kidnappers to cause mayhem before, during and after elections in favor of their godsons which they intend to enthrone politically. Notable experiences of their actions are clearly seen in some states of the federation; in Oyo State between 2003 and 2007, late Alhaji Lamidi Adedibu accused Governor Rashidi Ladoja of not being submissive and loyal because he has sponsored his election which was not totally free from violent activities. Also, the unending rift between Chris Uba and Governor Chris Ngige in 2003 election in Anambra State led to the destruction of lives properties and political unrest in the state.
- (vi) **High Illiteracy Rate, Unemployment and Poverty:** This is also a factor that explains electoral violence in Nigeria politics. The fact that most Nigerians are illiterate, mobilizing them towards electoral malpractices and violence by politicians becomes easy. The unemployment and poverty syndrome that is associated with the Nigerian State include the average citizens/people to succumb to politicians demand either to sell their votes, take up arms, snatching of ballot materials, kidnappings, assassinations. Many of these Nigerians who are youths are jobless enter politics with the intents and purpose of causing confusion and violence. (Adele, 2012; Arolowo 2010; Aluko, 2012).
- (vii) **Corruption:** One of the major reasons why an average Nigerian enters politics is for personal interest and self-aggrandizement, and not necessarily for the well-being of the people and the state at large. Both past and present elections in Nigeria have been associated with corruption which is one of the motivating factors that encourage people to seek political positions/public office. In the words of Alemka (2011), “The perception of politics and political office as an investment is an avenue for the acquisition of extraordinary wealth through corruption, which is otherwise not possible through any form of legitimate vocation and enterprise. As a result of this perception and reality, Nigerian politicians turn electioneering and elections into warfare in which violence and ethnic, religious and other forms of primordial sentiments and prejudices are employed.
- (viii) **Ethnicity and Nepotism:** Ethnicity and Nepotism is a prevailing factor in politics and the electoral process in Nigeria. The current democratic regime has been characterized with electoral violence which is closely connected to ethnic and tribal

Interview response revealed that the execution of the programs have been marred by several obstacles. These challenges include poor and untimely release of funds; shortage of technical personnel to coordinate and supervise the programs; shortage of materials and working tools resulting from poor funding; nonchalant attitude of beneficiaries; dearth of professional trainers; poorly equipped state of the women centre; and lack of monitoring and evaluation mechanism. This finding is in line with the observations of Zanna (2000), cited in Comfort et al. (2013), who pointed out that inadequate and inconsistent funding has been one of the major problems of skills acquisition programs in alleviating poverty in Nigeria.

Interview report further uncovered that some of the women trained were given incomplete starter packs (working tools), e.g. some women trained in the art of fish processing were given only the oven without stove, while some trained in milling and grinding were given only grinders without engines. The same applies to others who were trained in the art of sewing and knitting. The study also revealed that few of the women had lukewarm attitude to the programs as they showed no zeal in learning the skills, while others went as far as selling the working tools (starter packs) given to them after the training. This problem could be traced to the non-involvement of the women in the planning stage of the programs because some of the women responded that they would have preferred other economic activities such as poultry, animal husbandry and loans to engage in trades of their choice. Again, a few other women who could have done better in the practice of skill acquired complained of inadequate finance to enable them expand their ventures.

4.7 Major Findings

From the data generated and analysed, the study has the following as its major findings:

- I. The skills acquisition programs introduced by the Giwa LG have appreciably increased women's level of income, as a sizeable number of the women (beneficiaries) in the area now earn more than they used to prior to introduction of the programs.
- ii. The study also revealed that the programs have empowered women in the area to some extent as they can now afford the basic necessities such as food and clothing; afford to acquire basic household items; and also afford to visit health centres for treatment when the need arises without their spouses' support.
- iii. The study further revealed that implementation of the programs has been marred by some challenges which include poor and untimely release of funds, shortage of technical personnel to coordinate and supervise the programs, shortage of materials and working tools resulting from poor funding, nonchalant attitude of beneficiaries, dearth of professional trainers, poorly equipped state of the women centre and lack of monitoring and evaluation mechanism.

5.0 Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 Conclusion

The current concern for empowering women to alleviate poverty and promote gender equality through skills acquisition and other empowerment programs is laudable; however, the effectiveness of their implementation is in doubt. The skills acquisition programs introduced by the Giwa LGA of Kaduna state, Nigeria have no doubt brought about some degree of improvement in the lives of these women, as their income level has visibly risen and they now contribute more financially to their family upkeep. Nevertheless, the programs have been marred by some challenges which demand urgent attention if the goal of poverty alleviation would be achieved.

In order to generate relevant data for the test of this hypothesis, respondents' opinion were sought on measures of empowerment as presented in table 4.10 below

Table 4.9: Contingency Table of Respondents' Opinion to Measures of Empowerment

Measures of Empowerment	Very much	Just much	Agree	Not much	No opinion	Total
The extent of increase in income level	8	12	24	13	9	66
Affordability of basic necessities such as food and clothing	7	16	21	8	9	61
Acquisition of basic household items	7	9	27	13	9	65
Affordability of health services	8	24	17	3	9	61

Source: Field Survey, 2017

Table 4.10: Chi-Square Test Statistics

	The extent of increase in income level	Affordability of basic necessities such as food and clothing	Acquisition of basic household items	Affordability of health services	
Chi-Square Value	298.398 ^a	298.398 ^a	298.398 ^a	298.398 ^a	298.398 ^a
df	3	3	3	3	3
Asymptotic Sig.	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
50% Confidence Level					
Critical Value at 5% Sig.	7.879	7.879	7.879	7.879	7.879

Source: Computed SPSS Product

The calculated chi-square value in table 4.10 above is 298.398 as against the critical or table value of 7.879. The calculated value is therefore greater than the critical value. As it is the decision rule practice whenever the calculated value is greater than the critical value, this hypothesis can therefore be rejected as there is a significant association between the skills acquisition programs of the LG and women empowerment. This shows that the skills acquisition programs have appreciably empowered women in the area to alleviate poverty, as their income level has risen, and they can now afford the basic necessities such as food and clothing, acquire basic household items, and have increased capacity to afford health services when needed.

4.6 Discussion

It was proposed that the skills acquisition programs being implemented by the LG in collaboration with the state government have not empowered women in the area to alleviate poverty. Efforts to generate data needed to test this proposition revealed that the programs have appreciably enhanced women empowerment in the LGA, though not as it ought to. Table 4.3 through to 4.8 contain these data. As a result of the programs, a sizeable number of the women's level of income has risen visibly and they can now afford the basic necessities such as food and clothing; afford to acquire basic household items; and also afford to visit health centres for treatment when the need arises without their spouses' support. These, according to Roy and Niranjana (2004), cited in Ibrahim and Alkire (2007), are the salient indicators of empowerment.

sentiments exhibited by Nigerians towards their tribal persons seeking political offices. A critical examination of the 2011 general elections explains reasons behind some disgruntled elements in the northern part of the country chanting "Ba Muso" meaning they do not like or want the elected president Goodluck Jonathan because he is not from the northern part of Nigeria prompting violence in that part of the country. (Adele, 2012).

- (ix) **Electoral System:** The current electoral syndrome of winner takes all or first past the post, as practiced in Nigeria, no doubt have increased the level of violence as the politicians have over the time become more desperate and ready to go out of the rules to achieve their aim. This has equally been felt in the way and manner politicians have continued to bombard the judiciary with various appeals and counter appeals which have equally had impact felt on the high level of corruption in the judiciary.

Consequences of Electoral Violence in Nigeria's Fourth republic.

Electoral violence has had adverse effects on Africa's democratic project/enterprise, specifically Nigeria. Some of the notable consequences of electoral violence on Nigeria's democracy are that electoral violence hampers effective political competition and participation, since it might become right, as in the Hobbesian view of nature, only those with adequate coercive power became main players. As such, the democratization process is gradually facilitating the de-institutionalization of the people to become clients, on lookers and/or consumers, instead of acting as the primary stake holders of democracy. The attendant culture of political apathy represents a major threat to democratic consolidation (Omotola 2008). Also, electoral violence accounts for a legitimacy crisis among political office holders across the federation, given the fact that most of the elections that brought some of the newly constituted government are seriously being challenged at the various electoral tribunals either by the people or opposition political parties. Moreover, electoral violence has led to security challenge and wanton destruction of lives and properties in an unprecedented magnitude across the nation. So far in accessing the three phases of electoral violence during and post-election violence in recent time, we discovered that the people of Nigeria have lived in fear and tension, and in fact, do not know the direction of the state and its institutions of governance. For example in the aftermath of electoral violence in the 2007 elections, there was a collapse of public order in some volatile states of the south-west – Oyo and Osun. The attempt to restore sanity led to the massive deployment of the military and mobile policemen, who subjected the people to various threats, harassment, intimidation, extortion, torture and rape. (Omotola, 2008).

The 2011 election also witnessed some anomalies such as the ad-hoc INEC officials who were threatened and harassed into submission for resisting the pressure to register minors and allow them vote were; cases of ballot box snatching in spite of the open secret system of voting as well as multiple thumb printing despite the availability of Direct Data Capturing machine that were used electronically; 60% of the polling units were unable to receive the necessary materials and also accusation of outright fraud and collusion amongst INEC agents, etc. These shortcomings were noted by the Transition Monitoring Group (TMG), Think Africa Press (2013). Above all, 2011 elections violence "claimed 800 lives over three days in Northern Nigeria and displaced 65,000 people, making the elections the most violent in Nigeria's history". (Bekoe, 2011).

More shocking is the outcome of the Anambra state election in which Chris Ngige was declared the winner in a disputed election. The crisis that took place in Anambra state during the reign of Chris Ngige is a consequence of rigged elections, crisis that led to the wanton destruction of properties worth millions of Naira. President Olusegun Obasanjo said in a reply to Audu Ogbeh's letter:

I got the real shock of my life when Chris Uba looked Ngige straight in the face and said “you know you did not win the election” and Ngige answered “yes, I know I did not win.” Chris Uba went further to say Ngige, “you don't know in detail how it was done”. I was horrified and told both of them to leave my residence. (Ukah, 2005:64)

Succinctly put, electoral violence in Nigeria have had negative foreign policy implication. Ideally, every civilized nation aspires to the values and virtues of the post-cold war order, where the issue of being a good international citizen features prominently. Good international citizenship requires conducting free and fair elections to be internationally recognized, the inability of Nigeria to conduct free and fair elections is a sore point to its external relations which often times lead to external image crisis. Considering the high rate of destruction of lives and properties that is connected with election matters since the advent of the current democratic dispensation, the 2003, 2007 and 2011 general elections have not presented the nation well before the external world.

Conclusion and Recommendations

This paper has argued that election and the electoral process have been marred by physical, psychological and structural violence in Nigeria, thereby daring the nation's democratic sustainability. This study also reflects on some of the factors responsible for electoral violence such as corruption, neo-patrimonial/leadership rule, ethnicity, political parties, etc. Hence, the study recommends the followings:

- ❖ The Electoral Act and the provision of the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, as amended, and as it concerns electoral offenders and perpetrators of electoral violence. According to section 227 of the constitution, “No association shall retain, organize, train or equip any person or group of person for the purpose of enabling them to be employed for the use of display of physical force or coercion in promoting any political objective or interest or in any such manner as arouse reasonable apprehension that they are organized and trained or equipped for that purpose.” This provision, also corroborated by section 81 of the electoral punishment for contravention of section 227 of the constitution, should be enforced to the latter in order to dissuade election stakeholders from electoral violence.
- ❖ The National Orientation Agency (NOA) and civil societies should intensify campaigns so as to educate Nigerians on the dangers of electoral violence as well as discourage them from such.
- ❖ Stakeholders in the electoral process should begin to workout modalities to stamp out the issue of electoral violence in Nigeria.
- ❖ Not only institutional reforms are needed in solving the problem of electoral violence in Nigeria; individuals (electoral officers, security officials, and the citizens) also need to be reoriented towards inculcating democratic values.

Response	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Very much	3	4.9
Just much	8	14.8
Not much	31	44.3
Not at all	18	25.3
No opinion	4	5.8
Total	64	100

Source: Field Survey, 2017

The data contained in table 4.7 above reveals that only a minority of the women can now afford to acquire basic household items as indicated by the 4.9% and 14.8% of them who can do this 'very much' and 'just much' respectively. Majority of them which represent 44.3% manage to afford these basic household items while others can't afford at all. One can deduce from the data here that many of the respondents still lack the capacity to acquire basic household items on their own. The extent to which women can acquire or own property/assets is a very crucial determinant of women empowerment. Improvement in their financial status is expected to result in their ability to afford certain household necessities in order to live a comfortable life.

Table 4.8: The extent to which respondents can now afford health services when the need arise without supports from their husbands

Response	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Very much	8	12.1
Just much	14	20.3
Not much	17	25.0
Not at all	7	10.0
No opinion	8	11.0
Total	66	100

Source: Field Survey, 2017

The data contained in this table are evidence that the beneficiaries now have increased capacity to afford health services than they used to. This portends well for the program. The extent to which women can seek medical attention when the need arises without waiting for financial assistance from their spouses is very essential to women empowerment.

4.4 Test of Hypotheses

H₀: The Skills Acquisition Programs introduced by the Giwa LG have not empowered women in the LGA to afford basic necessities of life by increasing their income capacity.

Response	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Very High	3	11.5
High	13	48.1
Average	24	88.3
Not High (some not)	11	41.2
No opinion	5	18.2
Total	56	100

Source: Field Survey, 2017

One can deduce from the data in the table above that a sizeable number of the beneficiaries have experienced a measureable increase in their income level. This is a good sign as one of the objectives of the programs is to increase the income generating capacity of women in the area. Income level is seen as a very important indicator of empowerment. The higher the income level of a woman, the more self-reliant and empowered she would be.

Table 4.6: The extent to which respondents can now afford basic necessities such as food and clothing

Response	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Very High	1	11.1
High	14	77.8
Average	18	88.9
Not at all	5	27.8
No opinion	5	27.8
Total	41	100

Source: Field Survey, 2017

As contained in the table 4.6 above, a sizeable number of the women can now afford basic necessities, such as food and clothing, without the support of their spouse even though not all of them can do this much. 11.7% and 17.6% of them can do this very much and just much respectively while 13.1% and 14.8% opined 'not at all' and 'no opinion' to this. One can deduce from the distribution here that majority of the respondents can now afford basic necessities, such as food and clothing, more than they used to prior to the introduction of the skills acquisition program by the LG. Interview report corroborates this as the women leader gave instances of women who are doing well in their areas of craft and now take good care of their families with or without the spouses' support.

Table 4.7: The extent to which respondents can now afford to purchase basic household items?

- ❖ The Electoral Management Body (EMB) should intensify its collaboration with other stake holders in the electoral process in order to deliver credible, free, and transparent elections.

REFERENCES

- Adigun, A. and Adejumo, S. (2006). "Do votes count? The travails of electoral politics in Nigeria": *Africa development*. XXXI (3): 25-44.
- Arowolo, D. and Aluko, F. (2010). "Globalisation, democracy and good governance: The interface": *Academic leadership journal*. Vol. 8 No 3, pp. 1-9.
- Arowolo, D. E and Aluko, O. A (2012). "Democracy, political participation and good governance in Nigeria": *International journal of development and sustainability*. 1 (3): 797-809.
- Adekanye, J. B. (1990). "Election in Nigeria: Problems and strategies": *Nigeria journal of electoral and political behavior*. Vol.1, No.1.
- Adele, J. B. (2012). "Electoral violence and Nigeria's 2011 general election": *International Review of Social Sciences and Humanities*. Vol. 4, No. 1. Pp. 205-219.
- Aja, A. (1998). *Fundamentals of modern political economy: International economic relation changing with the time*. Owerri: Data Globe Nigeria.
- Ake, C. (1981). *A political economy of Africa*. New York: Longman Group, Ltd.
- Ake, C. (1996). *Is Africa democratizing?* Lagos: Malt house Press Ltd.
- Albin-Lackey, Chris. (2007). *Criminal politics: Violence, 'godfathers' and corruption in Nigeria*. New York: Human Rights Watch.
- Alemka, Ekannibi E. O. (2011). "Post-Election violence in Nigerian: Emerging trend" CLEEN Foundation
- Bekoe, Dorina (2011), Nigeria's 2011 Elections: Best Run, but most violent-United States Institute of Peace.
- Bratton, M, and N. Van de Walle. (1997). *Democratic experiments in Africa: Regime transitions in comparative perspective*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Egugbo, C. C. (2015). "State elections and governance in Nigeria": *Azilo journal of humanities and social sciences*. Ekpoma, vol.1 No.1
- Gwin R. & Peter, N. (1992). *The New Encyclopedia Britanica*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Inokoba, Preye & Maliki, Agnes. (2011). "Youth, electoral violence and democratic and electoral violence and democratic consolidation in Nigeria: The Bayelsa state experience": *Anthropologist*, 13(3). <http://www.krepublics.com/02-Journals/T-Anth/Anth-13-0-000-11->
- Igbuzor, O. (2010). *Electoral violence in Nigeria*. Asaba: Action Aid Nigeria.
- Ighodalo, A. (n.d). "Election crisis, liberal democracy and national security in Nigeria's fourth republic": *European scientific journal*. November edition vol.8, No.26, 2136

- International Foundation for Election Systems (2011) in Aniekwe, Chika & Kushie Joshua (2011). "Electoral violence situational analysis: Identifying hot-spots in the 2011 general elections in Nigeria"
http://www.nevr.org/media/resources/Nigeria_Electoral_Violence_Situational
- Kapur, A. C. (2006). *Principles of political science*. New Dehli' schaud and company Ltd.
- Lindberg, S. (2006). *Democratization by elections: A new mode of transition*. Baltimore, OH: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Marx, K.& Engel, F. (1997). *Manifesto of the communist party*. Moscow, Progress Publisher.
- Oddih, M. (2007). "Electoral fraud and the democratic process: Lessons from the 2003 election": in Jega, A. and Ibeanu, O.[eds.]
- Ojo, E. O. (2007a). "Elections: A theoretical postulation": *Journal of African elections*. 6(2): 1-13.
- Okafor, P. (2003). "Transcending aridity in Nigeria politics: The role of ideas in SSAN": *Nigeria social scientists*. Vol .6 No.1 March 2003.
- Olaniyan, A. and Amao , B.O.(2015). Election as a warfare: Militarization of Elections and the Challenges of Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria. *International Affairs Forum Spring*. Pp 70-81
- Omotola, S. (2008). "Explaining electoral violence in Africa's 'new' democracies": Revised version of a paper on Electoral reform, political succession and democratization in Africa, presented at the 27th Annual Conference of the Nigerian Political Science Association (NPSA), held at Benue State University, Makurdi, Benue State, Nigeria, 16-19 November 2008.
- Orji, N. and Uzodi, N. (2012). "Post election violence in Nigeria: Experiences with the 2011 Elections": Published by policy and legal Advocacy Centre (PLAC).
- Pérouse de Montclos, Marc-Antoine. (2011). "Nigeria Watch third report on violence in Nigeria", Nigeria Watch.
- Segun, J. (2013). "Democracy and violent conflicts in Nigeria: Implications for national development": *An international multidisciplinary journal, Ethiopia*. Vol. 7 (3), 324-339.
- Schedler, A. (2002). *Electoral authoritarianism: The dynamics of unfree competition*, Lynne Rienner, Boulder, CO.
- Straus, S., and Taylor, C (2012) "Democratization and electoral violence in sub-saharan Africa, 1990-2008": *Voting in fear: Electoral violence in sub-saharan Africa*, edited by Dorina Akosua Oduraa Bekoe. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace.
- Ukah, F. (2005). *"Anambra political crisis Eyes witness Account"*. Enugu Computer Edge Publishers.

Source: Field Survey, 2017

The data presented in table 4.2 above shows that a preponderance of the respondents (42.9%) have been trained in the art of sewing and knitting while the least of beneficiaries (9.8%) are in hair dressing. This is an indication that most of the women seem to have more interest in sewing and knitting as a craft.

Table 4.2: Receipt of take off grants or starter packs.

Response	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Yes	43	42.9
No	9	9.8
Total	52	100

Source: Field Survey, 2017

The data in table 4.3 reveals that beneficiaries were all given working tools after the training. This is what the LG does to enable those trained in various crafts to immediately start a venture in order to become self-reliant and empowered. Interview report revealed that few of the women were given incomplete starter pack due to shortage. For instance, some trained in milling and grinding were given either the grinder or engine.

4.3 The extent to which the programs have empowered women in the area

This section presents the responses of respondents to questions contained in the questionnaire which seeks to elicit information necessary in determining the extent to which the beneficiaries have been empowered to reduce poverty levels and enhance their living standards.

Table 4.4: Increase in income level of respondents due to the empowerment program

Response	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Yes	52	85.2
No	9	14.8
Total	61	100

Source: Field Survey, 2017

The data contained in table 4.4 above reveals that a large number of the women's income level has risen as a result of the skills acquired from the various skill training programs. A total of 52 (85.2%) of them attested to this, while 9 (14.8%) responded that their income had not increased. It is therefore obvious that majority of the respondents now earn more income than they used to prior to the introduction of the programs. This is a good omen as increase in income should translate into self-reliance and empowerment. However, the 14.8% of the respondents who claimed that their income level had not risen should equally be a source of concern, as it is an indication that the programs still have some considerable lapses.

follows:

$$X^2 = \sum \frac{(F_o - F_e)^2}{F_e}$$

Where: X^2 = chi-square, O = Observed frequency, E = Expected frequency, Σ = Summation of the items, Df = Degree of freedom

Decision rule: Reject null hypothesis if the calculated chi-square (X^2) value is greater than the critical value and accept null hypothesis if the calculated chi-square value is less than the critical value.

4.0 Presentation of Data and Analysis

4.1 Questionnaires Administration

A total of seventy-five (75) questionnaires were administered to beneficiaries of the program in the LGA. Out of these questionnaires, sixty-one (61) were found to be correctly filled and returned and were therefore used for analysis. This figure represents 81.3% of the total number of questionnaires administered.

Table 4.1: Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

Age	F	P	Marital Status	F	P	Qualification	F	P	Occupation	F	P
20-30	6	9.8	Single	0	0	Primary School	21	34.4	Trading	8	13.1
31-40	44	72.1	Married	24	39.3	Secondary	28	45.9	Trading	8	13.1
41-50	11	18.1	Married	8	13.1	High School	1	1.6	Trading	11	18.1
51 and above			Married	2	3.3	University	1	1.6	Trading	11	18.1
Total	61	100		34	100		31	100		21	100

Source: Field Survey, 2017 F=frequency, P=percentage

The data contained in table 4.1 above shows that majority of the respondents are married women, mostly within the ages of 31 and 40 with minimal level of education (i.e. primary and secondary). As further contained in the table, a preponderance of the women are full time housewives who do not really engage in any economic activity except for a couple of them that are into petty trading.

4.2 The Empowerment Programs by the Giwa LG

This section presents responses of the respondents to questions contained in the questionnaires administered regarding their awareness as well as participation in the empowerment programs introduced by the LG.

Table 4.2: The skills acquisition programs respondents have benefitted

Program	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Formal Training	10	16.4
Non-Formal Training	8	13.1
Self-Training	4	6.6
Workshop	8	13.1
Technical Training (Vocational Training)	11	18.1
Other	10	16.4

AN IMPACT EVALUATION OF SKILLS ACQUISITION PROGRAMS ON WOMEN EMPOWERMENT IN GIWA LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA OF KADUNA STATE

*Umar, Abubakar Yaru

*Oyedele, Samuel Olanrewaju

**Nelson Gabriel

*Abdulkareem, Abdulrazaq Kayode,

&

*Ishola, Abdulrasaq Ajadi

*Department of Public Administration,

Faculty of Management Sciences

University of Ilorin, Ilorin.

**Department of Public Administration

Faculty of Administration,

Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.

Abstract

Despite the government's efforts at empowering women via skills acquisition initiatives to alleviate poverty, poverty has remained pervasive especially among women in Giwa Local Government Area of Kaduna state. This has denied them access to the basic requirements (food, shelter, clothing, education, health, etc.) necessary for a decent life and therefore leaves them at the mercy of their husbands or other male folks. This study is, therefore, an attempt to evaluate the skills acquisition programs initiated by the Giwa Local Government Area in collaboration with the state government to empower women and alleviate poverty in the area. This study adopts a survey research approach using primary data generated from both interview and questionnaires for analysis. Results showed that the programs have appreciably empowered women as the income level of a sizeable number of them have risen and they can now afford the basic necessities such as food and clothing; afford to acquire basic household items; and also afford to visit health centres for treatment when the need arises without their spouse's support. Notwithstanding, the programs are marred by poor and inconsistent funding, inadequate working tools, shortage of technical personnel and non-involvement of women in planning the programs. The study therefore recommends adequate and timely funding, engagement of qualified and experienced trainers, engagement of women in the planning and designing of the programs, provision of adequate working tools, and the provision of soft loans or microcredit.

Keywords: Skills Acquisition, Women Empowerment, Poverty Alleviation

Introduction

As a result of the age long marginalisation of women by men, women empowerment and gender equality has continued to be a dominant theme in global and regional treaties, covenants and declarations. Evidence abounds in studies that gender inequality has created wide gender gaps in many countries of the world with very devastating social, economic and health consequences on especially women who have been intensely marginalised and relegated to the background (Abegunde, 2014; Ejumudo, 2013; and Abara, 2012). The

promotion of women empowerment is now globally accepted as a development strategy for the reduction of poverty levels among women and men, improving health and living standards and enhancing efficiency of public investments (National Gender Policy, 2006). The United Nations Declaration of 2000 sees the attainment of gender equality especially through women empowerment as not only an end in itself and a human right issue, but as a prerequisite for the achievement of sustainable development. Women empowerment therefore has been generally acknowledged as very critical to the attainment of gender equality and poverty reduction.

In Nigeria, women who constitute approximately half of the about 170 million population produce about 60% of the food crops and are involved in 90% of food processing are yet the most affected by poverty (Comfort *et al*, 2013). The high level of poverty among women is a result of the unequal situation in the labour market, their subordinate status in the society and poor access to education, opportunities and resources. In view of this, they are at great disadvantage, and to ease them this burden and promote gender equality which has been recognised as pertinent to sustainable development, women empowerment strategies have been put in place by various governments at the national, state and local levels.

This research is therefore concerned with assessing the impacts of skill acquisition programs on rural women in Giwa Local Government Area as a strategy for empowering women to reduce poverty levels and improve their living standards.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Despite several efforts of the government at integrating the woman's question into the development agenda, gender inequality has remained pervasive i n Kaduna state and GiwaLocal Government Area, in particular. The unequal status and power relations between women and men in the society has perpetuated incessant and increasing level of poverty among the female folks. The high level of poverty among women especially in the rural areas has denied them access to the basic requirements (food, shelter, clothing, education, health, etc.) of a decent and desired life. Most of the women in Giwa Local Government Area of the state lack these basic life requirements and are therefore at the mercy of their husbands or other male folks. They have also been relegated to their traditional roles of home keeping with little or no income to sustain themselves and their children. Consequently, they are disempowered and denied the ability to live a decent and desired life.

In an attempt to address this situation and empower women to live a decent life, women empowerment programs have come to be a dominant development strategy aimed at reducing poverty levels among women and promoting gender equality. Giwa Local Government Area in collaboration with the state government have keyed into this development strategy and introduced skills acquisition programs as a means of empowering women to alleviate poverty. But the issue remains that, to what extent have the skills acquisition programs empowered women in the area to live a decent and desired life □ This formed the basis of the study.

1.3 Research Questions

The study raised the following questions:

- To what extent have the skills acquisition programs introduced by the Giwa LG improved income level of women in the LGA □
- To what extent have the skills acquisition programs introduced by the Giwa LG empowered women in the LGA to afford basic necessities of life □

3.1 Survey Design

The study adopted the survey research design where data were collected from population a fraction of the population through interviews and questionnaire techniques.

3.2 Population of the Study

Adult female population who are beneficiaries of the skills acquisition programs constituted the study population. The LG in collaboration with the state government have empowered a total of ninety-seven (97) women in the LGA within the period of study. (Information Office, Giwa LG Council, 2015)

3.3 Sample and Sampling Technique

The study adopted the simple random sampling technique to draw its respondents from the study population. This technique was chosen in order to afford beneficiaries equal chance of inclusion in the sample size.

In deriving its sample size from the target population of beneficiaries, the study employed the Krejcie and Morgan formula to arrive at a sample size of seventy-five (75). The formula is given as follows:

$$s = X^2 NP(1-P) \div d^2 (N-1) + X^2 P(1-P).$$

s = required sample size.

X^2 = the table value of chi-square for 1 degree of freedom at the desired confidence level (3.841).

N = the population size.

P = sample the population proportion (assumed to be .50 since this would provide the maximum size).

d = the degree of accuracy expressed as a proportion (.05) Krejcie and Morgan (1970)

3.4 Sources and Method of Data Collection

Data for the study was generated from both primary and secondary sources. Primary source of data for the study involved the conduct of interview and administration of questionnaires while secondary data source include documents, textbooks, journals and reports. The study employed interview and questionnaires to generate data for analysis. Interviews were conducted with the Director, Social Welfare of the LG and Women leader of the area. Questionnaires on the other hand were administered to adult female beneficiaries from the LGA to generate data in assessing the impact of the programs. The questionnaire is a 20 item questionnaire made up of two sections. Section A was on personal data while section B sought the opinion of respondents about the programs as well as on empowerment measures. The modified Likert type scale was used for the questions contained in the questionnaires.

3.5 Methods of Data Analysis

Data generated from the questionnaires administered were processed and presented employing descriptive statistical tools such as frequency tables and percentage. Personal data and characteristics of respondents is presented using frequency tables and simple percentage while responses of the respondents based on their opinion of the empowerment programs are computed and tabulated using frequency, percentage and mean for easy comprehension and analysis. Interview responses on the other hand were analysed qualitatively. In the test of hypotheses, the research employs the chi-square non-parametric tool. The choice of this statistical tool was its suitability for the test of dependence or otherwise of the variables contained in the hypothetical conjectures. The chi-square test statistical formula is given as

which measure the empowerment effects of specific projects and programs. Programs as specific empowerment indicators that have been used by empirical studies include: involvement in decision-making, freedom of movement, education, occupation and women's access to and control over resources (Roy & Niranjana, 2004, cited in Ibrahim & Alkire, 2007); access to basic facilities such as schooling, access to professional training and higher education, employment, property ownership, household work and decision-making (Sen, 1999); contribution to household income, access to resources, ownership of assets, participation in household decision-making, perception on gender awareness, and coping capacity to household shocks (Parveen & Leonhauser, 2004); mobility, economic security, ability to make small purchases, ability to make larger purchases, involvement in major household decisions, relative freedom from domination within the family, political and legal awareness, involvement in political campaigning and protests. (Hashemi & Schuler, 1994 cited in Ibrahim and Alkire, 2007)

As evident from the above indicators of empowerment developed by various studies to assess performance of programs and projects, one can conclude that though there are similarities in these indicators which signify power and control (agency), they cannot be applied universally. It is imperative and has therefore been the practice, as evidenced in the studies, to develop indicators based on prevalent circumstances to better ascertain the impact of programs and projects in empowering women. Appropriate indicators for measuring women empowerment should therefore be conceived within a gender system. For the purpose of this study, therefore, women empowerment is seen in the following perspectives: increase in income level; affordability of basic necessities such as food and clothing; increased contribution to family upkeep, acquisition of basic household items; and access to health facilities.

2.5 Theoretical Framework: An Empowerment Approach

The empowerment approach is adopted for the study. The approach was made prominent by the Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) in the mid-1980s. It is a relatively new approach in women and development discourse. According to Moser (1993), cited in (Tasli, 2007), the empowerment model originated from researches of the First World women and emergent feminist writings as well as grassroots organizational experience of the Third World women, particularly, DAWN. The approach points to the existing structures in societies as sources of women's subordination and marginalisation, and puts a strong emphasis on the necessity of challenging them in all areas and at all levels. It acknowledges that women do possess some power and, if mobilised, can use this power to bring about positive change.

The empowerment approach therefore involves the radical alteration of the processes and structures which produce and reproduce women's subordinate position as a gender, as well as building capabilities and creating opportunities for women to attain self-actualisation. It concentrates on programs designed to increase women's employment and income-generation (i.e. skill training) as well as their access to productive resources (i.e. credit).

The approach is relevant to this study as the skills acquisition programs by the Giwa LG in conjunction with the Kaduna state government is aimed at empowering women to reduce poverty levels and improve living standards.

3.0 Research Methodology

- iii. What are the challenges encountered in the execution of the skills acquisition programs introduced by the Giwa LG?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The central objective of the study is to examine the impacts of the skills acquisition programs introduced by the Giwa Local Government on women in the area in terms of empowering them to alleviate poverty. In achieving this, the following specific objectives are borne in mind:

- i. to determine the extent to which the skills acquisition programs introduced by the Giwa LG have improved income level of women in the LGA.
- ii. to determine the extent to which the skills acquisition programs introduced by the Giwa LG have empowered women in the LGA to afford basic necessities of life.
- iii. to identify the challenges encountered in the execution of the skills acquisition programs introduced by the Giwa LG.

1.5 Research Proposition

The study was guided by the following proposition:

H₀: the skills acquisition programs introduced by the Giwa LG council have not empowered women in the LGA to afford basic necessities of life via increase in income capacity.

1.6 Context of the Study

The study was conducted in three communities of Giwa Local Government Area of Kaduna state. The communities are Shika, Fatika and Kadage. The study focused on skills acquisition programs introduced between 2012 –2016 by the Giwa Local Government in conjunction with the state government to ameliorate the plights of women and empower them to live a decent life. The various skills acquisition programs introduced by the Local Government include milling and grinding, sewing and knitting, tie and dye, hair dressing, soap making and event management.

2.0 Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

2.1 Women Empowerment

“Empowerment” has been used to represent a wide range of concepts and to describe a proliferation of outcomes. The term, according to Malhorta *et al.* (2002), has been used more often to advocate for certain types of policies and intervention strategies than to analyse them. It is generally believed to have derived its origin from the word “power”, which involves the ability or capacity to have control over a given situation. Rowlands (1997) conceives power in four different dimensions. They are "power over", "power to", "power with", and "power from within".

According to him, power-over refers to a relationship of domination and subordination. It represents a zero sum game where the increase in power of one means the loss of power of another. This concept involves a dynamic of oppression that characterises decision-making and the way influence is wielded. A gender analysis shows that power is wielded predominantly by men over women. In terms of “power-over”, women's empowerment will therefore imply less power for men, and any change in power relations is therefore seen as necessarily involving conflict (Rowlands, 1997). This as posited by Rowlands explains why women's empowerment is sometimes seen as a threat for men. Men's fear of losing their patriarchal control constitutes an obstacle to women's empowerment. “Power-to” does not necessarily involve domination. It relates to having decision-making

authority, power to solve problems and can be creative and enabling (Oxaal and Baden 1997). According to Kabeer (2001), “power-to” refers to people's capacity to define their own life-choices and to pursue their own goals. “Power-with” involves people organising with a common purpose or common understanding to achieve collective goals while “power from within” refers to the mental and spiritual strength which stems from the inner deepness of an individual. This type of power relates in particular to self-acceptance and self-respect (Williams *et al.*, 1994). A very important quality of power-from-within, as posited by Kabeer (2001), is that such power cannot be given; it has to be self-generated. Empowerment is basically conceived in terms of power-to, power-with and power from within. It is seen less in terms of power-over.

Empowerment has so far defied a consensus definition. The term has been used by several writers and development agencies in different ways mostly to suit different situations. Kabeer (2001), quoting an NGO activist, posited that the value of the concept lies in its fuzziness which gives a breathing space to work it out in action terms before pinning it down to what it means. It is pertinent at this juncture to therefore examine some of the definitions put forward by some of these writers and development organisations.

The United Nations emphasises that empowerment should be about participation. That people must participate fully in the decisions and processes that shape their lives (HDR, 1995: 12). Moser (1993) defines empowerment as the capacity of women to increase their own self-reliance and internal strength. This is identified as the right to determine choices in life and to influence the direction of change through the ability to gain control over material and non-material resources. To Batliwala (1994), empowerment refers to the process of challenging existing power relations, and of gaining greater control over the sources of power. It is manifested as a redistribution of power between nations, classes, castes, races, and gender.

A very popular definition of empowerment was given by Kabeer (1999). To her, empowerment should be conceived in the context of disempowerment and refers to the processes by which those who have been denied the ability to make choices acquire such ability. As stated by her, it is only those who have been disempowered that can be empowered. In other words, empowerment involves a process of change which seeks to expand people's ability to make strategic life choices in a context where this ability was previously denied to them. Strategic life choices according to her refers to those critical choices which determine people living the kind of life they want such as choice of livelihood, where to live, whether to marry, who to marry, whether to have children, how many children to have, freedom of movement, etc. This ability to exercise strategic life choices, according to her, should be thought of in terms of three dimensions: resources (pre-conditions), agency (process) and achievements (outcomes). Agency represents the process by which choices are made and put into effect. It is, hence, central to the concept of empowerment. Resources are a medium through which agency is exercised and achievements refer to the outcomes of agency.

Sen et al. (1995)'s work on human capabilities stresses empowerment as both a means and an end. It is a process of developing individual capacities through gaining education, skills, etc. in order to improve the life-chances of individuals and empower them so they can have a better quality of life. He argues that poverty is an indication of the inability of people to meet their basic needs which could either be tangible (food, shelter, etc.) or intangible (agency,

achievements like participation, empowerment, and community life).

2.2 Process of Empowerment

In attempts to develop a comprehensive understanding of the empowerment process, various writers have broken down the process into several key components. According to Kabeer (1999), the empowerment process involves three inter-related dimensions: resources, which is the preconditions necessary for making choices; agency which is at the heart of the process through which choices are made; and achievements resulting from the wielding of agency, represent outcomes.

Chen (1992) describes “resources, perceptions, relationships, and power,” as the main components of empowerment. Batliwala (1994) characterizes empowerment, on the other hand, as the “control over resources and ideology”. Resources and agency (in various forms and by various names, e.g. control, awareness, voice, power), according to Malhorta *et al.* (2002), were the two most common components of empowerment emphasized in literatures of development.

In most submissions, however, resources are not treated as empowerment per se, but as catalysts for empowerment or conditions under which empowerment is likely to occur. In the perspective of policy and evaluation, as posited by Malhorta *et al.* (2002), it may be more useful to think of resources as “enabling factors”; that is, as potentially critical inputs to foster an empowerment process, rather than as part of empowerment itself. And, in fact, many of the variables that have traditionally been used as “proxies” for empowerment, such as education and employment, might be better described as “enabling factors” or “sources” of empowerment” (Kishor, 2000a) cited in Malhorta *et al.* (2002). In the context of evaluation, Malhorta *et al.* argued that achievements are best treated as outcomes of empowerment, not as empowerment per se (just as resources may be more usefully construed as enabling factors or catalysts for empowerment).

Drawing on the above discussions, one can conclude that resources are better seen as conditions that bring about the ability or capability of those who have been denied opportunity to make choices to now do so from a vantage point without severe consequences. In other words, resources should not be seen as empowerment per se but as factors needed to promote empowerment or equip the disempowered to make strategic life choices aimed at living a desired life. Women empowerment can therefore be seen as a process which seeks to expand women's capability of making strategic choices by helping them to acquire skills and knowledge, gain access to and control over productive resources, etc. which enables them to participate actively in development and live a desired life (achievement or outcome).

2.3 Measuring Empowerment

The process of empowerment is not only difficult to define and conceptualize; it is as well difficult to measure. Kabeer (1999) submits that not everyone accepts that empowerment can be clearly *defined*, let alone be measured. A problem with measuring empowerment is to find appropriate indicators. This problem becomes even more critical given the fact that different indicators are needed for measuring different levels and dimensions of empowerment. For instance, empowerment at local and national levels cannot be measured with the same indicators. Similarly, different indicators are needed for measuring individual and collective empowerment. Oxaal and Baden (1997) divided indicators of empowerment into two categories: those which measure empowerment at a broad societal level, and those

intended as constitutional organs and not merely statutory operations. (Angahar, 2013; Nchchuwe and Adejuwon, 2015).

The Fourth Schedule of the Constitution exclusively reserved functions for local Government. These include (i) collection of rates, radio and television licenses (ii) establishment and maintenance of cemeteries, burial grounds and homes for the destitute or infirm (iii) licensing of bicycles, trucks (other than mechanically propelled trucks), canoes, wheel barrows and carts (iv) establishment, maintenance and regulation of slaughter houses, slaughter slabs, markets, motor parks and public conveniences (v) construction and maintenance of roads, streets, street lightings, drains and other public highways, parks, gardens, open spaces, or such public facilities as may be prescribed from time to time by the House of Assembly of a state, etcetera. (Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria [CFRN], 1999).

The effect of the above provisions and granting of exclusive functions to Local Government Councils by the Constitution in the Fourth Schedule is that Local Government is recognized as a third tier or level of government in Nigeria. However, the Local Government Areas have been invited by the Constitution to participate in the government of the state in areas such as the provision of primary, adult and vocational education; development of agriculture and natural resources, other than the exploitation of minerals; provision and maintenance of health services; and such other functions as may be conferred on a Local Government Council by the House of Assembly of the state. (Yakubu, 2003).

Public Service and Service Delivery

Services relate both to the provision of tangible public goods and services. Service delivery forms the basis of all government activities. It involves the performance of work or duty by an official or an act of helping others, or power to control or make use of resources or an organization or system to provide the public with something useful to meet their demands (Fox et al., 1991). The act of delivery is defined as producing or performing, handing over, taking goods to the intended recipient, or producing results as promised or expected (Snellen et al., 2002). Therefore, service delivery is concerned with the provision of a product or service by the government or government body to a community that it was promised to, or which is expected by that community. Service delivery ultimately connotes the provision of public activities, benefits or satisfactions.

Nigeria operates a federal system of government with a Federal Capital Territory (Abuja), 36 States and 774 Local Governments. As component units of the federation, local governments were created in Nigeria as a third tier of government to ensure effective, reasonable and efficient service delivery to rural communities (Agba et al., 2013). Some of the services expected from Local Governments Areas as identified earlier include housing, water, rural electricity, roads and transport; and health facilities (Okoli, 2000). This implies that Nigerian local governments are expected to render cutting edge services that will foster socio-economic development and the delivery of social services to the rural communities in their jurisdiction. In view of this, how well Nigerian local governments have fulfilled their mandate has therefore become a subject of national debate, among scholars and practitioners.

Theoretical Framework

This paper adopted Gabriel Almond's model of structural functionalism as its framework. The theory contends that for a political system to survive it must perform certain functions and

disappearing. While it is not deniable that progress has been made in some areas of socio-economic and political development, particularly in the length of democratic governance, hardship in various forms remains the lot of the masses across the country. It is against this background that democratic governance in the Nigeria's fourth republic is assessed.

2. CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION

As observed by Chafe (1994:131), the primary requirement for debating anything is to understand first and foremost the actual thing being talked about. It therefore becomes expedient to situate the context in which the key words in this work are used.

2.1 Democracy

The popularity of democracy as a form of government requires no debate. The concept has become a global brand especially with the demise of society union. In spite of this development, the meaning, usage and value of the concept has remained a matter of international debate. Diamond (2008:21), for example, observes that defining democracy “is a bit like interpreting the Talmud (or any religious text): ask a room of ten rabbis (or political scientists) for the meaning, and you are likely going to get at least eleven different answers”. Democracy, like many other concepts in the social sciences does not lend itself to any clear-cut definition and it belongs into the category of those described by Gallie (1962:121–146) as “essentially contested concepts”.

According to Schumpeter (1967), the democratic method is that institutional arrangement which realizes the common good by making the people themselves diced issues through the election of individuals who are to assemble in order to carry out its will. Similarly, Huntington (1996) argued that a political system is democratic if its most powerful collective decision makers are chosen through fair, honest and periodic elections in which candidates freely compete for votes and in which virtually all the adult population is eligible to vote. It also implies the existence of all those civil and political freedoms to speak, publish, assemble and organize that are necessary for political debate and the conduct of electoral campaign. For Appadorai (1978:187), democracy represents “that form of government in which the ruling powers of a state is legally vested not in any particular class, but in the members of a community as a whole”. In the same vein, Cohen (1971) maintains that democracy is a system of community government in which, by and large, the members of the community participate directly in the making of decisions which affect them all. Ibanga (2000) looks at democracy from human right and development point of view. According to him, democracy is the superstructure upon which human rights and development are dimensioned. Where genuine democracy is established, human rights flow from it naturally.

Zakarial (2003), however, questioned the value and essence of democracy. For him, democratic governance and policy making is often dominated by short term political and electoral consideration. For example, Adebisi and Oyewo (2015) observed that democracy, especially in the developing countries, is largely a majority rule in which electoral defeat equates defeat in every sphere of life. Similarly, Ige (1983) opines that democracy is majority rule and minority right. The value of democratic governance in highly divided polities like most states in Africa has also been contested (see Lijphart, 1969 and Lewis, 1965). However, in spite of the divergent remarks and commentaries about democracy, Osaghae (1992:4)

argues that all versions of democracy share one fundamental objective: how to govern the society in such a way that power actually belongs to the people. Democracy, therefore, for the purpose of the study, is a system in which the interest of the masses is the center-piece of governmental decisions through collective decision, competition, political and economic rights, social justice, accountability and strict adherence to the rule of law.

2.2 Governance

The concept of governance like many others in the social sciences is a dynamic one. However, its definition varies from one scholar to the other. Adejumobi (1995) clearly identifies two broad dimensions of governance. First, governance implies the efficient management of state institutions. This conception is based on socio-economic performance of government or any of its institutions. For example, The World Bank (1992:1) defines governance “as the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development”.

The second conceptual notion of governance has to do with the steering of society and the state towards the realization of collective goals (Adejumobi, 1995). This dimension certainly makes governance a community 'affair'. It was on this basis that Hyden (1995:246) refers to governance as “the use of political authority to promote and enhance societal values”. In a related development, Landell-Mills and Serageldin (1991) opine that governance has both political and technical dimension. They define certain aspects such as genuine political commitment as the political dimension, and efficient public administration as the technical dimensions of governance. However, regardless of the angle from which the concept is used, Governance is concerned with efficiency in the use or allocation of resources in the interest of the generality of the people.

Governance in the context of this paper is defined as the process of allocating resources, through the instrumentalities of the state, for the attainment of public good. Thus, governance includes institutional and structural arrangements, decision making processes, policy formulation and implementation capacity, development of personnel, information flows and the nature and style of leadership within a political system. Hence, governance is largely about problem identification and solving. It is also about social, economic and political progress or advancement. Consequently, governance has social, economic, administrative and political dimensions. (World Bank Institute, 2003).

2.3 Democratic Governance

Democratic governance has its meaning embedded in democracy and governance. It connotes authoritative and optimal use of resources according to the popular will. Democratic governance represents the exercise of state power with the consent of the people either directly or indirectly through their elected representatives (Bello-imam & Obadan 2004:2). It is a system of government where institutions function according to democratic processes and norms, both internally and in their interaction with other institutions. For Bevir (2011), democratic governance entails the conception of society as composed of networks and markets which, one way or the other, function to constitute a form of democratic social order. This form of social order is wrapped in preference for minimal state based on economic 'technocrative' and bureaucratized role by experts.

democratic governance in 1999, has become a subject of national debate, among scholars and practitioners. To say the least, their operations have come under serious criticisms with some persons calling for the scrapping of the third tier of government. Local government service delivery has continued to dwindle despite financial allocations (Agba et al., 2013). The question that readily comes to mind is why have local governments not realized their potential to enhance public service delivery at the grassroots? How can the potential of local government in enhancing service delivery be unlocked?

A lot of literature exists on the causes of abysmal performance by the local governments in Nigeria. The reasons commonly adduced are inadequate finance, lack of accountability, dearth of skilled manpower; and lack of autonomy, etc. This paper tries to determine if abuse of supervisory powers of the state government over the local government under the 1999 Constitution retards service delivery at the local government level. Though it may be argued, and rightly so, that provision of a legal framework that will check such abuse if it exists will ultimately enhance the autonomy of local government, the focus of this paper is not on the measure of powers and functions the central or state government should grant to the local units within the Nigeria political system; or whether or not the local government should operate independent of both the state and federal government. The paper rather seeks to identify the areas in which state government abuse its supervisory powers over the local government; and determine the implication of the abuse on local government service delivery.

Objectives

The aim of this paper is to achieve the following objectives:

- (i) to examine the relationship between State and Local Government in Nigeria under the 1999 Constitution;
- (ii) to assess the performance of Local governments in the area of public service delivery since the return to Constitutional Governance in Nigeria on May 29, 1999;
- (iii) to determine the extent to which undue interference in Local Government affairs by State Government affects public service delivery at the local level; and
- (iv) to recommend measures that can be taken to position local government in Nigeria to render social services in a timely, effective, and satisfactory manner to justify their third tier status and huge financial allocations to them.

Conceptual Clarification

Local Government: Black Law Dictionary (1990) has defined the expression "Local Government to mean "City, County, or other governing body at a level smaller than State". Though this definition which highlights the status of local government in hierarchical structure of government is strictly applicable to a country with a federal system of government, this does not mean that unitary states do not have local government (Akintayo, 1997). Britain and France are examples of unitary states where the local government system thrives (Price, 1975). A functional definition of local government provided by Golding (1975) is "the management of their own affairs by the people of a locality. This definition underscores the democratic aspect of local government and its scope of operation; that is within a locality. The status of local governments varies from one country to another. In Nigeria they are

STATE-LOCAL RELATIONS IN NIGERIA AND ITS IMPLICATION ON PUBLIC SERVICE DELIVERY AT THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT LEVEL

VAMBE, JEREMIAH TERSUR (Ph.D.)

Department of Public Administration

University of Abuja, Abuja-Nigeria

tervambe@yahoo.com

ABSTRACT

The opinion of many scholars and practitioners is that public service delivery at the local government level in Nigeria has continued to dwindle since the return to democracy in 1999, despite federal allocations to the local government. Lack of finance, autonomy and qualified personnel are among many factors that have been identified as reasons for this situation. Using Gabriel Almond's Structural-Functionalism as a theoretical basis, and relying on secondary data and contextual analysis, the paper undertook a State-Local relations assessment and contends that local governments have not been able to maximize their potentials as third tiers of government due to actions of state governments in interpreting the ambiguous provisions of the 1999 Constitution leading to conflict in sources of revenue and general administration; dissolution of council and the whittling of the powers of the Chairmen. The paper concludes that the low level of development at the grassroots is essentially due to the skewed State-Local government relations. The paper recommends that Section 7 of the 1999 Constitution should be reviewed to precisely define the oversight powers of states over local governments to prevent arbitrary dissolution of local government councils; local government allocations should be contained in the "Consolidated Account" and be directly disbursed by the federal government under the supervision of the National Assembly; political actors at the state and local government levels should be willing to allow their actions to be guided by the letters and spirit of the 1999 Constitution.

KEYWORDS: Constitution, State Government, Local Government, Public Service, Relationship.

Introduction

The primary body established by the 1999 Constitution for the conduct of affairs of each Local Government Area in Nigeria is the Local Government Council. As creatures of a third tier of government, local governments are constitutionally mandated to perform basic functions: to provide machinery for the discussion of local needs and for the provisions of corresponding services within the competence and capability of the local area; to provide machinery for the execution at the local level of state and federal government policy; to provide a consensus mechanism for the resolution of conflicts of interest at the local level; and to provide training ground for political participation and articulation (Okoli, 2000). This implies that local governments in Nigeria are expected to render essential services that will promote socio-economic development of the people at the local level. The extent to which local governments have sufficiently carried out their mandated functions, since the return to

2.4 Legitimacy

The concept of legitimacy is similarly not amenable to a clear-cut definition. However, the concept is often applied to the question of how power is acquired and used. Friedrer (1980), for example, opines that legitimacy involves explicit or implicit justification for the authority developed on order, on the one hand, and the development of a concomitant sense of obligation on the part of subjects or citizens, on the other hand, on a more pragmatic level. It is on the basis of this that Finer (1961) defines it as a fundamental element in the authority exercised by government. Similarly, Amuwo (1993) describes legitimacy as a salient concept with which students of politics deal. It qualifies power and renders it acceptable. It makes power a societal possession. It defines and delimits the context, content and contours of state-civil society relations. Legitimacy is, therefore, a dependent variable produced by effective governance.

Frederick (2001) provides a clearer insight into the meaning of legitimacy. According to him, legitimacy as a political concept is inherently complex in that it involves at least three distinguishable components: the electoral (constitutional) right to rule; the procedural (normative) rightfulness in the exercise of rule; and substantive (teleological) rightness in the ends of rule. Each of these components is in truth a separate issue that entails problems of its own. The problems with the use of power appear to be more germane for the study. For example, Jemibewon (1978) observes that the masses of the people as a whole are not interested in deciding forms of government, but in seeing that, in whatever form of government that comes to power, their happiness and general welfare are promoted.

2.5 Corruption

Otite (1986:12) defines corruption as “the perversion of integrity or state of affairs through bribery, favor, or moral depravity...” For Akinseye-George (2000), corruption represents all forms of improper or selfish exercise of power and influence attached to a public as well as private office. sees it as a behaviour which deviates from the formal duties of a public role because of private (regarding close family, personal, private clique) pecuniary or status gains, or violates rules against the exercise of certain types of public action. Tanzi (1995:24) also defines corruption as “the intentional non-compliance with the principle of arms-length relationship which states that personal or family relationship ought not to play a role in economic decision by private economic agents or government officials”. Thus, corruption is a behavioural issue which permeates every facet human life.

However, corruption at the corridors of power (political corruption) seems to be preponderant in Nigeria. As noted by Joseph (1987), “there is an established pattern of political behavior that justifies the pursuit of the use of public office for the personal benefit of an office holder and his clients in Nigeria and the official public purpose of government office has become a secondary concern”.

3.1 Corruption and Legitimacy in Nigeria

Governance in Nigeria is akin to a feast of corruption. Both military and civilian regimes are rivals in terms of abuse of office and corrupt enrichment. The first military coup in the country was premised on corrupt practices by the politicians among other reasons (Ademoyega, 1981). Also, a former dictator, General Ibrahim Babangida, once said of

democratic governance in Nigeria: “if Nigeria's political class had learned anything after thirteen years of military rule, it must have been how to mismanage the economy in a more damaging fashion...” Although, Babangida himself is seen as one notorious culprit in the mismanagement he talked about, his position was validated by Ogunsanwo (2015). According to him, “between 1999 when civilian administration was restored and 2015, Nigeria earned from oil and gas exportation more dollars than we earned from other sources between 1914 and 1999”, yet there was not much to show for it.

Large chunk of the government revenue has always ended in private purse in Nigeria. For example, 55 cases of corruption and related matters amounting to several billions of naira were completed by the Lagos and Abuja offices of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) between 2003 and 2008 (Ishiekwene, 2008). In its 2014 transparency international corruption perception index of 2014, Nigeria was rated 136th of 174 most corrupt country in the world and third in West Africa. According to Kesselman et al. (2013:553), “much of the \$12.2 billion oil windfall of early 1990s is believed to have been pocketed by Babangida and senior members of his regime. General Abacha diverted at least \$5 billion from the Nigerian central bank, and President Obasanjo and members of his administration were questioned for the disappearance of more than \$10 billion into the power sector alone”. It is therefore not surprising that Ogunsanwo (2015) describes the country as a cesspool of waste and corruption.

Corruption has a very damaging impact on the government-governed relationship. It erodes confidence in government and also constitutes a major disincentive for all types of investment. According to Obasanjo (2005), “corruption compromises national development, contaminates collective morality and value, distorts national planning, corrodes integrity and discipline, and destroys the foundation of creativity, innovation and democratic structure and development”.

3.2 Democratic Governance and Legitimacy in Nigeria

Ogundiya (2010:205) observes that “there is a convergence of opinion that democracy as is currently practiced in Nigeria has produced unpalatable result”. This assertion is borne out of the fact that corruption, extreme poverty, high unemployment rate, general insecurity and other negative indicators of development remained the core features of the Nigerian political life. The Nigerian situation appears to be a standard of paradox in an English text. In spite of the huge revenue accruable to the country in the Fourth Republic and series of reforms in the public service, Nigerians are still grappling with, perhaps more than ever, problems of high incidence of poverty, infrastructural deficit (notably power supply and roads), and general insecurity, among others.

There were a number of giant strides targeted at the economy which resulted into economic growth in the early life of the fourth republic. For example, “the country' was able to increase her external reserve of about \$4 billion in 1994 to over \$42 billion in 2007. However, the efforts did not impact positively on the lives of ordinary citizens” (Yagboyaju, 2010: 146–147). Afeikhena (2004), however, observes that significant improvement in the living standards, which is anchored on sustainable economic progress and good governance, seems to be far away. The World Bank president, Tim Yong Kim, in 2014 stated that Nigeria remains one of the five countries that have the largest number of poor people. This assertion is further buttressed by a data from the National Bureau of Statistics for the 2012. The data indicates an

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Agbonifoh, B. A., Agbadudu, A. B., and Iyayi, F. I. O. (2005). *Management: A Nigerian Perspective*. Lagos: Malthouse Press Ltd.
- Agburu, I. J. (2012). “Recent Trends in Wage and Salary Administration in Nigeria: A Synopsis on Theoretical and Empirical Challenges”: *International Journal of Basic and Applied Sciences*.
- Akindele, R. I. (2008). *Fundamentals of Human Resource Management*. Ile-Ife: Ceder Publication.
- Atchison, T. J. (2003). *Wage and Salary Administration in Personnel Administration*
- Emony, W. (1980) *Business Research Methods*. Revised edition Richard, D. Irwin, Homewood, Illinois, U.S.A. pp. 21–29.
- Furth, R. (2006). “Zambia Pilot Study of Performance-Based Incentives – Operations Research Results”
- Gellerman, S. W. (1968). *Motivating Men with Money*. McGraw-Hill Book Company,
- Jackson, J. M. (1980). *Wages and Labor Economics*. 5th edition Suffole: Richard Clay Limited. Pp.128–142
- Luthan, T. (1973). *Organization Behavior*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.
- Martin, P. (1961). *The Choice of Wages Comparison*. New York: Prentice-Hall Inc. Engle wood
- Ngu, S. M. (2005). *Management Principles and Worker's Motivation in Nigeria*. Department of Public Administration, ABU, Zaria.
- Nwachukwu, C. C. (2000). *Human Resources Management*. Port-Harcourt: University of Port-Harcourt Press
- Ogunbameru, O. A. (2004). *Organizational Dynamics*. Abuja: Spectrum Books Ltd.
- Pigor and Myers. (1979). *Personnel Administration: A Point of View and Method*. 9th edition New York: Mac-Hill Book Company. pp. 225–346; pp. 21–25
- Wignaraja, K. (2006). 'Incentive Systems: Incentives, Motivations, and Development Performance'. UNDP Conference Working Paper 8, November.

Summary, Conclusion and Recommendation

The main purpose of this study is to evaluate the effects of wages and salaries administration on workers' performances, using MTN Telecommunications in South Western Nigeria. The problems, roles, advantages and the impact of wages and salaries administration have been highlighted and critically examined. In the course of the research, it was discovered that management's attitude towards the administration wages and salaries is positive, that wages and salaries increments have impact on satisfaction, and that there exists a relationship between the motivational factor (wages and salaries administration) and the organizational goals.

Data for the study area were collected from the respondents, a questionnaire was drafted and copies were distributed to each department of the company. The questionnaires, after being administered, were then analysed using descriptive and inferential statistics methods. It was revealed that wages and salaries administration is an important type of motivation, which can encourage or discourage workers to give their best to their organisation, thereby increasing or decreasing the performance, as the case may be. The following conclusions were drawn from the study:

- That the management's reactions have always been moderately positive towards wages and salaries increment.
- Those in the sales department are being paid bonus for a specific number of sales met, and this has a positive effect on their performances.
- Those in the cost control department are being paid bonus for being able to minimize the cost of the production of a specific output and this has a positive effect on their performances.
- A greater percentage of the workers admitted that they are being paid their allowances as at when due.
- A greater percentage of the workers admitted that the wages and salaries increment have impact on their satisfaction.
- From the above conclusions, therefore, the following recommendations were made:
 - That the management should improve on its attitude towards the administration of wages and salaries.
 - In view of the fact that wages and salaries are motivational tools, all managers and employers of labor should endeavor to employ it at all times in order to achieve the set objectives. It is also recommended that the management of MTN should continue to pay equitable wages and salaries to employees of the same level. This is necessary if the company is to achieve the best from them.
- In the light of the fact that employees are satisfied with their present wages and salaries, management should do everything possible to keep this pace in order to further boost the morale of the employees.
- Management should make it a point of duty to review the salary structure periodically in order to bring it in line with the cost of living. If this can be done, there would be a reduction in the trade dispute and the rapport between the management and the employees would also be improved.
- Job evaluation should be carried out as regular as possible. This would encourage standard and uniform way of remuneration.

average of 51.35% of extreme poverty across the country. Without prejudice to the concept of “electoral” democracy, of higher importance is the essence of power in a political system. Democracy is a means to an end, and never an end itself. Cohen (2015) observes that elections do not necessarily translate to good governance. The question of popularity transcends electoral victory; the exercise of power is what actually endears a government to the mind of citizens. It is on the basis of this that Laski (2004: 99) opines that “a state must give to man their due as man, before it can demand at least justice, their loyalty”. It therefore follows that the extent to which a government is able to address the need of the people determines the extent of its legitimacy. Linz & Stepan (1996) also stresses that legitimacy must be more than a commitment to democracy in the abstract; it must also involve a shared normative and specific rules and practices of the country's constitutional system.

4 Concluding Remarks

Effectiveness of the performance of government affects its legitimacy in the world over. From the federal to local government in Nigeria, public resources are directed into private use; every government official appears to be helping himself. Social services provision have been compromised, state owned enterprises are gone, and budget implementation has been unimpressive for years. These have largely jeopardized public assessment of democratic government in Nigeria. Therefore, democratic governance in Nigeria has to be pushed beyond electoral democracy. Public resources must be put to use in the interest of the masses in a transparent manner for this democratic experience to be sustainable. Political corruption must be sincerely dealt with in order to free more resources for development because, as Kesselman et al. (2013:553) observes, “as long as prebendalism (corruption) remains the norm, a stable democracy will be elusive”.

The paper, therefore, concludes that for democratic governance to be legitimate, it has to engender general improvement in the life of the people through good governance. As noted by Landell Mills and Serageldin, there exists an inverse relationship between good governance and legitimacy because “good governance depends on the extent to which government is perceived and accepted as legitimate, committed to improving the public welfare and responsive to the needs of its citizens, competent to assure law and order and deliver public services and able to create an enabling environment for productive activities and equitable in its conduct”. (1992:310-311).

REFERENCES

Acemoglu, D. and Robinson, J. (2013). *Why Nations Fail: the Origin of Power, Prosperity and Poverty*. London: Profile Books

Adebisi, K. S. and Oyewo, O. O. (2015). “Prisons and Security Challenges in a Democratic Nigeria”: *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences* Vol.5, No. 6, 2015. Pp. 124–129.

Adejumobi, G. (1995). “On Declining Virtues”: The Guardian, UK.

Ademoyega, A. (1981). *Why We Struck: The Story of the First Nigerian Coup*. Ibadan: Evans Brothers.

- Afeikhena, J. (2011). Infrastructure, Economic Growth and Poverty Reduction in Africa
- Akinseye-George (2000). *Legal System, Corruption and Governance in Nigeria*. Lagos: New Century Law Publishers.
- Appadorai, A. (1978). *The Substance of Politics*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Babangida, I. (2005). In Davidson, B. Black Man's Burden: Africa and the Curse of the Nation-State. Ibadan: Spectrum Books.
- Bevir, M. (2011). "Democratic Governance": *The Journal of Politics*. Vol. 73, no. 4, pp. 1281–1282.
- Chafe, K. S. (1994). "The Problematic of African Democracy: Experiences from the Political Transition in Nigeria": in *Afrika Zamani Special Issue on Historical Heritage and Democratization in Africa*, New Series, No. 2, July.
- Cohen, H. J. (2015). Congo Kinshasa: Danger Looms in DRC as Kabila Maneuvers to Remain in Power. All Africa.com
- Cohen, C. (1971). *Democracy*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.
- Cromatie, A. (2003). "Legitimacy": in R. Bellomy & A. Mason (Eds.) *Political Concepts* (pp. 93–104). Manchester university press. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/jcct155jbcx.12>.
- Diamond, L. (2008). *The Spirit of Democracy*. New York: Henry Holt and co.
- Ekeh, P. (1998). "Theory and Curse of Military Rule and the Transition Program": Retrieved from www.waado.org/nigerian-scholars/archive/opinion/theory.html
- Fine, r S. E. (1967). *The Man on the Horse Back: the Role of the Military in Politics*. London: Pall Mall Press.
- Frederick, M. B. (2001). "Legitimacy and Democracy": *In Democratic Legitimacy: Plural Values and Political Power*. Pp. 26–42. Mc Gill–Queen's University press.
- Gallie, W. B. (1956). "Arts as an Essentially Contested Concept": *The Philosophical Quarterly*, Vol. No. 23, pp. 79–114
- Goldhammer, A. (2011). "The legitimacy of Establishment": *Democratic legitimacy impartiality, Reflexivity, proximity, 17–32*. Princeton University Press.
- Huntington, S. P. (1996). "Democracy for the Long Hall": *Journal of Democracy* Vol. 1 No. 2.
- Hyden, G. (1995). "Assisting the Growth of Civil Society: How it Might be Improved": *Uppsala Studies in Democracy*, No. 10, Uppsala: Department of Government, Uppsala.
- Hyden G. (1992). "Governance and Study of Politics in Africa": in Hyden G. and Bratton M. (eds).1992. *Governance and Politics in Africa*. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers
- Ishiekewene, A. (2008). *The Trial of Nuhu Ribadu- A Riveting Story of Nigeria's Anti-Corruption War*. Ibadan: Spectrum, pp.125–137
- Jemibewon, D. (1998). *A Combatant in Government*. Ibadan: Heineman Books Ltd.
- Joseph, R. A. (1987). *Democracy and Prebendal Politics in Nigeria: the Rise and Fall of the Second Republic*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.
- Kesselman, J.; Krieger J.; and Joseph W. A. (2013). *Introduction to Comparative Politics: Political Challenges and Changing Agendas*. U S: Wadsworth, Centage Learning.

8		Yes	0	1	1	2
8		No	3	0	0	3
11		Yes	9	12	10	31
11		No	6	3	0	9
			36	32	22	90

Source: field work 2016

Table 4 Expected

Low level	Middle level	High level	Total
10	8.9	6.1	25
6	5.3	3.7	15
2	1.8	1.2	5
0	0	0	0
0.8	0.7	0.5	2
1.2	1.7	0.7	3
12.4	11	7.6	31
3.6	3.2	2.2	9
			90

Conclusion and decision making

Since $\chi^2 = 37.8$

$\chi^2_{(14, 0.05)} = 23.68$

Findings: From the χ^2 distribution table, the value of χ^2 @ 5% level of significance and 14 df is 23.68. Since χ^2 observed or calculated is 37.8 i.e. greater than $\chi^2_{(14, 0.05)} = 23.68$, the null hypothesis that there is no relationship between wages and salaries increment and satisfaction was rejected, while the alternative will be accepted.

Table 5 Observed

Level	Yes	No	Indifference	Total
Low level	110	20	20	150
Middle level	140	10	0	150
High level	100	0	0	100
	350	30	20	400

Table 6 Expected

Level	Yes	No	Indifference	Total
Low level	130	10	10	150
Middle level	130	10	10	150
High level	80	10	10	100
				400

Findings: From the χ^2 distribution table, the value of χ^2 @ 5% level of significance and 4 df is 9.48. Since χ^2 observed or calculated is 5.53 i.e. less than $\chi^2_{(4, 0.05)} = 9.48$, the null hypothesis that there is no relationship between the motivational factor and the achievement of organizational goals.

e_i represents expected value.

Results

The first objective that considered the determination of attitudes of management towards wages and salary administration was analyzed through chi-square.

Table 1 Chi-square Test Statistics

Attitude of Managers

	Frequency	%	Mean	Standard	Standard Dev.
Lower level Managers	147	97.5	15.50	0.484	2.256
Middle level Managers	148	99.3	16.21	0.185	2.391
High level Managers	149	100	18.24	0.197	2.256
Total Score					

Table I Observed

Level	Highly	Moderately	Lowly	Total
Low level	120	80	0	150
Middle level	100	40	10	150
High level	100	10	0	100
Total	320	80	10	400

Source: field work 2016

Table 2 Expected

Level	Highly	Moderately	Lowly	Total
Low level	120	20.6	9.4	150
Middle level	120	20.6	9.4	150
High level	80	10.8	9.2	100
				400

Conclusion and decision-making

Since $\chi^2_c = 29.08$

$\chi^2_t(4, 0.05) = 9.48$

Findings: From the χ^2 distribution table, the value of χ^2 @ 5% level of significance ad df is 9.48. Since χ^2 observed or calculated (29.08) is greater than $\chi^2(0.05): 9.48$, the alternative hypothesis that the management has a positive attitude towards wages and salaries administration, is accepted while the null hypothesis is rejected.

Table 3 Observed

Questions		Optimum	Low level	Middle level	High level	Total
4		Yes	15	10	0	25
4		No	0	5	10	15
6		Yes	3	1	1	5
6		No	0	0	0	0

Landell-Mills, P. and Serageldin, I. (1991). *Governance and the External Factor*. Washington: Wold Bank Annual Conference.

Laski, H. (2004). *Grammar of Politics*. India: Surjet Publications

Lewis, W. A. (1965). *Politics of West African*. London: George Allen and Urwin.

Lijphart, A. (1994). *Democracies: Pattern of Majoritarian and Consensus Government in Twenty One Century*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Linz, J. and Stepan, A. (1996): Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

National Bureau of Statistics (2012). www.nigeriastat.gov.ng

Nye, J. S. (1967). "Corruption and Political Development: A Cost-benefit analysis": *Political Sci. Rev.* 161: 417-427

Obasanjo, O. (2005). "A Warning Signal to Corrupt Officials": The PUNCH, Wed; March 23, pp. 64-65.

Ogundiya, I. S. (2010). "Democracy and Good Governance: Nigeria's Dilemma": *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations* Vol. 4(6), pp. 201-208, June 2010.

Ogunsanwo, A. (2015). *Slaying the Supreme Commander: A Sine Qua Non for Nigeria's Dev. And Progress*. Ibadan: Oluben Printers.

Osagae, E. (1992): Ethnicity and Democracy in Fasoro A. et al. (eds) Understanding Democracy. Ibadan: Book Craft. Pp40-63.

Otite, O. (1986). "On the Sociological Study of Corruption": In Odekunle, F. (ed.) *Corruption in Development*. Ibadan: University Press.

Scumpeter, J. (1967). "Two Concepts of Democracy": In *Political Philosophy*, Quinton, A. (ed.) London: Oxford University Press.

Tanzi, V. (1995). "Corruption, Government Activities and Markets": *Finance and Development*. December. 24-26.

Transparency International Corruption Perception Index, 2016.

World corruption ranking by world audit. Org. 2014. (www.worldaudit.org)

Yagboyaju, D. A. (2010). *The State and Governance Crisis in Nigeria: A Comparative Approach*. Ibadan: College Press and Publishers.

Zakaria, F. (2003). *The Future of Freedom: Illiberal Democracy at Home and Abroad*. New York: W.W. Norton

Administrative Reforms in the Nigerian Civil Service: A Re-Examination

Igbokwe Philomenalfy (Ph.D.)

Department of Public Administration
Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife
ifynickigbokwe@yahoo.com

Abstract

The paper examined the various administrative reforms and identified the factors necessitating the reforms in Nigeria. This was with a view to providing information on why the need for administrative reforms in Nigeria. Primary and secondary sources of data collection were utilized for the study. Primary data were collected through the conduct of in-depth interviews and administration of questionnaires. Secondary data were sourced from relevant journals on the Nigerian Administrative reforms, theses and dissertations, books, archival records, internet and government publications. Data collected were analyzed using descriptive and inferential statistics. The results showed that 34 administrative reforms, such as the Adebo (1970); Udoji (1972); Phillips (1988); and Obasanjo (1999); reforms, to mention just a few, have been implemented in Nigeria and were examined in this study. The results also showed that socio-economic cum political factors, such as the demand from workers for increased wages (95%) and the need for more efficient service delivery, necessitated the administrative reforms. The study concluded that administrative reform is a common practice all over the world. Nature is constantly changing, changing in form and function, which explains the dynamism of human societies. These changes can be in the form of needs or values which would be addressed by reforms at different levels.

Keywords: Administration, Reform, Civil Service, Policy and Performance.

INTRODUCTION

Reform stands for initiatives directed towards the eradication of abuses or distortions in the existing system (Allen, 2004). For all practical purposes, these entail restructuring, reorganisation or renovation. These activities, in turn, entail structural realignment of the existing system in the light of the current needs and new demands of change to suit the ideological or socio-economical environment. Such changes could also assume dimensions that are much more deep-seated entailing the reconstruction of existing system in the light of the current needs and demands. (Krueger, 1993) Just as increasing productivity is a constant concern of business management, so is reform to enhancing efficiency in the public service and the way the business of Government is managed, a never-ending concern of public administration (Beetham, 1987). Administrative reforms provide opportunity for a re-examination of the structure, processes, techniques and management practices in use in an organisation (Adamolekun, 1989). They are designed to breathe a fresh air into the system with a view to revitalizing it. They are intended to make it more efficient in resource provision and utilization. Administrative reforms are therefore occasions for the general review of the entire organisation and for prescribing necessary remedial measures. (Awa, 1996) Reform refers to the process of aligning public service structures; systems and processes; human and material resources to government policies, targets and plans (Dreary,

which he shares the benefits of any increased output. An incentive to increase output can only be effective if a man is free to adjust his rate of work. A worker who has all the tools and materials at hand, and is left to get on with the job at his rate, may feel it is worth his while to make extra effort if by doing so he can increase his earnings. If, however, his job contains or performing certain operations on a product as it moves along the production line, he is powerless to work at any other rate than that determined by the line. If he cannot complete the required operations on one article before the next reaches him, he will disrupt the work of the whole production line and he will probably be sacked.

There are several factors that explain the gap between the basic time rate negotiated by collective bargaining and the amount men actually earn. Employers may sometimes pay time rates that are higher than the minimum or basic rates negotiated. Overtime rates may supplement earnings. Not only are men paid more, because they have worked longer hours, they are paid a premium for the hours of overtime. Hours worked beyond the normal length of the working week may be paid at a time and a quarter or time and a half with perhaps double time for sundry work. The overtime premium may be paid for working beyond the normal day, or on Sunday, even when total hours worked are not in excess of the normal week.

Methodology

This study deals basically with the effects of wages and salaries administration on workers' performances, using MTN Communication Limited as a case study. The research work is extended to every department of the company and it also cuts across all the levels of the workers (i.e. the people in the executive positions, middle level managers and supervisors). The population of the study is the entire work force of MTN Telecommunication in South Western Nigeria totaling four thousand seven hundred and twenty. Due to the constraints like time, money and some others, a sample size of four hundred (400) workers were randomly chosen.

The sampling procedure employed is the random sampling technique, whereby every member of each department was given equal opportunity of being chosen. The sample unit was made up of the employees of MTN Communications in South Western Nigeria. MTN was chosen because of its wider coverage, relative greater number of subscribers and being in existence for more than five years of operation within and outside Nigeria. The staff of the company could be categorized into two: the junior staff and senior staff. The study is aimed at interviewing five respondents from each department. The number sample is 400 and this was because it would be a waste of time and money working on the whole population. Primary data was collected through the questionnaires distributed to the staff of MTN Communications and personal interview with head of units. Secondary data were gathered from works that have been done in this subject area.

The research instruments used in obtaining the relevant information in respect of this study were questionnaire and interviews. A descriptive method of statistical analysis was carried out to examine the effects of wages and salaries administration on workers performances. The non-parametric statistical test chi-square was used to test the formulated hypotheses. The symbolic representation of chi-square is given below:

$$X^2 = \sum (oi - ei)^2 / ei$$

Where: oi represents observed value

relatedness. It entails using certain yardsticks to determine the elative worth of various jobs. Once the relative worth of a job is to be determined by job evaluation, the actual amount to be paid must be determined. A major factor in making such decision is the survey of wages and salaries. Since wages and salaries particular to other firms have an effect on the selection, moral and retention of employees, attention is ordinarily given to the prevailing wages level in the community or jobs, while industries are compared for determining management salary.

Wages Criteria

Dunn and Rachael (1971) stated that is necessary to have a yardstick for establishing an organization wages level and this is what the various wages criteria attempt to provide, among others:

- The result of wages survey conducted either in the geographical area or in the industry.
- The consumer price index published by the government. It is commonly used to adjust wages level to cost of living changes on a periodical basis.
- Various ideal family budgets that specify the living wages level required to maintain a standard of living judged to be adequate.
- Company's profit figures for the immediate preceding period which is considered indicative of the ability to pay.
- Index of physical productivity for certain industries and for the economy as a whole.
- Company turnover statistics, position, data and unemployment rates in the area. The combination provides information relative to recruiting difficulties and labor shortages.

The normal structure can be established entirely on the basis of these surveys. The difference here is that the pay for any given job would vary from company to company, depending largely on the significance of the job for the operation of the particular company.

Methods of Wages and Salaries Payment

There are two main methods of payment in the British industry (Agburu, 2012 and Jackson, 1958). Workers may be paid according to “the length of time they work”, or according to the “amount they produce”, with the possibility of some combination of the two methods. For most workers there is a basic time rate of pay. Many manual workers, however, are on payment by results (PBR), and their earnings under piecework, or other PBR schemes, maybe far greater than their basic time rates. Nearly all manual workers and many of the lower grade white collar workers are paid overtime, but in the higher ranks of the white collar workers a man may be expected to work whatever hours are necessary in return for the appropriate salary. Overtime is not the most important factor in explaining the gap between basic rates and earnings neither are such special payments given to shift workers in recompense for the inconvenience of this type of work. The most important factor is payment by results. Often PBR schemes have been introduced to provide an incentive for the workers to increase their output, but in many instances the real purpose would seem to be that of raising wages to a reasonable level when the basic rates negotiated are unrealistically low.

Payment by results is clearly an important element in our wages structure and call for closer examination. For the most part, they have been ignored in the theoretical models of wages determination. These tactically assume a time rate method of wage payment, a simple rate of so much per hour, day, week or month, as the case may be. The models take no account of the possibility that a man's productivity is not fixed, but may vary according to the degree to

1988). The underlying principles require that it is only when comprehensive plans have been prepared that it will be possible to determine the appropriate configurations of public sector organisations to implement them. In other words, reform is, essentially, changing the way government does its work in view of current or anticipated reality or a desired state (National Economic Empowerment and Development StrategyManual, 2004). Tukur (1999) referred to administrative reform as any systematic changes in the administrative system–design that lead to more efficient, effective and responsive administration. Reforms must be geared towards the achievement of national objectives. (Camden, 1969)

Between 1934 and 2007, not less than twenty three reforms have been carried out in Nigeria. They included the Hunt Commission (1934), the Harragin Commission (1945), the Foot Commission (1948), Philipson Adebo Commission (1954), the Gorsuch Commission (1954) and Mbanefo Commission (1959). Others were: the Morgan Commission (1963), the Elwood Commission (1966), the Adebo Commission (1971), the Udoji Commission (1974), The Dotun Philips Commission (1988), the Allison Ayida Commission (1995) and the Obasanjo reform (1999–2007). Conducting administrative reforms in any civil service is a common practice all over the world. Reform is really not about investing more resources, but building institutional capabilities and workforce capacity in the public service to mobilise and manage available resources to ensure increased investment results in better services and improved outcomes (Olaopa, 2008). As a reform instrumentality, the civil service Commissions/Panels/Committees are utilized by the political leadership to evaluate the public service for a desired change, which may be comprehensive, radical or incremental (Fabian, 1964). The final decision on the acceptance or rejection of recommendations in the form of a white paper is that of Government and, therefore, is political. If the political leadership is not committed, then, little or nothing will be achieved (Baker, 1972). Based on the foregoing, this paper examines the various administrative reforms in Nigeria.

LITERATURE REVIEW: AN OVERVIEW OF ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS

Apart from the Dotun Philips and the Allison Ayida study groups which specifically examined civil service structure and conditions of work, all the others had salaries and wages review as their specific focus. The issue of size and growth had not been their primary concern. Even where the Adebo commission recommended in 1970 that the matter should be comprehensively studied, no such reform has so far been embarked upon in respect of all jobs in the Nigerian civil service. The fire brigade measures taken on a sporadic basis to flush out ghost workers through staff audits and other investigations have at best remained cosmetic and surface scratching. The fundamental problem of overblown size and endemic corruption of staff is noted from one regime to another. The incidence of ghost workers has assumed a frightening proportion as revealed in the Awosanya and Williams reports on Federal Staff Audit which they respectively carried out.

Summary of Past Administrative reforms

The Harragin Commission (1946) established the senior and junior services categories and set up terms and conditions of service for the two categories.

The Gorsuch Commission (1955) introduced the dichotomy in the civil service relating to the administrative and professional cadres. It also set up a five grade service structure which essentially constituted the basis of the Federal Civil Service. It further dealt with a revised salary structure scheme, organisation, methods and levels of authority. Its terms were:

- (a) To enquire into the structure and remuneration of the civil service with special references to problems arising from constitutional changes proposed at the conference of Nigeria's constitution. The outcome of the commission was that the civil service was a stratified one with the fact that the top stratum was extensively occupied by Europeans while the bottom stratum was taken by Nigerians. The submission of the commission was that the structure of the organisation was not in harmony with normal organisation.

- (b) To establish another commission that will look into salary and wages review.

The Newns Report (1959) was primarily concerned with the administrative machinery for the control of government expenditure, including the role and function of permanent secretaries.

The Mbanefo Report (1959) reviewed salaries and wages and the effect of increase in the cost of living on salaries of public servants.

The Morgan Report (1963) primarily examined wages and salaries and conditions of service of junior employees, but recommended a regrading of all levels and a permanent body for the review of wages for future adjustments.

The Elwood Report (1966) attempted a nationalization of posts within the Gorsuch structure, but pointed out the disparity of wages within the public service as a whole.

The Adebo Commission (1971) was primarily set up to review wages and salaries. It recommended a more comprehensive look at the organisation as well as the grading structure within the public services. It was this recommendation that led to the setting up of the Udoji Review Commission by the Federal Government in September, 1972.

The Udoji Report (1972) attempted to solve three main problems:

- (a) Providing the concept of a “New style service”;
- (b) Revising the salaries, within the framework of a comprehensive, but manageable, compensation scheme; and
- © Creating machinery for making continuous wage adjustments possible in the future.

The Federal Government chose to implement the compensation component of the reform without the other components, thus disconnecting wages in Nigeria irredeemably from productivity improvement levels in the national economy. Also, whereas the Commission recommended payment of arrears in two instalments, the government released the arrears all at once, provoking, as it were, high inflationary trends in the national economy. By 1983, according to research findings (Ritgaard, 1997), real wages, for “highly skilled” civil servants in Nigeria were 30% of what they were in the mid-1970s. Although perks and non-wage benefits tended to rise to compensate partly for this decline, government salary levels as at the late 1990s had gone well below living wage. (Robinson, 1990 and Berg, 1993)

In addition, Nunberg and Nellis (1995) have found that by the mid-1980s, the salary of the top civil servants was less than ten times the lowest paid rank in Nigeria. The Obasanjo Administration Pay Review of May 2000 raised maximum wage considerably. Nonetheless, the pay level remained too low to serve as appropriate incentive for the desired level of work performance in the federal public service.

Finally, whereas the MBO, PPBS, and project management approaches that the 1974 reform recommended had already been discredited as reform solution as of 1974 when they were introduced, their underlying logic presented a prime opportunity for Nigeria to lay the

level of a company's payment to its employees relative to that of other companies or establish the relative grading or positioning of jobs within a company interim payment. The former is concerned with internal wages structure established in terms of various job grades or levels. Information used to determine wages survey and setting up a wages structure is usually derived from jobs evaluation.

Dunn and Rachael (1971) put forward many methods by which jobs can be evaluated and different authors have used different headings for each method. However, the methods used by different authors are properly examined.

Ranking Method

Dunn and Rachael (1971) stated that the method is considered the oldest and simplest job evaluation scheme. Small firms mostly use it. Jobs are ranked as a whole without break down. It is said to be difficult in large organization. It is also crude and highly subjective and it is based on impression rather than fact. The ranking method of job evaluation first examines the relative worth of the various jobs.

Job Classification Method

Dunn and Rachael (1971) stated that it is mostly used in the civil service. An initial step here is to pre-define the grades that management wants to form the ranking, and judgment is required both in defining each grade and in placing each position into appropriate grade. The classification starts with one paragraph, verbal description of a number of levels, grades or classes of jobs. The features of these descriptions include responsibility, skill required, etc. The job descriptions are examined and jobs are classified into grades or levels most appropriate for them.

The Point System

Dunn and Rachael (1971:176) stated that the system focuses attention on specific job features. It is held to be the most popular of all job evaluation systems. There are several steps involved. Firstly, certain job variables to be compared must be defined. Such variables include skill, responsibility, effort, working condition etc. Secondly, arrangement of points that many jobs can possibly have on each factor must be determined, e.g. the range of skill may be set between 100-400 points. Thirdly, each factor should be broken down into a number of degrees with which jobs will be compared. Educational factors could be broken down into: 50 points – school certificate required, 100 points – two years college or its equivalent required, 150 points – college required, 200 points – graduate degree required. When the scales are applied to different jobs, the points are to rally up for job to determine its relative worth.

Factors Comparison Method

Dunn and Rachael (1971) stated that this method is of the assumption that jobs can be broken into such factors as skill, education, etc. Unlike in the point system where degrees serve as yardstick, jobs are compared directly with each other on different factors. It involves several steps. Firstly, a number of representations of key job (15-20) selected for comparison. Secondly, the jobs selected are ranked on the factors. Thirdly, determination of what portion is the correct. Fourthly, a comparison of the factor ranking with the wages apportionment ranking is considered. The advantage here is that, it provides a tailored plan for a firm and permits jobs factors to be specifically compared with one another.

Job Component Method

Dunn and Rachael (1971) stated that this method is used to determine the job

achieved by the time wages to productivity changes. Dunn and Rachael (1971) stated that when the cost of living is rising, there would be great pressure from workers on the management to adjust wages to offset reduction in real wages. Pigor and Myers (1977) stated that minimum wages laws place an absolute lower limit on the level of wages that can be paid by any firm subject to these laws. The legal minimum is theoretically based on the concept of a “living wage”, although, in practice, the ability of a firm to pay the minimum wage is also considered. Igor ad Myers (1977:340) stated that the discussion for criteria for wages level and changes should not be concluded without again stressing the difficulty of securing agreement on which criteria to use. In many collective bargaining negotiations, management and unions tend to use those arguments, which best support their pre-conceived positions. The arguments that they use vary with business conditions. If management hopes to place wages determination on a mere objective basis, it should be prepared to discuss all the facts affecting the enterprises. It should also frankly recognize the validity of relevant facts presented by the union.

Pigor and Myers (1977) stated that the issue of wages and salaries are very sensitive and so managers have to operate their own wages and salary structure under wages and salaries policies. The issue of payment of wages and salaries to workers is a policy statement that has been customized to suite either a particular business or its widest form. McFarland (1968) stated that the wages and salaries policy of an enterprise explains how the management is expected to pay its workers and also the type of wages and salary structure it will operate. Hence, it is left for the new employees entering the organisation if the wages and salary suite them or not. In reputable and recognized firms, the services of trade unions are often required in the determination of wages and salaries policies (Furth, 2006). Pigor and Myers (1977) stated some guiding principles in formulating wages and salaries policy as follows:

- Wages and salaries policy should be formulated at the highest level of an organization. A knowledgeable spokesman or an industrial relation officer and allied matter should be involved in the process;
 - The detailed administration of this policy must be in the hand of competent personnel, preferably senior management staff members like the personnel manager;
 - It should not be a secret affair, it must be known to all workers;
 - When the workers do not seem to understand the principles guiding the policy, it is the responsibility of the management to make them understand them. This can be achieved by giving the workers explanatory notes on the policies.
- Dunn and Rachael (1977) stated that the wages and salaries policy would contain the following:
- Establishing wages and salaries structure that will enable the company to maintain the production cost, which sometimes could be very competitive;
 - Basic compensation for different cadre of workers;
 - Determination of fair wages and salaries differentials on jobs based on skill, experience, responsibility and working condition;
 - Measurement and recognition of individual merit through incentive methods of payment and employee rating; and
 - Determination of wages and salaries to be paid for holidays and sick leaves for the groups of workers.

Pigor and Myers also stated that many methods are used either to establish the general

basic management infrastructure for adopting the new public administration system that the nation is still struggling to put in place under the ongoing reform initiatives.

The Philips Report (1988): The 1988 reforms of the Nigerian civil service were based largely on the report of a study carried out in 1985 to restore the civil service of the glorious past by reinventing those factors that facilitated its effective performance. It was reform to redress negative forces in the service, including the low morale in the service, the problem of coordination and accountability and the abolition of the post of the head of the civil service and the pooling system.

The Ayida Reform of 1995

Here, by 1994, it was already obvious, in spite of the spirited attempt by Professor Philips' seminar reviews to redress the gaps in the 1988 reform, that the reform had not brought the required change in the administrative system. In inaugurating a seven-man Review Panel on the Civil Service Reforms on 10th November, 1994 under the Chairmanship of Mr. Allison Ayida, the Head of State, General Sani Abacha, expressed the popular sentiment that:

... in spite of the earlier review, the civil service of today still remains a shadow of what it should be. All the lofty ideals of efficiency, professionalism and accountability which the 1988 Reforms intended to bring into the service has not been achieved. (FGN, 2003)

The Ayida Review Panel was to examine the service as the 1988 reform restructured it, and to restore the civil service of the glorious past by reinventing those factors that facilitated its effective performance. It was a reform to redress the negative forces in the service, including the low morale in the service, the problem of coordination and accountability and the abolition of the post of the Head of the Civil Service and the pooling system. The key elements of the recommendations of this panel included:

- i. Abrogation of Decree No. 43 of 1988 and reverting of the service to a system guided by relevant provisions of the constitution, the civil service rules, the financial regulation and circulars and the restoration of the permanent secretaries as accounting officers.
- ii. Restoration of the title of permanent secretary as a career rather than political appointment and reestablishment of the post of the Head of the civil service as a career position separate from the post of secretary to government, which remains a political appointment.
- iii. Structuring of ministries according to their workload and not according to a uniform pattern.
- iv. Restoration of the powers of the civil service commission in personnel management with delegated powers to ministries.
- vi. Replacement of Planning, Research and Statistics Department with a Management Information Unit for central data collection, with the PRSD becoming optional for ministries.
- vii. Abolition of some cadres like messengers, cleaners, caterers, domestic staff and so on, whose jobs are better performed through some other arrangements instead of established posts.

The Obasanjo Civil Service Renewal Programme (1999-2007). From the conclusions of the 33rd meeting of the Federal Executive Council under the new democratic dispensation on 15th June, 2001, the Council decided that the Ayida Reform and its proposed manning levels consigned reform to the “hardware” of operations rather than to the “software” of system rejuvenation. The Ayida Reform did what the government dictated by re-inventing the pre-1988 system. It did this without taking the benefit of new thinking on public sector management reform as a global phenomenon. The panel's composition suggested that the government did not have a better agenda than to dismantle the 1988 reform and bring back a non-professionally-oriented new generation of civil servants already infected by deep system and an undemocratic military tradition. Indeed, the reform was an attempt to refurbish a system that had clearly become dysfunctional. Consequently, by the time the military handed over power to civilians in 1999, bureaucracy had become a clog in the wheel of progress, which required urgent and careful attention. This situation made the Obasanjo's civil service renewal programme inevitable.

From the fore-going, what is dominant in the empirical study reviewed is the description approach to the analysis of civil service reforms. A more functional and normative analysis was not undertaken by most of the authors whose works were reviewed. Some of the older works did not actually cover recent developments thus the necessity for update.

Theoretical Exposition

For the purpose of this paper, the participatory theory of administration was reviewed. The basic premise and justification for this choice is that it is best suited for administrative reforms.

In this theory, the administration organizes certain steps in the democratic process where staff of an organisation work together in order to accomplish group goals. Some of the steps that are considered are as follows:

- i. Goals are developed through the group process; they are set and attainable, challenging, and adapted to the capacities of the members.
- ii. Good morale is developed among the entire staff. This is essential for constructive group action. A climate of openness is established in group deliberations. All members feel a sense of belonging and recognize their important contribution in the undertaking. A feeling of oneness pervades the entire group.
- iii. Group planning is accomplished in a clearly defined manner. A stated procedure is followed. It is a cooperative undertaking, based on known needs and flexible enough to allow for unforeseen developments. The fulfilment of plans brings satisfaction and a feeling of success to all who participated in their formulation and accomplishment. All members share in the recognition for a completed job.
- iv. In staff meeting and other group discussion, the administration applies democratic principles. Each member's contribution is encouraged and respected. Differences of opinion are based on principles rather than personalities. The organisation's objectives must be continually kept in mind. All members are encouraged to facilitate the group process by accepting responsibility, alleviating conflict, making contributions, respecting the opinions of others, abiding by the will of the majority, and promoting good group morale.

They are compelled by the exigency of the situation to come under the same umbrella and present common formidable front, in determining both the absolute and relative wages and salaries of employees.

Statement of Problem and Objectives of the Study

The impact of wages and salaries administration compelled managers to turn around and start looking for a permanent solution towards achieving individual and organizational performance. In order to achieve a positive performance of the workers, a good and encouraging administration of wages and salaries has been argued to be the only option.

The general objective of the study is to determine the effects of wages and salaries on workers' performances, while the specific ones are to:

- (i) determine the attitude of managements towards wages and salaries administration;
- (ii) analyse the relationship between wages and salaries increment and satisfactions; and
- (iii) examine the relationship between wages and salaries increments and achievement of organisational goals.

Literature Review

Akindele (2007), McFarland (1968), Nwachukwu (2000) and Ogunbameru (2000) stated that “pay” is a direct manifestation of the company's general attitude towards its relation with employees. Atchison (2003) and French (1966) stated that wages and salaries could be used interchangeably, even though they have slightly different meaning in popular usage. While distinguishing between these two, he put forward the following:

- (a) In obtaining the right number of qualified persons, the salary level must be attractive enough to motivate workers to the company.
- (b) In retaining workers once hired, the salary level should not be such that employee would see as being less attractive than what is obtainable in other companies.
- (c) The salary and wage(s) should be encouraging to workers, i.e. they should encourage productivity.
- (d) The wages and salaries must be so attractive as to make employee work towards the management objectives.
- (e) In maintaining equity in the organization, the salaries being paid should be equal among workers within the same level.

Wignaraja (2006) and Pigor and Myers (1977) stated that the general wage level is the amount the company pays for jobs. It takes account of all the jobs from clerical posts to those of the directors. Another term for the general wage level, they asserted, is to distinguish it from pay compensation in which jobs are evaluated internally to one another. Pigor and Myers (1977) stated that usually there is a considerable range of wages rate for comparable jobs. This situation permits a company to include in its policy consideration of other factors that affect the general wages level.

Dunn and Rachael (1971) believed generally that wages have been in relationship to production. The reason for this revolves around the fact that wages cannot diverge significantly from productivity without causing either inflation or unemployment. . The implication of this is that dynamic economy with full employment and also inflation might be

THE INTERACTIVE EFFECT OF WAGES AND SALARIES
ADMINISTRATION ON WORKERS' PERFORMANCE IN NIGERIA

I. T. Akindele (PhD)

Department of Public Administration,
Faculty of Management Sciences, University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria;
wuratomi@yahoo.com

R. I. Akindele (PhD)

Department of Accounting and Management,
Faculty of Administration, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria;
akinrichard@yahoo.com

&

A. K. Abdulkareem

Department of Public Administration,
Faculty of Management Sciences, University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria
Email: razqkarim@yahoo.com; Abdulkareem.ka@unilorin.edu.ng

Abstract

The study investigates the effects of wages and salaries administration on workers' performances using MTN Communication as a case study. The paper examines the attitude of managements towards wages and salaries administration. It also investigates the relationship between wages and salaries increment and employees' satisfaction and finally determined the effect of wages and salary increment on the achievement of organizational goals. Data collected were from both primary and secondary sources. Questionnaires were administered to obtain the primary data. Analysis was done using descriptive and inferential statistics such as mean scores, frequency distribution, percentages and chi-square test. The findings were that the attitude of managements towards wages and salaries administration was highly positive and supportive. Also, there was a direct relationship between wages and salaries increment and satisfactions; employees displayed satisfaction towards salary increment. Finally it was revealed that prompt payment of wages and salaries and increment as at when due leads to the achievement of organizational goals. The paper concluded that well administered wages and salaries have a positive effect on employees' satisfaction and this would bring about improvement on performances of employees and organization.

Keywords: Interactive Effect, Wages and Salaries Administration, Workers and Performance.

Introduction

The success of any organisation depends on the effective performances of its employees (Ngu, 2005). Such performances will depend on the knowledge and skills possessed by the individual employees. They are important in determining job performance (Agbonifoh, Agbadudu, and Iyayi, 2005). These factors alone are not sufficient. What is most important is to understand what motivates the individual employee and how satisfaction would be enhanced.

There are a lot of motivational factors that could be used to motivate employees, among which are wages and salaries (Agbonifoh et al., 2005). The wages and salaries being paid to an employee at the end of every week or month is very crucial, among these motivational factors, because it is believed to be the starting point when the management of an organisation is intensifying efforts aimed at motivating its employees.

In Nigeria, the issues of wages and salaries have attracted much attention more than ever before due to its ability of determining both the economic and social positions of workers (Agburu, 2005). This is as a result of the fact that wages represent the price of labour. As a result of this, most time employees performing similar tasks come together under a common platform to demand for remuneration, simply because they deserve higher 'pay' to be able to perform well at work. Employers of labour, on the other hand, realizing the fact that wage, which is the price of labour (input in the production process), forms part of the cost of production that must be weighed against other factors to determine its relative value.

- v. There is periodic evaluation of progress. The group evaluates itself from time to time on accomplishments in terms of the organisation's goals and the effectiveness of the group process. Each individual evaluates his or her own role as a member of the organisation in respect of the contributions made to the group process and the accomplishments of the group.

Empirical Investigation

The study covers the whole of Nigeria. However, data for the study was subsequently collected from selected ministries in Abuja, which is the capital of the country Nigeria. Panel data from the government gazettes, and publication from the Federal Office of Statistics (FOS), including other relevant government publications, assisted in the execution of this study.

This paper adopts the descriptive methodology which is the main procedure used. This is supplemented by the structured and unstructured questionnaire as a research instrument, as well as in-depth interviews. Consequently, questionnaires were administered to one thousand two hundred and sixty five (1,265) respondents.

The universe of the study is the serving federal civil servants from the Office of the Head of Service and three selected Ministries in the Federal Capital Territory (FCT), namely: Federal Ministries of Information, Internal Affairs and Finance. The reason for the choice of these three key Ministries is because they are directly involved with the civil service. The Federal Ministry of Finance is one of the three principal government agencies which also operate within the civil service system. It deals with financial management and control. The Ministry of Information is very vital for the flow of communication within the MDAs, officials and finally the public. The Federal Ministry of Internal Affairs, amongst other functions, is directly involved with the issue of security which is very crucial to the success or failure of any reform implementation. The office of the Head of Service was selected because it is the office where all the activities of the Civil Service are coordinated.

Identification of Factors Necessitating Administrative Reforms in Nigeria

One thousand two hundred and sixty five (1, 265) respondents which amount to 95.4 percent agree with the assertion that socio-economic cum political factors necessitated administrative reforms in Nigeria. Sixty two (62) respondents representing 4.7 percent disagreed. The study confirmed that the factors necessitating administrative reforms in Nigeria were mainly socio-economic and political in nature.

Contingency Frequency

Out of the five questions asked on the factors necessitating administration reforms in Nigeria, majority of the respondents (i.e. over 95 percent) agreed that socio-economic cum political factors necessitated administrative reforms in Nigeria. The bulk of the respondents also lend credence to the fact that the reforms corresponded to major public needs and aspirations. They also confirmed that the existing system needed not be restructured or reorganized. Meanwhile, on the need for a re-examination of the administrative reforms, there was something like a split in the middle of a whole as a little over half of the respondents answered in the affirmative while the others disagreed. On the issue of the administrative reforms being geared towards the achievement of national objectives, the high number of respondents (i.e. over 97 percent) that agreed on this question proves that, on paper, that there was no problem with the theory of reforms.

The result indicated strongly that the respondents were of the opinion that socio-economic cum political factors necessitated administrative reforms in Nigeria. This result is in agreement with the practicality of what is common under the literature review and the responses from the personal interviews carried out in that the major factor responsible for the prevalence of administrative reforms is socio-economic cum political.

Conclusion

The respondents listed many factors that necessitated administrative reforms but they generally agreed on the fact that the world is dynamic, which means that Nigeria as a country must continue to improve. Government in Nigeria is responsible for service delivery; we do not have much of the private sector impact in Nigeria. Therefore, in order for the civil servants to deliver on the government promises, there is a need for regular check on the system. Hence, government may identify some loop-holes in the existing system or some problems which would need to be addressed.

At other times, the demand may come from workers for increase in their wages and salaries to meet the challenges of the high cost of living or better conditions of service. Even within the system, workers sometimes ask questions on why certain things happen, say for example in 1975, the Udoji reform established the unified civil service structure whereby all officers, irrespective of discipline, have the chance, after attaining GL. 16, to rise to the post of Permanent Secretary. Again, the agitation may also come from the general public; after all, the administrative reforms are generally geared towards the achievement of national objective. Majority of the respondents insisted that the past and recent reforms had so much in common. They said that administrative reforms emanate from the political authority trying to satisfy the yearnings of the people.

The paper concluded that administrative reforms should be a continuous process, since change is a continuous process and there is no static organization or society anywhere in the world.

REFERENCES

- Adamolekun, L. (1989). "The Nigerian Civil Service: Problems of Manpower Development, Utilization and Orientation": Gboyega A. Abubakar, Y, and Aliyu Y. (eds.) *Nigeria Since Independence: The First 25 years*, Vol. VIII, Public Administration. Ibadan: Heinemann.
- Allen, J. (1985). *A Handbook of Basic Administration and Civil Service Procedure in the Federal Republic of Nigeria*. Ibadan: University Press.
- Awa, E. O. (1964). *National Administration and the Civil Service: The Federal Government of Nigeria*. Berkeley & Los Angeles, University of California Press.
- Baker, R. J. (1972). *Administrative Theory and Public Administration*. London: Hutchinson University Library.
- Beetham, D. (1987). *Public Management: The New Zealand Model*, Auckland: Oxford University Press.
- Berg, E. (1993). *Rethinking Technical Cooperation: Reforms for Capacity Building in Africa*. New York: UNDP.

- Caiden, G. C. (1969). *Administrative Reform*. Chicago: Aldine.
- Chapman, B. (1959). *The Profession of Government*. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd.
- Das, S. K. (1998). *Civil Service Reform and Structural Adjustment*. Calcutta: Oxford University Press.
- Drewry, G. and Butcher, T. (1988). *The Civil Service Today*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Fabian Society (1964). *The Administrators: The Reforms of the Civil Service*. London: Fabian Society.
- Jewel, R. E. C. (1976). *Outlines of Public Administration*. London: Charles Knight & Co. Ltd.
- Krueger, A. O. (1993). *Political Economy of Policy Reforms in Developing Countries*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Olaopa, T. (2003). *Public Administration and Civil Service Reforms in Nigeria*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books.
- (2008). *Theory and Practice of Public Administration and Civil Service Reforms Administration and in Nigeria*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books.
- Phillips, D. (1990). *The 1988 Nigerian Civil Service Reforms and their Post - 1992 Prospects*. Ibadan: NILSER, Polidano C and Manning N. (1995) Polidano C. (2001).
- Tukur, M. (ed.) (1971). *Reforms of Nigerian Public Service*. Zaria: Institute of Administration, Ahmadu Bello University.

Koko, 2014). However, in most federations, the federal government is assigned majority of revenue sources, thereby necessitating the need to institute a system of fiscal intergovernmental transfer with revenue allocation frameworks that will ensure levels of government having revenues that will enable them meet up their expenditure responsibilities. However, the concern in most federations is what should guide the process. In other words, what is the most effective, efficient and equitable means for the redistribution or allocation of raised revenues that will ensure the attainment of the very essence of federalism. Hence, the allocation may be on the basis of fiscal strength of the lower levels of government as practiced in Switzerland (Schmitt, 2005). It may also be on the principle of conditionality such as derivation, equality, demand, revenue capacity, or based on the proportion of the population, and more importantly, expenditure needs.

Perusing intergovernmental fiscal relations in both Ethiopia and Nigeria, perpetual fiscal imbalance is discernable. Thus, as Watts (1996) argued, virtually every federation has found the need to correct two kinds of fiscal imbalances: vertical fiscal imbalance defined as 'the difference between expenditures and own sources of revenue at different levels of government; and horizontal fiscal imbalance defined as 'the difference in the resources available to governments at the same level (See Bird, 2006:84). These imbalances necessitate the need to device a system of intergovernmental transfer (revenue allocation). Thus, both Ethiopia and Nigeria have instituted certain institutional structures regulating the process of revenue allocation in the respective countries. Yet, the reality is that there are little prospects for the revenue allocation framework in both countries to correct the imbalances, and the institutional structures have remained flimsy; thus, incapacitated in maintaining unity while at the same time preserving diversity.

With this background, the paper examines the challenges ragging intergovernmental fiscal relations in Nigeria and Ethiopia. Specifically, it seeks to examine the apparent search for an appropriate revenue allocation in both countries. To achieve this, the paper is divided into four sections. Following this introduction, is the review of theoretical discussions of fiscal federalism. Section three presents an overview of federalism in both countries, examines the institutional structures of managing fiscal intergovernmental relations and the underlying issues bedeviling the two federations. The third section compares revenue allocation principles in both countries, examines the source of asymmetry within the federations. Here, special attention will be given to examine the general features of revenue allocation in both countries, and the general interest for the constant agitation for the review of the allocation framework. Section four concludes the paper and highlights some probable lessons for both countries.

Definition of Terms and Principles of Fiscal Federalism

Federalism: Definitions of federalism, perhaps due to the dynamics of its operation and practice, have shifted from a more formal/legal framework to a political/administrative arrangement, to a more procedural understanding that incorporates socio-cultural and behavioural components into what is presented as federalism (Agbaje, 2000:3). According to Wheare, federalism is 'the method of dividing powers so that general and regional governments are each, within a sphere, coordinate and independent' (1963:10). This suggests federalism as a state arrangement in which there is levels of government within a designated territory with each having specific sphere or overlapping spheres of authority.

defines structures or agencies which can most efficiently perform such functions. Put differently, in every society there are certain demands that are made upon the political system by members of the society and in order to satisfy these demands certain structures need to be created to carry out those activities that lead to the satisfaction of the demands (Agba et al., 2013). It is only when these structures are carrying out activities that satisfy the demands of members of the society that are said to be functional. They are said to be dysfunctional when they do not satisfy the demands of members of the society (Haralambos and Heald, 1980). Using structural functional theory as a basis for analysis in this paper suggests that local government are structures created in Nigeria to perform specific functions that will help bring government closer to the people. A historical study of local government from its traditional forms like the traditional political system, Native Authority and modern local government system has brought to fore some of the service delivery functions of local government in Nigeria.

Furthermore, the idea of dysfunctionality or disorderliness advanced by structural-functionalists could be used in explaining the incapacity of local governments to deliver services to the people in a timely, adequate and satisfactory manner. As a system consisting of interrelated parts or components, local governments cannot exist in isolation. In other words, Local Government Councils in Nigeria consist of departments like works; land; survey and housing; agricultural and natural resources; health, education and social services; administration; budget and statistics; and treasury (Agba et al., 2013). Each of these departments must interact together to keep the local government moving and effective. Besides, the interactions within the local government milieu, interactions with bodies like the federal government, states, local service commissions, local government councils, rural communities and others must be sustained in an atmosphere of intergovernmental relations aimed at delivering quality service in a timely, satisfactory, honest, effective and transparent manner. These departments are inevitable as Almond and Powell (1965) aptly stated, whenever there are functions; there must be structures to perform them. To justify the reasons for creating local governments, local government spending functions performed by local government workers, interactions between and among its component parts, projects executed by local governments should be aimed at providing the basic services to which each citizen is entitled in a timely, fair, honest, effective and transparent manner. Nigerians have the right to be served right whether at the federal, state or local government levels. Thus dysfunctionality in the operations of local governments in Nigeria can be corrected if the factors that impede service delivery are identified and appropriate recommendations are made based on the findings of the study.

Methodology

This paper relied majorly on documentary sources of data obtained from textbooks, journal articles, official gazettes, conference papers and internet. Key policy and academic literature on local government, relationship between state and local government; and public service delivery at the local level in Nigeria was reviewed to examine the nature of evidence on the linkages between these issues and determine where there are gaps.

Performance of local government in the area of service delivery

Local Government service delivery across the country has come under serious and severe criticisms with some persons calling for scrapping of the third tier of government. In his

analysis of the role of local government in service delivery, Khemani (2001) described Nigerian local governments as "institutions that are characterized by weak capacity to implement their expenditure assignments". It was Olusegun Obasanjo, the former President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria that vividly described the performance of Local Governments Councils in the country. In his words:

What we have witnessed is the abysmal failure of the local government system. It is on record that at no time in the history of the country has there been the current level of funding accruing to the local governments from the Federation Account: yet the hope for rapid and sustained development has been a mirage as successive councils have grossly under performed in their assigned responsibilities. Almost all the areas of their mandate ... yet the clamour for the creation of more Local Government Areas have not abated. (Obasanjo, 2003).

Local governments as observed by Obasanjo have produced exactly the opposite, of the original objectives for their creation. Instead of bringing government and development closer to the people, local governments have produced absence; local government chairmen who are only seen at council headquarters when the monthly “Abuja Allocation” arrives and vamoose with their standby jeeps and mobile police escorts after supervising over the sharing of the local government's share of the national cake among the relevant stakeholders (Ukiwo, 2006). This position has been supported by Agba (2006) when he noted that the provision of basic social services such as education and health as well as maintenance of roads and public utilities within the jurisdictions of local government is both a myth and mirage. As a result of the failure of local governments in service delivery, the citizens are beginning to lose trust in the government as an institution established to address the needs of the masses. Findings of a survey conducted by Afrobarometer in 2008 revealed that most Nigerians do not trust Local Government Areas (Afrobarometer, 2008). An earlier survey (2007) also revealed that majority (55%) of the respondents disapproved of the performance of the local government while 37% respondents who approved of the performance of local governments may have been government officials or political contractors who have benefited financially or in kind from the corrupt practices in local government councils (Agba et al., 2013). Lewis and Alamika (2005) also discovered in their study that Nigerians are deeply dissatisfied with the performance of democracy and that trust in major institutions including local governments, has diminished.

It is the general agreement of most scholars and practitioners that local governments in Nigeria have not justified the reasons for their creation through the delivery of cutting edge services to the rural people (Agba et al., 2013). There is the need, therefore, to find out the factors that are responsible for the poor performance of local government in service delivery. The knowledge of those factors will help in evolving strategies that will improve local government service delivery in Nigeria.

Relationship between State and Local Government

Having been recognized as a third tier of government by the 1999 Constitution, with distinct functions to accelerate development at the grassroots, one should expect that Local Government Councils would enjoy a relationship with the state government to such an extent

COMPARING THE POLITICS OF REVENUE ALLOCATION IN NIGERIA AND ETHIOPIA: TRENDS AND CHALLENGES

***Nuruddeen Muhammad Koko**
nmuhammadkoko@gmail.com

&

***Bayero Bukkuyum Kasim (Ph.D.)**
bayerokasim@yahoo.com

*DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
FACULTY OF MANAGEMENT SCIENCES

USMANU DANFODIYO UNIVERSITY, SOKOTO, NIGERIA.

Abstract

Nigeria and Ethiopia are among the few countries where federalism is needful to succeed. However, instituting a federal system requires appropriate responsibilities, assignment and commiserate financing system that will enable levels of government provide services to their residents in a competitive, efficient, equitable and responsible manner. Yet, Nigeria and Ethiopia are federations where huge fiscal imbalance is prevalent, thereby igniting the clamour and agitation for a more revenue allocation from the federal government to the lower levels of government that should be seen to be effective, efficient and equitable that will guarantee the attainment of the very essence of federalism. In view of these, the paper seeks to compare the politics of revenue allocation in Nigeria and Ethiopia. It provides answers to questions as: What are the general features of revenue allocation in both countries □ What are the general interests for the agitations for the review of the allocation framework □ Despite that the two federations differ in their fiscal intergovernmental relations owing to their respective socioeconomic and political characteristics, comparing their fiscal relations is essential and imperative in order to highlight their successes and failures.

Keywords: Federalism, Fiscal Federalism, Revenue Allocation, Expenditure Needs and Fiscal Imbalance.

Introduction

Federalism as a system of government stands distinct and unique by virtue of its peculiarity in ensuring that diverse political systems achieve political stability and sustainable balance between national objectives, especially of economic efficiency, social equity and the preferences of the respective federating units. In order to achieve these, fiscal federalism is indeed one of the major classical principles upon which federal system ought to rest. However, the greatest challenge often is how to find a stable and functional financing system that will enable all levels of government meet up their expenditure responsibilities. Thus, as argued by Watts (1996: 38), the allocation of financial resources to each level of government within a federation is important for two main reasons: the resources enable or constrain governments in the exercise of their expenditure responsibilities; and taxing powers and expenditure are themselves important instruments for affecting and regulating the economy. Consequent upon this, most federations, the national Constitutions stipulate structure of public revenue and assignment of taxing powers among the federating units (Kasim and

- Rezaee, Z., Ford, W.F., and Elam, R., (2000): The Role of Internal Auditors in a Real-Time Accounting System. *The Internal Auditor*. (57) 62-67
- Rezaee, Z., Elam, R and Sharbatoghile, A. (2001): Continuous Auditing: the Audit of the Future. *Managerial Auditing Journal*, 16(3), 150-158.
- Rick, H. Roger D. Arnold, S. and Philip, W. (2005): Principles of Auditing; An Introduction to International Standards on Auditing. Pearson Education Ltd.
- Rogers, E. M. (1995): Diffusion of Innovations, Fifth Edition. New York, NY: Free Press.
- Sandra, S. and Frederick, G. (2009): Information Technology Control and Audit. 3rd Edition. Auerbach Publications Taylor & Francis Group, New York.
- Van Biljon, J., and Renaud, K. (2008): A qualitative study of the applicability of technology acceptance models to senior mobile phone users. In Advances in conceptual modelling– Challenges and opportunities (228-237). Springer Berlin Heidelberg.”
- Venkatesh, V., Morris, M. G., Davis, Gordon, B., Davis, and Fred, D. (2003): User acceptance of information technology: Toward a unified view, *MIS Quarterly* 27(3), 425-478.

necessary for the councils to be in a position to perform those functions which are earmarked for them. However, the nature of the intergovernmental relations between the state and local government does not reflect the constitution. It's more or less Master-Servant relations in which the local government subsists at the mercy of the state governments. Constitutionally, local government is not a servant. It is government like others with functions constitutionally set aside for it to perform. It has however been turned into the status of a servant of the state government through abuse of supervisory powers. As observed by Yakubu (1999):

The most appropriate description of the present local government-state relationship is that of servant and master... a lot of supervisory powers are given to the States over local governments. The present position of the local government councils is hopeless. They take directives from their State governments, in relation to social and economic matters. With the resuscitation of the Local Government Service Commission, the administration of the local government councils is now directed by the States. Directives and circulars come in daily to the local government Chairmen... The local governments are no longer sure of how much comes to them either from the Federation Account or from the States Allocation, less to talk of how the fund will be utilized.

Much of the crisis of intergovernmental relations bedeviling the local government effectiveness is the aftermath of the inherent loopholes in the 1999 Constitution and the attendant actions of state Governors in interpreting the ambiguous provisions of the constitution. A critical analysis of some of the constitutional loopholes and actions of State Governors since May 29, 1999 will shed light on the challenges to public service delivery at the local government level in Nigeria. These are:

i Existence of Local Government Councils: Section 7(1) of the 1999 Constitution guaranteed a system of local government by democratically elected Local Government Council. Accordingly, the government of every state is required to ensure the existence, composition, finance and functions of Local Government Councils (CFRN, 1999). A simple interpretation of this provision is that the 1999 Constitution has invariably made Local Government a creature of the State Government, for the fact that it has to a large extent established and subsumed the Local Government under the control and supervision of State Government. The ambiguous nature of this provision, which gives State Government almost absolute control over Local Government, has severally been misinterpreted and abused by State Government. Consequently, Local Government Councils have in many instances been dissolved and replaced with caretaker committees by State Governors. Though the Governors have the power to dissolve Local Government Councils, under Section 7(1) of the 1999 Constitution, such power is required to be conferred on them by the Houses of Assembly. Since the return to democracy in 1999, there has been incidents where state Governors do not wait for the necessary constitutional empowerment by the State Houses of Assembly before dissolving councils.

On June 16, 2006, the then Governor of Abia State, Orji Uzo Kalu, for reasons best known to him dissolved the local governments and sacked the 148 Local Government Chairmen and Councilors elected by the people. This action led to a long legal battle which

brought about the Supreme Court judgment of Friday, July 11, 2014, eight years after. Former Governor of Oyo State, Adebayo Alao-Akala as part of his first official assignment on assumption of office in 2008, sacked the local government Chairmen, claiming that he had filed a suit against the election that brought them into office. Governor Rochas Okorocha of Imo State had in 2011 sacked elected Local Council officials immediately he was sworn into office as Governor of the state in June 2011. He later appointed Transition Committee Chairmen to run the affairs of the 27 local councils. This led to court action instituted by the aggrieved officials. The court reinstated them but the Governor refused to obey the court order, saying that he had appealed the judgment (Abia, 2015). Former Governor of Rivers State, Rotimi Amaechi, in 2012 suspended 11 local council Chairmen indefinitely. Amaechi's action was predicated on the suspicion that the affected Local Government Chairmen rather than attend a meeting he called, chose to have a secret parley with the then Minister of State for Education and now Governor of the state, Barrister Nyesom Wike (Abia, 2015). In Delta State, former Governor Emmanuel Uduaghan had in December, 2014, sacked the Chairman of Burutu Local Government, barely five months to the end of his first term in office. In Ekiti and Bayelsa States 16 and five Local Government chairmen, in 2010 and in 2013, respectively, were sacked by their State Governors on excuses which were obviously political. Attempts by Local Government Councils to challenge arbitrariness of the State Governors in this regard have failed to yield significant results due to constitutional inhibitions and lack of cooperation from State Houses of Assembly.

ii Sources of Revenue: While it is a fact that sources of revenue earmarked for Local Government Councils in the 1999 Constitution are not effectively tapped to the advantage of the system, the situation is compounded by the actions of the state governments who have taken over most of the juicy sources of internally generated revenue including large markets, naming of street, and tenement rate among others (Alao et al., 2015). There is also lack of transparency in the management of local government allocations by the state government. Section 149(4-5) provides for revenue allocation and disbursement to the local government in Nigeria. Within the context of the constitution, the National Assembly is required to make provision for statutory allocations of public revenue to Local Government Councils in the federation from the Federation Account (20%). The Houses of Assembly of the states are also required to make provisions for allocation of public revenue to Local Government Councils in the state from internally generated revenue (10%). Events over the years have shown that the 10 per cent of the internally generated revenue of the state government are seldom remitted to Local Government. These actions no doubt, dwarf the capacity of Local Government Councils to deliver effective service at the grassroots. (Ojugbeli and Ojoh, 2014).

Meanwhile, Section 162(4-6) of the 1999 Constitution provides that the amount standing to the credit of Local Government Councils in the Federation Account shall be allocated to the state for the benefit of their Local Government Councils on such terms and in such a manner as may be prescribed by the Houses of Assembly of the state whose constitutional duty is to establish "State Joint Local Government Account" into which these allocations are paid. The implication of this constitutional provision is that after allocating the amount due Local Government Councils from the Federation Account what happens to the funds in the Joint Account is not the business of the constitution. This has been the basis for the arbitrariness associated with the management of Joint Account in Nigeria. In 2009, Mr. Igberi

Figure 1. Scree Plot showing principal factors Influencing ICT adoptions and Utilization

Conclusion

Out of thirty factors that were tested to be influencing adoption of ICT by the Auditors in Southwestern Nigeria, eight factors have been discovered to be the most significant factors. However, the study also stressed that two factors namely; effort expectancy and cost of maintenance of ICT are the most significant factors affecting the adoption and utilization of ICT. The findings of this study is a confirmation of the unified theory of acceptance and use of technology model by Venkateshet *et al.*, 2003.

REFERENCES

- Arnold, V., Sutton, S. (1998): The theory of technology dominance: Understanding the impact of intelligent decision aids on decision maker's judgements. *Advances in Accounting Behavioural Research* 1:175-194.
- Carr Jr, V. H. (1999): Technology adoption and diffusion. The Learning Center for Interactive Technology.
- Efraim, T., Dorothy, L., Ephraim, M., James, W., (2006): Information Technology for Management. 5th Edition. Wiley and Sons, INC. P. 48-49 ISBN 0-471-70522-5.
- Elliot, R. K., (2002), Twenty-First Century Assurance *Auditing, a Journal of Practice and Theory*, 21(1) 139-146.
- Gogan, J., Applegate, L. M., and Nolan, R. (1995). KPMG Peat Marwick: The shadow partner. Harvard Business School Teaching Note 5-196-066. (Dec. 1). Cambridge, MA: Harvard Business School.
- Hemelink, C.J. (1997). New Information and Communication Technologies, Social Development and Cultural change. United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD). UNRISD Discussion (86).
- IFAC, (2002): E-Business and the Accountant. March. <http://www.ifac.org>
- IFAC, (2004): Handbook of International Auditing, Assurance, and Ethics Pronouncements, International Standards on Auditing 200 (ISA 200), "Objective and General Principles Governing an Audit of Financial Statements", para. 2, International Federation of Accountants, New York.
- Janvrin, D.J., Bierstaker, J.L. and Lowe, D.J. (2009). An investigation of factors influencing the use of computer related audit procedures. *Journal of Information Systems*. 23(2)53-74.
- Luliana, L.P (2012): The Evolution and the Perspectives of the Audit. *International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences*. 2(4), 264-280.
- Owolabi, S.A., Jayeoba, O.O. and Ajibade, A.T (2016): Evolution and Development of Auditing. *Unique Journal of Business Management Research*. 3(1).
- Paul, E.B., Abdullah, A., Benita, G., Helen, B., Ryan, T., Donald, W.J., and Miklos, V. (2012): Evolution of Auditing: From the Traditional Approach to the Future Audit. American Institute of Certified Public Accountant. White Paper.

expectation of	2.710	9.034	52.312	2.710	9.034	52.312
improved						
performance						
Cost	2.138	7.125	59.438	2.138	7.125	59.438
Reduction						
Users						
Knowledge of	1.884	6.281	65.718	1.884	6.281	65.718
ICT						
Social	1.592	5.308	71.026	1.592	5.308	71.026
Influence						
Skills of	1.266	4.220	75.247	1.266	4.220	75.247
Users						
Clients						
location	1.229	4.098	79.345	1.229	4.098	79.345

The findings of this research work confirm the unified theory of acceptance and use of technology by Venkatesh *et. al.* 2003. The theory holds that four key construct (performance expectancy, effort expectancy, social influence and facilitating conditions) are the direct determinants of usage intention and behavior. However, other factors emerged apart from the four construct by Venkatesh *et. al.* (2003) that also determine whether to adopt a particular technology or not. These are cost of maintenance of the ICT, clients' business location, reduction in the cost of operations and skills of the users.

The principal factors that influence the adoption and utilization of Information and Communications Technology in Audit Firms are shown on the Scree Plot below (figure 1). They are represented by the points above the eigenvalue 1.0 The graph presented in figure 1 represents the scree Plot which shows the visual criteria of determining the number of factors that influence the adoption and utilization of Information and Computer Technology among the Audit Firms. All the points above eigenvalue 1.0 indicate the total number of factors that influence the adoption and utilization of Information and Computer Technology among the Audit Firms. It is apparently obvious from the graph that eight factors influence the adoption and utilization of Information and Communications Technology among the Audit Firms. The factors are listed in the table 4 with the strength of their influence on the adoption and utilization of Information and Communications Technology among the Audit Firms.



the then Chairman of the Association of Local Government of Nigeria (ALGON) in Ebonyi State, called for the amendment of the constitutional provision that legalizes the State Local Government Joint Account Committee (JAC) arguing that the structure hinders proper funding and autonomy for councils in the country. He maintained further that " the issue of Joint Account had facilitated all manner of deductions from councils allocation". (Sobechi, 2009).

Acba (2008) while capturing the feelings of council executives in Abia State contended that "nothing seem to be working at the councils because they are either starved of funds or shortchanged by state governments through the Joint Account Allocation Committees. Most of the Council Chief Executives in the state decried deductions from their allocation by state government and described such an act as illegal". In 2009, the Edo State Chapter of the Nigerian Union of Local Government Employees (NULGE) had backed the 18 council Chairmen's decision to reject May, 2009 allocation from the Federation Account to protest an alleged over-deduction by the state government (Otabor, 2009). Other problems associated with the Joint Account include delay in the release of statutory allocation of the local government by the state government; and diversion of statutory allocations of the local government. In 2008, the Ondo State Commissioner for finance, Accountant General, Commissioner for Local Government and Chieftaincy Affairs were invited by the Independent Corrupt Practices and other related offences Commission (ICPC) in connection with the alleged Diversion of 1.2billion Naira belonging to the 18 Local Government Councils in the state (Ojo, 2008). The petition had alleged that statutory allocations to the 18 Local Government Councils in the state for between six and nine months since 2005 were diverted to private pockets. (Ojugbali and Ojoh, 2014).

Hiding under Section 7 (1) and (6) of the 1999 Constitution, various systems are cynically developed by the State Government to rub the Local Government of the benefit of appropriating its funds. In some states the Local Government operatives are cajoled to author and sign letters in support of this arrangement in order to remove the fear of litigation (Babatope and Egunjobi, 2016). To reflect that Local Government operatives participate in the process, they are requested to submit the list of projects intended for execution while the state government award the contracts. Added to this is the unrestrained demand for fund and overambitious expectations of the populace particularly the local political juggernauts by expecting the council official to meet their personal needs at the expense of developmental needs (Alao et al., 2015). Such situations constitute distractions for the Local Government administration in balancing the Governor's demands and community's expectation. In effect, disproportionate fund are usually released by the state government to meet the needs of Local Governments which often fall short to pay staff salaries and for efficient administrative management. Consequently, salaries have remained unpaid for upward of 5 to 10 months to Local Government staff in most states of the federation necessitating a bail out from the federal government.

iii Participatory Democracy: The 1999 Constitution is unequivocal to the fact that no Local Government Council can said to be fully in existence except when it is democratically constituted as envisaged in Section 7(1) of the Constitution. However, since the return to democracy in 1999, Governors have continued to use the Local Government Councils as

machinery for rewarding party stooges, who have supported them at one time or the other to come to power (Alao et al., 2015). In some states, Local Government Council elections have not been conducted since the return to constitutional governance in Nigeria in 1999. In situations where elections are held, they are mostly charades, stage managed by ruling parties to ensure that only candidates of their choice emerged victorious and returned "elected" with unbelievable Margins (Ahmed, 2016). In Lagos State for example, the Action Congress (AC) which metamorphosed into the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) swept all the Chairmanship and Councillorship positions in the elections that was conducted in the state's 20 Local Government Councils and 37 Local Council Development Areas (LCDA) in 2007 and 2011. In Oyo State the then ruling party, People's Democratic Party (PDP) won the 33 Chairmanship seats in the elections conducted by Oyo State Independent Electoral Commission (OYSIEC) on December 15, 2007. In Enugu State, the ruling PDP won 15 out of 17 council Chairmanship seats and 245 of the 254 Councillorship seats leaving the All Nigeria People's Party (ANPP) with 9 seats in the 2007 Local Government election. In 2014, the Local Government Council elections conducted in Kano State saw the ruling party All Progressive Congress (APC) swept 98 percent of the seats. The same was true in crisis ridden Yobe State when APC won all the Chairmanship and Councillorship seats. It was the same story in Katsina State, where the ruling party, PDP won all the 34 Chairmanship and 361 Councillorship seats in the Local Government Council elections held on 11th April, 2014, despite being the very first time since 2008 that Local Government elections were held in Katsina. Yet majority of the opposition parties in the state boycotted the polls. Barely six days to leaving office, the then Governor of Rivers State Rotimi Chibike Amaechi stunned everyone when he announced his government's willingness to conduct local government elections in the state. Despite agitations from the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) and other political parties who complained that such exercise would be marred with irregularities in favour of the ruling party, the All Progressives Congress (APC), the election was conducted on May 23, 2015, as scheduled, and APC won Chairmanship seats in 22 out the 23 Local Government Areas (Abia, 2015). In the Local Government Council elections conducted in Ondo State on the 23rd of April, 2015, the PDP candidates won all the eighteen Chairmanship seats (Radio Nigeria, 2015). It was the same in Sokoto State where the APC made a clean sweep of the Chairmanship and Councillorship seats in the Local Government elections conducted on March 13, 2016. (Rimaye, 2016). The foregoing analysis clearly shows that adherence to Section 7(1) of the 1999 Constitution by State Government since 29th May, 1999 has been held only in breach. Every attempt to ensure strict adherence to the provisions of the Constitution on democratic composition of Local Governments across the states of the federation has continued to suffer as Governors, and sometimes in collaboration with state Houses of Assembly, violate the basis of Local Government. Chief among which is to ensure that Local Government enhances local participation of the people of the grassroots in determining through their own elected representatives solutions to problems of development peculiar to their locality within resources available to them whether internally generated or externally sourced. (Abia, 2015). In his comments on the pattern of Local Government Council elections in Nigeria, a former Secretary to the Government of the Federation, Alhaji Mahmud Yayale Ahmed had advocated the abolition of Local Government elections across the federation because "they

Firms Year of Establishment		
Years		
0-5	1	0.97
11-15	17	16.50
11-15	21	20.39
16-20	38	36.89
21 Yrs	26	25.24
Total	103	100.0

Audit Firms distribution by size		
Group		
Multinational	6	9.23
National	12	18.46
Regional	47	72.31
Total	65	100.0

Factors Influencing ICT Adoption and Utilization in Audit Firms

The table 4 below showed the eight major factors that have greatly influence the adoption of Information and Communications Technology in Audit Firms. The table revealed that Effort Expectancy has an eigenvalue greater than 1.0 (i.e. 8.127) and it is the factor that accounts for 27.091 percent of the variance of the relationship between variables. The cost of maintenance has an eigenvalue of 4.856 which is above 1 and it accounts for 16.188 percent of the variance of the relationship between variables. Users expectation of improved Performance has an eigenvalue of 2.710 which is also above 1 and it also accounts for 9.034 percent of the variance of the relationship between variables. Reduction in the cost of operations has an eigenvalue of 2.138 and this factor explains 7.125 percent variance in the relationship between variables. Users knowledge of ICT has an eigenvalue of 1.884 and it explains the 6.281 percent variance of the relationship between the variables. The skills of the Users play a crucial role in influencing the adoption and utilization of Information and Computer Technology in Audit Firms is. It has an eigenvalue of 1.592 and it explains 5.308 percent variance in the relationship between variables. Also, Clients Business Location has an eigenvalue of 1.266 and describes 4.220 percent variance in the relationship between variables. Lastly, social influence has an eigenvalue of 1.229 and explains 4.098 percent variance in the relationship between variables.

Table 4: Eigen values Total Variance and Percentage

Component	Initial Eigen Values			Extraction sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cummulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cummulative %
Efforts	8.127	27.091	27.091	8.127	27.091	27.091
expectancy						
Cost of	4.856	16.188	43.279	4.856	16.188	43.279
Maintenance						
Users						

Certified Information System Auditor		10
Chartered Institute of Management Accountants		1
Association of Chartered Certified Accountants UK		8
Institute of Chartered Accountants of Nigeria		99
Chartered Institute of Bankers of Nigeria		8
Chartered Institute of Stock Broker		1
Chartered Institute of Taxation of Nigeria		20
Year of experience as Auditor		
0-5	14	13.59
6-10	14	13.5
11-15	9	8.59
16-20	34	33.01
21 Yrs and Above	32	31.07
Total	103	100.0

Respondents' Position, Years of Establishment and Audit Firms by Size

As indicated in table 3, Seventy-three respondents (70.87%) are in the top position of Senior Managing partners, sixteen respondents (15.54%) are in the cadre of Associate Partners, four respondents (3.88%) are in the position of Manager/Deputy Manager, two respondents (1.94%) are in the position of Audit Analyst, six respondents (5.83%) are in the position of Senior Auditor, while one respondent (0.97%) each is in the cadre of Audit Trainee and Audit Assistant respectively.

The firms' years of establishment presented in table 3 showed that one of the Audit firms i.e (0.97%) was established within the last five years, seventeen Audit Firms (16.50%) were established within the last 6-10yrs, twenty-one Audit Firms (20.39%) were in existence within the last 11-15yrs, thirty-eight Audit Firms (36.90%) were in operations in the last 16-20yrs while twenty-six Audit Firms (25.24%) were established in the last 21yrs and above. The result showed that majority of the Audit Firms had been in operation for quite a reasonable length of time and therefore would have attained a high degree of maturity to be able to face the challenges brought about by the Information and Communications Technology (ICT) integration in the Audit Firms.

As indicated in table 3, Audit Firms in Nigeria are categorized into three different groups namely: Multinational (9.23%), National (18.46%) and Regional (72.31%). This grouping was as a result of their level of activities and international connection.

Table 3: Socio-Economic Characteristics of the Respondents

Respondents Positions	Frequency	%
Level		
Senior/Managing Partner	73	70.87
Associate Partner	16	15.54
Manager/Deputy Manager	4	3.88
Audit Analyst	2	1.94
Senior Auditor	6	5.83
Audit Trainee	1	0.97
Audit Assistant	1	0.97
Total	103	100.0

have failed to produce the desired political leadership at that level of government (Ahmed, 2016)". It has since become a rule rather than exception for opposition parties in most of the states to boycott Local Government elections or go to court to challenge the outcome of such electionS. This is a clear indication of the undemocratic process of constituting Local Government Councils in Nigeria in flagrant violation of Section 7(1) of the 1999 Constitution (amended 2011) and a negation of the envisaged purpose of local government by which the framers of the 1976 Local Government Reforms had in mind.

Implication of state-local relations on Local Government Service Delivery

In this paper attempts have been made to show that the primary reason for the failure of local government in area of service delivery is the role of the State Governors in the affairs of local government. The Governors are found of taking over their financial allocation, taxes, counterpart funding and refuse to conduct Local Government elections, but instead ruling local governments with appointed administrators, most of whom are party loyalist and their friends and relations turning the entire process of local governments into irrelevant schemes of things. The implication of this, according to Ajibulu (2012), is that local government is now considered as an extension of state's ministry. The inherent nature of this problem has caused subservience, a situation where local government waits for the next directives from state governments before embarking on any developmental projects. This has made local government an object of control and directives. There is no room for discretion. This does not augur well for effective public service delivery at the local level; hence Local Government Councils await directives from the State government instead of using initiatives and striving hard to improve the local communities. Unless State government allows the local government's mandate as contained in the 1976 Local Government Reform and the spirit of 1999 Constitution to be implemented to the letter without unnecessary intervention, there can be no development at the grassroots.

Recommendations

The above analysis has shown that effective public service delivery at the local level in Nigeria cannot be achieved unless State governments allow the local government's mandate as contained in the 1976 Local Government Reform and the spirit of 1999 Constitution to be implemented to the letter without unnecessary intervention. Therefore, the paper makes the following recommendations:

- The provision of section 162(6-7) of the 1999 Constitution which created the Joint Account Allocation Committee (JAAC) system operated by the State and Local Governments in Nigeria should be amended to stop arbitrary deductions from Local Government allocations and manipulation of members of the Joint Account Committee by State Government. This will enable Local Government to be more responsible to rural developments. Other State Governments should emulate Kaduna State Governor Mallam Nasir El-Rufai who, on assumption of office in May, 2015, scrapped Joint Allocation Account to allow LG to have direct access to their statutory allocation. In addition, the state governments should hand off from constitutional internally revenue sources of Local Government Councils as practiced in United States of America (USA), Britain and France.
- Section 7 of the 1999 Constitution should be reviewed to expunge Sub Section (6b), that is: "The House of Assembly of a State shall make provisions for statutory

- allocation of public revenue to local Government within the state". Local Government allocations should be contained in the Consolidated ccount and be directly disbursed by the federal government under the supervision of the National Assembly.
- iii The immunity granted the Governor in the 1999 Constitution has significantly been abused and the paper recommends a constitutional amendment to withdraw it. Governors should be made accountable while still in office and this may checkmate their excesses. The current arrangement where Governors are prosecuted after leaving he office amounts to medicine after death as the damage had already been done and the judicial system is equally challenged.
- iv. Other sub sections under which the State Governor hide to divert the resources of the Local Government should be expunged while a provision with penalty be included in the constitution for diversion of Local Government fund and non release of the 10 per cent of State's internally generated revenue.
- v The Third Schedule, Part II of the 1999 Constitution, which provides for the establishment of State Independent Electoral Commission should be expunged from the Constitution and the functions be transferred to Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) to make Local Government Council election to be credible. This does not imply that INEC has evolved as a credible institution but it shall minimize Governors' imposition of Local Government political operatives.
- vi Political actors at the state and local government levels should be willing to allow their actions to be guided by the letters and spirit of the 1999 Constitution.

Conclusion

The inclusion of Local Government as a separate tier of government distinct from the Federal and State Governments in the 1999 Constitution by the framers of the Constitution was to ensure strict adherence to the fulfillment of the conceived purpose which this tier of government was anticipated to serve. However, moments after May 29, 1999, every attempt to ensure that Local Government carryout it constitutional functions as a third tier of government has continued to suffer as State Governors often abuse their supervisory powers over Local Government Councils in their states. The State Houses of Assembly saddled with the responsibility for making laws for the democratic existence of local governments, their structure, finance and general administration have failed to check the abuse of constitutional provisions in this regard. This practice has rendered local government ineffectual in carrying out its assigned mandate of triggering development from below.

REFERENCES

Abia, D. (2015). "Nigeria: Another Look At Council Dissolution in Rivers": *Daily Independent*, Friday June 18. <http://independentnig.com/another-look-council-dissolution-rivers/>. Accessed, 05/08/2016.

firms distribution. Eighty-two respondents (79.61%) were male while twenty-one respondents representing 20.39% were female. The sex distribution shows that there were more male workers in the Audit Firms than female. This finding prompted the researcher to ask question whether there is gender discrimination in the Audit Firms. However, the responses revealed that because of the nature of the Auditing which involves frequent travelling to audit locations for weeks is more convenient for male workers than their female counterparts was adduced as the main reason for the disparity in the ratio of male to female workers in the Audit Firms.

Fifty-six respondents (54.37%) had Bachelor's degree or Higher National Diploma, forty seven respondents representing (45.63%) had Masters Degree in MBA or M.Sc. Also, ten respondents were members of Certified Information System Auditors (CISA), one respondent is a member of Chartered Institute of Management Accountants (CIMA), eight respondents were members of Association of Chartered Certified Accountants UK (ACCA), ninety nine respondents were members of the Institute of Chartered Accountants of Nigeria(ICAN), eight respondents were members of the Chartered Institute of Bankers of Nigeria (CIBN), one respondent is a member of Chartered Institute of Stock Brokers (CIS), while twenty respondents were members of Chartered Institute of Taxation of Nigeria (CITN). This level of academic and professional qualification shows the quality of respondents Involved in the study.

Also, eight respondents representing (7.77%) were within the age bracket 20–29yrs, twenty five respondents representing 24.27% of the sample size were within age range 30–39, forty –one respondents representing 39.80% were in the age group of 40–49, while twenty –nine 29 respondents representing 28.16% were within the age group of 50yrs and above. Fourteen respondents (13.59%) had been in auditing practice between 5–10yrs. Nine respondents (8.74%) had served in the Audit Firms for between 11–15 years, thirty–four respondents (33.01%) had served between 16–20yrs while, thirty-two respondents (31.07%) had 21 yrs and above solid experience as auditors.

Table 2: Socio-economic Characteristics of the Respondents

Variables	Frequency	%
Sex		
Male	82	79.61
Female	21	20.39
Total	103	100.0
Age		
20–29	8	7.76
30–39	25	24.27
40–49	41	39.81
50 and above	29	28.16
Total	103	100.0
Qualification		
B.Sc/HND	56	54.37
MBA/M.Sc	47	45.63
Total	103	100.0
Certification		

Technology adoption is a process, with the adopter moving from a state of ignorance of the technology to considering and giving attention to such technology (Van Biljon and Renaud, 2008). Full progression can only take place if the adopter fully accepts the technology and if not, the adopter may likely not wholeheartedly adopt the technology or may remain a reluctant user or completely ignore the technology (Van Biljon and Renaud, 2008).

III Research Methodology

The data used for this study was gathered from the questionnaire design, personal interview and secondary data. Random samples of Auditors were taken across four states in Southwestern Nigeria namely: Lagos, Oyo, Osun and Ondo. Participants were mainly auditors practicing in Audit firms in the selected states were purposively selected for questionnaire administration and personal interview. A sample size of one hundred and three (103) respondents working in the 70 Audits Firms in Lagos, Oyo, Osun and Ondo States were purposively selected. Two respondents (senior partners and Middle managers) were purposively selected from each Audit Firms. Audits firms were stratified into three categories namely, multinational, national and the regional. The volume of activities varies across the groups. Therefore, the three groups (Multinational, National and Regional) were considered for the study.

Descriptive, inferential statistics and factor analysis were used to determine and identify factors that really influenced Auditors decision to adopt ICT in their operations.

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Distribution of the Respondents among the Study Area

In the survey of socio-demographic of the audit firms in Southwestern Nigeria considered for this study, Table 1 below showed that eighty (80) respondents were located in Lagos representing 77.76% of the total sample. Nineteen (19) respondents representing 18.45% of the total sample were located in Oyo State. In Osun and Ondo states there were 2 respondents each representing 1.94% of the total sample. This pattern of distribution of the respondents was in line with our apriori expectation of having more of Audit Firms located in Lagos state than other states. This was due to the location and commercial nature of Lagos which still remain the commercial nerve center of the country because of her nearness to the outside world through the air, water and land. Lagos state is also densely populated with a very high potential for rapid economic and market growth. It is also the most populated state in Nigeria.

Table 1: Distribution of the Respondents by the Study Area

State	Frequency	%
Lagos	80	77.67
Oyo	19	18.45
Osun	2	1.94
Ondo	2	1.94
Total	103	100%

The Socio-Economic Characteristics of the Respondents

The social economic characteristics of the respondents are presented in table 2. The main characteristics include sex, age, educational qualification, professional certification, years of experience as Auditors, respondents' positions, year of firms' establishment and audit

Acba, E. (2008). "Vision 2020 and Local Government Autonomy": *The Pointer*, Friday August 15. Vol. 9, No. 2406.

Afrobarometer (2008). "Opinion and Local Government in Nigeria": <http://www.afrobarometer.org>. Accessed, 21/08/2016.

Agba, M. S. (2006). "Human Resources Management and Effective Service Delivery in Sophia": *An African Journal of Philosophy*. Vol.8, No.2 (7-13).

Agba, M. S.; Akwara, A. F; and Idu, A. Y. (2013). "Local Government and Social Services Delivery in Nigeria: A Content Analysis": *Academic Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies*. Vol. 2, No. 2 (1-8). <http://www.mcser.org/journal/index.php/ajis/article/view/410/427>. Accessed, 18/07/2016.

Ahmed, Y. M. (2016). "Local Government Elections: A Waste of Time and Resources": Information Nigeria, February 12. <http://www.informationng.com/2016/04/lg-elections-a-waste-of-time-resources-ex-sgf-yayale-Ahmed.html>. Accessed, 04/06/2015.

Ajigbulu, E. (2011). "Local Authority: Plausible Panacea to Grassroots Challenges": <http://www.thenigerianvoice.com/news/69833/lg-autonomy-plausible-panacea-to-grassroots-Challenges.html>. Accessed, 12/03/2016.

Akintayo, J. O. A. (1996). "Constitutional Framework for Sustaining Effective Legislature-Executive Relations at the Local Government Level": A Lecture Delivered at the Conference Organized for Local Government Councilors by Canaan Associates Held at the Conference Centre, University of Ibadan, Ibadan.

Alao, O. D; Osakede, O. and Owolabi, T. Y. (2015). "Challenges of Local Government Administration in Nigeria: Lessons from Comparative Analysis": *International Journal of Development and Economic Sustainability*. Vol. 3, No. 4 (61-79). <http://www.eajournals.org/wp-content/uploads/Challenges-of-Local-Government-Administration-in-Nigeria.pdf>. Accessed, 28/03/2016.

Almond, G. and Powel, B. (1955). *Structural Functionalism*. <http://en.wekapedia.org>. Accessed, 02/07/2016.

Angahar, P. A. (January, 2013). "The Impact of Existing Intergovernmental Financial Relations on Effective Service Delivery at the Grassroots in Nigeria": *International Academic Research Journal of Accounting, Finance and Management Sciences*. Vol.3, No.1 (112-118). <http://www.hrmars.com/admin/pics/1440.pdf>. Accessed, 30/07/2016.

Babatope, O. A and Egunjobi, A. A. (May, 2016). "State Governors as Impediment Towards Democratic Composition of Local Government Councils in Nigeria": *International Journal of Advanced Academic Research, Social and Management Sciences*. Vol.2, No.5 (75-83). http://www.ijaar.org/articles/volume_2-number5/social-management-sciences/ijaar-sms-v2n5-may16-p6.pdf. Accessed, 11/08/2016.

- Black Law Dictionary (1990). 6th Edition. St. Paul, Minnesota West.
- CFRN (1999). Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999 (amended 2011).
- Fox, W.; Schwella, E. and Wilsink, H. (1991). *Public Management*. Kenwyn. Juta and Co. Ltd.
- Golding, L. (1975). *Local Government (Teach Yourself)*. London. Hodder and Stoughtons.
- Haralambos, M. and Heald, R. M. (1980). *Sociology: Themes and Perspectives*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Khemani, S. (2001). "Fiscal Federalism and Service Delivery in Nigeria: The Role of States and Local Governments": Milmeo, Development Research Group, the World Bank, Washington D.C. www.Bank.org/publicsector/decentralization/March2003seminar.
- Lewis, P. and Alamika, E. (2005). "Seeking the Democratic Dividends: Public Attitude and Attempted Reforms in Nigeria": <https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/92613/AfropaperNo52> SEEK NG%20TH%20DEMOCRATIC.pdf. Accessed 27/04/2014
- Nchuchuwe, F. F. and Adejuwon, K. D. (October, 2015). "Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations and Local Government in Nigeria: Issues and Prospects": *Scientific Research Journal (SCRJ)*. Vol.3, No. 10 (31-37). <http://www.sciri.org/papers-1015/sciri-p1015295.pdf>. Accessed 10/08/2016
- Obasanjo, O. (2003). Address presented at the inauguration of the Technical Committee on the Review of the Structure of Local Government Councils in Abuja. June, 25. <http://www.nigeriafirst.org/speeches/html>. Accessed, 14/03/2011.
- Ojo, D. (2008). "ICPC Summons Commissioners, Two Others": *The Nation*. Wednesday, August 20. Vol.3, No.0761, p6.
- Ojugbeli, F. A. and Ojoh, J. (November, 2014). "The Joint Account System in Nigeria: Problems and Prospects": *Journal of Policy and Development Studies*. Vol.9, No.1 (292-300). <http://www.arabianjbmr.com/pdfs/JPDS VOL 9 1/21.pdf>. Accessed, 11/06/2016.
- Okoli, F. C. (2000). *Theory and Practice of Local Government: A Nigerian Perspective*. Enugu. John Jacobs Classic Publishers Ltd.
- Otabor, O. (2009). "Edo NULGE Blocks Council Chiefs for Rejecting Aloocation": *The Nation*, Thursday, June 11. Vol. 3, No. 1056.
- Price, J. H. (1970). *Comparative Government*. London: Hutchinson.
- Radio Nigeria (2015). "PDP Sweeps Council Polls in Ondo State": <http://www.radionigeriaibadan.com/news/2513>. Accessed, 21/03/2016.

spreads to general use and application (Rogers, 2003). The terms adoption and diffusion although these terms are quite distinct from each other but are used interchangeably. Therefore, noting the difference between these two terms is in order.

There are four factors that influence adoption of an innovation. These include; (1) the innovation itself, (2) the communication channels used to spread information about the innovation, (3) time, and (4) the nature of the society to whom it is introduced (Rogers, 1995). He noted that there are four major theories that deal with the diffusion of innovations. These are the innovation-decision process theory, the individual innovativeness theory, the rate of adoption theory, and the theory of perceived attributes.

Unified Theory of Acceptance and Use of Technology (UTAUT)

The UTAUT aims to explain user intentions to use an IS and subsequent usage behavior. The theory holds that four key constructs (performance expectancy, effort expectancy, social influence, and facilitating conditions) are direct determinants of usage intention and behaviour (Venkatesh et. al., 2003). Gender, age, experience, and voluntariness of use are posited to mediate the impact of the four key constructs on usage intention and behavior (Venkatesh et. al., 2003, 2012). The theory was developed through a review and consolidation of the constructs of eight models that earlier research had employed to explain IS usage behaviour (theory of reasoned action, technology acceptance model, motivational model, theory of planned behavior, a combined theory of planned behavior/technology acceptance model, model of PC utilization, innovation diffusion theory, and social cognitive theory). Subsequent validation of UTAUT in a longitudinal study found it to account for 70% of the variance in usage intention (Venkatesh et. al., 2003, 2012).

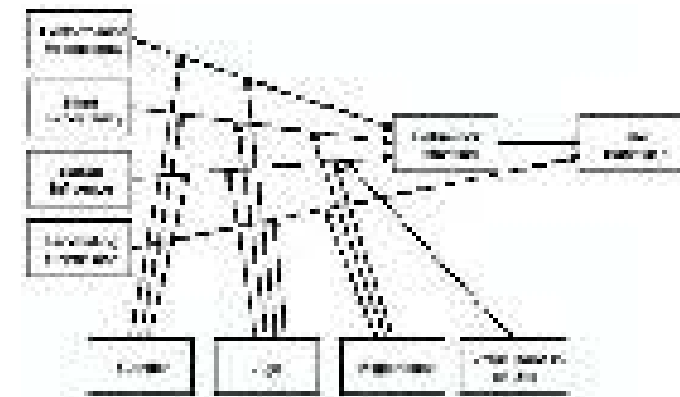


Figure 2. Unified Theory of Acceptance and use of Technology Model (Venkatesh, 2003, 2012)

The Technology Adoption Process

Roger, (1995) in his theory Innovation Decision Process theory provided an insight into technology adoption process. According to this theory, potential adopters of an innovation must learn about the innovation (knowledge); be persuaded as to the merits of the innovation (persuasion); decide to adopt it (decision); implement the innovation (implementation) and finally, the decision must be reaffirmed or rejected (confirmation).

As the world is going through an information technology era, which is rapidly changing among other things, the economic order, the way we think, the environment in which we live, and the way businesses are managed. While the use of information technology (IT) in the business world has grown exponentially in the past two decades, the extent to which auditors have adopted ICT such as computer –assisted auditing techniques (CAAT) and other technologies to meet this growth remains an empirical question (Arnold and Sutton 1998; Janvrin D. J., Bierstaker, J. L and Lowe, D. J. 2009). The advancement of information and communications technology (ICT) in the world has brought about the use of computer auditing in the industry. Paperless audits are no longer a thing of the future, but reflect the current state of auditing as performing audits without using information technology is inevitable. Therefore, the factors influencing the adoption and utilization of ICT in Audit firms in Southwestern Nigeria is very paramount, hence this study.

The study follows thus: introduction, review of literature, methodology, results and discussion, and conclusion.

II. Review of Literature

Evolution of information technology auditing

Information Technology Auditing (IT auditing) began as Electronic Data Process (EDP) Auditing and developed largely as a result of the rise in technology in accounting systems, the need for IT control, and the impact of computers on the ability to perform attestation services. (Sandra and Frederick, 2009). The last few years have been an exciting time in the world of IT auditing as a result of the accounting scandals and increased regulation. IT auditing has had a relatively short yet rich history when compared to auditing as a whole and remains an ever changing field. (Owolabi *et.al.*, 2016). The introduction of computer technology into accounting systems changed the way data was stored, retrieved and controlled. As noted by Rick H., Roger D., Arnold S., Philip W. (2005). The first use of a computerized accounting system started at General Electric Company in 1954. During the time period of 1954 to the mid-1960s, the auditing profession was still auditing around the computer. At that time only mainframe computers were used and few people had the skills and abilities to program computers. This began to change in the mid-1960s with the introduction of new, smaller and less expensive machines. This increased the use of computers in businesses and with it came the need for auditors to become familiar with EDP concepts in business. Along with the increase in computer use, came the rise of different types of accounting systems. The industry soon realized that they needed to develop their own software and the first of the generalized audit software (GAS) was developed. In 1968, the American Institute of Certified Public Accountants (AICPA) had the Big Eight (now the Big Four) accounting firms participate in the development of EDP auditing. The result led to the release of Auditing & EDP. The book included how to document EDP audits and examples of how to process internal control reviews. (Paul *et.al.*, 2012).

Adoption/Diffusion theories

Rogers (1995) noted that diffusion is not a single, all-encompassing theory. It is has several theoretical perspectives that relate to the overall concept of diffusion; it is a meta-theory. He defined diffusion as the process by which an innovation is adopted by members of a certain community. Carr, 1999 defined adoption as the stage in which a technology is selected for use by an organization. On the other hand, diffusion is the stage at which the technology

Rimaye, M. A. (2016). "Praise Singers and Katsina State Local Government Elections": <http://www.gamji.com/article6000/news7895.htm>. Accessed, 17/08/2016.

Snallen, I. T. M and Van de Donk, W. BHJ. (2002). *Public Administration in an Information Age*. Amsterdam: IOS Press.

Sobechi, L. (2009). "Ebonyi Council Chief Faults Joint Account": *The Guardian*. Thursday, May 7.

Ukiwo, U. (2006). "Creation of Local Government Areas and Ethnic Conflicts in Nigeria: The Case of Warri, Delta State": www.crise.ac.uk/copy/decentralization%20conference/ukiwo.pdf. Accessed, 12/11/2015.

Yakubu, J. A. (1999) (eds). *Legal Issues in Local Government Administration in Nigeria*. Ibadan: Oyo State Printing Corporation.

— (2003) (eds). *Socio-Legal Essays in Local Government Administration in Nigeria*. Ibadan: Demyaxs Law Books.

FACTORS INFLUENCING INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATIONS TECHNOLOGY (ICT) ADOPTION AND UTILIZATION IN SELECTED AUDIT FIRMS IN SOUTHWESTERN NIGERIA.

EFUNWOLE M.S.

African Institute for Science Policy and Innovation
Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria;

OLUWATOPE A.O.

Department of Computer Science and Engineering
Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria;

OGUNJEMILUA E.M.

African Institute for Science Policy and Innovation
Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria
&

BINUYO G.O.

African Institute for Science Policy and Innovation
Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria.

Abstract

The role played by Information and Communication Technology (ICT) as a major catalyst and enabler for organizational change necessitate the study on factors influencing ICT adoption and utilization in Audit firms in Southwestern Nigeria. The study employed diffusion theories and Unified Theory of Acceptance and Use of Technology (UTAUT). The study identified factors that influenced ICT adoption and utilization in the Audit firms in Southwestern Nigeria. Multi-stage sampling technique was deployed for this study; primary data were collected using a set of structured questionnaires. The study revealed that eight major factors influenced Auditors' adoptability and usage of ICT in their audit exercise. The eight variables that account for 79.35% of the factors were considered using factors analysis and that are above 1.0 Eigen values. The study concluded that effort expectancy, cost of maintenance and user expectation of improved performance are the major determinant of ICT adoption and utilization in the audit firms.

Keywords: ICT, Adoption, Utilization, Audit firms and Southwestern Nigeria.

I. Introduction

The business world has witnessed rapid changes in the recent time that one can no longer imagine running a business without adoption of information and communication technology (ICT). Information, for modern organization, is a resource parallel in importance to land, labour and capital. It has been one of man's vital commodities and a priceless resource. Advances in information technology in conjunction with real time approaches to conduct business are challenging the auditing profession (Paul, E. B., Abdullah A., Benita G., Ryan T., Donald W. J. and Miklos V., 2012). The definition given in ISA 200 states the objective of an audit of financial statements is to enable the auditor to express an opinion whether the financial statements are prepared, in all material respects, in accordance with an identified financial reporting framework. (IFAC, 2004).

Information Technology (IT) is a term which describes the collection of computer system used by an organization. It includes the hardware, software, databases, networks, and other electronic devices (Efraim T., Dorothy L., Ephraim M., James W., 2006). Advances in information technology (IT) have also transformed many firms in professional service Industry, including the public accounting industry. The industry which had hitherto noted to be operating on a slow pace and a conservative service industry underwent tremendous changes in the recent time. This was due largely to the rapid changes in its IT environment (Elliott 2002). Auditing is all about verifying and obtaining expert opinion on the business organization (Owolabi S.A., Jayeoba O.O. and Ajibade A. T. 2016). Automation of audit tasks and use of specialized audit software has substituted IT for labour and changed the structure of audit teams. Equally important is the use of advanced systems to share knowledge across different parts of the organization, and this had enabled professional service firms to leverage their human resources more effectively (Gogan J., Applegate L. M., and Nolan R., 1995).

The advent and utilization of sophisticated accounting systems by the business organizations due to rapid improvement in technology has made the needs by the auditors to keep pace with changing environment. (Luliana, 2012). This is because there will be occasion when mere working knowledge of these tools will not be sufficient to produce results in audits. Auditors must therefore become experts in applying audit software and other modern technology in their daily operations. Thus, auditors find themselves in an environment of constant technological changes and the need to adopt those changes in their operations as well as supporting Information and Communications technologies. However, these changes may become a significant threat when ignored by the auditors, but they may as well become valuable opportunities when anticipated and where appropriately adopted. According to International Federation of Accountants (IFAC, 2002), e-business is believed to have a significant impact on accounting systems; through changing business processes, and the need to provide evidence to support business transactions, the emanating changes in the methods of keeping accounting records and its maintenance and the continuous dynamics of the accounting procedures. Automatic transmission of information and data on operating activities directly into the accounting system through the use of integrated software solutions may become the result (IFAC 2002). Many economic events are now being captured, measured, recognized, and reported electronically, without any paper documentation; and online, real-time accounting (RTA) practices has emerged as the system of choice" (Razaee Z., Ford. W. F., and Elam. R., (2000) and Rezaee, Z., Elam, R and Sharbatoghile, A. (2001).

The change in the business environment is having strong influence on the development of the internal and external audit and assurance industry. Auditors' methodologies need to keep up with the auditee business' governance and reporting changes in order to ensure the effectiveness and efficiencies of the audit function. Generally Accepted Auditing Standards (GAAS) required that the auditors should obtain sufficient knowledge of the entity's business to provide a basis for adequate planning and properly executing the audit (Porter, 1997) It is also required of them to obtain a sufficient understanding of the internal control (i.e. the control environment and control systems. IT on the other hand, provides the technical solutions identified in the IS, including the network hardware and software. Information technologies include telephone, teleconferencing, electronic mail (E-mail), view data, voice mail, telex, expert systems, video conferencing, and facsimile, among others.

conclusions on reports, publications, interview, materials as secondary sources and participatory, thereby maximizing opportunities for different stakeholders to present their experience and views. This in addition to secondary data obtained from NAPTIP.

Results

Analysis of the results shows that a total of 2423 trafficked persons were identified between 2004 and 2008. Table 1: Victims of trafficking identified by State authorities in Nigeria, by type of exploitation given a total of 6, 923. This is in addition to 1, 500 recorded in 2009, total of 1, 900 recorded in 2010 and decreases to 910 victims in 2011 respectively. Table 2: Majority of those identified (49%) were children 0 – 17 years, followed by young adults 18 – 27 years (41%), while adults, 28 years and above, accounted for only 10%. There are more children victims than adult victims. (Fig 1)

In the period 2005 – 2008, 74% of victims identified by NAPTIP were females while the males identified were 26%. There was female preponderance across the zones visited. Sokoto has no male victim (Fig 2). On the zonal distribution of victims in the five zones visited, in the five of the seven NAPTIP shelters visited, Lagos shelter accounted for majority of victims 32%, followed by Abuja 24%, Benin 18%, Enugu 15% and Sokoto 11% (Fig 3). The Table 4 shows the number of victims present in the 5 shelters visited on the day of visit. Enugu has the highest number of victims – 72 (including 46 social mothers in the clinic). The victims in the other zones were 30 in Lagos, 15 in Abuja, 1 each in Benin and Sokoto. Meanwhile, the period of stay by victims in the health facilities ranges between 2 to 14 days, with majority staying for 7 days or less. Table 5: Current cost of providing medical services to the identified victims as seen in (Table 6), Abuja has the highest cost of health care in the 3 years (N2, 681,206) and the highest average cost per victim of N5, 088.00 over the period. Enugu is next with a total expenditure of N1, 690,500 and average cost per victim of N4, 929.00. Sokoto's cost for medical services was the lowest at N121, 930.00 total cost and N512.00 as average cost per victim. However, Lagos seems to be the most cost effective considering the economic environment. The explanation obtained for Abuja and Enugu are that medical services are expensive in Abuja, while in Enugu the hospital retained in 2006 charged very high and it was changed subsequently. Also in Enugu, the cost of hospital care for social mothers increased the total cost. On the qualitative findings, it was revealed that the International Organization for Migration (IOM) has provided financial support for the provision of health services to victims. UNICEF does provide drugs and other medical supply for children victims intermittently. The Nigerian Bar Association (Lagos Chapter) provides drugs for Lagos, and French Embassy has provided drugs and medical supply to Lagos and Abuja shelters once.

Analysis of average mean cost of medical services per victim over 3 years period, the average cost of medical services of N2, 681, 206.00 was used for the 527 victims that were housed in Abuja. This was on the high side when compared with the highest number of victims (705) in Lagos which cost N946, 208.00 with the cost of N1, 342.14 used in treating each victim. However, the average cost of treatment was very low in Benin where 412 were treated with N345, 100.000 with a cost of N837.62 per person. Table 7: Cost implication in the treatment of trafficked victim per year was very high in 2006 in Enugu State Nigeria, while victims in Sokoto State recorded the lowest cost implication. On the whole, caring for victims in Abuja was high through the three years period. (Fig 4)

Furthermore, Tamuno (1998:13) defines federalism as that form of government where the component units of political organization participate in sharing powers and functions in a cooperative manner through the combined forces of ethnic pluralism and cultural diversity, among others, which tends to pull their people apart. Therefore, a federal system must be operated to assure political stability and peaceful coexistence among the conglomeration of communities and heterogeneous ethnic and religious entities. This was further argued by Ismagilova (2004) that federalism means wider power of the subjects of a federation and civil equality of all ethnic groups regardless of their numerical strength and development level. Schmitt (1997:24), however, puts it more explicitly by asserting that 'federalism has emerged as a means of accommodating the growing desire of people to pursue or review the intimacy of small societies, and the growing necessity for larger combinations to mobilize the utilization of common resources better. Furthermore, Akindele (1995:138) conceived federalism as a system in which powers and indispensable decisions are exercised and made at two or multilateral levels of government in accordance with the strict mutually agreed constitutional provisions.

Indeed, notwithstanding the varied definitions identified, the term federalism can be conceived as a system or principle of government in which in a political system there is a vertical distribution of decision making powers between and among the various levels therein. From the foregoing varied definitions, therefore, the convergence is mostly on the principles of federalism both as a process, a system and a structure. The principles can be outlined as follows:

- i. Constitutional division of powers;
- ii. Principle of constitutionalism;
- iii. Principle of non-concentration of power;
- iv. Principle of territoriality;
- v. Multiple levels of government;
- vi. Acceptance and tolerance of diversity (see Asobie, 1996; Elazar, 1974; Ogban-Iyam, 2000; Egwu, 2014).

Fiscal Federalism: Fiscal federalism is indeed one of the major classical principles upon which federal system ought to rest. However, the greatest challenge generally is how to find a stable and functional financial system that will enable all levels of government perform responsibilities assigned to them. Jega (1996:89) observed that federation in plural societies invariably tends to be about competition and struggle over power for access to and control of societal resources. Hence, in as much as division of powers and allocation of responsibilities in federal systems have fiscal implications, finding an appropriate financing system and granting commiserate responsibilities is quintessential to a functional and stable federal system. Fiscal federalism deals with separation of assignment of responsibilities and taxation powers among the levels of government. Also, it involves intergovernmental transfers between and among the different levels of government. Kasim (2014:41) argued that, 'according to the basic theory of fiscal federalism, the central government should ensure equitable distribution of income, maintain macroeconomic stability and provide public goods that are national in character, such as defense and security, etc., while lower levels of government on the other hand should concentrate on the provision of local public goods in which the central government may provide targeted grants in cases where there are

jurisdictional spillovers associated with local public goods.'

Fiscal federalism, therefore, constitutes the core and difficult area of federalism which measures the degree of division of powers among the component units of federations; for the financial power is an engine of every activity' (Tsegaw, 2009). It may also constitute a potential source of danger when decentralizing units rely heavily on the centre to finance their responsibilities. (Oates, 2005).

What this implies is that fiscal federalism specifically focuses on allocation of expenditure responsibilities, the revenue raising powers and the processes of adjusting fiscal imbalances through intergovernmental transfers. Thus, it is desirable having in place fiscal institutions that will manage intergovernmental puzzles in the federal system.

Overview of Nigeria and Ethiopia

This section outlines briefly the origin, evolution, institutional structures and underlying issues of the two federations.

Nigeria: The Nigerian federation began with the 1914 amalgamation of the northern and southern protectorates. Over the last one hundred years, the country has undergone series of transformation, developments, alterations as well as witnessed turbulent periods that shackled the country's cooperate existence.

Federal system in Nigeria was bequeathed by the British colonial government 'mainly for administrative convenience and economic interest of the metropolitan colonial state' (Muhammad, 2012:5). The country hitherto (before 1900) existed not as a country, but consisted of several independent and autonomous entities. The most predominant entities virtually differed on the nature of their political authority. Thus, they were categorized into centralized state systems, semi-centralized state systems, mutually independent spatial state systems, decentralized state systems. However, Sagay (2008) opined that the deliberate choice of federalism as the only viable and acceptable form of government for Nigeria was a product of the diversity of its peoples, politically, historically, culturally and linguistically and the experienced gained from the attempts to create a viable polity out of the forced amalgamation of Northern and Sothern Protectorates in 1914.

Unfortunately, since the adoption of federal system in the country, vast majority have vehemently expressed their reservations arising from the distribution of responsibilities between the central and federating units. Also, there were agitations and demand for additional regions especially to accommodate the minorities. For instance, there were agitations for the creation of the Middle Belt within the Northern region, the Calabar Ogoja Rivers in the East and the Mid West from the West. From then onwards, the Nigerian federation has been bedeviled by the interplay of centrifugal and centripetal forces as reflected in the incessant contestation among and between the various constituent units. Furthermore, despite the independence Constitution retention of the federal principle, and safeguard the political, civil and religious rights of all including the minorities, there were myriad of concerns that heightened relations between the various groups. Hence, Tamuno (1998) argued that both the elite and the masses allowed Nigerian federation to encounter severe crises during its formative years.

Ethiopia: The political history of Ethiopia is generally analyzable through the evolution of one major cleavage: center/periphery (Fentaw 2009:22). He further opined that the emergence of federalism in Ethiopia was prompted by the history of its cleavages. Thus, Ethiopia

Nigeria. With the passage of the Trafficking in Persons (Prohibition) Law Enforcement and Administration Act of (2003) and the approval of the National Policy on Protection and Assistance to Trafficked Persons in Nigeria (2008), it is increasingly important to better understand the health needs of trafficking victims and the health services that should be provided to them. This study was carried out to conduct needs assessment for Social Health Insurance coverage for victims of trafficking in persons in Nigeria. It also examined cost estimates of financing health needs and costs of insurance services for victims of trafficking in Nigeria. Finally, it recommends financing strategies for health Insurance for victims of human trafficking in Nigeria.

Types of Health Insurance for Victims

The study obtained two opinions on the possibility and types of insurance for the victims. A group of respondents felt the characteristics of the victims as a group makes them not amenable to classical health insurance or, in the alternative, the premium payable would be very high. The characteristics identified are:

- that the group's size is small; about 1, 500 persons in a year;
- that the number is not static but widely varying over the period;
- that the period of stay in NAPTIP custody is short (2 –4 weeks) and not specific; and
- that there would be adverse selection as majority of the victims would require medical care.

These respondents therefore suggested a “Third Party Administration” of health care services to the victims. Under this arrangement, **health maintenance organization (HMO)** would be appointed to accredit health care providers to the victims. The bills for treatment raised by such health care providers would be vetted by the HMOs before its settlement by NAPTIP. The HMOs would be paid a percentage of the bill (15 – 20%) as administrative charges. The main advantage of this option is quality of health care at an optimum cost. Its drawback is that, as a form of fee for services with payment of administrative charge, total cost may be high for the payer.

The second group of respondents suggested that a social health insurance scheme should be instituted for the victims. In their views, the information on the number of victims over the last 3 years; the type of illness and the cost of treatment, should guide in the determination of payable premium per victim while the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS) is to subsidize the funding of the health insurance for the trafficking group.

Methodology

The study used both qualitative and quantitative methodologies. The quantitative method used a questionnaire developed by the researcher. The questionnaire was pretested, reviewed and approved by NAPTIP. The qualitative method used in-depth interview, focus group discussion and direct observation. The semi-structured questionnaires were administered by trained interviewers. The questionnaire included a number of open-ended questions to enable respondents elaborate on the different issues explained in the questionnaire and portray as best as possible the complexity of the issues mentioned. All the filled semi-structured questionnaires were collected, collated and edited by the field interviewers and the supervisor. When the instruments arrived from the field, a data entry guide was prepared for the coding of the questionnaires. The information was then transferred to the computer softwares for analysis. The study also used evidence and information of

National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS).

Key Words: Human Trafficking; Victims; Health Care; Cost of Medical Services

Introduction

Trafficking in person is an act, and attempted act, involved in the recruitment, transportation within or across borders, purchase, sale, transfer, receipt or harbouring of persons involving the use of deception, coercion or debt bondage for the purpose of placing or holding the person; whether for or not in involuntary servitude (domestic, sexual or reproductive) in forced or bonded labour, or in slave like conditions (**National Agency for Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons – NAPTIP**, 2016). Despite the government's anti-trafficking law enforcement efforts, there are increased reports of government complicity in human trafficking. The Trafficking in Persons Law Enforcement and Administration Act, as amended in 2015, criminalizes all forms of trafficking and prescribes a minimum penalty of five years imprisonment and a minimum fine of one million naira (\$3, 290) for sex and labor trafficking offenses; the minimum penalty for sex trafficking increases to seven years imprisonment if the case involves a child.

Human Trafficking is a violation of human rights. According to Article 25, paragraph 1, of the UN Convention which obliges States to take appropriate measures to provide assistance and protection to victims, particularly in cases of threat of retaliation or intimidation, which in the case of victims of trafficking, will often be the case. Article 6, paragraph 3, of the Protocol obliges States to consider implementing measures to provide for the physical, psychological and social recovery of victims of trafficking, in cooperation with non-governmental organizations and other elements of the civil society; in particular, the provision of appropriate housing, counseling and information, medical, psychological and material assistance and employment, education and training opportunities. (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime – UNODC, 2009).

The International Labour Organization reported that trafficking is a serious violation of human rights. In the past decades, trafficking has grown to become a widespread, very profitable, international crime (ILO, 2015). Although the United Nation Children Fund (UNICEF) reliable statistics on trafficking are difficult to obtain because of its underground nature, it is estimated that at least 2, 450, 000 persons globally are in situations of forced labor as a result of trafficking, and that women make up 56% of the victims of economic exploitation and 98% of those exploited in commercial sex (UNICEF, 2016). Trafficked women suffer some of the most unspeakable acts of abuse, exploitation and degradation. Few victims emerged unscathed, either physically or psychologically from a trafficking experience. Yet, despite the profound and enduring damage to victims' health and wellbeing, relatively little action has been taken to identify and meet the health needs of victims. (Stolen, 2006).

Literature Review

While there is a significant amount of information regarding the magnitude, causes and practices of trafficking, little information exists on the health needs of trafficking victims and the way and means of providing the health services to meet those needs. There is a paucity of literature on health needs of victims of trafficking in developing countries. Specifically, insignificant studies have been conducted on a national scale to systematically assess the health needs of victims and the way and means of providing it to them have been conducted in

became a federation in 1991, and a Federal Constitution became effective in 1995 which guarantees the right for self determination for the Nations, Nationalities and People up to secession. Consequently, Ethiopia is the only federation that guarantees right to secession by its component units. This is because the Ethiopian federation is a federation of the Nations, Nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia and not the constituent member states as the case in other federations, hence territorial demarcation in Ethiopia is on ethnic basis.

The cleavages had a long history arising from the plural nature of the federation and were heralded by the dissolution of the Ethiopian and Eritrea Federation because of the unwillingness of the Emperor to uphold the Federal Act brokered by the United Nations resolution of 1950 (see Elazar, 1987). Consequent upon this, there were violent uprisings against the emperor that led to the emergence of military regime in the country. While Eritrea held a referendum to secede, which it did in 1993, the military ruled Ethiopia from 1974 to 1991 to which whose actions and retractions resulted in the proliferation of several opposition groups. Principal among such groups include: the Tigray Peoples' Liberation Front TPLF, Ethiopian Revolutionary Democratic Movement EPRDM, Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Party EPRP, Ethiopian Democratic Union EDU, Oromo Liberation Front OLF, etc. The groups, despite several suppression by the military government, especially during the reign of Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam (1977–1987), engaged vigorously in armed struggle that led to their victory in 1991 and the overthrow of the military regime and the subsequent formation of government through a coalition of the two major groups and named it the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF). Thus, on the 21st of August, 1995, the country became a federation of Nations, Nationalities and People of Ethiopia. The federation is comprised of the federal government and nine member states (*Kililoch*) based on ethnic territoriality.

This sub section provides historical account of the two federations, and it is apt to sum up that, from the narrations, Ethiopian Emperors provided a unique opportunity to the federation that Nigeria could not have. The Emperors vigorously pursued policy of assimilation consistent with unification derives. Whereas, in Nigeria, attempt to unify the federating units began with the famous 1914 amalgamation which was at the discretion of the colonial masters. Also, it can be summed that, Ethiopia is a federation of 'coming together' while Nigeria is of 'holding together'.

Politics of Revenue Allocation: A Comparison

Here, attempt is made to first examine revenue allocation principles in both countries from the Constitutional provisions on the states to uphold the fundamental obligations of government, safeguard economic and social objectives. Then, the agitations for the review of the allocation formula are examined.

The General Features of Revenue Allocation: In Nigeria and Ethiopia, the process of revenue allocation is generally governed by Constitutional provisions and a revenue allocation formula. Thus, in the case of Nigeria, sections 162 (1), (2) and (3) of the 1999 Constitution stipulate the Federation Account into which shall be paid all revenues collected by the government of the federation, and the President shall table proposals for revenue allocation from the federation account, and in determining the formula, principles of population, equality of states, internal revenue generation, land mass, terrain as well as population density should be taken into consideration provided that the principle of derivation

shall be constantly reflected in any approved formula as being not less than 13% of the revenue accruing to the federation account directly from any natural resources. Also, it provides for the beneficiaries as: the federal and state governments and the local government councils. While in comparison to Ethiopia, the Constitution, in furtherance for a fair wealth and economic distribution among the regions, nations, nationalities, and peoples of Ethiopia, mandates the House of Federation to allocate revenues through a Federal Budget Grant Distribution Formula which is based on the principles of: population (65%), expenditure needs (25%), revenue raising capacity (10%) (see Fentaw, 2009; Petra, 2008). Also, there is an understanding of the need to provide additional support to the four emerging regions that were believed to have suffered from the historical legacy of marginalization from the centre, and thus more weak institutional capacity to raise revenues from their assigned tax powers. (Alefe, 2014).

In Nigeria, however, the existing revenue allocation formula predates the 1999 Constitution, hence the Allocation of Revenue (Federation Account, etc.) Act of 1982 that was amended by Decree No 106 of 1992 CAP 16 LFN, 1990, modified by an executive order in 2002 and a treasury circular 2004 following the Supreme Court judgments regarding 13% derivation and allocation to special funds respectively. In effect, there is breach of the Constitutional provisions and the revenue allocation formula particularly in respect to the principles guiding horizontal allocation (population density, terrain and the continued retention of social development factor) (see Koko, 2016). In contrast to this in Ethiopia, in pursuance of the Constitutional mandate, the House of Federation has prepared and made grant distribution formulae at virtually every two years from inception based on the Constitutional principles and objectives. Hence, distinctions can be drawn between Nigeria and Ethiopia on the basis of the revenue allocation formula and the processes of its review. While Ethiopia was able to successfully review its revenue allocation formula after every two years since 1994, and all the reviews were conscious of the need to equalize the fiscal capacities of the federating units in order to provide comparable level of public services to the citizens. This is in line with the Constitutional provisions as stated in article 41:3 and 4, 43:1, 89:1 and 2, and 90:1. These sections of the Constitution direct the state to ensure that every Ethiopian citizen, and each nation, nationality and people has equal right to access publicly funded services. In the case of Nigeria, despite the Constitutional recommendation of reviewing the formula, at least after every five years, the country had failed to review the over 24-year-old extant law.

From these, another very distinctive variant between Ethiopia and Nigeria is that, in the latter, there is a formula guiding vertical allocation (52.68% federal; 26.72% and 20.60% to states and local government councils respectively) derived from revenues defined in section 162 (1) that is 'all revenues collected by the government of the federation, except the proceeds from the personal income tax of the personnel of the armed forces of the federation, the police force, ministry or department charged with foreign affairs and residents of the federal capital territory' (Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999). In addition to this, there is also the Value Added Tax VAT pool account which is also shared thus: 15%, 50% and 35% to the federal, states and local governments respectively. Whereas in the former, that is Ethiopia, it is governed by a system of integrated equalization grant from the concurrent taxes and the federal revenue. Thus, revenue allocation is in form of conditional and

HEALTH CARE FINANCING FOR VICTIMS OF CHILD TRAFFICKING IN NIGERIA: TRENDS AND ANALYSIS OF THE COST OF MEDICAL TREATMENT PER VICTIM PER YEAR

Saka, M. J.

Department of Epidemiology and Community Health,
University of Ilorin, Ilorin Kwara State, Nigeria;
sakamj@unilorin.edu.ng , sakamj1@yahoo.co

Oloriegbe, I. Y

Managing Partner,
Hafsayah Health System Consultants.
White house No. 79, Adetokunbo Ademola Crescent, Wuse 2, Abuja;
oloridoc@yahoo.com

Saka, A. O.

Department of Pediatric and Child Health,
University of Ilorin, Kwara State, Nigeria
aishat.saka@yahoo.com

&

Salman A.

Department of Business of Administration,
Faculty of Management Sciences,
University of Ilorin, Kwara State, Nigeria.
salrasaq@yahoo.com

Abstract

Human trafficking is the fastest growing criminal enterprise in the world, is the second largest criminal enterprise in the world. A relatively large percentage of young women and children that are trafficked for sexual exploitation will become HIV positive. Most victims of human trafficking suffer from malnutrition and therefore are subject to severe dental decay and pain. The study used both qualitative and quantitative methodologies. The quantitative method used a questionnaire developed by the research team. The qualitative method used in-depth interview, focus group discussion and direct observation. In the last 3 years (2006 – 2008), the numbers identified were 493, 787 and 1269 respectively. The figure for 2009 was 1, 500 persons. Victims in the age group 0 – 17 years accounted for 49% of total identified persons followed by 18 – 27 years 41% and 10% for 28 years above. More than 74% of identified victims are females while males are 26%. Total Cost for Medical Services (Drugs & Treatment) range from \$634.00 to \$33,333.00 only between years 2006 to 2008. The number of victims of Human Trafficking is on increase with serious health consequences. The health care available to victims could be more efficient and effective, that the current average cost of health care to victims is \$20 per victim. It is recommended that health insurance scheme should be established for the victims with a sum of \$13.3 be paid per person for 12 weeks. The Board of the National Agency for Prohibition of Traffic in Persons and other Related Matters (NAPTIP) should be paying the sum of \$1.5 per quarter amounting to \$27.0 in a year to the

- Series No.1 Department of Political Science and Sociology, Babcock University, Ilishan Remo, Nigeria.*
- Anifowose, R. (2004). "Political Parties and Party System in the Fourth Republic of Nigeria: Issues, Problems and Prospects": Remi (Ed.) *Issues in Nigeria's 1999 General Elections*. Lagos: John West Publication Limited and Rebonik Publications Ltd.
- Ayoade, J. A. A. (2006). *Godfather Politics and Corruption in Nigeria*. Published by IFES 78–87.
- Bently, A. (1908). *The Group as an Actor of the State*. Colarodo: Colarodo Springs Businessworldng.com/new/□p=18908 Retrieved November 22, 2014
- www.channelstv.com/2014/02/02/defection-to-apc-pdp-has-lost-direction-atiku. Retrieved November 22, 2014.
- Festus, Owete. (2014, January 29). 11 PDP Senators defect to APC www.premiumtimesng.com/politics/154194-11-pdp-senators-defect-apc.html Retrieved November 26, 2014.
- Heoane, T. (2008). "Floor-crossing in South Africa: Entrenching or Undermining Democracy□": *South Africa Journal for Political Science and Public Administration* 27(2).
- Emmanuel, Moyosore. (2014, August 3). "Oyinlola's letter to Jonathan: The President Does not want me in PDP despite my loyalty". www.osundefender.org/□p=180141. Retrieved November 22, 2014
- Nwabueze, Okonkwo. (2014). "At last Peter Obi bows to pressure, defects to PDP": *Vanguard* October 7, 2014.
- Okereka, O. P. (2015). "Understanding the Thrust of Group Theory and its Applicability to Contemporary Party Politics in Nigeria": *Public Policy and Administration*, 5 (5)
- Olaolu, S. O. & Julius. O. A. (2015). "Cross Carpeting in Nigerian Politics: Some Legal and Moral Issues Generated": *CSC Canada, Frontiers of Legal Research*, 3 (2): 22–39
- Olaleye, W. (2003). "Democratic Consolidation and Political Parties in Lesotho": *EISA (Electoral Institute of Southern Africa)* Occasional Paper No 15.
- Oluwole Ige (2014), Adeleke finally defects to APC. Adeleke's defection can't stop PDP–Olasunkanmi, Oke. www.tribune.com.ng/news/top-stories/items/6795-adeleke-finally-defect-to-apc-adeleke-s-deflection-con-t-stop-pdp-olasunkanmi-oke. Retrieved November 22, 2014
- Owede, Agbajileke. (2014). "Tambuwal: A defection so controversial": *Business Day*, November 2 2014. Online.com/2014/11/tambuwal_a_6thEd). Oxford University Press.
- Peter, Mbah. (2011). "Party Defection and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria, 1999–2009": *Afro Asian journal of social science* 2 (2).
- Rustow, D. A. (1970). *Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model*. Institute of War and Peace Studies, Colombia University.
- Schedler, A. (2001). Measuring Democratic Consolidation, *Studies in Comparative International Development Spring*, 36(1), 66–92.
- Sola, Ogunmosunle. (2015). "Defection as a Political Cancer": *Daily Times* April 18, 2015, dailytimes.com.ng/defection-as-political-cancer/ Retrieved April 20, 2015.
- 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria

unconditional grants (Duguma, 2014). To Jorge and Boex (nd), unconditional grants or general purpose grant is a grant allocated on annual basis that has no strings attached, thus it allows for a substantial amount of policy discretion to the recipient. Therefore, unlike in Nigeria where there is a federation account into which all revenues as defined in section 162 (1) and (10) are reserved to be shared vertically as explained above; in Ethiopia, the general pool from only the concurrent taxes stipulated in article 98 of the Constitution are dispersed to the regions only. Similarly, despite special consideration given to the pool reserved for the regions, there is no clearly spelt out guideline of what should be set aside for distribution other than the assessment of the non discretionary expenditures of the federal government (salary, debt repayments, defense, etc) and assessment of the minimum expenditure requirements of the regions in the light of the aforesaid constitutional provisions (see Mengeste, 2011). Thus, it was observed that, unconditional grants constitute almost 70% of the regions' source of revenue.

On the horizontal allocation, the two federations offer distinct practices, notwithstanding the equality consideration. Thus, in Nigeria, there are contradictions between the Constitutional provisions and the allocation formula to which there are principles and proxies with weights assigned to each. The principles as obtained from the formula are: equality (40%), population (30%), land mass and terrain (10%), social development factor (10%), and internal revenue effort (10%). For instance, proxies for social development factor are: primary school enrolment (24%), secondary/commercial enrolment (16%), hospital beds (30%), and water supply (30%). The same guidelines are applicable to local governments. This is in contrast to Ethiopia where horizontal allocation reserve 1% of the distribution pool for four of the nine regions in the federation. These four regions are: Benishangul-gumuz, Gambela, Afar and Somali Regional States considered being emerging regions arising from the long years of marginalization due to the centralizing trends before the formal institutionalization of federalism in the country (Petra, 2008; Fentaw, 2009). Consequently, parameters used are determined by estimate as follows: population, revenue raising capacities (from taxes and fees within the jurisdiction of the regions), expenditure needs (administration costs, education, public health, agriculture and natural resources, water supply, construction and maintenance of roads, enterprise development, and urban development).

In Nigeria 13% derivation is allocated to certain federating units that produced revenues from natural resources. Yet, the littoral states are discontented with this meager allocation as evident in virtually all the national political conferences organized in the country. On the contrary, in Ethiopia, the federal government is not empowered to solely collect revenue from similar natural resources such as gold, oil and gas and coffee. Rather, the federal government is only entitled to royalties from such natural resources.

Contending Issues and Agitations for the Review of the Revenue Allocation Formula

Giving the wide range of revenues at the disposal of the federal government in both countries coupled with the significant fiscal inequalities among the federating units thus resulting in a mismatch between available revenues and expenditure requirements, fiscal imbalance is inevitable in the federations. Thus, huge vertical and horizontal fiscal imbalance prevailed in both countries. This necessitates devising intergovernmental fiscal transfer designed to bridge the fiscal gaps that occur.

However, revenue allocation in both countries has intensified agitations and

dissatisfaction between the federal and states governments, and among the states. Thus, in Nigeria, Orokpo and Stephen (2012) opined that revenue allocation phenomenon appeared to be in permanent disorder. This is partly owing to the fact that, of the almost 15 different revenue formulae in the country, majority had been lopsided in favour of the federal government at the expense of the other levels (Koko, 2016). Similarly, none of the formulae had defined clearly, explicitly and quantifiably principles, proxies and weights for the vertical revenue allocation. Whereas in the case of Ethiopia, to a relative degree, concurrent taxation and retention of revenues from natural resources (oil and gas, and coffee) abound in the various regions, to which the federal government received royalties, had lessened dissatisfaction and agitation. However, the process of horizontal allocation remains highly contested and conflict ridden. In essence, while in Nigeria, clamours or agitation for resource control, or gradual increase of derivation allocation had remained unabated. In the case of Ethiopia, revenues from natural resources fall within the purview of concurrent taxation. Notwithstanding, Mengeste (2011) observed the challenge of the viability of joint levying and collecting concurrent taxes. He further asserts that there is no clear Constitutional provision regarding the issue. Similarly, whilst the House of Federation is constitutionally assigned with the responsibility of revenue allocation, there are no clear constitutional provisions regarding the principles to be taken in to consideration for the horizontal allocation of revenue from the proceeds of concurrent tax. Thus, in both countries, there is a huge vertical imbalance such that almost all the states/regions cannot meet up their recurrent and capital expenditure. Perhaps, this can be attributed to the preponderance of the federal government on assigned taxes as well inefficient tax administration by the states. Likewise in Nigeria, while the federating units endowed with natural resources are entitled to 13% derivation from the proceeds of revenues, such revenues in the case of Ethiopia fall under concurrent taxation to which the federal government is entitled for royalties. With regards to the 13% derivation in Nigeria, it is apt to mention that it was the The National Constitutional Conference convened by the Military administration of General Sani Abacha recommended 13% derivation principle lumped with any amount set aside for funding any authority or agency or the development of the state or states of derivation (Ojo, 2010). Considering the amelioration brought by this recommendation, it becomes fruitful when the 1999 Constitution adopted the recommendation. Thus, according to section 162 (2) paragraph 2, it is provided that the principles of derivation shall be constantly reflected in any approved formula as being not less than 13% of the revenue accruing to the Federation Account directly from any natural resource.

Yet, the oil producing states not only dissatisfied with the 13% allocation as expressed by their representatives in all the National Conferences convened between 1999-date, but also institute a legal interpretation before the Supreme Court. The zone had consistently expressed their agitation through a plethora of means on the perceived injustice by the Federation and vehemently canvassed for the return to the principle of derivation in revenue allocation and subsequent increment of the principle. At some points, they even clamour for total resource control.

Further to this, there were expressed dissatisfactions with the revenue allocation formula in both countries. While in Nigeria there have been several court cases challenging certain issues such as the allocation to special funds, onshore/offshore dichotomy,

the challenges of democratic consolidation in Nigeria as it greatly affects the socio-political instability. Also the absence of true federalism is another stumbling block to democratic consolidation in that some practices such as the quota system, revenue allocation, federal character, etc. can bring about agitation that is capable of inciting politicians to move from one party to another as a result of a perceived neglect by the ruling party.

Also, godfatherism is one of the impediments to democratic consolidation in Nigeria because it has come to dominate the political scene of the country. It is a game where political king makers and gladiators manipulate the political system to enthrone their own crowned political steward. Another impending challenge to democratic consolidation is corruption. Corrupt practices between and among politicians of a particular political party can cripple the ideal activities needed for the growth and development of the party, and in the process, any politician that feels he/she has been cheated can decide to leave such party and pitch tent with another political party.

Conclusion

Cross-carpeting and defections by Nigerian politicians leave much to desire because defections have seriously polluted the political atmosphere to the extent that citizens who voted for a candidate on a particular political platform are no longer ever sure that such a candidate will ever remain faithful to the party's mandate. The present crop of Nigerian elected public officers have shown themselves to be suffering from greed and inordinate ambition for political offices because of the gains attached to such position than the service they are supposed to render to the citizens (Business World, November 3, 2014). Moreover, defections have continued to damage the country's democratic image outside the country as it shows the state of immaturity in which the political system is still wallowing. Needless to say is the political instability which the defections of these selfish politicians have caused.

A simple way out of this bad and terrible trend is to firstly build political parties that are ideologically inclined. Secondly, all forms of constitutional ambiguity and loopholes that encourage political adultery should be re-examined so as to put a stop to or drastically minimize political cross-carpeting and defection in Nigeria.

REFERENCES

- Abutudu, M. (2013). "Political Parties and Elections in Nigeria's Fourth Republic": Being a paper presented at the National Conference on Political Parties and the Future of Democracy in Nigeria, organized by the National Institute of Policy and strategic studies (NISS), Kuru, in collaboration with Democracy and Governance Development Project (DGD) II of UNDP, 26-28 June, 2013.
- Ade, Adesomoju. (2014). Ribadu defends defection to PDP. *The punch newspaper*. August 18, 2014. www.punchng.com/news/ribadu-defends-to-pdp/. Retrieved November 22, 2014.
- Alexander, Okere. (2014, September 27). Edo, Rivers will fall to PDP— Jonathan www.punchng.com/news/edo-rivers-will-fall-to-pdp-jonathan/ Retrieved November 24, 2014.
- Aleyomi, M. B. (2013). "Election and Political Party Defection in Nigeria: A Clue from Kogi State": *Covenant University journal of Politics and International Affairs* 1(1), 1-13.
- Ania, A. D. (2002). "Party Politics in Nigeria under Obasanjo Administration": *Monograph*

The last part of the foregoing section provided, as escape root for politicians, to cross-carpet since there are always divisions within the political parties. It provided the platform for many legislators and governors who defected to justify their actions on the grounds of division or crisis within their political parties since the 1999 constitutional is not definitive of crisis or division that could cause defection or cross-carpeting.

The provisions of these sections of the constitution were explicit in matters concerning the legislature. It clearly mandates that any member of the legislature who intends to defect to another party must prove that division or factions exist in the party in which he was a member, or that his party has merged with other political parties. The constitution made provisions for legislators but it was however silent on those members of the executive arm, such as the president, the vice-president, the Governors and the deputy Governors. The ambiguity of the constitution caused the defections among Nigerian politicians to be on the increase as the country has, in recent times, witnessed a great deal of defection among legislators, governors, deputy governors, party members and other political office holders.

The Impact of Cross Carpeting, Party Alignment and the Challenges to Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria

After the return to democracy in 1999, the fourth republic witnessed the alliance of the All Peoples Party (APP) and the Alliance for Democracy (AD) so as to improve its performance at the polls especially the 1999 presidential election but the alliance did not work as the PDP was dominant in the elections. However, a major party alignment that marked a watershed in the history of party alignment in Nigeria was the merger of the ACN, CPC, ANPP and APGA into APC. This alignment was based on the need to form a formidable party to wrestle power out from the hands of PDP which has been ruling at the federal level since 1999. The merger however bore fruits and impacted the political landscape as the APC won the 2015 presidential election and 19 states out of 28 governorship posts.

On the other hand, cross-carpeting or party defection has had a lot of impacts that have continued to bedevil development in Nigeria. One impact of cross carpeting and party defection in Nigeria is the weakening of a viable and formidable opposition which portends a great danger for democratic consolidation. Opposition is an integral part of any democracy as it exists to constantly put on alert and be watchful of government policies and actions. The lack of a formidable opposition may make the ruling party to become complacent, arbitrary and autocratic. But the constant presence of a formidable opposition will serve as an obstacle to despotism because it affords well-informed critics as opposition is ever ready to expose the wrong doings of the ruling party and put the government on its toes. (Ogunmosunle, 2015).

Another impact of cross-carpeting or party defection that has continued to bedevil democratic consolidation in Nigeria is the lack of a viable party ideology which has contributed a great deal to the incessant cross-carpeting and party defections. This is because political parties in Nigeria are not driven by any ideology other than making money. This claim was buttressed by Alhaji Balarabe Musa, the National Chairman of the Conference of Nigeria Political Parties (CNPP), when he asserted that “defection of politicians is championed by the fact that there is a lot of loose money in the country and anybody with sufficient money can go to any other party to achieve his ambition”. (ThisDay Live, 2014).

However, Muhammed (2013) highlighted some challenges to democratic consolidation in Nigeria. He asserted that ethno-religious factor features prominently among

management of the federation account by the federal government, first line charges (joint venture cash call, 4% and 7% cost of collection for federal inland revenue service and the customs service respectively) and other legislations such as the excess crude account/sovereign wealth fund etc.; in the case of Ethiopia, there were identified shortcomings from the various grant formula instituted. Principal among such challenges that ignited discontent and agitation is the criteria or variables adopted and the respective weights assigned (see House of Federation, 2007). Thus, the criteria such as population size, development index, revenue raising capacity, capital budget implementation capacity, geographical size and poverty index have been objected to by several regions. While some regions may be comfortable with some, other may discern on them. For instance, Fentaw (2009: 58) observed that 'the Heads of the so called peripheral regional states expressed their disagreement with the introduction of the additional parameters on the ground that they would prevent the least developed peripheral states from securing enough budgetary support. He further observed the discontents from the larger and relatively developed regional states that they have been disproportionately subsidizing those regional states that cannot contribute enough revenue to the federal treasury from own sources. Further to these is also the challenge of the reliability and authenticity of the data used to determine some of the variables. As for the development index, it was challenged to have been skewed in favour of the regions' needs for capital expenditure, neglecting the recurrent expenditure.

Conclusion

It is apparent that huge fiscal imbalance (vertical and horizontal) abound in both Nigeria and Ethiopia and that efforts have been made to bridge the fiscal gaps through a system of revenue allocation. Thus, overtime both countries have devised several revenue allocation formulae to guide the process of fiscal intergovernmental transfer. However, most often, the formulae are remembered for the controversies they had generated than problems solved. Hence, having examined relevant literature on fiscal federalism, the paper indicates that the process of revenue allocation is the most controversial and difficult exercise in most federations.

The discussions presented an overview of the features of revenue allocation in both countries by highlighting key areas of resemblances and differences and observed a number of lessons to be learnt from the experiences of both countries. The paper also examined the agitations and discontents arising from the revenue allocation formula of both countries in relation to the identified features. Consequently, the paper concludes that, in as much there are expectant differences in fiscal relations of both countries, partly owing to the distinct socio-economic and political characteristics of both, comparing the two systems afford us the opportunity to learn about the areas of divergence and appreciate efforts by respective countries to address challenges bedeviling the institution of a well functional, efficient and equitable federal system. It is imperative to note that Ethiopia is an ethnic federation, a multinational federation because of the prominence given to ethnicity such that it becomes the first principle of organizing the federating units, to the extent that the constitution grants the regions rights to self determination up to rights for secession. However, the historical antecedents of the country prompted enshrining the principles of equality and solidarity in its constitution. Thus, there is a strong cooperation between the federal and regional governments with a view to achieving equal or at least comparable living conditions

irrespective of one's place of resident. This strong cooperation prompted many observers to contend that Ethiopia is a 'coming together' federation (Fiseha, 2012). In Nigeria, on the other hand, it is a 'holding together' federation going by the processes and subsequent evolution of the federation especially considering the state creation phenomenon. Notwithstanding the nomenclatures, the federations had witnessed persistent agitations arising from discontent with the revenue allocation formulae instituted in both countries. Nigeria had instituted an institutional structure (Revenue Mobilization Allocation and Fiscal Commission) saddled with the responsibility of devising revenue allocation formula, it is lamentable that the country had failed to review the formula considering the existing one which predates the 1999 Constitution, and had so far been challenged and proven not to be in tune with changing realities in the country. In the case of Ethiopia, the House of Federation, a legislative organ of government, is constitutionally empowered to review the formula and had consistently done so virtually after every two years. Yet, it had failed to bridge the huge fiscal gap in the country.

REFERENCES

- Agbaje, A. (2000), Theoretical Perspectives on Federalism. In Babawale, T. & Olasupo, B. (2000). Devolution of Power in Federal State. Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Lagos.
- Aghalino, S. O. (2009). The Olusegun Obasanjo Administration and the Niger Delta Question, 1999–2007. *Stud Tribes Tribals* 7(1), 57–66.
<http://www.krepublishers.com/02-Journals/T%20&%20T/T%20&%20T-07-0-000-09-Web/T%20&%20T-07-1-000-09-Abst-PDF/T&T-07-1-057-09-192-Aghalino-S-O/T&T-07-1-057-09-192-Aghalino-S-O-Tt.pdf>. accessed on 6/11/2015
- Akindele, S. T. (1995) Intergovernmental Relations in Nigeria: A Theoretical Appraisal of the Involvement of Local Government. In A. M. Awotokun, (Ed.), *New Trend in Nigerian Local Government*. Ife, Obafemi Awolowo University (OAU) Press / Department of Local Government Studies, OAU, Chapter 23, Page No. 137–145.
- Alefe, A. B. (2014). System of Division of Revenue in Ethiopia. *European Scientific Journal* vol.2, special edition.
- Asobie, H. A. (1996). Centralizing Trends in Nigerian Federalism. In Elaigwu, J. I. and Akindele, R. A. (Eds.). *Foundations of Nigerian Federalism: 1960-1995. National Council on Intergovernmental Relations*. Garki, Abuja, Nigeria.
- Boadway, R. and Shah, A. (2009). *Fiscal Federalism: Principles and Practice of Multiorder Governance*. Cambridge University Press, New York.
- Boadway, R. (2006). Intergovernmental Redistributive Transfers: Efficiency and Equity. In E. Ahmad and G. Brosio (Eds.) *Handbook of Fiscal Federalism*. Edward Elgar. Cheltenham, UK. Pp131–153.
- Bird, R. M. (2006) Fiscal Flows, Fiscal Balance, and Fiscal Sustainability. In R. M. Bird and F. Vaillancourt (Eds.) *Perspectives on Fiscal Federalism*. The World Bank, Washington, DC, Pp 81–97
- Bird, R. M. & Vaillancourt, F. (2006) *Perspectives on Fiscal Federalism*. The World Bank, Washington, DC
- CFRN, 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria
- Duguma, F. D. (2014). Conditional Grant Allocation and its Implementation in the Ethiopian Federal System: A Comparative Study of Afar, Amhara, Oromia and Somali Regional

The former Governor of Anambra State, Mr. Peter Obi on Tuesday October 7, 2014, formally defected to the People's Democratic Party (PDP) from the All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA) on whose platform he became the governor of Anambra State and was in office for eight years. (Nwabueze Okonkwo, 2014).

Five out of the seven aggrieved PDP Governors in a major political earthquake joined the All Progressives Congress (APC) on November 27, 2013. These governors are Mr. Chibuike Amaechi (Rivers), Alhaji Ahmed Abdulfattah (Kwara), Dr. Rabi'u Musa Kwankwaso (Kano), Alhaji Muritala Nyako (Adamawa) and Alhaji Aliyu Wamako (Sokoto). Before the defection, the People's Democratic Party was engulfed in some internal crisis when seven PDP bigwigs, led by the National Chairman of the splinter group, Alhaji Abubakar Kawu Baraje, walked out of the party's Special National Convention in Abuja. (This Day Live 27, November, 2013).

Causes of Cross-Carpeting in the Nigerian Politics

Peter Mbah (2011) asserts that various scholars and commentators see the reasons for cross-carpeting as resulting from personality clash, power tussles, divergent views on the operations of a political party's philosophy, crisis of division within a given party, disagreement on party's position on an issue, realization of one's personal political ambition and party leaders reneging on agreed issue of the political party probably on power sharing formula.

Another important reason for party defection is the lack of party internal democracy. Intra-party democracy signifies the active participation of all party members to contest any position both within the party and for public offices (Aleyomi, 2013). However, since Nigeria's return to democracy in 1999, political parties have had the problem of non-democratic practices. Aleyomi (2013) identified constitutional ambiguity and loopholes as another serious reason for party defection. The 1999 constitution of Nigeria was full of ambiguities because the remarkable feature of the period during which the 1999 constitution was framed did not allow participation and discussion by Nigerians. For Abacha, the 1999 constitution was meant for self-succession while, for Abubakar, it was rather a mechanism for quick handover to a civilian elected democratic government. The constitution did not address the national question and other nagging issues pertaining to the Nigerian federalism. In all, the process that culminated in the constitution ignored the structural issues that have bedeviled the country's ability to enthrone a truly accountable, transparent and democratic political order. Consequently, it produced a draft that was full of ambiguities which have led to the increasing rate of party defections and cross-carpeting immediately it came into operation in May 29, 1999 (see section 68 (1) and 109 (1) of the 1999 constitution.

Section 68 (1) states:

“A member of the senate or the House of Representatives shall vacate his seat in the House of which he is a member if being a person whose election to the House was sponsored by a political party, he becomes a member of another political party before the expiration of the period for which that House was elected provided that his membership of the latter political party is not as a result of a division in the political party of which he was previously sponsored”. (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999).

Chief Tom Ikimi announced the Merger of the ACN, CPC and ANPP into the All Progressives Congress (APC) (The Nation June 21, 2013). Chief Tom Ikimi, however, on the 27 August 2014, resigned his membership from APC. His reason for leaving was his failure to become the National Chairman of the party as he was allegedly checkmated by some leaders of the party. Hence, Chief Ikimi defected back to PDP and was officially welcomed. (Alexander Okere, 2014).

Another wave of cross-carpeting was that of some serving Senators of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Senator Abubakar Bukola Saraki (Kwara Central), Senator Mohammad Shaba Lafiagi (Kwara North), Mohammed Ali Ndume (Borno State), Danjuma Goje (Gombe Central), Senator Abdulahi Adamu (Nassarawa West), Magnus Abe (Rivers South West), Senator Bindawa Muhammed Jubrilla (Adamawa North), Abdullahi Gobir (Sokoto East), Alhassan Aisha Jummai (Taraba North) and Senator Umaru Dahiru (Sokoto South). These senators cross-carpeted from the Peoples Democracy Party (PDP) to the All Progressives Congress (APC). The senators based their actions and decisions on the division and fractionalization in the party (PDP) that sponsored their election into the Senate. (Festus Owete, 2014)

Another huge political defector is the former Governor of Ondo State, Olusegun Mimiko, who had enjoyed the largesse of being in the Alliance for Democracy (AD). In 2007, he resigned his appointment and when he was not given the PDP governorship ticket, he decamped once again to the Labour Party (LP). It was on the platform of the Labour Party (LP) that he contested the governorship position in which the result released by the Independent Electoral Commission (INEC) showed that Mimiko lost the election. Mimiko, however, contested this decision at the election tribunal and eventually won the seat following an Appeal Court ruling. He became the governor of Ondo State on February 23, 2009. Governor Mimiko won a re-election on October 20, 2012. Again, Governor Mimiko officially decamped from the Labour Party to the People's Democratic Party (PDP) on Thursday October 2, 2014.

The Former executive Governor of Osun State, Senator Isiaka Adeleke on Saturday 31, June 2014 at the Nelson Mandela Freedom Park in Osogbo, the Osun state capital, formally defected to the All Progressives Congress (APC). Adeleke who was a former Senator on the platform of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) admitted that PDP as a political party had done no wrong against him but it was just to prove that he was capable of advancing his political career, thereby joining forces with people of like minds who believe in peace, progress and prosperity for the people and generations yet unborn. (Oluwale Ige, 2014).

Another politician that has defected in the recent time is the former Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) chairman, Nuhu Ribadu, the 2011 presidential candidate of the defunct Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN). This forerunner of the All Progressive Congress (APC) announced his defection from APC to PDP. The report first came into the open on August 16, 2014 that the former anti-corruption boss has dumped APC and defected to the ruling party PDP. Ribadu defended his defection to PDP saying that APC was not better than PDP as there were no differences between the two parties in terms of the characters of the people who constituted both parties. He said his defection was not borne out of his desperation to realize his political ambition but was taken in the overriding interest of serving the people. (Ade Adesomoju, 2014).

National States. (MA Thesis) University of Addis Ababa, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

Elazar, D. J. (1974) The New Federalism: Can the State be Trusted? *The Public Interest*, No. 35. Spring

Elazar, D. J. (1987). *Exploring Federalism*, Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

Egwu, S. (2014). Federalism and the Dilemma of Ethnic Minorities in Nigeria, in V. Egwemi, T. Wuam and C. S. Orngu (Eds.), *Federalism, Politics and Minorities in Nigeria: Essays in Honour of Professor G. N. Hembe*. Lagos, Nigeria: Bahiti and Dalila.

FDREC (1995) Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, Federal Constitution.

Fentaw, A. W. (2009). Conflict Management in the Ethiopian Multi-national Federation: A Critical Examination. (MA Dissertation). European University Centre for Peace Studies. Stadtschlaining, Austria.

Fiseha, A. (2012). Ethiopia's Experiment in Accommodating Diversity: 20 years' Balance Sheet. *Regional and Federal Studies*. Volume 22, Issue 4. pp. 435-473.

Follesdal, A. (2003). Federalism. The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. Retrieved From www.plato.stanford.edu/entries/. Accessed on 12/3/1015.

House of Federation (2007), New Federal Budget Grant Distribution Formula, Addis Ababa.

Ismagilova, R. (2004). Ethnicity and Federalism: The case of Ethiopia. *Istituto Italiano Per l'Africa e l'Oriente (IsIAO)* LIX (2), 179-200.

Jega, A. M. (1996). The Political Economy of Nigerian Federalism. In Elaigwu, J. I. and Akindele, R. A. (Eds). *The Foundation of Nigerian Federalism: 1960-1994. National Council on Intergovernmental Relations*. Garki, Abuja, Nigeria.

Jorge, M. and Boex, J. (nd.) The Design of Equalization Grants: Theory and Applications. World Bank Institute. Accessed from <http://math.unife.it/economia/Im.economia/imsegnamenti/economia-e-politiche-pubbliche/materiale-didattico/esercitazione-riforma-federale/approfondimenti-su-trasferimenti-pereguativi/modulepartone.pdf> 14/11/2016

Kasim, B. B. (2014) Manifestation of Partisan Alignment in the Allocation of Intergovernmental Fiscal Transfers in Nigerian Federation. In M. U. Alti, B. B. Kasim, S. Ahmad, & M. M. Kirfi (Eds.), *Readings in Public Administration*. Sokoto, Department of Public.

Kasim, B. B. and Koko, N. M. (2014) Devolution of Taxation Powers and Balancing of Revenue among the Lower Federating Units in Nigeria. In S. A. S. Aruwa and R. A. Akindele (eds.) (2014) *A Century of Public Sector and Corporate Governance in Nigeria (1914- 2014)*. A Proceeding of the 4th International Conference, Vol. 1. Faculty of Administration, NSUK. pp: 66-77.

Koko, N. M. (2016) Fiscal Federalism and the Politics of Revenue Allocation in Nigeria. (MSc. Dissertation) Department of Political Science, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, Nigeria,

Mengeste, G. (2011). Intergovernmental Fiscal Transfers in Ethiopia: Challenges and Some Options (A Comparative Study). An LL.M Thesis. Addis Ababa University, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

- Muhammad, H. (2012) Introduction: Nigeria's Turbulent Federalism and Perennial Conflict. In H. Muhammad, (Ed.) *Nigeria's Convulsive Federalism: Perspectives on Flash Points of Conflict in Northern Nigeria*. Ibadan, Cypress Concepts and Solutions Ltd.
- Oates, W. E. (2005). *Toward a Second Generation Theory of Fiscal Federalism*. *International Tax and Public Finance*, 12 (4).
- Ogban-Iyam, O. (2000). Vertical and Horizontal Devolution of Power in a Federal State: The Nigerian Experience in Devolution of Powers in a Federal State, Babawale, T. and Olasupo, B. (Eds.), Fiedrich Ebert Foundation, Lagos.
- Ojo, E. O. (2010) The Politics of Revenue Allocation and Resource Control in Nigeria: Implications for Federal Stability. *Federal Governance*. 7.1, pp.15-38.
- Orokpo, O. F. E. and Stephen, M. R. (2012) Revenue Allocation Commissions and the Contradictions in Nigeria's Federal System: A Revisitation. *Journal of Social Science and Policy Review*. Vol. 4, pp. 81-92.
- Petra, Z. (2008). Fiscal Equalization Systems: Australia and Ethiopia. *Yefedration Demets* Vol 4. Pp 55-60.
- Rao, M. G. & Sen, T. K. (1995) *Fiscal Federalism in India: Theory and Practice*. New Delhi, National Institute of Public Finance and Policy.
- Reno, W. (April, 1999). Crisis and (No) Reform in Nigeria's Politics. *African Studies Review*. Volume 42, Issue 1. pp 105-124.
- Riker, W. H. (1964). *Federalism: Origin, Operation, Significance*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.
- Sagay, I. E. (2008). Nigeria: The Unfinished Federalism Project. Eighth Justice Idigbe Memorial Lecture delivered at Akin Deko Auditorium, University of Benin, Benin City, Nigeria.
- Schmiit, N. (2005). Swiss Confederation. In J. Kincaid & G. A. Tarr (eds.) *Constitutional Origins, Structure and Change in Federal Countries*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press.
- Shah, A. (1994), The Reform of Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations in Developing and Emerging Market Economies. World Bank Policy and Research Studies, 23.
- Saunders, C. (2005). Commonwealth of Australia. In J. Kincaid and G. A. Tarr (eds.) *Constitutional Origins, Structure and Change in Federal Countries*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Tamuno, T. N. (1998). Nigerian Federalism in Historical Perspective. In Amuwo, K., Agbaje, A., Suberu, R. and Herault, G. (eds.). *Federalism and Political Restructuring in Nigeria*. spectrum Books, Ibadan and IFRA.
- Tsegaw, E. (2009). Fiscal Federalism: Teaching Material. Justice and Legal System Research Institute. <https://chilot.files.wordpress.com/2011/06/fiscal-federalism.pdf>.
- Watts, R. L. (1996). *Comparing Federal Systems in the 1990s*. Institute of Intergovernmental Relations. Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada. Accessed from <http://www.queensu.ca/iigr/sites/webpublish.queensu.ca.igrwww/files/siles/pub/archive/book/comparingFederalSystemsInThe1990s-Watts.pdf> 7/06/2015.
- Wheare, K. C. (1963). *Federal Government*. 4th ed.. Oxford University Press. New York.

on the nature and intensity of party competition, which has invariably engendered tremendous bickering, political uncertainties and disorder in many part of the country. The point here is that party politics in Nigeria has not undergone any genuine transformation that is capable of strengthening the democratic project.

Historical Account of Selected Cases of Cross-Carpeting in Nigerian Politics

In 1999, Chief Evan Enwerem lost the gubernatorial primaries in the All Peoples Party (APP) in Imo state and, however, decided to decamp and join the People's Democratic Party (PDP) on whose ticket he won a senatorial seat. His cross-carpeting was rewarded as he was elected the senate president. Peter Mbah (2011).

Also, the former vice president, Atiku Abubakar, who was a founding member of the PDP defected to the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) after a running battle with the former president Olusegun Obasanjo in 2007. He contested the presidential election on the platform of ACN but lost to the late President Umaru Yar'Adua. Atiku went back to the PDP in 2009 where he contested the Presidential primaries and lost. Atiku, however, on February 3, 2014, announced his resignation once again from the PDP and defected to the newly formed All Progressives Congress (APC). Atiku said his reason for leaving the PDP was that the party was no more the same party that he co-founded, as it has lost direction and its true meaning. (Channels Tv.com 2014).

Another wave of defection that the country witnessed recently is that of the Speaker of the House of Representatives Rt. Hon. Aminu Tambuwal from the People's Democratic Party (PDP) to the main opposition party, the All Progressive Congress (APC), on October 28, 2014. The Speaker announced his defection in a unique way by waiting until the last minute after the House Leader, Hon Mulikat Adeola Akande had moved a motion for adjournment. Hon Tambuwal quickly called the attention of the House member and announced his defection to the APC. (Owede, 2014)

Another politician that defected was the former Osun State Governor, Prince Olagunsoye Oyinlola who defected from the People's Democratic Party (PDP) to All Progressives Congress (APC). Oyinlola left PDP as the estranged National Secretary of the PDP and announced his defection to the APC on August 5, 2014. Oyinlola's grievance for leaving the party was due to the fact that he felt President Goodluck Jonathan does not want him in the party even after going the extra mile to prove his loyalty. (Moyosore Emmanuel, 2014).

Chief Tom Ikimi is another political defector of note. He was a foundation member and member of Board of Trustees of the All Peoples Party (APP) in 1999-2001 but he left the party on the 22, September 2001 to join the People's Democratic Party (PDP) and was the Chairman of the PDP's national convention in 2003 where he conducted the primary election that returned President Olusegun Obasanjo as the PDP presidential candidate for his second term bid. However, Chief Tom Ikimi soon left PDP to form the Advanced Congress of Democrats (ADC). The Advanced Congress of Democrats (ADC) was later merged into the Action Congress of Nigeria in which Chief Tom Ikimi was a foundation member and national leader. Chief Tom Ikimi had a strong believe in a two strong political party for a stable democracy. This belief resulted in his choice as the coordinating chairman of the merger talks of the major opposition parties, the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN), the All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP) and the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC). On June 21, 2013

political party, the situation often throws up intense party rivalries if democratic processes are yet to stand firm. The situation described the nature of party politics in Nigeria. As the group theory postulates, interactions of groups are the basis of political life. This means that political parties are often in constant interaction within themselves, across party line and the state generally. This form of interaction is often not called since the major interest of the various groups is the acquisition and control of state power for personal or common interest.

Unfortunately in Nigeria, the interactions which form the basis of the group activities has been characterized by various forms of anti-democratic behaviours, such as lawlessness, illegalities, rigging, oppression, manipulation, marginalization and violence. Other factors include monetary inducement, godfatherism, incumbency factor, religious bigotry, ethnic division, amongst others (Okereka, 2015). Ideally, a party is supposed to provide a means by which the interest of the people and groups can be aggregated and properly promoted under a democratic process. However, due to a plethora of reasons that is no doubt strongly related to personal interests, or a domineering tendencies by top party hierarchy, party indiscipline, inter-party relations, internal party democracy and processes, violence, political thuggery, membership defection have become the order of the day. Anifowoshe (2004) noted that

“From inception of the restoration of civil rule in the fourth Republic, the political sense has witnessed frequent discords, unresolved political issues, recriminations, threats of impeachment of executives, treacheries, flagrant breach of party rules, carpet-crossings, inter-communal rivalries and resurgence of factional cleavages with parties, which have continued to threaten the functioning democracy in Nigeria”.

Another factor working at variance with democratic consolidation in Nigeria can be found in the weak party structures and lack of internal cohesion. Weak structures of the current political parties no doubt come from the domineering interest of an individual or group of individuals within the same political parties. Consequently, the control of party machinery and structures is determined largely by the interest of the domineering caucus at any point in time rather than the established rules. Thus, the interests of the amalgamating parties usually influence the trend of relations. In a situation of divergence of interest, therefore, conflicts become inevitable. But a more foundational problem which inhibits party cohesion, institutionalization and, of course, deepening of democracy, lies in the ideological emptiness of the parties. This was asserted by Chukwuemeka Ezeife when he noted that

“From the beginning, we had wanted ideological parties. That opportunity was ruined. We now go for winning, winning only. No one ideology. We are playing survival game. Our preference for the use of ideology to unite Nigerians and present them with clear democratic choice did not work”. (qtd. in Ania, 2002)

Therefore, instead of the actions of the political parties to represent group interest, parties have found it extremely difficult for political parties to truly represent and promote the interest of the majority of the people (Abutudu, 2013). Political parties in Nigeria are a product of specific environments, which often influence their structures, functions, and operations. Nonetheless, they are expected, as elsewhere, to serve as lubricating agent for sustainable democratic rule. Presently, however, there is, as Anifowoshe (2004) noted, a growing public apprehension. He noted further that the growing apprehension is predicated

CROSS-CARPETING, PARTY ALIGNMENT AND THE CHALLENGES OF DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION IN NIGERIA

Omodunbi Olumide Olumuyiwa

Department of Political Science,
Osun State University, Osogbo, Osun State, Nigeria;
olumideomodunbi@gmail.com

Ogah Godfrey Oche

Department of Political Science,
Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Osun State, Nigeria;
ocfrey@yahoo.com

&

Owasanoye Oyepeju. I

Department of Political Science,
Osun State University, Osogbo, Osun State, Nigeria.
foyepeju@yahoo.com

Abstract

The issue of cross-carpeting and party alignment has continued to be a recurring decimal in the political landscape of Nigeria. This paper aims to explore the concept of cross-carpeting and party alignment, and trace the issue of cross-carpeting and party alignment historically in Nigeria. Using qualitative approach, the paper also examines the cases and causes of some prominent cross-carpeting and party alignment. It was discovered that while party alignment has been few, cross-carpeting in Nigerian politics has attained an alarming rate; hence, has to be checked as it tends to be a great challenge to the hope of democratic consolidation in Nigeria. The paper concludes that politicians should desist from moving from one party to another at will and that political parties should be formed on a concrete ideology so that Nigeria's democracy can be sustained.

Keywords: Party Alignment, Cross-Carpeting, Political Parties, Democracy.

Introduction

With the formation of political parties along ethnic and regional lines, the issue of cross-carpeting and party alignment has continued to be a recurring decimal in the political landscape of Nigeria since the introduction of party politics in the early 1920s. Cross-carpeting started in the Nigerian political space as far back as 1951 when twenty (20) NCNC members cross-carpeted to join the Action Group so as to deny Azikwe's party the opportunity of producing the Premier in the Western Region. Historically, Nigeria has witnessed a lot of cross-carpeting or party defection which mostly bothers on selfish political motives. While party alignment usually takes place between two or more political parties, cross-carpeting or party defection occurs at the individual level. Various factors can be attributed for this trend which include: personality clash, power tussle, individual personal ambition, lack of internal democracy, constitutional ambiguity and loopholes (Olaolu & Julius, 2015). The alarming rate at which Nigerian politicians have continued to defect especially since the return to democratic rule in 1999 leaves much to be desired as Nigerian politicians have continued to move from one political party to another just for the realization

of selfish goals. Based on these facts, the main focus of the paper is to examine the impact of cross-carpeting and party alignment and the challenges it poses to democratic consolidation in Nigeria.

CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION

Cross-carpeting

According to Hoeane (2008), cross-carpeting or political party defection occurs when every elected party representative within a legislative structure, such as a parliament, embraces a different political or policy perspective that is incompatible with that of the party/parties he or she represents. Usually, the main reason is that the decamped feels dissatisfied and discontent with his or her former party from where he or she decamps without the defection reflecting any ideological leaning. (Mbah, 2011).

The terms cross-carpeting and party defection have been used synonymously but it is pertinent to note that the two do not mean the same thing. To cross-carpet, one must first be an elected member of parliament and the act takes place within the parliaments. The reasons for this act are purely personal. While political defections, on the other hand, takes place outside the walls of parliament and the actors involved are not elected members of parliament but local politicians and those in the executive. Over the years, politicians in Nigeria have been seen decamping from one political party to another as a tool for expressing dissatisfaction at intra-party matters but also when they lose party nominations for elective or appointive posts.

Party Alignment

The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary defines alignment especially in politics as an association with or an agreement to support somebody. From the above, party alignment can be said to be a situation whereby two or more political parties form a new formidable coalition that will challenge the ruling party in power. Party alignment can also be simply defined as the process whereby the major political parties form new support coalitions that endure for a period of time with the aim of wrestling power from the opposition.

Democratic Consolidation

Democracy remains the most familiar concept in many political discussions and scholarly debates. This is because it encompasses all political and social significant issues such as justice, human rights, rule of law and good governance (Schedler, 2001). Democracy has successfully eroded authoritarian and fascist regimes across Africa and the world at large. And it has been regarded as the most acceptable and legitimate form of government and most desired (Schedler, 2001). Democratic consolidation however has become a pivotal concept in politics and it was introduced as a concept for addressing the challenges of regime stabilization and to secure regimes breakdown (Olaleye, 2004). Collier cited in Ogundiya (2011) suggested that there are three (3) approaches to defining consolidation. These are: actor centered, event centered, and institutional (internal and external). According to him, none of these approaches is mutually exclusive. By the term democratic consolidation, it means the deliberate political process in a polity by which democracy is so broadly and profoundly legitimized among its citizens that it is very unlikely to break down.

It means a democratic stay that cannot come to an end suddenly or abruptly through unconstitutional acts such as military coups or dictatorship. It implies established stability in governance.

This consolidation of democracy involves behavioral and institutional changes that normalize democratic politics and arrow its uncertainty (Rustow, 1970). Originally, the term “democratic consolidation” was meant to describe the challenge of making new democracies secure, of extending their life expectancy beyond the short term, making them immune against the threat of authoritarian repression. This normalization requires the expansion of citizen's access, development citizenship and cultures, bordering on leadership recruitment and training, the functioning of a mature civil society and political institutionalization. Consolidation requires that habituation of norms and procedures of democratic conflicts, regulations will also be developed. A high degree of institutional routinization is a key to such process (Rustow, 1970). Several authors have anchored the principal indicator of democratic consolidation on the percentages of voters in a country who consider democracy as an indispensable way of life and are willing to go to all length to defend it. Nigeria under the present regime will definitely not rank high in this regard. For the performance of democracy, the quality of its practices has been measured from the following perspective of justice and equality, responsiveness and effectiveness of governance and non-violent political expression.

Methodology and Theoretical Framework

The study is predominantly based on information derived from secondary sources. Hence, much of the data was accessed through the reviews of relevant texts, journals, magazines, newspapers, official publications, historical documents and the internet. This served as a tangible insight into the illustration and proves of knowledge regarding the challenges and prospects of cross carpeting, party alignment and democratic consolidation in Nigeria.

The study adopts the group theory as a framework of theoretical analysis. The group theory holds that the interactions of groups are the basis of political life. (Bently, 1908) is a leading proponent of the group activity who determined legislation, administration and adjudication. In his words, institutions do not provide the best framework for explaining how societies function. He argued that politics is a group affair and each group is competing against each other for power. He also added that group theory helps one to understand the pattern of process involving mass of activities and not a collection of individuals. Thus, since the group emerge from frequent interaction among its individual members which is directed by their share interest, it provides the best framework for the understanding how political parties and other association of groups function to promote and protect their interest. (Okereka, 2015).

Therefore, the group theoretical framework for understanding the intricacies that characterized political parties' activities in their quest to acquire political power is critical. As should be noted, political parties as an aggregate of group interest are vital organizations in a democracy. This is because democracy involves the aggregation of group interest based on the acquisition of power for the authoritative allocation of value. As activities involving varied groups, political parties function within certain parameters that involve high level of institutionalization, a located level of candidate nomination, high level of working an internal party office and the presence of formal rules and objectives, which translate to the acquisition of power. (Ayoade, 2006).

However, under a multi-party democracy, there are different political parties or groups jostling for power, and since powers can only in most cases be acquired by only one

Rondinelli, D. A (1981). Government decentralization in comparative perspective: theory and practice in developing countries. *International Review of Administrative Science*, 47(2)
Sagay, I. (2008, May 19). How a true federal system should run”. The Nation, Lagos.
Tiamiyu, A and Deji, A. (2016). Reviewing joint state-local governments' accounts: The Pilot

Conferences

Aigbokhan, B.O (2000). Fiscal federalism and growth in Nigeria”. *In fiscal federalism and Nigeria's economic development*, Selected Papers of Nigerian Economic Society (NES Annual Conference).
Ekpo, A.H (2004). Inter-tier fiscal relations: The Nigerian Experience. A Paper Presented at the 10th Year Anniversary of the Financial and Fiscal Commission of South Africa, Cape Town: South Africa.
Jenifer, W. (2014). 19th Century division of powers, 21st century problems: understanding Canada intergovernmental relations: A research study conducted for policy innovation. The federal ideas on think thank federalism.
Rondinelli, D. 1990. Decentralizing urban development programs: A framework for analyzing policy options. USAID Office of Housing.

Thesis/Seminars.

Edogbanya, A and Ja'afaru G. S (2014). Revenue generation: It's impact on government developmental effort (A Study of Selected Local Council in Kogi East Senatorial District)
Erunke, C.E and Usman, A.Y. (2012) State – local government Relations in Nigeria's Fourth Republic: An Assessment of the (1999–2010) Experience. European Scientific

Reports and Gazettes

Kwara State Health Development Projects (KWSTSHDP, 2010–2015).
Nigeria 1999 Constitution
Business Comment of Australia, 2006
Kwara State Ministry of Local Government and Chieftaincy Affairs
MLGCA/ZO/VOL.1/258, 2016

Discussion of Findings

Trafficking in human beings, especially women and girls, is not new. Historically it has taken many forms, but in the context of globalization, has acquired shocking new dimensions. It is a complex, multi-faceted phenomenon involving multiple stakeholders at the institutional and commercial level. It is a demand-driven global business with a huge market for cheap labour and commercial sex confronting often insufficient or unexercised policy frameworks or trained personnel to prevent it. The magnitudes of the trafficked is not surprising, Nigeria has acquired a reputation for being one of the leading African countries in human trafficking with cross-border and internal trafficking as reported by the office of the US department to monitor and combat trafficking in persons (US, 2017 trafficking in person report). Trafficking of persons is the third largest crime after economic fraud and the drug trade. Decades of military regimes in Nigeria have led to the institutionalized violation of human rights and severe political, social and economic crises. This negatively impacts the development of community participation, especially of women and children, despite international institutions designed to advance their causes. (NAPTIP, 2016)

The age distribution across the zones is similar to the national picture with the age group 0 – 17 years accounting for the majority of identified victims except in Sokoto where 18 – 27 years dominate the identified victims. As seen in Figure 1, the high prevalence 32% of the trafficked victims for Lagos is not surprising as destinations for trafficked Nigerians include the neighboring West African countries (Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, Benin, Equatorial Guinea, Cameroon, Gabon and Guinea. Primarily, women and girls, but also boys, are trafficked for the purposes of sexual exploitation, forced labour and organ harvesting. Poverty is the principle driving force behind this trade, propelling vulnerable people into the hands of traffickers, who belong to both small scales, local enterprises with extensive criminal networks and to large scale multi-commodity businesses. (Lydia, 2014)

There is also an ignorance of the health dangers lying at the core of human trafficking. This is in line with a study on the plight of domestic workers in Lagos conducted by Banke in 2002. The study found that over half of the respondents were ignorant of HIV and AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases, including prevention. Despite the recent increase in awareness-raising programmes about HIV and AIDS by the government, NGOs and international agencies, the curbing of the spread of the disease has been marginal due to the economic and socio-cultural factors already mentioned. (UNICEF Trafficking Information, 2010)

In terms of responsiveness of health services to the victims' health needs; though this study found out that all 28, 465 (100%) of the victims interviewed felt satisfied with the medical services being provided to them, however, it should be noted that the trafficked victims are just recovering from psychological trauma, and having been brutalized by the traffickers, any assistance provided to them was well appreciated and acceptable. According to Susie (2011), the average cost of treatment per trafficked victim was \$25.00. In Nepal, the average cost of medicine for a victim with HIV was \$3.00/day, yet most of trafficked victims were not able to afford to buy their medicine. One survivor reported that she received free care at a public facility, but most survivors explained that their traffickers charged them for the cost of their medical care and added the incurred debt to their overall debt burden.

According to a trafficker “My trafficker gave her money to pay the doctor and then added it to her balance.”

The findings on the funding for health needs of trafficked victims was not surprising as different sources of funding for the care and insurance for the trafficked victims was not only from the government; other sources of fund for the victims include specific budgetary allocation by the Federal Government to NAPTIP 2016, Subsidy fund from National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS), from surplus funds from the employed enrollee. Fund from NHIS to vulnerable groups including trafficked victims was established. Donations and contributions by development partners, e.g. IOM, UNICEF, projects in UNODC, ILO and donations and contributions by National Corporate bodies as part of their social responsibility, e.g. Communication companies, Oil & Gas companies, Financial Institutions and Donations/Contributions by National NGOs, e.g. First Lady's Foundation, Dangote Foundation, etc. This is similar to what is obtainable in other country where the costs associated with the care of human trafficking victims were not shouldered by the taxpayers alone but other cooperate bodies involvement. This approach resulted in large restitution awards for many Texas trafficking victims. (US Attorney's Office, 2010)

Conclusion

The victims of human trafficking need adequate comprehensive qualitative and accessible health care. The attainment of such services is a fundamental human right of the victim in accordance with section 17(3) of the 1999 Nigerian Constitution and Article 16 of Africa Charter on Human and Peoples Rights. That NAPTIP is currently providing health care services to victims but the quality of services is inadequate, not cost effective and not comprehensive. The health care available to victims could be more efficient and effective; giving that the current average cost of health care to victims is N2, 678 per victim. The current health care services are funded mainly from general budget allocation to NAPTIP as well as from the victims' trust fund. There is no specific fund allocation (or budget) for victims' health care.

Recommendations

In order to have a sustainable financing for the provision of comprehensive, qualitative and accessible health care to victims of human trafficking in Nigeria, it is necessary to recommend that

1. Separate fund be set aside for the health care of the victims. On the basis of data generated in this study, an estimated total of 2000 lives may be projected as beneficiaries of health insurance in the next two years. It is being proposed that a sum of N2, 000 be paid per person for 12 weeks of benefit.
2. The Board or NAPTIP should pay to NHIS the sum of N1, 000, 000 per quarter amounting to N4, 000, 000 in a year. This premium will make each victim to enjoy heath care package described above for a period of 12 weeks (from the date of registration).
3. The NHIS should subsidize any short fall in the amount required to ensure the provision of health care services needs of trafficked victims.

- Almond, G. A., & Powell, G. 8., Jr (1966). *Compqtutive politics: A developmental approach*, Bostoni: Little, Brown.
- Bello, I.B. (2007). *The local government system in Nigeria*, Published by College Press and Publishers ltd, Leads University Ibadan, Nigeria.
- Dalhatu, S. (2006). *Essays on local government administration: Fostering better service delivery, record keeping, accountability and empowerment at the local government*. Kano: Benchmark Publishers
- Ekpo, A.H (1994). “Fiscal federalism: Nigeria post-independence experience”, world development, a contemporary focus. Benin-City: Imprint Services
- Mark G. E. K.. (2009). *The Political Philosophy of Michel Foucault*, London, Routledge. pp. 37-38
- Mawhood, P. (1993). *Decentralization: The concept and the practice in Mawhood*, P. (ed) Local government in the third world. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons
- Robert, A. D (2016). *The concept of power*. Yale University: Department of Political Science.
- Sergin, B. (2016) M. Foucault's View on Power Relations: Institute of Philosophy and Psychology C. R. 'Motru', Bucharest
- Whereas, K.C. (1963). *Federal government (Fourth Edition)*, London: Oxford University

Journals

- Adamaleku, L.(1983). *Public administration. A Nigeria and comparative perspective*. Lagos: *Longman Group Ltd. Journal*, September Edition Vol. 8, No. 20 ISSN: 1857-7881
- Aigbepue, S. and Ainabor, A (2011). Issues and challenges of Nigerian fiscal federalism, *Interdisciplinary Journal of Research in Business* Vol. 1, Issue. 10, (pp.26- 31) November, 2011
- Alenoghena I. Aigbiremolen A. O. Abejegah C. (2014) Primary healthcare in Nigeria: Strategies and constraints in implementation. *International Journal of Community Research*. ISSN:2315-6562
- Inyang, B. (2014). Contending issues in the management of inter-tier relations in the Nigeria federal administration system. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*. Rome-Italy: MESER Publishing.
- Iyi, E (2013). An Assessment of the Viability of Inter-tier relations in enhancing physical developments in Enugu State, Nigeria. *IOSR J. Environmental Science Toxicology. Food Technology* (IOSR-JESTFT) e ISSN 2319-2402, 5 (5).
- Okpata, F. O. (2005). Legal basis of local government system in Nigeria'. *African Journal of Political & Administrative Studies*. Vol.2, No.1. Okududu, S. (2007) 'The Legislature in Democracy' *African Journal of Educational Research and Management Studies* Vol.1, No.1 &

- I. 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.
- ii. The study also suggests that the residual function of the state chose or to appoint the local government executives should be removed and to be handled by the federal government through the exclusive legislative lists, this will promote democratic situation of the local government. take for instance, after the expiration of the administration of the past elected local government chairmen in Kwara State, the state going by the residual power appointed care takers twice which was undemocratic process of governing. The care takers were appointed by the Godfather who happens to be an apparatus of the state and it is expected for him to accountable to the state government instead of the people. In view of this, the answer to the question of the people in respect of healthcare service delivery would not be answered.
- iii. In addition to the above, the constitution should recommend that there is continuity in the local governments the way it has been experiencing by other tiers of governments in order to promote the sustainability of the projects embarked upon by the local government cochairmen, because constant change in government result to frequent change in policy and that is why most of the local health centres are facing damages and non-completion of the buildings.

Conclusion

It is apparent that the power relations between state and local governments in Nigeria are an issue that greatly affecting the performance of the local government to discharge the services expected of the local government by the people. The constitution is not properly clarifying the functions to be performed by the local government. Power is given to the state to recruit, promote and punish the local governments' staff. The response of the respondents shows that autonomy that is not given to the local government is a threat to the performance of the local government in all ramifications.

REFERENCES

Textbooks

Adamolekun , L.(1979). The idea of local government as the third level of government in Nigeria. Ibadan,:Heireman

Ademolekun L. (1983) Public Administration: A Nigerian and Comparative Prospective: Longman, London pp 120, 103

Akinsanya, A.A. (2005). Local government in Nigeria □s inter-governmental relations under the 1999 constitution” in Ayoade J. (ed). Reading in Nigeria Government and Politics. Ijebu–Ode: Gratia Associates International.

REFERENCES

Adebamke, A. (2002). “The Plight of Domestic Servants in Lagos”: *Professional Safety*, 53(12), 40-45

International Labour Organization (2005). “A Global Alliance against Forced Labour”: ILO Geneva 3(2), 54-60.

International Organization for Migration (1999). *Counter-Trafficking Database: 78 Countries 19(2): 9-20.*

Lydia, C. (2014). “Poverty and Human Trafficking”: *BORGEN journal*. 3(8)23-37..<http://www.borgenmagazine.com/poverty-and-human-trafficking/> accessed October 2016.

National Agency for Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons (2016). “The National Policy on Protection and Assistance to Trafficked Persons in Nigeria”: NAPTIP. 7(2): 20-28.

Stolen, S. (2006). “The Physical and Psychological Health Consequences of Women and Adolescents Trafficked in Europe”: *The London School of Hygiene* 5(7): 40-52.

Susie B., David P. E., Jennifer N. S., Gery R., & Kenneth S. C. (2011). “Identification of Human Trafficking Victims in Health Care Settings”: *An International Journal of health and Human Right* 13(1): 69-78.

Trafficking in Persons (Prohibition) Law Enforcement and Administration Act of (2003)

United Nation Children Fund (2010). *UK Child Trafficking Information Sheet 30(2): 96-99.*

United Nation Convention on Trafficking <http://equalityindia.wordpress.com/2011/06/29/significance-of-the-united-nations-convention-against-tr>. Accessed November, 2017

United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime. (2017). *UN Report* 6(2):60-67.

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2009). Model Law against Trafficking in Persons *UNODC*, 2(2): 30-35.

United States Attorney's Office, Southern District of Texas (2008). *Houston Woman Pleads Guilty to Forced Labor Charges*. Retrieved November 29, 2010, from <http://www.justice.gov/usao/txs/releases/April%202008/040308Ali.htm>.

US Department of State Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons (2017). *Trafficking in Person Report*. Accessed Nov, 2017 <https://www.state.gov/j/tip/rls/tiprpt/countries/2017/271255.htm>.

Appendix

Table 1: Description of Sex Distribution of Victims

Year	Women 18 years +	Girls 0-17 years	Boys 0-17 years	Men 18 years +	Total
2004	44	12	17	–	73
2005	172	106	27	35	340
2006	202	128	18	15	363

2007	368	135	154	129	786
2008	327	400	73	61	861
Total	1,113	781	289	240	2,423

Table2: Victims of Trafficking Identified by State Authorities in Nigeria by Type of Exploitation

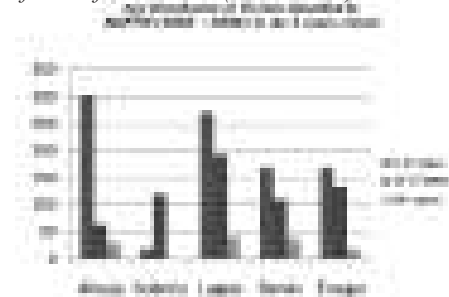
Year	Sexual Exploitation	Forced Labor	Total
2004	21	52	73
2005	116	225	341
2006	208	130	338
2007	366	628	994
2008	600	267	867
2009	520	980	1500
2010	789	1,111	1900
2011	347	563	910
Total	1,311	1,302	6,923

Table3: Victims of Trafficking Identified by Country of Citizenship (2005 – September 2008)

Country	No. of Victims
Nigeria	2,238
Benin Republic	229
Togo	62
Ghana	28
Guinea	6
Senegal	5
Cameroon	9
Mali	13
Burkina Faso	33
Another West and Central Africa	7
Total	2,630

NB: The total number of persons by countries of origin is more than the total by sex. Reason for this is not provided in the report.

Fig 1: Age Distribution of Identified Victims (2006-2008) in the 5 zones visited



management. In the final analysis according to him, the state government found it difficult to appoint doctors and some of the healthcare officers to the local health centres in the local governments of the state.

Respondent B: A staff of the Ministry of Local Government and Chieftaincy Affairs responded that the local government failed to recruit enough doctors because of size of their salaries and other allowances, in his further explanations, he responded that about 50% of external source of revenue to the local government allotted to the health officers' salaries and allowances alone.

Analysis of the respondents' views on the recruitment of healthcare officers

The Respondents A and B responded that the reasons for the failure to deliver adequate health services to the people at the healthcare centres in the local communities are subject to the size of the revenue generation locally and the level of salaries taken by health officers. Edogbanya, & Ja'afaru (2013) defined Public revenue as the funds generated by the government to finance its activities. In other words revenue is the total fund generated by government (Federal, state, local government/ to meet their expenditure for a fiscal year. This refers also to the grand total of money of income received from the source of which expenses are incurred. In furtherance to the above analysis, the research conducted here indicated that since local government did not fully enjoy autonomy on socio-political economy, it is not clear to the people the amount realize internally or externally are not enough to recruit doctors and the other healthcare officers. However, no institution that will excel if such an institution is depending on another for its activities.

Consequently, the local governments need some financial autonomy to finance their activities effectively. Local government system in Nigeria needs a moderate amount of financial autonomy to be able to discharge its responsibilities effectively. Public revenue in a federal system assumes that there are benefits to be derived from decentralization. Public revenue decentralization occurs when lower tiers of government have statutory power to raise taxes and carry out spending activities within specified legal criteria.

Recommendations

It is very important to know that there are two approaches to explain the phenomenon. The first-one is perceiving perception which enables the researcher to engage in the study by observation and the result of the research would be non-empirical. The second-one is participating perception which enables the researcher to engage in the study and the result would be empirical. This study embraces both the observational method and Radom sampling and helps to provide the following 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.

his expansion of the concept, the state is stronger than the local governments. And the local government depends on the state for the survival. Consequent upon this according to him, the state-local governments' relation is inevitable, since some of the local governments are very weak in terms of Internally Generated Revenue to finance their domestic affairs. **Respondents D:** a Staff of The Ministry of Local Government and Chieftaincy Affairs responded that: 'the relationship between the two tiers of governments is a threat to the development of the local governments. In his further response, he emphasized that local governments did not enjoy autonomy all in the name of the residual power to appoint, to finance and to conduct the election of the local councils in the state as it enshrined in the sections of the Nigerian 1999 constitution.

Analysis of the respondents' views

The fourth schedule of the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria speaks about the relationship between the state and local governments by emphasizing on the modality of the local government to carry-out the functions as follows, The consideration and the making of recommendations to a state commission on economic planning or any similar body on the economic development of the state, particularly in so far as the state are affected, and the functions of a local government council shall include participation of such council in the government of a state in respects of the following matters: the provision and maintenance of health services; and such other functions as may be conferred on a local government council by the House of Assembly of the State. Mawhood (1993), argued that the inter-tier relationship between the state-local governments as a means of sharing parts of the governmental powers by a central ruling group with other groups, each having authority within the specific area or state.

Respondents C and D evaluated the relationship between the state and local governments as a threat to the development to the local governments, this because the objective of the constitution in the fourth schedule is negated by the actions of some of the state governments, most especially the Kwara State government. it is obvious according to Lev (2008), that the establishment of the inter-tier relations is to promote the following: a) peace and harmony among the tiers of government, and to put in-place a mechanism for the achievement of self-reliant economy, natural economic integration among the levels of government, to generate co-operation and to stop the issue of rural-urban migration and poverty but reverse is the case as Kwara State government turn the local government as a source of revenue generation and political patronage to their political supporters.

To what extent would you describe the relationship between the state-local governments in Kwara State on the appointment of health officers by this commission?

Respondent A: A Director in the Local Government Service Commissionresponded that the local government service commission is an institution established by the state government and it comprises the state and local governments' workers. The institution is a body that saddled with responsibility to recruit, promote, and punish the senior staff of the 16 local governments of the state especially on healthcare staff'. However, he further explained that the healthcare centres in the state are just a healthcare system that gives first aid to the patients before such patients are referred to the hospital. Consequently, the Salaries of doctors and other health officers are placed on special scale i.e 50% of the local government allocation and the other allowances to the doctors are too much to bear by the local government

Fig 2: Gender Distribution of Identified Victims (2006 - 2008) in the 5 Zones Visited



Fig 3: Distribution of Identified Victims (2006 - 2008) in the 5 Zones Visited

Table 4: Number of Victims Present in the Shelters at the Time of Visit

Age/Zone	Abuja	Benin	Enugu**	Lagos	Sokoto	Total
Gender	M F	M F	M F	M F	M F	
0-17 yrs	2 9	— —	— 16	4 18	— 1	50
18-27 yrs	— 4	— 1	— 10	— 8	— —	23
18+ yrs	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —	—
Total	2 13	— —	— 26	4 26	— 1	73

** 46 Social Mothers Were In The Clinic In Enugu Zone

Table 5: Length of Stay of Victim in the Health Facilities

Zones	Length of Stay
Abuja	8-10 days
Sokoto	2-7 days
Lagos	7-8 days
Benin	10-14 days
Enugu	4-7 days

*In Enugu the period presented does not include that for social mothers who are pregnant women. They spend longer period of up to 12 weeks sometimes.

Table 6: Current Cost of Providing Medical Services to Identified Victims

Year/ Zones	Abuja	Sokoto	Lagos	Benin	Enugu	Total
	N	N	N	N	N	N
2006	234,350.00	6,220.00	258,650.00	92,020.00	400,000.00	991,240.00
2007	1,148,425.00	50,530.00	521,533.00	128,130.00	575,000.00	2,423,618.00
2008	1,298,431.00	65,180.00	166,025.00	124,950.00	715,500.00	2,370,086.00
Total	2,681,206.00	121,930.00	946,208.00	345,100.00	1,690,500.00	5,784,944.00

Table 7: Analysis of Average (Mean) Cost of Medical Services per Victim Over 3 Years Period

Zones	No. of Victims	Total Cost of medical services (2006-2008)	Cost Person	Per
		₦	₦	
Abuja	527	2,681,206.00	5,087.68	
Sokoto	238	121,930.00	512.31	
Lagos	705	946,208.00	1,342.14	
Benin	412	345,100.00	837.62	
Enugu	343	1,690,500.00	4,928.57	
Kano	325	1,150,000.00	2,322.64	
Uyo	296	687,500.00	3,538.46	
Total	2,8465	7,622,444.00	2,678.30	

Figure 4: Bar chart showing the Total Cost of Medical Treatment per Victim per Year for the Period 2006 to 2008.

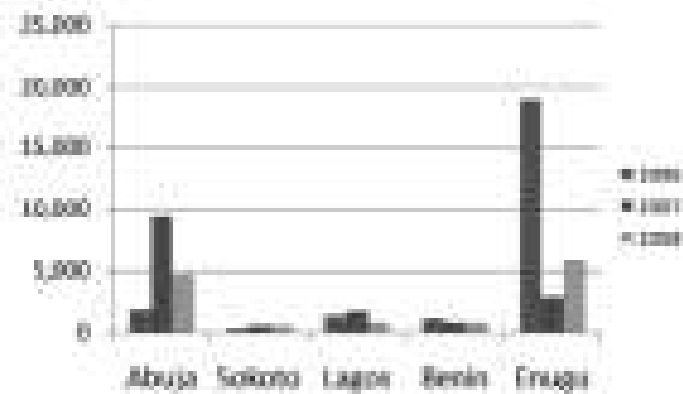


Fig 4: Total Cost of Medical Treatment per Victim per Year for the Period 2006 to 2008

relationship between the two variables as showed in the table where sig (0.001) is less than 0.05. This is supported by the opinion of the respondents in the interview conducted on the state-local government power relations in the selected local governments in Kwara State. Consequently, the null hypothesis stated that there is no significant impact of state-local government power relations on healthcare services delivery in the selected local governments of Kwara State. The result of the Binomial Logistic regression test indicates 1.367 Beta value at the associated significant level of 0.001 which is less than the conventional significant level of 0.05, with Cox & snell R Square value of .070 indicating that about 0.070% of variation in power relation will be accounted for by the healthcare services delivery in the selected local government.

Decision: Hypothesis 1: is rejected and therefore there is no significant impact of state-local government power relations on healthcare services delivery in the selected local governments of Kwara State. The result of the interview conducted is analyzed below to buttress further the argument of respondents

The Interview Conducted on the Relationship between the State and the Local Governments' Power Relations

Respondent A, a Former Chairman of Ilorin West Local Government responded that: 'the State-Local Governments' relations in Kwara State are referred to as the father-children relations in which the authority to control the affairs of the local government is a residual function of the state. Secondly, the relationship between the two organs (state and the local governments) supposed to be the supervisory relations, where the state will check the excessive actions of the local governments on her citizens'. The Respondent A's remark shows that if the 1999 constitution of the country empowers a state government to hold residual power over the local government, it means that state government have legal backing to direct the affairs of the local governments of the state. However, the study showed that the capacity of the Kwara State to recruit the health staff for the local governments is misconstrue of the content of the constitution by the state government.

Respondent B, a Former Chairman of the Oyun Local Government responded that: 'the state local governments' power relations perceived as a mechanism that recognized by the 1999 Nigerian constitution to supervise the socio-political activities of the local governments but reverse is the case as the state government sees relationship as a measure to subject the local governments to administrative cabinets of the state'. **Respondent B's** remark indicated that the relationship between the state and local government is inevitable because the state government should be a mercenary of the central government to check the actions of the local governments of the state. In the analysis of this second respondent's view of the state-local government power relations, the local governments need the state government to assist them to fill the gaps in the area of internally generated revenue since some of the local governments have a very weak base for revenue generated. Well, the finding discovered that Oyun Local Government Council have very weak internally generated revenue, this means that some local governments in Kwara State are depending much on external sources of revenue generation.

Respondent C: a Staff of the Local Government Service Commission responded that: 'the State-Local Government relations could be viewed from the concept of federalism, where the three organs are recognized, such as the federal, state and the local governments. In

Local Government Service Commission.

6.3 Binomial Logistic Regression

Table 7: Model Summary

Step	-2log Likelihood	Cox&Snell R Square	Negelkerke R Square
1	187.824 ^a	.070	.098

- a) estimation terminated at iteration number 4 because of parameter estimates changed by less than .001

In order to understand how much variation in healthcare service delivery is explained by the explanatory variables, we used Cox & Snell R square and Negelkerke R square which are equivalent to R square in multiple regression analysis. The model summary above indicates that the explained variations in healthcare service delivery in Kwara State ranges between 70% and 98 %.

Table 8: Classification Table^a

Item	Predicated		Percentage Correct
	Health service delivery		
Observed	No	Yes	%
Power relations	No	1931	38.0
	Yes	1596	86.5
Overall Percentage			71.4

- a. the cut values is 0.05

Hypotheses Testing

This section focuses on testing the research hypotheses as proposed in this study. SPSS version 20, particularly correlation and regression analysis were also used to test the hypotheses.

Decision Rule: the strength of evidence in support of a null hypothesis is measured by the p-value. If the p-value is less than the significance level (0.05), the null hypothesis is rejected. However, the p-value is higher than the significance level, the null hypotheses is accepted.

Hypothesis 1: is rejected and therefore there is no significant impact of state-local government power relations on healthcare services delivery in the selected local governments of Kwara State.

Table 9: Variable in the Equation

	B	SE.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% CI for EXP(B)	
							LOWER	UPPER
Step1 ^a Power Relations	1.367	.402	11.533	1	.001	3.923	1.782	8.633
Constant	-569	.387	2.168	1	.141	.566	—	—

- a. variable entered on step 1: Power Relations

The table showed that the contributions of each independent variable to the model and its statistical significance. State-local government power relations are positively related to healthcare services delivery in Kwara State. The result showed that there is a significant

A study of Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and the Challenges of Conducting Elections in Nigeria

(Barr.) Ishaq Isola OMOLEKE (Ph.D)

Department of Public Administration
Faculty of Administration, ObafemiAwolowo University, Ile-Ife;
E-mail: omoleke2003@yahoo.com

BENSON, Kunle Schinde (Ph.D)

Department of Public Administration
Faculty of Administration, ObafemiAwolowo University, Ile-Ife
E-mail: kunlebenjolad@yahoo.com

&

NOFIU, Oluwasesan Akanni (Ph.D)

Department of Public Administration & Political Science,
Oduduwa University, Ipetumodu, Ile-Ife, Nigeria
E-mail: o.nofiu@yahoo.com

ABSTRACT

This paper examined the performances of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and analyzed the challenges facing them. This was with a view of looking at the future prospects of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) in the Nigerian Electoral System. The study employed primary and secondary sources of data. Primary data were collected through the use of questionnaire and in-depth interview. The study was conducted in Abuja with a study population of 344. Data collected were analyzed using descriptive (frequency distribution) and inferential statistics (t-test). The study revealed that INEC has recorded substantial improvements in the discharge of its statutory functions over the study period. The study finally revealed that Nigeria's INEC faced a myriad of performance problems and challenges which included inadequate funding (50.7%), poverty (87%), use of thuggery (68.5%), inadequate independence (63.6%), win by all means syndrome of contestants/political parties (65%), loss of confidence in the Electoral Commission (43.2%), corruption (86.3%), political consideration in the appointment of Electoral Commissions' staff (52.3%), religious intolerance (44.8%) and ethnicity (62.7%). The study concluded that despite the myriad of problems and challenges militating against INEC's efforts in conducting credible and acceptable elections, INEC was able to record substantial improvements in the discharge of its statutory functions during the 2017 elections as a result of the cooperation of other supporting agencies.

Key Words: Democracy, Democratization, Election, Election Administration/Electoral Management.

Introduction

Electoral competition has progressively come to occupy a central place in the political life of many countries of the world. One of the general traits of the reforms introduced in this area in most of the countries has been efforts to reinforce or initiate mechanisms to separate electoral management from the normal administrative responsibilities of the executive. This is because the general acceptance or otherwise of the outcome of these elections depends, to a very large

extent, on how these elections are managed by the Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs). Winners and losers can accept electoral processes and results provided the election meet some established standards, notably participation, competition and legitimacy. These indicators of democratic quality can only be guaranteed provided the EMBs satisfy some important conditions that strengthen effective electoral administration. These conditions which are important in order for the EMBs to effectively discharge their duties include the autonomy of the electoral management bodies (EMBs), measured basically in terms of their structure, autonomy, motivation, transparency and general capacity.

Other relevant structural agencies like political parties, mass media, civil service, the security agencies, civil society groups (CSOs), also need to effectively play their roles, including the provision of logistic support, which is vital to the operation of the electoral body. The oversight functions of the legislature and judiciary are also very crucial. This has resulted in the need to equip electoral management bodies with competent personnel, whose need for expertise has increased each time the electoral rules and procedures became more complex.

The effectiveness of EMBs as linchpins of electoral governance capable of securing for a country free and fair election depends to a very large extent, not solely, on a number of factors put together as international standards for elections. Such standards include political rights and fundamental freedoms as set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The standards requires the creation of an autonomous EMBs which are insulated from political control or influence of governments, security of tenure for members of the EMBs, the EMBs guarding against bribery and fraud, upholding the principle of secret ballot, provision of credible voters' register, avoidance of manipulation of election results and intimidation of voters, and ensuring transparency in the entire electoral processes to elicit confidence from participating political parties and general acceptance of elections outcomes.

Nigeria's democratic experience since the enthronement of a civilian regime in 1999 has been shrouded in controversy. Having gained political independence on the 1st of October 1960 Nigeria's first republic lasted only till January 1966 when the first military coup took place. From 1966 the military remained in power until 1979 when the second republic came into being. However, the second republic was short-lived. By 1983, following a highly contested General Election, another military coup ousted the Shagari administration and the military remained in power until 1999.

Indeed, the view that the history of election administration in Nigeria is a history of electoral fraud and violence is widespread (Norris, 2012). Suffice it to say that given its history of problematic and controversial election administrations; election administration is yet to be consolidated in Nigeria when compared to other countries despite the acclaimed fairness of the 2015 elections. Yet, some of these countries share similar historical experience of colonialism, prolonged military rule, economic dislocations and associated vices. Hence the need to study the Nigerian Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) with a view to finding answer to the problem of what account for its inability to consolidate its electoral administration,

Conceptual Review

Democracy

Democracy means different things to different people. Yet in spite of the seeming ambiguity in the definition of democracy, most scholars of democracy agreed that central to

centres that needed at least 12 Nurses, 3 Community Health Officers, 4 Doctors and even 6 Lab attendance but the state government will recruited just 2 Nurses and 1 CHO and no single Doctor (Fieldwork, 2017).

The Principal Accountants in Ilorin West Government Council said that:As entrenched in the 1989 constitution, the local government is empowered recruit the health officers without the state government interference through the establishment of local government service commission. In their respond, they stated that 1999 constitution failed to clear states that power should be given to the local government to recruit the senior health officers to the local communities. as it was said by the health officers in Moro Local Government, the Senior Nursing officers in Ilorin west local government said it is better for the local government councils to recruit health officers because the authority of the local governments know how important their people need medical care than the state government. They also cited example of the bridge that collapsed in Alagbado that if local government council is empowered financially, they will recruit and do the road that will help populace to access quick healthcare services delivery. The executive health officers in the same local government (Ilorin West) said that: the local government lack administrative capacity to recruit health officers to the local government (Fieldwork, 2017).

The Revenue Officer in Oyun Local Government council opined that:the local government is given autonomy to recruit the health officers without the state government intervention but the state government is practically and actively does the recruitment. He further explicate that the paper speaks (constitution) the right power was given to the local government but the action is contrary to the consent of the constitution. Respondent B, the Executive Officers said that the recruitment is majorly done by the state government through the state ministry of health and then deploy them to the various local health centres in the state. Another Revenue Officer II said that to her best of knowledge, *they are not empowered to carry such recruitment* (Fieldwork, 2017).

Following the presentation of the respondents in this study, it was very obvious that the Kwara State have illegally taken all the constitutional responsibilities of the local governments in terms of recruitment of both the senior and junior staff. as captured in the Nigerian observer, the local governments as organ closest to the people are supposed to provide basic services and projects to the communities at the grassroots. However, the expected impact of the state–local government relations on the people in terms of provision of healthcare services to the people are not commensurate with the statutory allocations received from the federation account. consequently, the relationship between the Kwara State and local governments in term of healthcare staffing responsible for the failure of the community healthcare centres in the selected local government as identified by the respondents and supported as well by the constitution of federal republic of Nigeria.

Stuti (2017) explained that the factor that is responsible for the failure of the local government is inability to recruit qualified health officers and the unqualified will be posted village with low level facilities and typically staffed by a junior paramedic. sequel to the examination of what the Stuti said, the interview conducted in Malete health centre supported the argument of the scholar, because for more than three I was visiting the health centre in Malete only Community Health Officer (CHO) were found treating the patients and this was caused by the residual responsibility of Kwara State to recruit the health officers through the Kwara State

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

Objective

- I. To assess the power relations between the state and the local governments on healthcare service delivery in selected local government areas of Kwara State,
Do you think the Local Government is Given Adequate Autonomy to Recruitment the Healthcare Officers without State Government Interference?

Table 6: Adequate Autonomy to Recruitment

Local Government	Yes	No	Total
Ilorin West	14(18.9%)	60(81.1%)	74(100%)
Moro	9(15.8%)	48(84.2%)	57(100%)
Oyun	14(28.6%)	35(71.4%)	49(100%)

The table showed that the about from Ilorin west 81.9% represents 60 respondents testified that local governments are not given adequate autonomy in Kwara State, while only 18.1% represents 14 of the respondents who agreed that the local governments are given adequate autonomy. The table also showed that in Moro it was about 15.8% represents 9 respondents that testified that local governments are not given adequate autonomy in Kwara State, while only 84.2% represents 48 of the respondents who agreed that the local governments are given adequate autonomy. Also the table showed that in Oyun it was about 75.7% represents 56 respondents that testified that local governments are not given adequate autonomy in Kwara State, while only 24.3% represents 56 of the respondents who agreed that the local governments are given adequate autonomy. Sequel to all these, it is obvious that local governments in Kwara State suffered from independence. To fully understand the data presentation, the interview conducted from all the selected local governments in Kwara State is presented to support the quantitative data collected. This is presented as follows:

The Administrative Officers in Moro Local Government Council said that: The failure of local government council to discharged healthcare services to the populace of the local communities is as a result to inadequate autonomy to recruit the local health officers to the various local health centres(Fieldwork, 2017). The Health Officer in the same local government also said that: local government council is totally crippling to recruit healthcare officers by the state due to the politics of joint account that would allowed state government to have access to the local government funds. They further explicate that the state government is taken upon itself to recruit healthcare officers and transfer them to respective communities without the consent of the local government authorities. to them, there some local health

the idea and practice of democracy are the issues of participation and contestation. (Nwabueze, 1993; Ake, 2000). According to Adejumobi (2000), democracy goes beyond one man one vote. The consent of the people is usually given through a free and fair electoral process. The electoral process involves the participation of the people as well as that of different political parties and their candidates. It also involves the participation of the electoral body or umpire in the electoral process (election administration) in a way that is not prejudiced in favour of or against any particular party, candidate or person is crucial, if not most important in a fledgling democracy like Nigeria.

Election

Generally, elections are what distinguish a military regime from a civilian one. The opportunity and the right by people to choose their leaders without let or hinderance is one of the hallmarks of democracy.

It is important to note that elections involve choice. But the choice itself is subject to various influences that could be internal or external. While some see it as the determination of who gets what in a political system, others see it as the determination of who gets what by the mass of the people (Ake, 2000).

Generally, election itself has every element of uncertainty. No one is sure of the outcome of an election irrespective of the amount of money, time and resources committed in getting a favourable response from the people with the hope of securing public office. That is why Mozaffar has argued that “competitive elections are the quintessential manifestation of organized uncertainty in a democracy”. This is because “the legitimacy of competitive elections rests on the institutionalization of procedural certainty to secure substantive uncertainty. Therefore, “political actors will accept the uncertainty of outcomes in electoral competition if they are certain that the rules for organizing the competition will not pre-determine the outcomes” (Mozaffar, 2002:87).

Election Administration / Electoral Management

Election administration or Electoral Management is concerned with management of elections by an electoral management body (EMB). Election administration has, therefore, been defined as 'the mechanics of how elections are run, ranging from preparations for the election, to the methods by which people cast their ballots, to how winners are declared' (United States Election Assistance Commission, USEAC, 2008).

According to the Election Administration Research Centre (EARC) at the University of California, Berkeley, USA, election administration involves the 'facilitation of voting and the management of elections at all levels' (EARC, 2005:1). It also includes the organization of election agencies, the behavior and characteristics of election officials, the process of conducting elections, and the implementation of election policies. ((EARC, 2005). For Jinadu (1997), election administration connotes 'the organization and conduct of elections to elective public (political) offices by an electoral body'.

Iwara (2010) sees election administration as “the organization and conduct of elections to elective / public (political) offices by an electoral body”. For him, subsume in election administration are the structure and process. By structure it “meant the bureaucracy that is set up or established to organize and conduct elections” The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) is a good example. By process it “meant the rules, procedures and activities relating among others, the establishment of electoral bodies, the appointment of

their members, the registration of voters, the nomination of candidates, balloting, counting of the ballots, declaration of results, the selection and training of electoral officials, constituency delimitation, voters education and, in some cases, registration of political parties and supervisor of party nomination congresses”.

Review of Empirical Studies on Electoral Management

Previous works in the literature shows that all authors agree that election has become an important component of democracy and democratization debates in Africa. Some of the scholars believe that repetitive elections, the good, the bad, and/or the ugly, has democratic self-reinforcing powers (Lindberg, 2006; 2009), stimulating civic activism and actions often better than free and fair elections (Bratton, 2008). Others contend that only high-quality election can lead to democratization (Bratton, 2008).

Apart from the issues raised in structure and process of election administration mentioned above, Beckett (2011) argues that there are other critical issues in election administration or management including but not limited to problems of funding of the Electoral Management Body (EMB), logistics, the pervasive role of the state, tenure of office and autonomy of the EMB, among others.

Whilst laying credence to the submission of other scholars that elections remain cardinal to any assessment of democracy and democratic consolidation, Aloysius-Michaels (2009) is of the opinion that elections are not in themselves a guarantee for sustainable democratic transition and consolidation.

Jinadu, Aloysius-Michaels, Iwara, as well as Ibrahim and Garuba appraises the conduct of past elections in Nigeria and posited that deficiencies in capacity and organizational governance directly limit the ability of public institutions (INEC inclusive) in Nigeria to function positively. They believe that the 1999 Constitution is grossly defective and does not safeguard the independence of INEC. They therefore concluded that the 1999 constitution contributed to the dismal performance of the electoral body in all the elections conducted in Nigeria since 1999.

Theoretical Framework for the Study

Looking at the eclectic nature of Electoral Management Commissions, the theory of Electoral Governance is the most suitable for this study due to its ability to assist in looking at the performance and problems of Independent National Electoral Commission (**INEC**) in **Nigeria**.

Electoral governance involves the design of institutions that define the basic framework of democratic elections. Rules of electoral competition and rules of electoral organization configure this framework. Electoral Governance looks at the political origins and covers a wider basket of electoral rules, traditional as well as formal rules that govern the processes, laws establishing the structures and operational framework of the EMBs and dispute settlement authorities. According to Mozaffar and Schedler (2002), its activities involve rule making, rule adjudication, and rule application. This theory is very important in assessing the different aspects and roles in the management of elections.

METHODOLOGY: The study adopted quantitative research design with the use of data collected from key players in the administration of elections in Nigeria to provide a clearer picture of the Electoral Management Bodies (EMB) in the country. The study was conducted in Abuja with a study population of 344 which consisted of senior staff members of the Abuja

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 3: 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 4: Age of the Respondents

Local Government	18-39	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 5: Level of Education of the Respondents

Local Government	Primary	Secondary	Polytechnic	Post graduate	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%)

local governments of Kwara State.

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, which is attached as appendix, for every 100,000 population and above, sample size should be considered. This now serves as justification to picked 250 respondents cut across the three local governments selected for the study.

Table 2: 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

This presents the results of the statistical analysis which were carried out in the field. It would basically discuss the sample demographic profile and presents the frequency count and percentage distribution of the respondents. It also preceded to the normality test results. Finally, provides the findings of the study in relation to its respective research objective and hypothesis.

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

office of Nigeria Independent National Electoral Commission; executives of three purposively selected leading political parties and executives of fourpurposively selected Civil Society Organizations in Nigeria accredited as election observers. Questionnaire were administered on one hundred and seventy two (172) respondents (covering 50% of the population), who were selected using proportional random technique.

The distribution of the questionnaire was as follows: senior staff members of the Abuja office of Nigeria Independent National Electoral Commission (73); Political party officials (63), 21 executives of each of the 3 purposively selected leading political parties in Nigeria; and the executives of four purposively selected Civil Society Organizations accredited by INEC as election observers, (36), 9 in each of the 4 selected groups.

The officials of EMBs were selected based on the fact that it is the institution established by law to conduct elections in Nigeria. The political parties whose executives were used are: All Progressive Congress (APC), Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) and All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA). These political parties were selected based on the fact that they are the leading political parties in Nigeria.

Also, 36 respondents from Civil Society Organizations accredited by INEC as election observers (Campaign for Democracy (CD) – 9; Center for Democracy and Development (CDD) – 9; Transition Monitoring Group (TMG) – 9; and Centre for Nigeria Election Study (CNES) – 9) were selected based on their observatory experience during the conduct of elections in Nigeria.

In-depth interview was also conducted with the representatives of the Chairman of the Nigeria's INEC. The respondents selected for the in-depth interview was based on the objectives of the study which require knowledge of experts and practitioners in elections and election management in Nigeria.

The INEC officials chosen for the study are stakeholders in electoral process who are directly and actively involved in implementing and supervising elections across the country. This justifies their inclusion.

Secondary data were sourced from the NigerianConstitution, Electoral Laws, Gazettes, official publications from INECs, relevant books, journals/articles, newspapers, and other archival materials.

Data collected were analyzed using descriptive (frequency distribution) and inferential statistics (*t*-test). Deductive interpretations were made to bear on the validity or otherwise of the research questions.

RESULTS

Research Question 1: To what extent has the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) relatively faired in their performance□

The performances of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) in Nigeria was reviewed with the analyzes of the aspects of electoral administration for the last five (5) General Elections in Nigeria. To achieve this objective, seven (7) essential aspects of electoral administration were set out for either agree or disagree with the electoral years interval in Nigeria and its values/responses were organized using likert scale of measurements, such as: Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree and Strongly Disagree. The Table 1 presented the frequency and percentage distribution of respondents on each of the assertions set out to achieve this objective. More importantly, the central focus of this study was to look at

the performances of the Nigerian.

1.1 The Administration of 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011 and 2015 General Elections by INEC in Nigeria

In examining the administration of electoral system in Nigeria in the fourth republic (1999 – 2015), some parameters were used and each of the general elections is examined against each parameter. The parameters/indices are: effectiveness of voters', registration before the elections, sufficiency of awareness education of voters before elections, early arrival of officials and elections materials on election days, sufficiency of election materials, adequacy of deployment of election officials, adequacy of security personnel and apparatus during elections, and free and fair conduct of the elections. The details of the assessment by respondents are shown in Tables 1.

Effectiveness of Registration of Voters' Education before Elections in Nigeria

On the effectiveness of registration of voters before elections, Table 1 reveals a generally fair performance in the first four general elections (1999, 2003, 2007 and 2011) with a tremendous improvement in 2015 general elections. Out of 100%, 68.3%, 56.4%, 54.6% and 54.6% of the respondents respectively agreed/strongly agreed that 1999, 2003, 2007 and 2011 elections recorded effective registration of voters, the rest either disagreed or did not respond. This is unlike the response to 2015 elections, in which 77.8% of the respondents strongly agreed/agreed that voters' registration was effective. Credibility of any election administration begins with effectiveness of registration of eligible voters.

Sufficiency of Voters' Awareness Education before Elections in Nigeria

Voters' awareness education is an equally important index of measuring credibility of an election. The performance of INEC in this aspect was rated fair in the general elections of 1999, 2003, 2007 and 2011, just like in the registration of voters. Out of 100%, 72.2%, 54.6%, 54.6% and 54.6% of the respondents respectively agreed/strongly agreed that 1999, 2003, 2007 and 2011 elections recorded effective registration of voters, the rest either disagreed or did not respond. In a similar pattern, in 2015 general elections, majority (77.9%) of the respondents agreed that education of voters by INEC before the elections was sufficient. This simply implies that there was increased participation in 2015 than the previous four elections. This might be as a result of intensified awareness and increased trust in the electoral body by the people.

Early Arrival of Officials and Materials on Election Days in Nigeria

Another important item to measure the efficiency of the performance of INEC is the timely arrival of officials and electoral materials. From the field survey, it shows that there is still the need for serious improvement in this aspect. This is clearly shown in Table 1.1. It is the parameter where all the elections scored lowest compared to performance in other parameters. Only 74.1%, 52.8%, 20.9 and 54.6% of the respondents agreed that officials and materials arrived early enough in 1999, 2003, 2007 and 2011 elections respectively. A reason for this as revealed through interviews was poor logistics often associated with election administration in Nigeria. In 2015 there was an improvement (73%). This however is still the area of lowest performance in the 2015 elections.

Sufficiency of Election Materials in Nigeria

While elections materials were adjudged sufficient during 2015 general elections in Nigeria (78.8%). Same could not be said for the general elections of 1999, 2003, 2007 and

coordination mechanisms. As further illustrated by Lev:

In the environment of shared responsibility for service delivery, non-coordinated interventions of different government levels create a risk for duplication of efforts and sub-optimal allocation of resources. It is sensible for all government levels to align their actions with such priorities and thus complement each effort. This is because, as in common complex social systems, there is significant potential for synergies between coordinated policies and actions. Finally, coordination could lead to better overall resources utilization through economy of scale, quicker project completion, and more efficient use of limited resources (such as specialized technical expertise), this will facilitate dissemination of best management practices. However, the issue of inter-tier policy coordination has become increasingly important in Nigeria in recent times. This is primarily because since 1999 the Nigerian fiscal system has gone through rapid decentralization.

Erunke (2016), state-local governments' relations involves both vertical and horizontal relationships that exist between the various organs and departments within the sovereign government of a particular country. However, Akinsanya (2005) classified inter-tier relations into six namely:

1. Federal-state relations: –this is a relationship or interaction between the federal and state governments in terms of policy implementations, the best example of this, is the concurrent legislative list which recognized by the constitution.
2. Federal-state-local relations: –this occurs in a country like Nigeria where the federal governments relate with the local government through the political channel of the state government. It becomes unusual for the federal government to directly relate to the local government without passing through the channel of the state government.
3. Federal-local relations: –this relationship is not common in every federal political system. It could be referred to as an interaction between the federal government and the local government. It occurs when local government faces natural disasters which are beyond the capacity of the state and local government to normalize. the example is this federal government intervention in Kwara state on flood disaster that motivated the federal government to allocate fund through the state government, also the area where the Federal Government and the state connected is on the issue of Local Government education that has to do with subvention from federal government to ensure adequate education at the lower level known as grass root.
4. State-state (interstate) relations: – this occurs between a state and another. It is enhanced occasionally possible when two states belong to a political party. The major aim of this relationship is to jointly pool resources together to achieve developmental goals.
5. State-local relations: –this is a kind of relationship that occurred among the state and local governments, this is the most critical level of relationship in the configuration of the country, a lots of issue here affecting the autonomy of local governments, such as Joint Allocation, Appointment, Internally Generated Revenue (IGR), Party politics and Constitutional role.

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

1.5 Scope of the Study

The study is aimed at assessing the impact of state–local government councils' power relations on the healthcare services 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.

Conceptual Clarification

Power Relations

Power relations as a concept means a relation between people and it's expressed in simple symbolic notation (Robert, 2016). Robert further classified the following as the properties of power relations:

A necessary condition for power relation is that there exists a time lag, however small, from actions of the actor who is said to exert power to the responses of the respondent. Whenever the president announces a new policy, the agents immediately secure the compliance of the top officials. This point is what the local governments in Nigeria are experience as far as their relationships with the states, the state influenced the local governments' policies by announce new policies that can only promote the interest of the state.A second necessary condition is, like the first, obvious and nonetheless important in research: there is no 'action at a distance.' unless there is some 'connection' between two entities, then no power relation can be said to exist. In looking for a flow of influence, control, or power from one entity to another, there is need to find out whether there is connection, or an opportunity for a connection. A cursory look at this condition could be traced to the connection between state and local governments mostly in Nigeria. In examining the intuitive view of the power relation, it suggested that it seemed to involve a successful attempt by one level of government to get another level of governments do something he would not otherwise do. This hints at a way of stating a third necessary condition for the power relation. Here is a situation whereby the state government takes the total responsibility of the local governments as a result of power relations that exist between them. In the area of revenue collection such as internally revenue generation (IGR), payment of local government staff, renovation and construction of local governments' schools, hospitals and roads.

2.2 Inter-Tier Relations

Inter-tier relations are the responses that have been developed to facilitate cooperative policy making among divided governments within a federal system. Inter-tier relations are supposed to play a 'bridge-building' role to bring a degree of coordination and cooperation to divide powers (Business comment of Australia, 2006). Adamolekun (1983) considered inter-tier relations as an interaction that established among the different levels of government within a country. Considering this postulation, the inter-tier relations are the mechanisms that supposed to be a linkage pipe that will link the tiers of government together for the benefit and well-functioning of the system. Inyang&Bassey (2014) opined that an inter-tier relation is the term commonly used to describe the interactions between the different levels of government within a state. To him, the word 'level' implies a juxtaposition of higher and lower levels. Lev (2008), explains that Nigerian constitution provides for the participation of all three tiers of government in the delivery of core public services, such as education and health. This makes policy coordination an important pre-condition for effective and efficient service delivery. Several factors can be adduced as justification for building workable inter-tiers

2011 in the country. Table 1 shows that none of the first four elections except that of 1999 recorded up to 60% acceptability (1999, 71.8%; 2003, 54.6%, 2007, 54.6% and 2011, 54.6%). **In**most cases, INEC claimed to have produced what should be enough based on the number of registered voters, yet materials did not reach some areas during voting and in some cases, they were insufficient. Interviews conducted by the study revealed that some of the materials were, in some cases, diverted by corrupt officials and sometimes hijacked by political thugs. It was further revealed through interview that the problem is being addressed through modified open ballot system of voting.

Adequacy of Election Officials' Deployment in Nigeria

Deployment of election officials should be adequate if any election is to be fairly conducted. The pattern of performance of the elections under discussion does not vary in this aspect compared to earlier discussed parameters. INEC has been adjudged poor in the elections with the exception of 2015 elections as far as adequate deployment of officials is concerned. As shown in table 4.4.5, only 2015 elections recorded an impressive performance in this regard with 80.9% of the respondents falling into the category of strongly agreed, which support the position. In 1999 (71.8%), 2003 (54.6%), 2007 (54.6) and 2011 (55.2%) elections, the performances were not impressive except for the 1999 elections.

Adequacy of Security Personnel and Apparatus during Elections in Nigeria

Most elections in Nigeria since independence have been characterized by insecurity and as such decimated the credibility of such elections. The 1999, 2003, 2007 and 2011general elections in Nigeria were not exceptions. Security before, during and after election is an area where both the government and electoral bodies in Nigeria have recorded very high failures. Many eligible voters were reportedly disenfranchised, particularly in the absence of security of lives and properties before, during and after elections. Table 1 shows respondents' level of agreement/disagreement on adequacy of security during the elections. Except for the 1999elections conducted by the military regime of General Abdul Salam, less than 55% of the respondents agreed that security personnel and apparatus were adequate during the other elections 1999 (73.6%), 2003 (54.6%), 2007 (54.6%) and 2011 (52.8%) elections. The situation however improved during the 2015 elections (87.9%). But there were still pockets of violence during the 2015 elections. However, the most serious violence was recorded in some Northern States after the announcement of the 2011presidential election results, in which some NYSC members were killed. Interviews conducted revealed that security forces in Nigeria had always collaborated with some politicians and corrupt INEC officials to rig elections, but this was not the case in 2015. The forces were unbiased.

Conduct of Free and Fair Elections in Nigeria

Assessment of the conduct of the five general elections is shown in table 1.1 below. The analysis reveals that only 2015 elections were conducted freely and fairly. This is shown in the Table as 80.5% of the respondents agreed/strongly agreed that 2015 general elections were free and fair. Conversely, 1999, 2003, 2007 and 2011elections could not be said to be free and fair as only 71.8%, 54.6%, 54.6 and 53.4% of the respectively agreed/strongly agreed that they were free and fair. This may be seen as surprising as a greater percentage of Nigerians may disagree with this claim. According to the general belief, no election conducted

conditions of 1999, 2003, 2007 and 2011 elections can be adjudged free and fair. But table 1 reflects the finding of this study.

Research Question 2: What are the challenges facing Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) in Nigeria

This section analyzed challenges confronting the (INEC) in the study area. Respondents were asked to identify among the 25 listed possible challenges facing the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) in Nigeria. **The Figure 1 revealed the rating scale of respondents on each of the statement.** The following challenges were identified: inadequate funding (50.7%), poverty (87%), use of thuggery (68.5%), inadequate independent of INEC (63.6%), win by all means syndrome of contestants/political parties (65%), loss of confidence in the Electoral Commission (43.2%), corruption (86.3%), political consideration in the appointment of Electoral Commissions' staff (52.3%), religious intolerance (44.8%), vulnerability of voting tools and devices (51.1%), ethnicity (62.7%), poor power supply (54.3%) and undue pressure from government (44.2%).

The inability of the INEC to prosecute electoral offenders was also considered as a big challenge during the in-depth interview.



political/constitutional, social and cultural developments, which have influenced the nature and character of inter-governmental (power) relations (Ekpo, 2004). However, Nigeria's model of federalism for instance, represents a fundamental legal and institutional frame-work of policy making in the country. As in other federations, it defines the core rules of resource allocation, distribution of responsibilities for service delivery, and mechanisms for interaction between different tiers of government. Nigeria's federalism arrangements are currently attracting increasing attention from both policy makers and analysts. This is a reflection of the fact that longer attentions from the short and long time perspectives of economic policy reform in the country are critically dependent upon improvements in the organization of inter-tier arrangements. Lev (2008) considered the power relations between the state and local governments with the concept of the inter-tier relations in Nigeria, which has many goals to achieve and these goals are to:

- promote peace and harmony among the tiers of government;
- put in place a mechanism for the achievement of self-reliant economy;
- promote natural economic integration among the levels of government;
- generate co-operation rather than competitive federation; and
- stop the issue of rural-urban migration and poverty.

Consequently, an Inter-tier relation is an inevitable phenomenon in a federal system or non-federating systems. As long as the Nigerian federation continues to survive, resources sharing adjustments will continue to feature as an important fiscal arrangement in the federation this will continue to play a vital role in the operation and structural interplay of the federation. Too much concentration of political and economic power at one level has ultimately and inevitably leads to managerial expansion. However, the power relations between state and local governments have drastically affected the local governments in which their achievements were far behind satisfactory level of public interest (Dalhatu, 2006)

Problem Statement

It is obvious that local governments exist with the belief to cater for the need of the people at the grassroots but yet the expectation of the populace towards the activities of local governments since its establishment is yet to be released. Some literatures showed that scholars have engaged in many ways to explicate the factors that embedded the performance of the local governments, but the problem here is that many local governments are still facing the problems which are yet to be covered.

Research Question

Specifically, the study attempts to ask the following research question:

- To what extent does state-local governments' power relation affect health care services delivery in the local government areas of Kwara State

Research Objective

This study sets forth to address this objective:

- The study examines the state-local governments' power relations and its effect on health care services delivery in the local communities of the State.

1.4 Significance of the Study

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

Inter-Tier Power Relations in Kwara State: An Overview of its relations with Ilorin West, Moro and Oyun Local Governments

By

Abdullahi Alabi

Politics and Governance Department, Kwara State University, Malete;
alabi.abdullahi@kwasu.edu.ng

Professors Abdulrauf Ambali

Politics and Governance Department, Kwara State University, Malete
abdulrauf.ambali@kwasu.edu.ng

&

Abdullateef Ameen

Public Administration Department, University of Ilorin, Kwara State
abdlateef4ever@gmail.com

Abstract

Local government is the third tiers of governments that are saddled with responsibility to cater for the inhabitants of the grass root and to promote this, the constitution recognizes the inter-tier relations among the organs of governments but yet the poor performances of the local government still persist. To achieve quality service delivery, this study examined the relationship between the state and the local governments on healthcare series delivery. This study realized that the power relation affects the local performance as a result of inability of the constitution to state clearly the political power of the local governments to act as independent organization. The study adopted qualitative and quantitative methods of analyzing the data collected in respect of the power relations between Kwara state and local governments on health services delivery. The study recommended that the autonomy should be given to the local governments to act independently

Keywords:*Inter-tier Relations, Power Relations, Inter-governmental Relations, Local Government, Kwara State*

Introduction

Nigeria, like many other nations around the world, operates a federal system, from where disputes may often arise between different levels of government on the basis of service provision or infrastructure, constitutional jurisdiction, fiscal arrangements such as vertical fiscal imbalance or spending powers or environmental or social issues. To cater for these issues, most federations like Nigeria, Australia, Canada, and USA have developed systems of inter-relationship consultation and cooperation to deal with such issues, and to manage and foster cooperation between governments. The character of these inter-relationships is often unique to each federation, and depends on various factors such as history, geography, population, size and other formal federal arrangements. Inter-tier processes and arrangements are common features of federations around the world; the form of such arrangements varies depending on the specific circumstances of each federation (Business comment of Australia, 2006).

Thus, the Nigerian government and administration is structured in a manner that the various ethnic groupings and nationalities are represented in the processes of policy formulation and execution. The evolution of federalism in Nigeria derives from economic,

Figure 1. Challenges facing INEC in Nigeria

Source: Author's Field Survey, 2017

Discussion of Findings

Further discussion on the study findings above is provided here. It synchronized the findings with related empirical findings of other research works on the subject matter of this study. It equally attested to the point of divergence between the findings of this study and other empirical outcomes.

The findings of this study regarding the performance of INEC showed that the Electoral Commission performed significantly below international standard. This is in tandem with the submission of Chukwuka, C. (2013) that 'with about twenty four years of uninterrupted civil rule and the successful transfer of power from the ruling party to the opposition party in 2000 and 2008 respectively; Ghana's democracy; unlike in the Nigerian situation, is largely seen to be consolidated'.

This study also distilled from the empirical data that Nigeria also deserves commendation with the way the 2015 elections were conducted. Even though this electoral administrative success of the country is not sufficient to deduce that Nigeria cannot go back to join the club of electorally induced armed conflicts countries in the West African sub-region if the success is not consolidated.

The findings of this study further revealed the challenges faced by INECas : lack of full financial independent, prosecution of electoral offenders, poverty, political thuggery, inadequate independent of the EMBs, win by all means syndrome of contestants/political parties, corruption, low literacy level of voters, poor power supply and undue pressure from government. These challenges corroborate the ones presented in literature by (López-Pintor, 2000: 104–117; Pastor, 1999; Mozaffar, 2002; Schedler, 2002 , Debrah 2001, and Jega 2011)

Conclusion

It has been distilled that Nigeria has very clear and potent electoral rules and that from a shaky foundation in the beginning of the fourth republic elections, INEC have learnt a lot of lessons from elections conducted and put in place necessary measures that dealt with electoral „demons” such as bloated voters' register, electoral fraud, and intimidation of voters on the polling day which have all contributed to the current political stability. It is also worthy to note that INEC recorded substantial improvements in the discharge of their statutory functions during the 2015 general elections.

Recommendations

Firstly, serious attention must be paid to irregularities such as uneven playing field, bloated voters' register and violence by INEC and other stakeholders such as candidates, political parties as well as interested citizens.

All INEC staff should undergo technological training to acquire the skills not only in information communication technology (ICT) but also in other specialized fields that may enhance their competencies in the application of new scientific ideas in election management. The issue of public suspicion over the independence of INEC must be addressed

through reviewing the current appointment arrangement. It is therefore suggested that the appointing authority of the Chairmen and members of the Commissions should be vested in the parliamentary vetting committee. Citizens interested in these positions must apply to the Public Service Commission and shortlisted candidates must be vetted by a Parliamentary Vetting Committee and approved by a two-thirds majority of Members of Parliament. Last but not the least, there is the need to set aside some specific courts to handle election related disputes. The history of adjudicatory function in election management portrays a very bad system which must be corrected. Some specific courts should be given special responsibility to adjudicate. The judges who are given such additional responsibility of handling such cases must be given training in election related disputes and offences to enable them dispense justice without fear or favor. A time limit within which all elections petitions must be adjudicated on could be set.

REFERENCES

- Adejumobi, Said (2010) *INEC and the Electoral Process in Governance and Politics in Post-Military Nigeria - Changes and Challenges*. PALGRA VE MACMILLAN pp 89 – 124.
- Ake, Claude. 2000. *The Feasibility of Democracy in Africa*. Dakar: CODESRIA Book Series.
- Aloysius-Michaels O, 2009, “*The State, Electoral Fraud and Illusion of Participatory Democracy in Africa: Lessons from the 2007 General Elections in Nigeria*, *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol.35, No.1 pp 61–77
- Beckett, P. (2011). “*The Elections in Nigeria*”: *Slouching towards democracy* in the rag blog of 29 April 2011
- Bratton, Michael. 2008. *Vote Buying and Violence in Nigerian Election Campaigns*. Afro Barometer Working Paper No. 99. Available at www.afrobarometer.org.
- Chukwuka, C. (2013) *Election and Electoral Process: (A Case Study of Secret Ballot System in Nigeria)* <http://www.doublegist.com/election-electoral-process-case-study-secret-in-nigeria>
- Debrah, E. (2001) “*Mechanisms for Ensuring Free and Fair 2000 General Elections in Ghana*”, in J. R. A. Ayee ed. *Deepening Democracy in Ghana: Politics of the 2000 Elections*, Vol. One, Accra: Freedom Publications, pp. 75–85.
- Ibrahim J. and Garuba .D (2010), *A Study of the Independent National Electoral Commission of Nigeria*, CODESRIA, Dakar.
- Iwara, E. I 2010, “*Elections and Electoral Matters in Nigeria since Independence*” in Bello– Imam I.B (ed.), *50 Years of the Nigerian Project: Challenges and Prospects*, Ibadan: College Press
- Jega, A. (2011). “*Report of the 2011 General Elections*” Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), Nigeria
- Jinadu L.A 1997, “*Matters Arising: African Elections and the Problem of Electoral Administration*,” *African Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 2, No.1, pp. 1–11.
- Lopez-Pintor, R. (2000), “*Electoral Management Bodies as Institutions of Governance*”, A UNDP Policy Document, New York: UNDP.

- Mozaffar S, 2002, *Patterns of Electoral Governance in Emerging Democracies*, *International Political Science Review*, Vol.23 No.1 Pp 85–101
- Mozaffer, S., and Schedler, A., (2002), “*The Comparative Study of Electoral Governance: Introduction*” in *International Political Science Review*, vol. 23. No. 1 (Jan., 2000), pp.5–27
- Norris P. (2012), *Setting the Rules of the Game: The Choice of Electoral Systems in Advanced Democracies*, *American Political Science Review*, 93/3: 609–24. *Electoral Fraud: Causes, Types, and Consequences*, *Annual Review of Political Science* 6(2003), pp.233–56.
- Nwabueze, B.O, 1993, *Democratization*, Spectrum Books Limited, Ibadan Nigeria
- Pastor, R. A.. (1999) *The Role of Electoral Administration in Democratic Transitions*, *Democratization* 6 (4) pp. 1–27.
- Schedler, A (2002), “*The Nested Game of Democratization by Elections*, *International Political Science Review*. Vol.23 No. 1
- US Electoral Assistance Commission (USEAC 2008). *Poll Workers and Election Administration: the View from Local Election Officials*. Washington: Election Assistance Commission. Authored by David C. Kimball and Cassie Gross.

